Boston College
Lynch School of Education and Human Development

Department of Teaching, Curriculum, & Society
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SPECIALIZED, LOCALIZED, PRIVATIZED: AN INSTITUTIONAL AND HISTORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE EMERGENCE OF NEW GRADUATE SCHOOLS OF EDUCATION

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REID JEWETT SMITH

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ABSTRACT

Specialized, Localized, Privatized: An Institutional & Historical Analysis of the Emergence of New Graduate Schools of Education

Author: Reid Jewett Smith

Advisor: Dr. Marilyn Cochran-Smith

This dissertation presents an institutional and historical analysis of the emergence of new graduate schools of education, or nGSEs. A controversial reform in the field of teacher preparation, nGSEs offer teacher preparation, state certification, and master's degrees in a variety of new non-university contexts. With bipartisan support and philanthropic backing, the nGSE phenomenon has gained traction quickly. Today, 11 nGSEs, some with several branches, are operating in 16 different states. The dissertation examines the emergence of nGSEs using concepts from sociological neoinstitutionalism through primary document analysis and institutional analysis to answer the following questions: (1) What is the nature of nGSEs as organizations, including their historical features, funding models, and organizational environments? What changes have occurred in these features since the inception of nGSEs? (2) What institutional logic animates nGSEs as organizations? (3) What happens to teacher preparation in market-organized environments?

Analysis revealed that nGSEs have diverse organizational origins and that they have largely reconfigured time and place for teacher preparation. As organizations that have moved the bulk of teacher preparation to K-12 schools and/or the internet while evolving rapidly in different environments, nGSEs naturally have different cultural-cognitive schemata. However, market logic is evident in some form, though to varying degrees, at each new organization. nGSEs tend to be private sector solutions to problems in the public education system, and they enjoy the support of education philanthropists who fund alternatives to the public education

bureaucracy. I show how nGSEs are fundamentally responses to specialized, and oftentimes regionalized, circumstances that create demand for new kinds of teacher preparation programs. nGSEs are tailored for particular contexts and conditions—some nGSEs serve certain geographical communities while others serve certain kinds of school communities or pedagogical movements. I argue that this has led to the creation of highly specialized niches in the 21st century market for teacher preparation. Though they all constitute one reform, namely the relocation of teacher preparation from universities to new and different kinds of organizations, nGSEs are remarkably different from one another and from the wider field of teacher preparation.

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For me, this moment is about more than 233 pages of research about new graduate schools of education. It's about more than five years of doctoral study. It's about the thirty-six years that led up to this achievement and the people that got me here. I was diagnosed with Cystic Fibrosis at age five in 1991. At the time, I was given a life expectancy of 12 and the grim prognosis of inevitable respiratory failure.

My parents, Beth and Sanford Jewett, lay the foundation for this moment by devoting all of their cognitive, emotional, social, and financial resources into helping me live—and live well. They gave me the freedom to live like I was dying and enabled me to fall in love with learning at an early age. My sister Georgia Jewett, now with her husband Florian and amazing daughter, Helene, has spent her life modeling academic grace and scholarly curiosity as a Foreign Affairs Officer in the U.S. Department of State Bureau of Conflict and Stabilization Operations. However, no one is more integral to this moment than my 90-year-old maternal grandmother, Elizabeth McCune. Lizzie, as we call her, has modeled generosity and leadership for me and a generation of ambitious McCunes in the name of my grandfather Gentleman Jack. Together with my paternal grandparents, Joan and Garry Jewett, my four grandparents granted me access to top educational institutions. They also gave me my best friends—my first and second cousins from the McCune, Jewett, Lewis, Ford, and Kauffman families—and the aunts and uncles who raised me as their own, especially my godmother Lib. They are my nuclear family.

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have always had shared assumptions about what makes life good. Despite having been immersed in this degree and dissertation for the past five years, I think of myself as a mother, partner, and patient. Matt, Foster, and Hope have animated my everyday life with fundamental contentment. I love them and am proud to dedicate this effort to them.

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Chapter One
The Rise of New Graduate Schools of Education

The first two decades of the twentieth century saw the rise of a new population of teacher preparation providers. Housed outside of universities, these "new graduate schools of education," or nGSEs (Cochran-Smith, Carney, & Miller, 2016), began offering teacher preparation, state certification, and master's degrees in a variety of new contexts. With bipartisan political support and ample philanthropic backing (Fraser & Lefty, 2018), the phenomenon quickly gained traction. By 2020, 11 nGSEs, some with several branches, were certifying teachers and awarding master's degrees in 16 different states. Born of the late century reform context that opened the door to alternate routes into teaching, the nGSE phenomenon carried the momentum of market-based reforms forward to the creation of a new group of organizations within the wider field of American teacher education.

The nGSE phenomenon is striking considering that most public school teachers in the United States used to earn their degrees at local colleges or regional universities (Labaree, 2004). As the century closed, that began to change. Reforms aimed at breaking up what some critics referred to as the "ed school monopoly" promoted competition among new and existing providers (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Labaree, 2004; Fraser and Lefty, 2018). More and more teachers, though still a small percentage of the total, entered the classroom with state approval through alternate routes like Teach For America, urban teacher residencies, or district internships. By 2020, enrollment dynamics had shifted significantly, with nearly 20% of teachers entering public school classrooms through alternate routes (Yin & Partelow, 2020).

By the year 2000, the groundwork for new schools of education was being laid at various sites nationwide. The organizational precursors of the Upper Valley Graduate School of

Education and the Teachers College of San Joaquin existed in some form, although neither one of them had morphed into a school of education just yet. Meanwhile, the charter networks now associated with Relay Graduate School of Education, Alder Graduate School of Education, and High Tech High Graduate School of Education began to expand. By 2020, there were 11 nGSEs nationwide. Some organizations operated in single school districts, while others served specific regions, and some partnered with charter networks while others' influence reached around the globe. Within the United States, nGSEs represent the rise of a new population of organizations that is altering the already sprawling field (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2016; Cochran-Smith, 2021) of American teacher preparation.

While the phenomenon of teacher preparation at independent programs has garnered attention from scholars, journalists, reformers, and philanthropies (Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015; Otterman, 2013; Schorr, 2013), the term nGSE (Cochran-Smith, 2021) defined the phenomenon by calling attention to organizations that were "unaffiliated with universities, but state-authorized and accredited as institutions of higher education to prepare teachers, grant master's degrees, and endorse teachers for certification" (p. 3). This definition excluded district-run residencies that maintained affiliations with universities, online certification programs that did *not* grant master's degrees, and online for-profit universities. Examples of nGSEs include Relay Graduate School of Education, which operates 18 campuses in major metropolitan areas nationwide, the High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching & Learning (formerly Woodrow Wilson Graduate School), a competency-based graduate school in Cambridge, MA, and Teachers College of San Joaquin, a county-run school of education in central California.

This dissertation presents a multi-layered historical and institutional analysis of the rise of teacher preparation at nGSEs. It will offer an interpretation of the phenomenon by profiling the

characteristics of the eleven existing nGSEs, paying particular attention to organizational origins and changes between 2000 and 2022. It begins by reviewing historical and contemporary research on American teacher preparation with a focus on the institutional location of teacher preparation over time. Using concepts from institutional theory, the first layer of analysis presents a historical overview of eleven nGSEs. In addition, analysis across the organizations will identify trends beyond shared structural characteristics. The objective is to construct an analytic history of the emergence of a new population of organizations, nGSEs. The purpose of constructing this historical analysis is to examine and interpret a phenomenon that has been supported by philanthropists, praised in the media, endorsed by politicians, and debated in academia. By building a comprehensive nationwide analysis of this controversial teacher education reform, this dissertation sheds light on how the emergence of nGSEs is inextricably linked to the marketization of public education and the influence of well-funded and well-heard reformers in the private sector.

Figure 1.1
The Distribution of nGSEs in 2020.

Research Problem and Context

For the past thirty years, scholars, teacher educators, philanthropists, journalists, reformers, and policy makers have debated the rightful location of teacher education. Now, two decades into the twenty-first century, the "teacher education wars" rage on (Fraser & Lefty, 2018). These metaphorical wars play out in a highly publicized, long-running debate over the rightful location of teacher education, a dialogue that is inherently tied up with questions of status (Labaree, 2004). The debate takes up questions like, does teacher education belong in the university after its migration from the normal school into higher education? Or does its contested status within the university suggest that the whole enterprise needs to be reimagined? Should teacher education play by market rules, or should education be sheltered from the ethos of efficiency? These questions are rooted in the complex institutional history of teacher preparation elaborated below.

For most of the 20th century, teacher education was a diverse and decentralized matter that took place at the local or state level. Since the Constitution did not mention education, governance regarding K-12 and higher education fell to the jurisdiction of the individual states, largely unregulated by the federal government (Pelsue, 2017); therefore, the nature of teacher education varied from state to state. After a period of intermittent itinerancy and consolidation, teacher education programs moved into colleges and universities as schools of education (Labaree, 2004; Lagemann, 2000). From the 1960s to the mid-1980s, colleges and universities were the sole providers of teacher preparation and certification nationwide (Labaree, 2004).

By the 1980s, shifts in global markets, increasing international competition, and fear of economic decline unleashed a wave of anxiety about America's mediocre educational performance (NCEE, 1983). Concern about future productivity and "the quality of education in

the United States extended to the nation's colleges and universities" as teacher education came under fire for its contribution to weakening economic prospects, yet major initiatives like the Holmes Group of university-based deans advocated closer ties to the research-base of universities (The Holmes Group, 1986, p. 7). Afterwards, several high-profile critiques of university education schools initiated a 'teacher education failure narrative' (Cochran-Smith, Carney, et al., 2018) that has persisted well into the twenty-first century (Fraser & Lefty, 2018).

Colleges and universities were the sole providers of teacher education from the 1960s to the 1980s (Labaree, 2004). What came to be known by critics as the 'ed school monopoly' (Hess, 2005) was challenged by critiques calling for a "reopening of the field to a wide variety of pathways into the profession" (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 57). Over the last thirty years, "reformers implemented an extraordinary range of new alternative programs, most of which involved moving teacher education out of universities altogether" (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 1). This came as the result of a "well-funded movement to deregulate teacher education by dismantling teacher education institutions and breaking up the monopoly that the profession (i.e., schools of education, professional accrediting agencies, and many state licensing departments) has, according to its critics, too long enjoyed" (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001, p 11). The push to deregulate teacher education emerged in the late 20th century alongside an opposing reform to professionalize teaching by implementing higher standards for preparation, licensing, and certification (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001). In contrast, the deregulation agenda sought to challenge existing pathways by pushing alternate routes and, "curtail[ing] or bypass[ing] altogether the roles of colleges and universities in teacher preparation" (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Cochran-Smith, 2000). The deregulation agenda was, from the fore, uncritical in its

advocacy of alternatives that paved the way for new graduate schools of education that embraced deregulation as the prescription for teacher quality (Zeichner, 2003).

Facing competition from well-funded newcomers, university schools of education were presented the option to "repair or replace" their own programming, according to deregulators who projected the logics of competition onto schools of education (Levine, 2018, p. vii). As alternatives to universities emerged, Art Levine, the former president of Teachers College as well as an outspoken critic of university-based teacher education, observed that "the new and the old exist side by side. Advocacy, anger, and panaceas bombard us. We cling to the past, and we embrace the future. Teacher education is being transformed. We are once again in the Wild West stage of change" (Levine in Fraser and Lefty, 2018, p. vii). Today, as a result of the aggressive push to deregulate teacher education, university teacher education programs exist alongside a complex landscape of alternate routes like Teach For America, as well as independent teacher preparation programs, online certification, district residencies, and, now, new graduate schools of education.

This is due, in large part, to the fact that American policy makers have settled upon rare bipartisan consensus regarding the benefits of competition among alternative, independent, and traditional teacher education programs (Fraser & Lefty, 2018). Republicans and Democrats have championed deregulation as a "non-partisan issue [that] local, state, and federal leaders on both sides of the aisle could embrace reforms in teacher preparation programs" (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 4). Regan-era Republicans who oversaw the publication of *A Nation At Risk* (1983) embraced market reforms that favored competitive logic for improving American educational achievement in the face of international competition (Fraser & Lefty, 2019; Greene & Hess, 2019). Democrats, too, embraced reform towards institutional pluralism to champion progressive causes

(Greene & Hess, 2019). The *Race to the Top* (USDOE, 2009) fund incentivized states to embrace innovation with alternate routes to certification and directly supported the creation of at least one nGSE—the MAT Program at the American Museum of Natural History (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020). Then, with bipartisan support, the *Every Student Succeeds Act* (USDOE, 2015) facilitated the creation of new preparation academies outside of the university, including nGSEs, by deregulating standard requirements for curriculum, content, faculty, and accreditation (Darling-Hammond, 2017). These pieces of federal legislation have, on the one hand, established a greater role for the government in overseeing education, including teacher education, *and* cemented the ethos of deregulation that has promoted competition with the existing public infrastructure of colleges, universities, and secondary schools (Pelsue, 2017). Teacher education scholar Marilyn Cochran-Smith (2001) rightly characterized this seemingly contradictory state of affairs as "tightly regulated deregulation."

America's largest philanthropies stood behind this new approach (Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015; Fraser & Lefty, 2018; Labaree, 2004; Greene & Hess, 2019; Cochran-Smith, Keefe, & Jewett Smith, 2020; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001). The late 20th century saw the rise of new, super-empowered corporations fueled by technological change, the globalization of labor, and integration of international markets—familiar companies like Microsoft, Google, and Facebook. The excess capital accumulated by companies and CEOs at firms like Walmart, Hewlett-Packard, Microsoft, Amazon, and Facebook fueled a new era of philanthropic activity through private foundations. Compared with well-known foundations established by 20th century tycoons like Rockefeller and Carnegie (Hess, 2005), the "new education philanthropists" took a more 'muscular' approach to giving that involved greater foundation oversight tethered to the rules of accountability and the logic of business management (Au, 2018; Hess 2005;

Lagemann, 1992). As emissaries of organizations that were "winners" in free markets (Freidman, 2000), these prominent foundations tended to favor start up organizations that challenged traditional public institutions, known as "jurisdictional challengers" (Reckhow & Snyder, 2014; Mehta & Telles, 2012). In the field of education, this meant funding for competitive upstarts like nGSEs that sought to 'disrupt' the field by using innovation and markets to improve teacher quality (Ellis, Suoto-Manning, & Turvey, 2018).

Philanthropies funded by tech companies supported the logic of disruption, particularly after the Department of Education began releasing annual teacher quality reports after the passage of *No Child Left Behind* in 2001. Looking comparatively at major foundation spending over the last thirty years, "the floor has been tilted. Alternative teacher preparation providers are the favored children" (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 6), even though college and universities continue to prepare the majority of new teachers in the US. New education philanthropies provided ongoing support for Relay Graduate School of Education, Sposato Graduate School of Education, and High Tech High Graduate School of Education, to name a few (Cochran-Smith, Keefe, & Jewett Smith, 2020; Sanchez, 2020; Keefe & Miller, 2020).

With bipartisan federal support for deregulation and the backing of major corporate foundations creating a reform climate friendly towards innovation, competition and replacement (Hess, 2015; Fraser & Lefty, 2018), the nGSE phenomenon has taken off in the last twenty years. Eleven new organizations emerged in the competitive teacher preparation landscape, meeting the demand for new master's-level certification programs (Cochran-Smith, et al., 2020; Cochran-Smith, 2021). The shifting enrollment dynamic offers a telling snapshot of field-level change. Nationwide, there have been drops in enrollment in university-based teacher preparation programs (Partelow, 2019; Sawchuck, 2014). Meanwhile, alternative programs have expanded

enrollment while for-profit teacher preparation programs experienced "explosive growth" (Partelow, 2019, p. 3).

Moreover, alternate routes continue to attract more diverse teacher candidates, including more Hispanic, Black and non-White candidates than traditional programs (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018), which is critical to the conversation about nGSE growth given the consensus of researchers and practitioners about the importance of attracting and retaining teachers of color (DOE, 2015; Philip, 2020). Relay GSE "has had success rare among graduate schools of education in recruiting teaching candidates of color and male and black male candidates in particular" (Lowe, 2019). Nearly 10 percent of Relay's 4000 students are Black men, which is five times the percentage nationwide (Lowe, 2019; DOE, 2015). However, scholars are quick to point out that focusing too heavily on diversifying the workforce can detract and distract from "comprehensive transformation of schools and society," particularly when teachers of color are forced to "satisfy the irreconcilable demands for accountability on one hand and commitments for cultural relevance and justice on the other." (Philip, 2020, p. 3). This critique has gained steam over the last few years as Relay has experienced robust growth.

Meanwhile, TEACH-NOW's (now Moreland University) monthly enrollment doubled when the COVID-19 pandemic began in March 2020 (Valerio, 2020). The online certification program that awards master's degrees and transferrable state certification experienced growth in enrollment *and* scope, enrolling 200 new teacher candidates from 135 countries in March 2020 alone. TEACH-NOW's entirely online certification program was in a unique position to embrace the urgent shift to online learning. Then, amid this unexpected boom, TEACH-NOW announced a name change to Moreland University "as a result of the global shift in favour of online education" (Moreland University, 2020; Walbank, 2020). Moreland University was approved by

the District of Columbia Higher Education Licensure Commission as a university with plans to "replicate university-style structure" as an "umbrella for multiple colleges," including its school of education (Walbank, 2020).

Moreland is not the only nGSE to change its name in its short history. Relay GSE changed its name in 2012 from Teacher U to Relay Graduate School of Education. Aspire University changed its name to Alder Graduate School of Education in 2017. The Sposato Graduate School of Education began as the Match Teacher Residency. The Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning changed its name twice, first to the Woodrow Wilson Graduate School of Education and then to High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning in June 2020. In the wake of highly publicized national outrage and protest over the most recent deaths of unarmed Black men, High Meadows moved away from Wilson's racist legacy and chose a name aligned with the foundation of board chair Carl Ferenbach, the High Meadows Foundation ("Our Name Change," 2020).

The nGSE phenomenon is not just gaining market share, it is morphing in response to changing demand. Surface-level name changes often accompanied some kind of institutional reorganization or realignment, as when Relay formalized independence or TEACH-NOW scaled up. nGSEs have expanded rapidly and changed significantly in response to changing political conditions. Criticism of nGSEs has come from high-profile teacher educators concerned about teacher professionalism (Darling-Hammond, 2017), perpetuating inequity (Philip et al., 2019; Anderson, 2019), and corporate funding (Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015). However, the growing body of academic criticism has been met in equal measure with a body of advocacy (Schorr, 2013; The Economist, 2016) that highlights innovation, efficiency, and efficacy. And while the controversy has garnered academic attention (Cochran-Smith, 2021; Cochran-Smith, et

al., 2021), the organizational changes have yet to be examined holistically, nationally, and historically as a case of education reform and institutional change.

However, there is a growing body of scholarly insight into individual organizations (Mungal, 2019; Keefe & Miller, 2020; Sanchez, 2020; Carney, 2020; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020; Nagrotsky, 2020; Cochran-Smith, Keefe, Jewett Smith, 2020). These studies examine aspects of practice and pedagogy as well as the organizational features of nGSEs. Yet there is no comprehensive historical analysis that constructs a chronological and institutional history of the emergence of nGSEs. There are myriad analyses of schools of education (Lagemann, 2000; Labaree, 2004; Clifford and Guthrie, 1990; Fraser & Lefty, 2018) that take up the institutional aspects of teacher education of location, leadership, legitimacy, and history. These studies offer context for this study as well as serve as methodological examples for how to conduct a historical and institutional analysis of teacher preparation. This dissertation is modeled after historical analyses of schools of education, as well as longitudinal organizational analyses, like Scott, Ruef, Mendel, and Caronna's (2000) examination of organizational change in the field of healthcare. In a way, this study is intended to serve as a prequel to the in-depth case studies of individual institutions by constructing a foundational document-based history of programmatic births and major organizational changes over the last 20 years. In order to understand the emergence of nGSEs, this dissertation treats nGSEs as an emergent population of organizations within the larger field of teacher education. The purpose of the dissertation is to analyze how nGSEs have emerged and evolved over the last twenty years within the context of marketization, deregulation, new philanthropic approaches, and privatization. Specifically, the dissertation poses the following questions:

1. What is the nature of nGSEs as organizations, including their historical features, funding models, and organizational environments? What changes have occurred in these features since the inception of nGSEs?
2. What logic animates nGSEs as organizations?
3. What happens to teacher preparation in market-organized environments?

Guiding Theory: An Overview of Framework and Methodology

Since the purpose of this dissertation is to create a narrative that can be placed in conversation with the continuum of historical and institutional scholarship about the development of teacher education, this study is guided by neoinstitutional theory that incorporates organizational studies as well as historical scholarship on organizational change. Modeled after histories of institutional change that include teacher education such as Ellen Condliffe Lagemann's *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research*, James Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South: 1860-1935*, David Labaree's *The Trouble with Ed Schools* and James Fraser and Lauren Lefty's *Teaching Teachers: Changing Paths and Enduring Debates,* this dissertation uses archival historical methods combined with qualitative data analysis to construct a narrative that reveals contemporary change in the field of teacher education at the turn of the twenty-first century.

Histories of teacher education tend to focus on the institutional aspects of preparation, such as location, actors, origins, funding, and logic. Meanwhile, analyses of institutional change, regardless of field, are inherently historical because they offer chronological narratives of change over time in a given sector. This examination of the rise of a new population of organizations (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000) uses concepts from institutional theory (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000; Scott, 1995), approaches from historical research on education (Lagemann, 2000; Anderson, 1988; Labaree, 2004; Fraser & Lefty, 2018), and analytic techniques from qualitative research (Stake, 2006). Key concepts from institutional theory

include ideas about *organizational change*; *organizational populations* that exist within larger *organizational fields* of like-providers; key components of *institutional environments*, particularly *institutional logics*; and the creation of new populations of organizations (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000; Scott, 1995). These concepts indicate how individual organizations operate within a larger set of similar and related organizations, particularly during periods of change. In this dissertation, these concepts will serve as a framework for analyzing new organizations in the context of changing institutional priorities.

The methodology for this dissertation lies at the intersection of historical research and organizational analysis of institutions. Historians of teacher education write about the institutional aspects of logic, location, and leadership; meanwhile, scholars of institutional change are bound by longitudinal historical processes. Therefore, institutional theory is the framework for this analysis of nGSEs, but it is also embedded in the methodology that draws heavily from the discipline of history and the subfield of historical institutionalists (Scott, 2014).

The methods for this project are informed by the historical analysis featured in interpretive histories of teacher education, mentioned above. The methodology for this analysis involves the collection, coding, and theoretically-informed analysis of archival history and institutional data (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000). The codes and categories are drawn from foundational concepts of neo-institutional theory, and the data come from two major bodies of artifacts: (1) publicly-available archival documents, webpages, media artifacts, press releases, communications, critiques, and scholarship on nGSEs (2) interviews, program observations, and institutional documents collected in the course of the larger study. The second set of artifacts were collected as part of a multi-year, nationwide study of practice and pedagogy at nGSEs funded by the Spencer Foundation. Since the purpose is to construct organizational histories and

place them in conversation with one another and the wider field, I analyzed empirical document-based organizational histories and conducted thematic analysis of characteristics.

The Larger Study: Teacher Preparation at nGSEs

This dissertation is part of a body of scholarship that has emerged from a multi-year, nationwide study of teacher preparation at nGSEs. Marilyn Cochran-Smith, the principal investigator of the larger project, has been a scholar of teacher education policy and practice for the last forty years. She has received two grants from the Spencer Foundation to study the nGSE phenomenon on the premise that "practice and policy (and the press) have run ahead of research in this area" (Cochran-Smith, 2016, p.1). A major grant supported the larger project, which has been underway since 2016 and has yielded four in-depth case studies of teacher preparation at Sposato Graduate School of Education, High Tech High Graduate School of Education, TEACH-NOW (now Moreland University), and the MAT Program at the American Museum of Natural History. The larger study was informed by two interrelated theoretical frameworks for learning to teach, the *knowledge-practice* framework developed by Marilyn Cochran-Smith and Susan Lytle (1999) as well as Lave and Wenger's (1991) *communities of practice* framework. Using these frameworks, the case studies have illuminated aspects of practice and pedagogy that reveal how various nGSEs conceptualize and enact the project of learning to teach. The project has yielded multiple conference presentations, keynote addresses by the principal investigator, scholarly articles, and most recently, a special issue of *The New Educator.* In 2019, the Spencer Foundation awarded an additional grant to Cochran-Smith to continue the project in order to investigate the institutional dimensions of relocating teacher preparation to nGSEs (Cochran-Smith, 2019). This dissertation is mostly closely related to the theoretical foundations outlined in the proposal for the second grant and is intended to serve as a compliment to the case studies by

constructing a historical landscape of the rise of nGSEs and placing them within the larger institutional continuum of the evolving field of American teacher preparation.

I joined the nGSE research team at Boston College as a doctoral student in 2018. Over the past four years, I have served the project in various ways—coding data, collecting documentary evidence, conducting site visits, generating field notes, preparing grant reports, and organizing our team data bases. For the past year, I have worked closely alongside Marilyn Cochran-Smith in theorizing the institutional aspects of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs. I have presented findings from the larger study at conferences and co-authored papers for the project while I have been honing this approach through countless conversations with Cochran-Smith, whose deep knowledge of teacher education policy and practice and helped me frame this project.

The larger study's approach to studying nGSEs emerged as the result of mounting controversy around the phenomenon. By 2016, there was already a polarized climate of critique (e.g., Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015) and praise (e.g., Schorr, 2013)**.** The original objective was to push *past* the polarized perception of nGSEs and understand the phenomenon from the 'emic' perspective (Cochran-Smith, 2016). However, while the study has been under way, the controversy surrounding the politics of teacher education reform has intensified (Cochran-Smith, 2021). Different camps of teacher educators have adopted and promoted stances about equity and justice in teacher education that implicate certain institutional and pedagogical aspects of nGSEs. For example, the very idea of the nGSE has come under fire as a capitalist reform that unleashes the unjust forces of markets onto already-vulnerable people (Philip et al., 2019; Anderson, 2019). As the controversy has unfolded, nGSEs have been symbolically cast as everything that's wrong with education reform *and*, at the same time, everything that's great about innovation. The

controversy concerns whether nGSEs are a shortcut to the classroom that promote prescriptive pedagogies and ignore the inequitable context of American society, *or* whether they are beacons of efficiency that deliver need-to-know effectiveness at a fraction of the cost.

This dissertation does not attempt to settle the contentious issue of perception. In keeping with the original intent of the study, all of the scholarship from Cochran-Smith's research team has walked the fine line of offering scholarly analysis *without* slipping into advocacy or judgment. This dissertation, an analysis of organizational origins and historical situation, does the same. The point is to chart the characteristics of the nGSE phenomenon and to place these new organizations in conversation with one another and with historical changes in the field of teacher education.

The purpose of this dissertation is to inform conversations in research and practice by offering an analysis of what is happening in recent history as the result of reform in teacher education. It speaks to wider trends in American thinking about management and markets in formerly public spaces and offers more evidence that can speak to the broader impact of deregulation and privatization in American society. Conducted during a period of intense pressure to restructure organizational priorities to meet the demands of a more just society, this study examines the real time impact of unleashing market forces onto a sector of education and has implications for all aspects of public life that are being reimagined by private enterprise.

Overview of Findings and Major Arguments

In conducting this analysis, I found that nGSEs were remarkably hard to generalize. Though they all constitute one reform, namely the relocation of teacher preparation from universities to new and different kinds of organizations, nGSEs are remarkably different from one another and from the wider field of teacher preparation. nGSEs are a diverse population of

organizations, and their internally "shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality" vary widely (Scott, 2013, p. 67). In Chapter 4, I argue that this is the result of rapid change, the reconfiguration of time and space, and nGSEs' diverse organizational origins. As organizations that have moved the bulk of teacher preparation to K-12 schools and/or the internet while evolving continuously from different kinds of parent organizations, nGSEs naturally have different cultural-cognitive schemata. I argue that this is the result of market pressures in Chapter 5. Here, I show how market logic is evident in some form, though to varying degrees, at each new organization. nGSEs are fundamentally responses to specialized, and oftentimes regionalized, circumstances that create demand for a new kind of teacher preparation program. They are private sector solutions to problems in the public education system, and they enjoy the support of new education philanthropists who fund privatized alternatives to the public education bureaucracy. These philanthropists invest in scalable solutions, reward innovation, and look for returns in terms of outcomes like student achievement or teacher retention. But they also reward specificity, and so in Chapter 6, I show how many nGSEs are tailored for particular contexts and conditions. Some nGSEs serve certain geographical communities, and others serve certain kinds of school communities. This trend towards organizational specificity has resulted in highly specialized niches in the 21st century market for teacher preparation.

I begin the analysis by examining how nGSEs got their start and what they look like today. Based on analysis of proprietary documents, public websites, promotional marketing materials, press releases, and tax records, I offer four interrelated arguments about nGSEs' organizational histories and environments in Chapter 4. The first proposition is that nGSEs evolved rapidly along divergent trajectories as the result of different *cultural-cognitive* frames derived from varied origins and networks. Second, nGSEs reconfigure time and place for teacher

preparation, altering the traditional grammar of university-based graduate teacher education and foregrounding the role of schools in learning to teach. Third, nGSEs capitalize on shared organizational infrastructure, often by employing embedded business models. But sharing organizational infrastructure (funding, personnel, values) with parent and partner organizations means that nGSEs do not form a single field because they are more aligned with the fields from which they originated than with each other. However, my fourth proposition is that some traditional markers of legitimacy persist at nGSEs, even though the *norming* forces of legitimacy do not overshadow the *cultural cognitive divergence* that results from diverse origins. My general argument is that 21st century market forces incentivized *cultural cognitive divergence* at nGSEs. These organizations are as responsive to market forces as their 20th century predecessors, but 21st century markets reward differentiation and reinvention, rather than mimicry and convention. The histories, programs, and business models of nGSEs demonstrate how unique organizational trajectories and highly specialized *cultural cognitive* approaches to teacher preparation have gained momentum over the last twenty years.

Chapter 5 introduces the concept of *institutional logic* and argues that nGSEs' material and symbolic practices are guided by market logic. nGSEs' material practices for collecting tuition, navigating federal financial aid, and raising external funds are driven by market concepts, yet so are the symbolic and rhetorical practices that espouse the reinvention, redistribution, commodification, and universalization of teacher preparation. This chapter highlights nGSEs' funding models, particularly an organizational turn away from the federal financial aid system. Instead, I show how nGSEs are supported by a network of private philanthropies guided by the ethos of the "new education philanthropy," which is a new 'muscular' approach to large scale philanthropic giving that incorporates accountability to measurable outcomes with scalable social

impact. Given the reliance of most nGSEs on ongoing philanthropic support, the chapter examines the overlapping web of national corporate funders and localized community funders that support nGSEs. nGSEs capitalize on new markets and funders by embracing market principles. As a result, the diversification of organizational forms is an inherent feature of the emergence of nGSEs.

Chapters 4 and 5 paint a picture of organizational culture that is, broadly speaking, logically uniform but cognitively diverse. I find that nGSEs are animated by market logic, but they still very different *from one another,* so in Chapter 6, I take a hard look at specialization. I ask how two foundational elements of organizational culture—cultural-cognitive divergence and market logic—interact and what they mean together. Specialization, I find, drives the creation of new niches in the market for teacher preparation and acts against institutional isomorphism within the population of nGSEs. They respond to gaps in the market for teacher preparation by supplying teachers where shortages existed in certain regions, demographics, or subjects and by responding to demand for teachers familiar with new pedagogical movements and learning modalities. In this, nGSEs are responsive to broader sociocultural and macroeconomic trends like justice movements and innovation trends. By trying to diversify the workforce, serve urban areas, or take teacher preparation online, for example, nGSEs situate their organizations as niche programs that answer to higher purposes of social change or economic competitiveness. These specialized niches also work against institutional isomorphism, which was once thought to be the driving force behind America's educational institutions. Instead of mimicking one another's structures and conventions, these 21st century organizations are diverse and specialized.

In conducting this analysis, I was able to see broad patterns and individual organizational idiosyncrasies at the same time. This led me to two general insights about nGSEs—that they

represent a genuine attempt to do things differently, and that there is an underlying tension between private interests and public education at play. nGSEs, individually and collectively, represent a genuine attempt to do things differently, to focus on underserved populations, and to question the way things have always been done in teacher preparation. But these mostly private sector non-profits and companies are altering the traditional grammar of teacher education by choosing new settings, new partners, and new funders to deliver on their promise of doing things differently.

Chapter 2
Theoretical Framework & Literature Review

In this study, I use neoinstitutional theory to analyze the emergence of new graduate schools of education as a population of organizations within field of teacher education, which is itself a subset of the institution of higher education in the United States. This project examines the rise of a *new* population of organizations in teacher education that is guided by market logic. This section traces the origins and evolution of sociological institutional theory, neoinstitutional theory, and their applications to education, which have changed in recent years to reconceptualize the shift in marketized infrastructure that governs organizational life in the United States. These new approaches account for the rise of frameworks like deregulation and privatization that expand market reach in organized social life. After a broad historical overview of institutional theory, I offer explanatory definitions of the central concepts that guide this research project with applications for analysis.

Institutional Theory: Origins, Evolution, and Applications in Education

Institutional theory raises philosophical questions about the nature of organized social life. For example, why do organizations in the same field tend to look alike? How are institutions related to the distribution of power in society? What drives institutional change over time? How do new populations of organizations arise? (Meyer & Rowan, 2004; Scott, 2008). These questions about the nature of social organization arose in an era of nineteenth century institutionalization, whereby timeless human institutions such as language and religion congealed into the formal organizations we know today, such as the academy or the church. During that time, studies of social and political life in Europe and the United States began to interrogate the behavior of institutions and organizations. Throughout this dissertation, in

keeping with the language and concepts of institutional theory, I will use the word *institution* to refer to the broadest level of organized collective activity, for example, the institution of higher education. I will use the word *organization* to talk about individual entities, most often the individual schools of education that serve as the unit of analysis for this study. When added to either term, the concept of *field* adds a layer of complexity that includes similar organizations as well as related organizations that service the field (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000). For example, the *organizational field* around each nGSE includes the individual programs as well as their partner schools, professional affiliations, and resource providers. This dissertation investigates the origins of a new *population of organizations,* which is a subset of organizations within the field of teacher preparation. All of this terminology is derived from neoinstitutional theory.

Institutional theory is a conceptual framework that emerged in the 19th century as the formation of nation-states created new *political* realities that intersected with 18th century ideas about autonomy, democracy, and rights, while the *economies* of the West underwent fundamental changes with industrialization and marketization. The reorganization of society around changes in the nature of industrial work and increasing demands for democratic (or quasi-democratic) systems of governance compelled scholars of modern society, political science, and proto-capitalist economics to understand the flurry of change through the lens of institutions. At the most basic level, institutions refer to organized aspects of social life. The earliest scholars of institutions generally understood institutions as linking a *concept* and a *structure*; some of the first institutions that scholars identified were language, government, church, family, and laws pertaining to property (Scott, 2014).

With benefit of time, today's leading definition of institutions is more exact. Scott (2014) suggests that institutions are collective social entities governed by "regulative, normative, and cultural cognitive elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (Scott, 2014, p. 56). These three "pillars" of institutions—rules, norms, and beliefs—help us understand what centripetal forces keep an institution intact over time. In other words, early institutional theory identified the rules, structures, and ideas that compelled institutions to behave similarly across different contexts.

As the definition of institution has become more precise over time, institutional perspectives have been applied to political science, economics, and sociology (Scott, 2014). Originally, the study of institutions was concerned with the forces that kept institutions in line. What Scott (2004) calls an inherently conservative endeavor, the original intent was to study the rules, norms, or beliefs that kept institutions stable over time and space. The concept of *isomorphism* dominated the study of institutions as scholars examined the ways in which different organizations and populations resembled one another. Laws, norms, and cultural beliefs about legitimacy tended to keep organizations behaving more alike than different. The tendency to see individual organizations as institutionalized, or guided by rules and norms, applied to schools as well (Meyer, 1977; Meyer & Rowan, 2016).

Then, in the late 20th century as the West underwent major social reorganization and explored neoliberal frameworks for governance, a new generation of institutionalists became interested in the process of change and diversification, particularly in the field of organizational sociology. *Neo*institutional perspectives highlighted the *process of change* by shining light on the behavior of individual organizations within institutional fields. The neoinstitutional perspective pioneered by Scott in organizational sociology (2004) and Meyer and Rowan in education (2006)

allowed researchers to study institutional change in addition to continuity. This perspective paved the way for the study of productive tensions and competing logics within institutions among different organizations.

Institutional research in the field of education follows the broad arc of the theoretical evolution, from interpreting educational organizations as subject to continuity imposed by norms and rules to being dynamic with change. Early institutional analyses of education, particularly mass schooling in the United States (Meyer, 1977; Parsons, 1969), emphasized isomorphism across educational organizations and across diverse contexts. Schools, the argument went, were more concerned with legitimacy than technical efficiency in the core of teaching and learning, so structural similarity became more important than actual performance. When organizations were governed by bureaucratic norms, legitimacy outweighed efficiency in garnering public approval. Then, in 2006, Heinz-Dieter Meyer and Brian Rowan co-edited a volume of conceptual essays that called for a broader application of new institutionalism in education. Concerned that pioneering analyses of isomorphism in education had limited researcher's conceptions of what neoinstitutionalism could elucidate in the field of education, H.D. Meyer, Rowan, and colleagues made the case for using neoinstitutional perspectives to examine the increasing diversity of organizational forms and logics in the face of a paradigmatic global shift toward the privatization of education. Amid the neoliberal wave of privatization, new analyses were needed to examine shifting institutional circumstances. This study of a new population of organizations utilizes the neoinstitutional perspective on change, productive tension, and organizational diversity in education in order to study the emergence of nGSEs in the early twenty-first century.

This dissertation brings the concepts of neoinstitutional theory to bear on the field of teacher education, which has undergone a period of rapid and accelerating change. Teacher

education has a complex institutional history (Lagemann, 2000; Labaree, 2004; Fraser & Lefty, 2017) that involves decades of consolidation and relocation. In the middle of the 20th century, the majority of American teacher preparation took place in universities (Labaree, 2004). But by the 1990s, the field had been broken open by new 'alternate' pathways into teaching with popular startup programs like Teach For America and, increasingly, district residency programs (Fraser & Lefty, 2017). A well-funded effort to deregulate teacher preparation programs lay the foundation for the diversification of the field by advocating for the introduction of market logics in teacher preparation (Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001). As federal policy began to incentivize the creation of new and alternate pathways into teaching, a new generation of organizations has emerged in teacher preparation (Cochran-Smith, Carney, & Miller, 2016). This dissertation focuses on the emergence of a new population of organizations and their shared formal, or structural, organizational characteristics. It uses the defining concepts of neoinstitutional theory to analyze individual organizations, new typologies, and the process of institutionalization.

Prior to this study, scholars from the nGSE research team have approached the study of nGSEs by focusing on teacher learning in *communities of practice* (Cochran-Smith, 2021; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021) and the relationship between *knowledge and practice* for learning to teach (Cochran-Smith, et al, 2020; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021; Keefe & Miller, 2021), as well as social justice and equity (Keefe, 2021). In other words, they were primarily interested in how the founders and leaders of nGSEs conceptualized and enacted teacher preparation. The same team has now turned to studying the shifting institutional aspects of teacher preparation using neoinstitutional theory to analyze the phenomenon of nGSEs (Sanchez, 2019; Carney, 2019; Cochran-Smith, 2021; Cochran-Smith, Keefe, & Jewett Smith, 2021). As a member of the

project for the last four years, my primary concern is understanding the emergence of these new organizations amidst changing social and environmental conditions through a historical lens (Bidwell, 2006). What follows is an overview of the central concepts that make up the framework for this dissertation.

Institutions and Organizations

Neoinstitutional theory links the study of *institutions*, which are as old as social life itself, with the study of *organizations*, which embody shared values and endeavors in the form of tangible collectives. Institutions arise out of joint human activity (Scott, 2014; Bidwell, 2006) and predate formal organizations. They are "functionally specialized arenas" (Scott, 2014, p. 11) that consist of a concept and a structure, where the structure holds the concept (Sumner, 1906). Historical examples of institutional orders are language, family, and religion. With the case of religion, for example, the *institution* existed long before its *organizational* embodiment in 'the church.' As complexes of cultural rules (Scott, 2014, Meyer and Rowan, 1977), institutions exist to constrain and regularize the behavior of individuals and organizations (Scott, 2014, p. 59). More modern examples include government, property, capitalism, and education, institutions that have countless organizational forms.

Institutional theory is fundamentally concerned with the properties that hold structures together, though theorists disagree over what the vital and norming ingredients are. Scott (2014) distinguishes between three pillars of institutions—regulative, normative, and cultural-cognitive—which offer different interpretations of what the central source of conformity is. Regulative systems include rules and regulations, best understood in modernity as laws and penalties for non-adherence. Normative systems include shared values, routines, conventions, and goals, and the agencies, like accreditors, that enforce them (Scott, 2014; March & Olsen

1989). The third interpretation, cultural-cognitive pillar, holds that shared human cognition, shaped by cultural experiences and frameworks, affects "common frames and patterns of belief" (Scott, 2014, p. 68). Thus shared meanings and common cultural frames are the basic systems that hold institutions together through shared logic, assumptions, and a failure to imagine alternatives. This research project "emphasizes the role that shared beliefs and cognitions play in institutional building" (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 5) by analyzing changing cultural and political frameworks that influence an emerging organizational population (nGSEs) that is challenging cultural-cognitive scripts about teacher education in the twenty first century while continuing to uphold many of the regulative and normative systems. The presence of cultural cognitive diversity among nGSEs is one of the central findings of Chapter 4.

If we treat higher education in the United States as an institution, as its own branch of organized social life, then there are three theoretical ways to interpret the institution's cogence using Scott's (2014) pillars: (1) with laws and regulations set by the states governing teacher preparation in higher education and licensure (the regulative pillar), (2) with norms enforced by regulating bodies like accreditors (the normative pillar), or (3) through common beliefs about what higher education should look like, beliefs that have been stabilized by the lack of imaginable alternatives—*until recently* (the cultural-cognitive pillar). This research project operates from within the third set of assumptions, namely that the institution of higher education is held together by common belief systems, but that entrenched belief systems are rapidly shifting to accommodate the new starring role of markets in organized social life. Neoinstitutional theory's emphasis on external frameworks means that we must analyze organizational behavior and change in the context of shifting cultural and cognitive frameworks.

The presence of cultural cognitive diversity among nGSEs is one of the central findings of Chapter 4.

If institutions structure concepts, organizations are the embodiment of concepts in collectives of people. Above the level of the individual person, organizations are concepts bounded by formal structure with the ability to act. Scott (2014) wrote, "the development of organizations is the principal mechanism by which, in a highly differentiated society, it is possible to 'get things done' to achieve goals beyond the reach of the individual" (p. 19). Neoinstitutional theorists observed the tendency of organizations within a given institution to behave similarly, often in the pursuit of legitimacy. In education, this often meant more structural similarity than difference. This *isomorphic* behavior is well documented in American secondary schooling and higher education (Meyer, 1977; Parsons, 1969; Scott, 2014). Historically in teacher education, the dominant organizations were colleges and universities with education schools or departments. However, this is changing rapidly—indeed, the diversification of organizations that provide initial teacher preparation is the subject of this study. But this comes after decades of relative stability among university-based teacher education programs (Labaree, 2004).

Institutional change must be studied in conjunction with another central concept, the *organizational field.* Above the level of the singular organization but below the aggregate level of the institution, the organizational field is "a level that identifies a collection of diverse, interdependent organizations that participate in a common meaning system" and is comprised of "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, similar organization, and funders" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148). Organizational fields "provide a framework for

locating and bounding the phenomenon of interest" (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000, p. 13). In this case, the field of teacher education is made up of teacher preparation programs at universities and colleges (incumbent organizations), nGSEs, alternate routes, urban teacher residencies, district residencies, and online programs, *as well as* the K-12 schools they partner with, draw personnel from, and supply teachers to; accreditors like the Council for Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP) or the Distance Education Accreditation Commission (DEAC); and funders at private philanthropies or major corporate foundations. In the case of teacher education, the *organizational field* also includes independent evaluators and policy influencers like the National Council for Teacher Quality (NCTQ) or the Fordham Institute.

Application to this project: Organizational populations. This section offers a brief discussion of how constructs from neoinstitutional theory apply to this dissertation. This study foregrounds the organization itself for analysis. The issue of concern is the emergence of a new population of organizations. *Organizational populations* are an important level of analysis in the study of institutional change (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Scott, 1983) because they describe groups of organizations that are "alike in some respect," or function like "classes of organizations" (Hannan & Freeman, 1977, p. 930). Organizational populations are groupings of like-organizations that function in similar ways. This study analyzes the emergence of nGSEs as a new population of organizations within the institution of teacher education as well as the shifting field of providers, funders, and actors that influence policy and practice. The purpose of the study is to examine the new population of organizations historically to understand how its emergence reflects changing circumstances in the wider landscape of teacher preparation. Historical approaches to the emergence of populations include analyses of population density and growth rates while examining how "early stages of development, when the population is

growing increasingly rapidly, reflects the effects of a process of legitimation, in which the form is becoming increasingly recognized, accepted, and taken-for-granted" (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000, p. 11).

Institutional Environments

Institutional environments encompass three interrelated systems, *institutional logics, actors, and governance.* Institutional logics are the organizing principles that guide all aspects of organizational life, from structures to symbols and buildings to beliefs (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000). Actors operate within these logics by carrying out the logics in their everyday work; actors can be individual people, informal collectives, or whole organizations involved in institutional or organizational life. Logics and actors are held together by governance systems. Together, these systems work in concert with larger cultural frameworks and funding systems to constitute the institutional environment in which organizations operate. But when aspects of the environment change, so do organizational forms. This dissertation argues that nGSEs, as a new population of organizations, are driven by new logic that is, in turn, shifting the actors and governance structures of educational organizations involved in teacher preparation.

Institutional Logics. *Logics* are "a set of material practices and symbolic constructions which constitute [an institution's] organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). Thornton and Ocasio (1999, p. 804) define institutional logics as "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality." This definition underscores the cultural-cognitive aspects of institution building that guide this study of shifting logics in teacher preparation; as the assumptions, material practices, values, and rules for teacher

preparation shift to accommodate market orientation, the underlying logic of new organizations shifts. In many aspects of 21st century civic life, market logic is increasingly common as systems formerly governed by state or democratic logics reorient toward market logics; this includes K-12 education, higher education, criminal justice, medicine, and social welfare. Other institutional orders with their own set of logics include democracy, family, religion, state, profession, and community (Scott, 2014; Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2014). Each of these systems has its own set of values, assumptions, beliefs and rules for guiding organized social life.

Application to this project: Market logic. Historically, institutional theorists understood conformity among "organizations such as schools and colleges… [as] held together more by shared beliefs than by technical exigencies or a logic of efficiency" (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 5). Emulating institutional norms was a more important marker of legitimacy than proving technical efficiency in outcomes (Parsons, 1969). However, a society-wide paradigmatic shift towards privatization fueled by the belief in unregulated markets has shaken up the landscape of education, forcing a shift in logic that has thrown historical values, beliefs, and norms into question as the landscape of actors and governance systems changes. In teacher preparation, policies like *Race to the Top* (2011) that encouraged competition and innovation among teacher preparation providers created incentives for reformers and entrepreneurs to start new private organizations to address perceived shortcomings in the efficacy of existing providers and use the market logic of performance to offer new educational products to consumers. At the same time, this opened the door to change in the corpus of institutional actors.

Institutional Actors. In institutional theory, *actors* "function both as carriers and creators of institutional logics, they are producers and consumers of the activity, participate in the institutional environment, have institutionally defined identities, capacities, rights" (Scott,

Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, p. 20). Actors are individual people, formal or informal collectives, or whole organizations that function in organized institutional life. The body of actors is subject to change with shifting logics; for example, Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna (2000) differentiate between the identities of managerial actors in the field of medicine—hospital administrators who were trained in schools of hospital administration were gradually replaced by administrators with business management degrees. Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna (2000) used this shift to illustrate the turn toward market logics in the field of medicine, as bureaucrats in a once-publicly funded system were replaced with entrepreneurs in an increasingly-private system dominated by market logics. With the shift to market logic, Rowan (2006) identified increasing diversity of actors in the institutional environment, as well as new roles for these actors in shaping governance and market arrangements.

Application to this project: New actors. This dissertation is concerned with capturing the changing corpus of actors in the field of teacher preparation by analyzing the qualifications and histories of nGSE founders and funders. Capturing who establishes, funds, runs, and leads nGSEs will clarify how the institutional environment is changing and how new logics are being carried throughout the new organizational population. Actors are central features in governance systems; mapping and analyzing the affiliations and experiences of actors at the leadership level (Board of Trustees, CEOs, CFOs, Directors, etc.) helps capture the shifting institutional logics.

Governance systems. *Governance systems* are the third component of institutional environments. Scott (2014) defined governance as arrangements which support control or command among groups of actors. Governance captures the structure of leadership, authority, and decision-making in organizations. In the case of nGSEs, the nature of organizational

governance is determined by the business model that dictates whether an organization is for-profit or non-profit.

Application to this project: Corporate governance. Increasingly in education, "families, entrepreneurs, voluntary organizations, and corporate ventures take a stronger role in the governance of education, and the institutional landscape changes from a monistic to a pluralistic world" (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 2). The diversity of actors in organizational governance has shifted the locus of power in education to a new group of actors that privilege management and outcomes. These new actors have been empowered by the increasing reach of federal authority over education that, ironically, has encouraged deregulation. As a result, Rowan (2006, p. 17) argued that "the activities of government agencies in the field of education are also an important part of any institutional analysis."

Marketization, Privatization, and Diversification

As noted above, in 2006, Heinz-Dieter Meyer and Brian Rowan published a collection of theoretical papers that sought to bridge the gap between neoinstitutional theory and the increasing role of markets in education research. For years, they argued, neoinstitutional theory was overly concerned with explaining isomorphic tendencies between educational organizations and was therefore unable to serve as a framework for analyzing organizational change or interpreting the increasing role of markets in education. Meyer and Rowan's edited volume sought to reimagine the use of neoinstitutional theory by curating a collection of conceptual and theoretical perspectives that dealt with the rise of market logics that accompanied the shift to neoliberal policies in western democracies starting in the 1980s.

Meyer and Rowan's volume (2006) was dedicated to overturning the historical conception that "education was seen as being fully controlled by government and the professions

and thus beyond the grip of market forces," where change was conceptualized solely as a progression toward isomorphism since educational organizations were organized to achieve conformity with norms and values aligned with the state, rather than technical efficiency of markets. They noted that throughout history, "basic schooling and much of higher education around the world used to be provided almost exclusively by states, rapid growth in the private provision of educational services has dramatically altered this situation; no longer a monopoly of government, education providers now come from the third sector and civil society and include private, market-oriented organizations" (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 2). Davis, Quirke, and Aurini (2006) added that

> Public funding arrangements encourage schools to conform to legal conventions rather than provide effective service… bureaucratic shackles make public schools unresponsive to their clients, like any inefficient monopoly. Market reforms are seen to pry schools from the grip of central administration and create competitive pressures similar to those faced by for-profit forms. (p. 105)

According to this perspective on market efficiency, schools "are no longer shielded from the pressures of accountability and efficiency" (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 3). As a result, educational organizations are subject to market pressures, and new private education markets are springing up all over the world (Davies, Quirke, & Aurini, 2006; Bernasconi, 2006). Within this new privatized terrain, "market logic suggests that schools seek niches if their survival depends on accommodating unmet client preferences, and thus markets can reverse pressures for isomorphism and spawn a variety of instructional themes" (Davies, Quirke, & Aurini, 2006, p. 106). It's important to note that the neoinstitutional perspective does *not* advocate for the use of markets but rather treats the marketization of education an observable and factual phenomenon that is shifting the way that scholars must approach the study of educational organizations.

This all has consequences for how organizations look and behave. This dissertation analyzes the emergence of a new population of organizations that developed under the new 'niche'-market conditions. Since markets have consequences "both for the emergence of different populations of education service providers and for the operations of specific educational organizations" (Rowan, 2006, p. 26), this study pays particular attention to emergence and operations as defining features of market logics. In many cases, market conditions "shape the kinds of organizational forms that arise to provide instructional services in education," often creating "different strategic groups of organizations, even within the same industry, as part of a process of market differentiation" (Rowan, 2006, p. 28). The purpose of this dissertation is to find out how nGSEs, as new organizations, have adopted structures from different industries, pursued different client strategies, and "market[ed] marginally different product mixes" (Rowan, 2006, p. 28) in order to gain market share in teacher preparation.

Using market forces to govern new educational organizations has consequences for funding as well as organizational history. Davis, Quirke, and Aurini (2006, p. 105) suggest a historical "connection between the isomorphic nature of schooling and the era of stable public funding" that has been shaken up by the shift to market logic in education. They observe that markets "can loosen regulation, intensify competition, make clients less captive, make resources less stable, and generate stiffer pressures to perform" (Davies, Quirke, Aurini, 2006, p. 116). For better or for worse, in the growing field of privatized higher education worldwide, this has produced new funding sources, sponsors, actors, and governance in an increasingly diverse field of providers (Bernasconi, 2006). Neoinstitutional theory, therefore, offers a roadmap for how to study organizational change that can be attributed to the rise of neoliberal ideologies and policies governing education.

Application to this project. Over the last three decades, field-level institutional analyses have "chronicle[d] the incursion of economic (specifically, market) logics into organization fields previously organized around other logics," as sectors like education and medicine "have been colonized by neoliberal views emphasizing competition, privatization, cost-benefit analysis, and outcome measures by stressing financial indicators." (Scott, 2014, p. 251). This has been documented in higher education (Scott, 2014; Meyer & Rowan, 2013, Scott, 2014), but not graduate teacher education per se. Since "markets do indeed appear to produce more diverse forms of educational organizations" (Meyer & Rowan, 2006, p. 8), the nGSE phenomenon could possibly stand as an example of how new populations forge niches under market conditions. Perhaps more importantly, Scott argues that understanding the shift to market logics is important because it captures a "more general social trend affecting all modern societies: the ascendance of corporate forms and intrusion of managerial logics into ever more arenas of social life." (Scott, Ruef, Mendel & Caronna, 2000, p. 27). This is critical given the ultimate purpose of nGSEs—preparing teachers for certification to teach in public schools. This study is an opportunity to examine how a tectonic shift in values is instantiated in organizational culture and structure.

Institutionalization and Power

The final section of this framework highlights the process of institutionalization as it relates to power. Institutionalization is a process by which individual organizations become vested with meaning beyond their individual operations. In his famous analysis of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Philip Selznik defined institutionalization as "a process. It is something that happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organizations' own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests they have created, and the way it has adapted to its environment…. In what is perhaps its most significant meaning,

'to institutionalize' is to *infuse with value* beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand" (Selznik, 1957, p. 16-17). Scott (2014) and Bidwell (2006) each made the case for foregrounding the process of institutionalization. Scott advocated for a shift from the study of organizations to the study of organizing itself, from analysis of structures to analysis of the process of institutionalization; only this, he argued, could reveal the larger role of power in institutions. Bidwell added that "institutional theory becomes useful in education research when it attends to institutionalization as a political process, when it specifies the mechanisms that drive this process, and when it considers how institutionalization affects both the organization and the conduct of schooling" (Bidwell, 2006, p. 33).

When examining the mechanisms that drive the process of institutionalization under market conditions, the interests of the powerful elite are never far away. During the 19th century wave of institutionalization in liberal Western democracies, early institutionalists noted that social structures only survive the process of institutionalization when they serve the interests of a powerful elite (Bidwell, 2006). Thinkers like Durkheim, de Tocqueville, and Sumner argued that institutionalization was a process "driven by political mechanisms in particular elites' use of power to realize their interconnected ideal and material interests" (Bidwell, 2006, p. 26). In other words, for institutionalization to take place across new organizations, the concept and the structure need to serve the material and ideological interests of a powerful elite *and* suit the particular cultural-cognitive frames of the time and place (Bidwell, 2006). This dissertation seeks to examine the particular implications of this concept for the phenomenon at hand and the extent to which the process of institutionalization across nGSEs is driven by the network of private corporate foundations that have embraced neoliberal approaches to education reform and scripted new cultural-cognitive frames about the power of privatization to solve social problems.

In today's education reform landscape, big politics and big business shape the politics of reform (Thompkins-Strange, 2015); and I argue this is driving the process of institutionalization at nGSEs as government policies turn over the expanding swaths of education to private providers of education and education-related services (Rowan, 2006; Bidwell, 2006).

Application to this project. To Meyer and Rowan, "the purpose of an institutional analysis is to tell us why—out of the stupendous variety of feasible forms—this or that particular one is actually 'selected' and whose interests might be served by that selected arrangement" (2006, p. 4). This dissertation is concerned with analyzing the phenomenon of nGSEs and the process of institutionalization that has driven its 'selection' since inception. The momentum of the phenomenon suggests that there are powerful political, economic, and cultural-cognitive forces driving the selection of nGSEs as a market strategy, and the purpose of the analysis is to analyze to what extent powerful interests stand behind the emergence of nGSEs.

Literature Review

The topic of this dissertation lies at the intersection of four related programs of research: histories of American teacher preparation, analyses of the movement to deregulate teacher education, chronicles of the "new education philanthropy," and a growing body of empirical research on independent teacher preparation programs, including nGSEs. Together, these four fields create a comprehensive context in which to situate this analysis of the emergence of nGSEs. The literature offers essential background information about the history, policy, and economics of teacher preparation in the U.S. and reveals the discursive complexity of competing perspectives on teacher preparation and education reform.

Histories of Teacher Preparation

In the first body of related research, the history of American teacher preparation in the 21st century, I feature four historical monographs. These books contextualize the institutional the reorganization of teacher preparation over the 21st century, offering historical precedents for understanding contemporary change. In addition, these books act as model studies or mentor texts for this analysis by showcasing methodological approaches informed by history and concepts from sociological neoinstitutionalism.

An Elusive Science. Elaine Condliffe Lagemann's *An Elusive Science: The Troubling History of Education Research* (2000) chronicled the history of education as an academic discipline and documented the process of disciplinary consolidation by profiling individuals and organizations that played a major role in the emergence and development of the field of education research. Lagemann's monograph was primarily concerned with the reification of education research, which relied on data generated by the emergence of common schooling and more systematic teacher preparation programs. Ideas and concepts presented in Lagemann's book contextualize the historical foundations of this dissertation by including an analysis of the origins of teacher preparation in the 19th century. Her analysis of teacher preparation and its relationship to the development of education as a discipline offers a historical starting point for understanding patterns of relocation within the field of teacher preparation over the last two centuries.

Lagemann suggested that the formalization of education as a discipline traced back to the consolidation of teacher training and the parallel institutionalization of common schooling in the 19th century. Teacher education's trajectory began with a high degree of decentralization that underwent several phrases of reorganization before settling in the university. Lagemann links the consolidation of teacher education to the industrialization of the American economy, the

professionalization of teaching, and the appearance of specialized institutions for teacher training. The proliferation of teacher education programs at universities, estimated at about 200 at the turn of the 20th century, led to the development of hybrid fields of research in philosophy, psychology, history, and sociology where "the bearing of those disciplines" turned to educational problems to develop historical and sociological studies of education (Lagemann, 2000, p. 10). Lagemann asserts that "by the 1920s, the university study of education was also well established institutionally" as half of American colleges offered courses in education and the number of doctoral degrees granted rose dramatically (Lagemann, 2000, p. 20). During this time,

> The first generations of scholars of education had been extraordinarily successful in developing a knowledge base for the school leaders they wished to counsel. In the process, they had invented educational psychology, educational testing, educational administration, the history of education, and what were called general and special (teaching) methods, all of which became central foci for research…. They had founded new professional journals and organizations and had begun to grain entrée into relevant national organizations, government agencies, and philanthropic foundations. (Lagemann, 2000, p. 20)

Lagemann argued that the practices that became institutionalized were the ones, listed above, that lent themselves to an increasingly professionalized and bureaucratic structure within research universities and public schools administration. This pattern shed light on the dialectical relationship between institutionalization and power in the realm of nineteenth century education and begs the question, what is the equivalent process today as market conditions shift the orientation of education?

Lagemann's analysis was not explicitly organized according to the precepts of institutional theory. However, the question of legitimacy, a central idea in institutional theory (Scott, 2014), was central to Lagemann's analysis. She argued that the field of education was

compromised from the fore by the feminization of teaching in the 19th century; this tempered scholarly enthusiasm for embracing education as a research discipline at the university level. Rather, she argued, it made more sense to understand acceptance of education schools "as evidence of university aspirations to corner new markets" (Lagemann, 2000, p. 10) than acceptance of education as a legitimate field of research. Even as the professional study of education gained acceptance among university leaders looking to corner new markets, at many elite universities, "the association of education as 'woman's work' marginalized the new 'ed schools' relative to other faculties" (Lagemann, 2000, p.16). Lagemann's analysis of legitimacy in the field of teacher education as it related to broader acceptance has important implications for contemporary analyses of teacher education and institutional change because it highlights the importance of market pressures that affect universities' actions regarding teacher preparation.

Equally central to Lagemann's analysis was a focus on institutional actors who drove key aspects of the discipline, often as presidents or deans at some of the nation's most prestigious research universities. For example, William Rainey Harper, the first president of the University of Chicago, fought to raise the requirements for teaching and establish the study of education at Chicago in order to squash competition from normal schools rather than to enhance teachers' knowledge. The majority of Lagemann's analysis was dedicated to profiling the impact of heavy hitters—G. Stanley Hall, Edward Thorndike, John Dewey—who had a significant impact on the direction of the field at the university level. Her focus on the disciplinary trajectory highlighted organizations and actors as they advanced a new academic discipline and its organizational embodiment at departments and colleges within universities. Lagemann's approach highlighted the importance of examining various actors, conceived as individual people or whole organizations, in capturing the process of institutionalization.

Lagemann's *An Elusive Science* offers a historical perspective on how changing societal circumstances affect institutions, particularly institutions undergoing an organizational transformation. By the turn of the 20th century, the process of industrialization had initiated major changes in the material conditions of American life. Today, the sweeping shift to a globalized knowledge and service economy brings equally broad and pervasive changes to Americans' material circumstances. In both cases, faith in markets to organize society ran high.

The Education of Blacks in the South. James D. Anderson's 1988 historical monograph, *The Education of Blacks in the South: 1865-1935,* chronicled the rise of Black-initiated public schooling in the American South from Reconstruction through the rise of Jim Crow. Like Lagemann, Anderson described the tandem emergence of common schooling and normal schooling (or high-school level teacher training) in the South after the Civil War. The purpose of Anderson's book was to trace the hard-won, Black-led development of common schooling in the South in the post-War context that combined the possibilities of political reconstruction, the legacies of slavery, the complex oppositional place literacy and learning played in enslavement, the heyday of Black self-government in the South, and the rising tide of White resistance to the possibility of Black social, political, educational, and economic advancement. Yet, as Anderson shows, in this context and without any state support, a community-funded system of common schooling arose parallel to the public school system that served White schoolchildren. As with Lagemann's history, where there was a consolidation of mass schooling, teacher training was not far behind. As a result, Anderson analyzed the advent of Black normal schools that trained teachers beyond the elementary level for classroom instruction. However, his analysis was framed by a critique of the underlying institutional tension about the purposes of Black education that reflected a fundamentally racist conception of technical education for former slaves.

According to Anderson, the tension surrounding teacher education was complex. In order to create local one-room common schools for the children of former slaves, Black communities had to double-tax themselves. They paid taxes to the state to support the ostensibly public system of education that exclusively served White children. Then, Black communities self-imposed a parallel tax to build, staff, and support schools for their own children. But these resources were not enough. Federal failure to redistribute land and resources during Reconstruction left the formerly-enslaved without assets, resources, or pathways to accumulate capital—material or social. This hampered Black efforts to initiate common schooling, despite tremendous will and self-sacrifice, because it created an opening for white, Northern philanthropists to redirect the agenda. Anderson argued that Northern white philanthropists were *only* willing to support the institutionalization of Black common and normal schooling *if* schools followed the Hampton-Tuskegee model of technical agricultural education. For teacher education, the Hampton-Tuskegee model meant training teachers in heavy agricultural labor to model heavy agricultural labor for children in schools. This removed any emphasis on classical liberal academics and advanced literacy, plus it privileged technical and physical education in order to uphold the South's racial hierarchy and labor force. As Anderson made clear, this technical-industrial curriculum supported the needs of White landowners, White job security, and so-called economic development, while inscribing White supremacy into the educational and economic structures of Southern life.

What is most relevant here to my analysis is Anderson's emphasis on the institutionalization of teacher education and the way external powerful interests set the agenda by controlling the purse strings. Anderson's monograph offers a critical perspective on the development of teacher education in the United States. Teacher training in the Black South was

an altogether different affair from teacher training elsewhere; the difference highlighted the foundational enduring economic inequities of American life. Black teacher education was intentionally compromised by the needs and interests of White philanthropists who commandeered an earnest attempt to work within the limitations of federal neglect and segregated resources. Anderson's analysis rested on the tension between the liberal and technical in teacher education (Borrowman, 1977). He presented a different model of teacher education from Lagemann's New England picture; in the South, Black teacher education in the post-war period ignored the needs and interests of the people and let external capital drive the logics and values of teacher education. Anderson's analysis has implications for the study here, which will focus on how private money affects public education. Anderson's analysis serves as a historical foundation for this dissertation's examination of controversial aspects of teacher preparation at nGSEs, which taps into today's racialized debates about prescriptive teacher training programs (Anderson, 2019; Phillip, et al., 2018).

The Trouble with Ed Schools. David Labaree's interpretive historical analysis of American teacher preparation strikes a decidedly different note. Labaree constructed a history of American teacher preparation that linked the institutional location of teacher preparation to market forces over time. As the title suggests, *The Trouble with Ed Schools,* Labaree's main argument was that "teacher education is at the heart of the trouble with ed schools" (Labaree, 2004, p.13). His book set out to answer the question, "What *is* the trouble with ed schools anyway, and what are the major sources of this trouble?" (Labaree, 2004, p. 7). Only part of his answer is relevant to this analysis—the part that offers an "interpretive analysis of the American education school as an institution," which was informed by "the literature in the history of education, sociology of education, philosophy of education, educational policy, and teacher

education" (Labaree, 2004, p. 9). Labaree argued that the lowly status of the "ed school" was as ubiquitous in popular culture as it was in academia. His analysis explored "the historical origins of this field's lowly status" by linking market forces of supply and demand to the institutional reorganization of teacher preparation in the 19th and 20th centuries (Labaree, 2004, p.13). He examined the problems of practice and public perception that make contemporary teacher preparation problematic, including the tension around subject matter acquisition and the perceived 'ease' of teaching. He also problematized the university-based education school's "long-standing romance with educational progressivism," which, he argued, condemned the ed school to become the "institutional backwater" of higher education (Labaree, 2004, p.15). Whereas Anderson analyzed an underlying tension between the liberal and technical in post-war Black teacher preparation, Labaree unpacked a parallel tension in university-based teacher education between being utilitarian *or* theoretical. This dilemma contributed to his argument that, "the lowly status of the education school has been a critically important fact of life for this institution" (Labaree, 2004, p.11).

Whether or not Labaree is overly condemnatory, his argument is relevant to the study here because it demonstrates how pervasive the teacher education failure narrative is and has been. In a very real sense, Labaree joined the chorus of "ed school bashing [that] has long been a pleasant pastime" among "academics and the general public" (Labaree, 2004, p. 3). His argument rests upon the presumed ubiquity of the shortcomings of university-based education schools, which is a common belief undergirding many of the upstart nGSEs' missions (Cochran-Smith, 2021; Cochran-Smith, Alexander, & Jewett Smith, 2022). But Labaree's fixation with the perceived failure of university-based teacher education is more about *status* than outcomes. His "aim is to explain the emergence of some of the most salient characteristics of the education

school as sociological institution in the sociological meaning of the term" and he attempted to "establish general patterns that characterize education schools as a whole, that define that as a social type whose norms and structures serve as a model for the individual education organizations that seek to function under the label of the education school" (Labaree, 2004, p. 10). According to Labaree, the result is a story where the narrative of history reinforces his argument about low status, and his analysis contributes to 'ed school bashing' with the self-congratulatory disciplinary authority of history.

Labaree's analysis offers a market-centered approach to the development of teacher preparation. In examining the origins of the field's low status, he focused on "how market pressures shaped the development of normal schools and the teacher education programs they offered" (p. 13). Early supply-needs from employers (schools) and demand from consumers (teacher candidates) were at odds; schools needed a high volume of teachers to meet the growth of common schools and high turnover rates (of mostly pre-marital female teachers). This created pressures for normal schools to privilege quantity over quality for what was a mostly short-lived feminized quasi-profession. Consequently, normal schools moved towards establishing a monopoly over teacher preparation to meet the demand for teachers, in essence creating what Labaree called a "teacher factory" (p. 16). The expansion and accessibility of the normal school was met with demand from secondary school graduates looking for access to higher education. Next, Labaree argued, the normal school turned into a people's college. It accepted large numbers of students looking for advanced degrees, many of whom were ambivalent about the teacher preparation aspect of normal schooling. In other words, Labaree suggested that students used normal school teacher preparation programs as people's colleges for the social mobility a bachelor's degree afforded, regardless of program. Widespread market demand sparked a push-

pull relationship for normal schools to consolidate into regional colleges and universities; students pushed for institutional consolidation and legitimacy, and universities pulled normal colleges in for revenue. Thus, Labaree's analysis explains how the institutional location of teacher preparation—from stand-alone regional teacher training programs to universities—reflected market forces. In many ways, this dissertation is an extension of this narrative but without the preoccupation with status. The purpose is to examine the way shifting market forces are affecting the institutional location of teacher preparation programs and examine how organizations are shifting in response to market forces.

Labaree was careful to define what he meant by market forces. From the outset, he distinguished between what he called the analytic usage of the term market and "its deployment as an ideological epithet in much of the current literature in critical theory, where the term carries the freight of moral disapproval of the social exploitation attributed to neoliberal economic policies" (p. 18). In contrast, he defined a market as a "social arena where individual and organizational actors competitively pursue private gain through the exchange of commodities," and value is governed by supply and demand. To treat the market analytically, said Labaree, was to see it as a "mechanism for shaping the behavior of individuals and organizations for establishing the economic value of goods and services" (2004, p. 18). In essence, he used markets to explain the consolidation and migration of teacher preparation programs, normal school students, and university deans *without* the ideological baggage of late-century neoliberal reforms that imply conspiratorial greed. This raises an interesting question for the study conducted here, which is, what does it mean to talk about market-based approaches to teacher preparation? Using Labaree's poles of analytic and ideological market definitions, I operate with a hybrid definition that understands the late-century neoliberal turn as embodying a pro-market

ideology based on faith in markets to improve outcomes in sectors formerly governed by public and/or entrenched bureaucracies; other examples include prisons (for-profit prisons, migrant detention centers), hospitals (HMOs), schools (charter schools), and higher education (nGSEs).

Labaree's interpretive historical analysis offers an argument-driven narrative about the institutional location of teacher preparation and the market forces that drove it to the bottom of the higher education hierarchy. His approach centered the analytic role of markets and offered a useful perspective for this analysis which also highlights the role of markets in institutional change. Labaree's structure linked the institutional location of teacher preparation programs to market forces as I do here. His critical analysis pointed to myriad perceived problems with 'ed schools' past and present; this laid the groundwork for understanding the rise of teacher preparation at nGSEs as a response to the perceived failure of university-based teacher preparation *and* offered a context in which it made sense to analyze new graduate school of educations in terms of institutional location *and* market forces. This analysis did not adopt Labaree's condemnatory narrative or his critical fixation with the status of teacher preparation. In a sense, this analysis picked up chronologically where Labaree left off by analyzing the rise of a new and competing type of teacher preparation program located outside the university. By placing the nGSE phenomenon in the continuum of institutional relocation, rather than as a unique 21st century disruption, this dissertation places the rise of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs in conversation with past trends in institutional arrangements and market forces.

Teaching Teachers. James Fraser and Lauren Lefty's 2018 monograph on the state of American teacher preparation offers a rich contemporary commentary on the field of teacher preparation at the turn of the twenty-first century. More than any other single volume or study, *Teaching Teachers* maps the political, historical, and discursive conditions that lay the

groundwork for teacher preparation programs to emerge at nGSEs. In fact, the book features abbreviated document-based case studies of teacher preparation programs at three nGSEs—High Tech High GSE, Relay GSE, and Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning (now High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning). In addition to the case studies, the book's central contributions to this study includes insight into influential narratives about teacher university-based teacher preparation; the role of discourse in shaping teacher education policy and field-level institutional change; the origins of policy and funding reforms that supported the growth of market-based alternate forms of teacher preparation, especially outside of universities; and the outsized role of powerful corporate philanthropies in supporting the institutionalization of teacher preparation at nGSEs.

Fraser and Lefty (2018) set out to answer the question, "Why have so many different routes into teaching emerged since 1980?" (p.4). While the book was dedicated to answering this question in detail through the use of case studies and policy analysis, the answer boiled down to three interrelated phenomena. The first was the "increasing power of market forces to decide education policy, rather than state or other standards." (p. 4). The second echoed the substance of Labaree's text, that "education schools are just not that good, and certainly not very interested in change" (p. 5). The third answer was what Fraser and Lefty called "the revolt of the superintendents," who have taken a more proactive role in teacher education by commandeering and creating their own teacher pipelines through the rise of district-based programs and nationwide teacher corps and fellowships (p. 159). The result was a highly differentiated institutional landscape that looked really different than it did thirty years ago when teacher preparation programs were housed in universities. Today's landscape of fast-track entry routes, district-based certification programs, teacher residencies, diverse university-based programs, and

new stand-alone graduate schools (the subject of this dissertation) reflects the ethos of privatization and the neoliberal agenda of "letting a thousand flowers bloom" in order to fix the 'problem' of the mid-century university 'monopoly' over teacher education (p. 159).

From the outset, Fraser and Lefty ground their analysis of institutional change in the arc of social and economic change enumerated by Art Levine, an outspoken critic of university-based teacher education and founder of the Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning (now High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning), in the introduction and elsewhere,

> We live at a time when the United States is making a transition from a national, analog, industrial economy to a global, digital, information economy. Our social institutions—education, government, media, health care, and the rest—were created for the former economy. They work less well than they once did and appear to be broken. The fact is that change in our social institutions mirrors that of the general society, but lags behind. These institutions need to be refitted for a new world. This can happen in two ways. The existing institutions can be repaired or updated. Repair is the more common remedy in not-for-profits, while replacement prevails in for-profits. (Levine, 2018, p. vii)

In invoking this conception of change, Fraser and Lefty accepted and promoted the belief that change in the field of teacher education is inevitable and welcome. By accepting the idea that social institutions serve the economy and that outdated institutions need reprogramming for 21st century economic structures, Levine *and* Fraser and Lefty sided themselves with the ed-entrepreneurs and reformers, arguing that both repairing *and* replacing were preferable to the institutionalized conditions of teacher preparation governed by standards and states. This characterization places marketization and the "let a thousand flowers bloom" approach in a favorable light. Indeed, toward the end of their account, Fraser and Lefty questioned whether there needed be consensus about the best route into teaching given the diverse needs of teacher

candidates and schools. Their recommendation ultimately was to pursue "robust experimentation" in the field of teacher education to improve the quality of teaching (p. 171). Fraser and Lefty nuanced their endorsement of the "try anything" approach to improving teacher education by trying to depoliticize the rhetoric; they claimed that "it is foolish to assume that support for universities is by definition progressive and support for alternative programs is conservative" (p. 165). Art Levine described the work as a "dispassionate" description and evaluation of change in the field of teacher preparation (Levine, 2018, p. ix). However, the contentious politics surrounding the deregulation, relocation, and funding of teacher preparation programs means that all scholarship falls on a continuum of politicized support for using market mechanisms to reorganize and improve teacher education in the United States. Fraser and Lefty tried to skirt, but ultimately illuminated, this continuum even more brightly. This raised important concerns for the dissertation and how it approached—ideologically and methodologically—the rise of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs. Even with this in mind, *Teaching Teachers* provides rich context for this study of change in the institution of teacher preparation and the quickly-expanding landscape of nGSEs.

Building on Labaree's analysis, Fraser and Lefty offer insight into the influential narratives about teacher preparation that shaped he political landscape to act favorably upon alternative teacher preparation programs, particularly outside of universities. Their introduction is dedicated to "considering the future of teacher preparation in light of the past" by spelling out the competing narratives of reform advocated by stakeholders in the field of teacher preparation, universities, deans, university-based teacher educators, reformers, ed entrepreneurs, and philanthropists (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 1). First, they chronicled the "teacher education wars" between competing conceptions of change in the field of teacher preparation: the

professionalization agenda championed by Linda Darling-Hammond that argued for standards and accreditation to ensure program quality at universities; the deregulation agenda espoused by corporate reformers that believed in the power of privatization to improve program quality; the now-ubiquitous social justice agenda defended by university-based teacher educators and edureformers alike (elaborated in Zeichner, 2009); and the overregulation agenda analyzed by Cochran-Smith (2004) that pointed to a culture of micromanagement across reforms, also called "tightly-regulated deregulation." Next, Fraser and Lefty chronicled the history of teacher preparation programs, the status issues teacher preparation encountered in the university context, and the rise of advocacy and funding for alternative preparation programs that crystallized in the 2015 *Every Students Succeeds Act* (ESSA) that incentivized the creation of new programs outside of universities. Their analysis of ESSA highlights the role of influential policy actors (many of whom were from Relay GSE) in shaping federal policy that looked favorably upon the creation of federally-funded teaching "academies," particularly those sponsored by charter networks (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 153). In the introductory framing to their book of case studies, Fraser and Lefty utilized the history of teacher preparation to show the cyclical nature of change in the field and to debunk the idea that teacher education always belonged at universities. This construct raised an interesting idea for this dissertation, namely that the history of institutional change and organizational relocation is actually more constant than disruptive. While "ed-entrepreneurs" who speak the language of Silicon Valley love the logic of disruption (Fraser & Lefty, 2018), Fraser and Lefty's history illuminates the consistency of change. This was a helpful framing tool for this dissertation that also featured case studies of teacher preparation programs to examine institutional change.

Fraser and Lefty's analysis also offers rich descriptions of the role of philanthropists from major foundations (The Gates Foundation, The Walton Family Foundation, etc.) in supporting alternative forms of teacher preparation programs like Teach For America and Relay GSE. Their bibliography is rife with press releases that spell out major grants to teacher preparation reforms and nGSEs. They stop short, however, of analyzing the impact or implications of major corporate support for teacher preparation reforms. Their analysis makes it clear that "alternative teacher preparation providers are the favored children" of the nation's largest philanthropic foundations (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 6), but they do not weigh in on the implications of private corporate funding. This politicized omission creates an opportunity for this dissertation to analyze the funding structures of nGSEs and contribute to the literature on teacher preparation reform by going beyond *noticing* the role of philanthropists to *analyzing* the role of philanthropists on broad institutional change and individual organizational logics. Fraser and Lefty's book offered a rich explanatory history of the powerful political, economic, and discursive forces that stood behind the institutionalization of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs, yet it also left plenty of room for an updated look at the dynamic and ever-changing landscape of teacher preparation, particularly at nGSEs, which are treated as alternative providers rather than analyzed as a separate identifiable population of reform organizations. This study's major contribution, then, is to treat the nGSE phenomenon as a discrete, but related, instance of institutional change.

Taken together, these four books provide more than historical context in the way of content that situates this dissertation's contribution to the history of American teacher preparation and education reform. They also serve as model studies that have theorized the role of history and case studies in analyzing change. Thus, the methodological approach for this

research project is drawn from and reliant on the historical thinking of Lagemann, Anderson, Labaree, and Fraser and Lefty, as well as the conceptual case-based approach of the larger study of which this dissertation is part (Cochran-Smith, 2020).

Deregulation and Teacher Education

Writing in 1990, historian Diane Ravitch reflected on changes during the 1980s that prompted a push for reform in teacher education (Ravitch, 1990). The decade, she wrote, was characterized by a fixation with quality in education particularly after the publication of *A Nation At Risk* in 1983. Commissioned by Reagan, *A Nation At Risk* "became the paradigmatic educational statement of the 1980's with its alarming predictions of national catastrophe resulting from a 'rising tide of mediocrity'" (Ravitch, 1990). Public concern over educational quality manifested itself in the proliferation of reforms and sudden corporate interest in educational achievement (Ravitch, 1990). In turn, the spotlight fell on teacher education and its contributions to perceived mediocrity. The Holmes Group, a collection of nearly 100 institutions of higher education with education colleges and departments, released a report 1986 entitled *Tomorrow's Teachers.* The report undermined education schools' admissions standards, teaching faculties, program efficacy, methods-based curriculum, and school partnerships (Holmes Group, 1986). That same year, the Carnegie Corporation's Task Force on Teaching as a Profession sounded the alarm about failing economic competitiveness and argued that American education needed to be rebuilt in order to professionalize teaching and improve public education. With renewed public attention to teacher quality (Ravitch, 1990, Cochran-Smith, 2005), these two reports became the foundation for reform movements that stressed competitiveness as well as professionalism. Ravitch's reconstruction of the eighties rests upon two widely held public

principles—a dispassionate stance toward privatization as reform and acceptance of mediocrity at education schools—that became the presumptive foundation for the movement to privatize and deregulate American teacher preparation in the 1990s and opened the door to the creation of nGSEs in the 2000s.

In light of criticism, teacher educators at universities took steps to reform their programs (Cohen-Vogel & Hunt, 2007; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2005; Fraser & Lefty, 2018; Zeichner & Conklin, 2016), though change often proved difficult within existing institutional arrangements (Labaree, 2004). Meanwhile, the prominent critiques of education schools spurred a "movement to professionalize teaching and to secure for teaching and teacher education a legitimate place among other health and human services professions" (Cochran-Smith, 2001, p. 7). The professionalization movement rested upon the development of standards for teacher education programs at universities, standards that regulated admissions standards, subject-matter curricula, and graduates' knowledge and could be rigorously enforced by external accreditation bodies like the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Zeichner, 2009; Cohen-Vogel & Hunt, 2007). The professionalization movement, now associated with Linda Darling-Hammond, opposed a competing reform agenda associated with privately funded research that built upon the high-profile critiques of schools of education from the 1980s (Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Zeichner, 2009; Labaree, 2004; Fraser & Lefty, 2018). Both conceptions of reform, however, embraced program outcomes over inputs as the metric of success for teacher education (Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cochran-Smith, 2005). Both reform agendas valorized measurable outcomes such as teacher performance on high-stakes tests or gains in student learning over harder-to-evaluate program inputs such as credit hours or campus facilities (Cochran-Smith, 2001; Fraser & Lefty, 2018; Cochran-Smith,

Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022); this shift to valuing program outputs would, in time, contribute to the justification for relocating teacher preparation programs outside of universities since the definition of inputs, like campus-based facilities, semester-based credits, or class-based seat time, was tied to the university-model of teacher preparation (Fraser & Lefty, 2018). In other words, the shift to outputs created more room for the diversification of teacher preparation programs since the results mattered more than the means.

At the same time, an opposing movement to deregulate teacher education aimed to improve teacher education by "dismantling education institutions and breaking up the monopoly that the profession (e.g., schools of education, professional accrediting agencies, and many state licensing departments) ha[d], according to its critics, too long enjoyed" (Cochran-Smith, 2001, p. 11). This agenda held that schools of education, state regulations, and accrediting agencies created unnecessary and burdensome hurdles that kept talented people out of classrooms (Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2005; Cohen-Vogel & Hunt, 2007; Zeichner, 2009). The solution, deregulators argued, was to break up restrictive regulations and break the field open to make way for competition (Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cohen-Vogel & Hunt, 2007; Kanstroom & Finn, 1999; Zeichner, 2009). The deregulation agenda gained visibility and traction through a series of high-profile publications from conservative Fordham Foundation (Kanstroom & Finn, 1999; Ballou & Podgursky, 2000). Foundation-sponsored reports advocated for "the elimination of state certification and for the licensing of teachers with bachelor's degrees who pass tests in the subject they are to teach" (Zeichner, 2009, p. 7). Private funding, research, and advocacy played an important role in mobilizing the deregulation agenda in support of the relocation of teacher preparation; well-funded conservative political actors like the Heritage Foundation, Pioneer Institute, Abell

Foundation, and Fordham Foundation promoted deregulation of teacher preparation programs as part of a wider movement to privatize, monetize, and—according to them—improve American public education (Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Zeichner, 2009). The deregulation agenda in teacher preparation emerged as "part of a larger conservative political agenda for the privatization of American education" (Cochran-Smith, 2001, p. 12).

Fraser and Lefty traced the origins of the *idea* of deregulation to the "civil rights and community control battles of the 1960s and 1970s" led by leftists who wanted to improve teacher quality, particularly in communities of color. However, they credited the *success* of the late century deregulation movement to the momentum of university alternatives like Teach For America that favorably socialized the public image of alternate routes (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 166). Cochran-Smith (2005) credited the success of the deregulation agenda in the realm of policy to its ability to adapt to increasing federal oversight in a "twist that boosts deregulation by coupling it—ironically—with intensified regulation" (Cochran-Smith, 2005, p. 3). What she called "tightly-regulated deregulation" referred to the federal government's favoritism of "programs and entry routes that severely curtail or bypass altogether the roles of colleges and universities in teacher preparation" *and* simultaneous oversight over program outcomes through "mandatory annual state reporting on the quality of teacher preparation programs which in turn depend on institutional reporting to states about the qualifications of all teacher candidates recommended for certification" (Cochran-Smith, 2005, p. 4).

The deregulation agenda also capitalized on the shortcomings of the university-based professionalization agenda whereby increasing standards for raising teacher quality had an adverse impact on culturally responsive teaching and the recruitment of diverse teachers to universities (Cochran-Smith, 2005; Zeichner, 2009). By turning away from the

professionalization of teacher education as a lever for improving teacher quality, the federal government reinforced the idea that teacher quality was a "policy problem" (Cochran-Smith, 2005, p. 1) that could be addressed by loosening regulations, rather than a learning problem that could be addressed through curricular reform. Meantime, the popular media plugged the efficacy of non-university teacher preparation programs, despite a controversial evidentiary base (Cochran-Smith, et al., 2020; Zeichner & Conklin, 2016). Even so, federal policy favored deregulation for enhancing teacher quality (Cohen-Vogel & Hunt, 2007; Zeichner & Conklin, 2016). Instead of supporting the work of professionalizing agents like the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future (NCTAF), the federal government "highlight[ed] deregulatory approaches to reform" and invested "substantial amounts" into "developing chains of non-college and university sponsored programs like Relay, Match," and others (Zeichner & Conklin, 2017, p. 2).

Scholarly analyses of deregulation reveal how contentious debate around teacher preparation had become as new actors like philanthropists and entrepreneurs attempted to restructure the field in the early years of the neoliberal reorganization of education (Mehta, 2013). Bipartisan political consensus about deregulation concealed tensions *within* the field about the best way to define and improve teacher quality (Cochran-Smith, 2001; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Fraser & Lefty, 2018). However, the "commonsense" appeal of deregulation (Cochran-Smith, 2001) led to widespread bipartisan support for using competition to improve teacher quality. Meanwhile, the debate about the nature, location, and complexity of teacher preparation was much more contentious among leaders in the field (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Darling-Hammond, 1988; Fenstermacher, 2002). Privately-funded research added fuel to the fire by challenging university-based education research and pressing for deregulation

(Zeichner & Conklin, 2017; Hess, 2005). Foundation-supported research valorized the efficacy of competition with a dramatic flare that attracted popular media attention (Hess, 2005; Zeichner & Conklin, 2017). Hess' 2001 diatribe, "Tear Down This Wall: The Case for Radical Overhaul of Teacher Certification" typified this kind of advocacy, as he invoked Cold War rhetoric to make a point about the shortcomings of the teacher education bureaucracy and the possibilities of marketizing American teacher education. Hess' report, affiliated with the Progressive Policy Institute, advocated a "'competitive certification' model that breaks the education school monopoly on the supply of teachers, expands the pool of potential teachers, and addresses the issue of quality" to expose schools of education to the "cleansing waters of competition" (Hess, 2001, p. 1-2). While the debate around teacher quality yielded two competing agendas to professionalize and deregulate teacher education, the *success* of deregulation at the federal level and in the popular media raises questions about the role of privately-funded non-profit philanthropic organizations that promoted the deregulation agenda in the press.

In the section that follows, I provide details about the rise of what Rick Hess and colleagues (2005, 2015) called the "new education philanthropy," made up of corporate philanthropies that give generously to education using the logic of investment and principles of accountability to maximize impact. Philanthropic grantmaking and advocacy were powerful forces in marketing deregulation to policymakers and the public, which is, in turn, became a key factor in the traction of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs.

Teacher Education and the "New" Education Philanthropy

Private foundations enjoy a high degree of visibility and renown in American education reform (Hess, 2005; Labaree, 2004; Zeichner & Pena Sandoval, 2015). The Gates Foundation, The Broad Foundation, The Walton Family Foundation, and the New Schools Venture Fund are

examples of private foundations with strong positions in teacher education reform (Reckhow & Thompkins-Strange, 2015; Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015). These foundations are part of a new generation of corporate philanthropies that share a set of organizational characteristics. The major education philanthropies of the 20th century with familiar names like Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller were "guided by personal history and relationships… with limited attention to outcomes or the impact of giving" (Hess, 2005, p. 2). Today's education philanthropists are different; they are firmly rooted in the ethos of entrepreneurialism and heavily influenced by the rhetoric of disruption that emanates from the tech industry (Hess, 2005; Saltman, 2010; Snyder, 2015; Zeichner & Pena Sandoval, 2015). They tend to be based on the West coast and led by graduates of public schools (Hess, 2005). In other words, "they disrupted the old-money ways of doing things, bringing to bear a flashier, more entrepreneurial, more aggressive approach to both giving money and insisting on results" (Colvin, 2005, p. 29). They believe that philanthropies can help break up 20th century monopolies and statism with neoliberal approaches to education reform (Hess, 2005; Saltman, 2010). They achieve this through "convergent grant-making" to the same or similar sets of reform-oriented organizations so that several well-endowed foundations support the same causes and organizations (Hess & Henig, 2015, p. 32). New philanthropies take an activist stance towards education, and as a result, they "have adopted a hands-on approach to giving and imported a 'private sector' mindset regarding results, accountability, and rapid execution" (Hess, 2005, p. 6). Motivated by the standards of accountability, new philanthropies are guided by the logic of investment (Saltman, 2010); they treat donations as investments that can be evaluated by returns in student or teacher test scores (Colvin, 2005; Jewett Smith, 2021). Thompkins-Strange (2015) characterized new education philanthropists as "outcome-oriented" in that they maintain centralized control over funded

initiatives, work with elite expert organizations, and pursue technical problems with linear causality where they can prove measurable impact. In other words, "leaders and funders have come to embrace the core principles of the standards movements" and the "market reformers have won" (Thompkins-Strange, 2015, p. ix).

Critically, the new generation of philanthropies is policy-oriented (Greene, 2005, 2015; Reckhow & Thompkins-Strange, 2015; Saltman, 2010; Thompkins-Strange, 2015). Philanthropies realize that "if private philanthropy is to have a broad and lasting impact it must bring about changes in the spending and impact of public dollars" (Colvin, 2005, p. 23). Philanthropic dollars cannot compete with public expenditures in education so philanthropies "must support programs that redirect how future public education dollars are spent" to maximize impact (Greene, 2005, p. 52). Otherwise, private philanthropy amounts to "buckets in the sea" of state spending (Greene, 2005). But philanthropies, as tax-exempt entities, cannot lobby government officials, though loopholes that involve lobbying firms allow foundations to "play an aggressive role in shaping public policy" (Hess, 2005, p. 3). The rise of philanthropic influence over public policy raises important questions about the influence of private agendas and dollars over public institutions and spending. Hess argues that the role of the philanthropist has changed since the old guard of philanthropists who endowed educational or civic infrastructure that bore their names; the new education philanthropists are "no longer merely private citizens making a private contribution, donors are now engaged in an effort to reshape public education, alter public policy, and redirect public expenditures" (Hess, 2005, p. 8). This tracks in the field of teacher education where private research and advocacy impacted the allocation of funding within major federal policies (ESSA, 2015) that encouraged and funded teacher preparation programs outside of universities (Saltman, 2010; Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015). The policy-

deregulation-philanthropy cycle that has played out over the last twenty years has been an important factor driving the institutionalization of a new population of organizations that provide teacher preparation programs outside of universities and prepare teachers for public schools.

Teacher education scholar Marilyn Cochran-Smith (2016, 2020) has argued that practice and policy have run ahead of research on nGSEs. I argue the same is true of scholarship on outsize role of private philanthropy in teacher education reform. The majority of scholarship on philanthropy in education highlights the presence of private philanthropy without analyzing the purse strings' impact on organizational culture. Nevertheless, foundations are busy practicing their new brand of investment-driven giving while policy has endorsed private reform. Meanwhile, the media gives philanthropies "the kid-glove treatment" (Hess, 2005, p. 9). Major news organs often highlight philanthropic giving in education and rarely scrutinize philanthropies' theories of change (Labaree, 2004; Hess, 2004; Saltman, 2010; McShane & Hatfield, 2015). Few dare critique philanthropies because grant funding is quite often the "ticket to tackling big projects, making a difference, and maintaining one's livelihood" (Hess, 2005, p. 10). But it is not without critique altogether, as some scholar-researchers based at universities have taken venture philanthropies and their often right-wing backers head on (for examples, see Au, 2018; Saltman, 2010; Zeichner & Pena-Sándoval, 2016). The purpose of this dissertation is neither to commend or condemn private funding for teacher preparation programs; in keeping with the larger study of which it is part (Cochran-Smith, 2016, 2020), the purpose of this research project is to *understand* the emergence of nGSEs. In doing so, I contribute to the literature on private philanthropy and teacher education by unpacking the policy-deregulation-philanthropy cycle that has buoyed the creation of new teacher preparation programs outside of universities.

But prominent scholarly critiques certainly exist. In 2010, historian Diane Ravitch criticized the Gates, Broad, and Walton Foundations for co-opting the federal reform agenda and commented that "there is something fundamentally antidemocratic about relinquishing control of the public education policy agenda to private foundations run by society's wealthiest people" (Ravitch, 2010, p. 200). That same year, Kenneth Saltman's *The Gift of Education* critiqued philanthropies tied to the privatization of public education and the "remaking of teacher education" outside of universities (Saltman, 2010, p. 1). Saltman criticized the new education philanthropy as "the forefront of a right-wing movement to corporatize education at many levels [that] poses significant threats to the democratic possibilities and realities of public education" (Saltman, 2010, p. 1). At the heart of Saltman's concern was the "venture philanthropy" approach to giving, which is worth quoting at length for its tone and terminology:

> VP [venture philanthropy] not only pushes privatization and regulation, the most significant policy dictates of neoliberalism, but it also consistent with the steady expansion of neoliberal language and rationales in public education, increasing the centrality of business terms to describe education reform and policies: choice, competition, efficiency, accountability, monopoly, turnaround, and failure. Likewise, VP treats giving to public schooling as a "social investment" that, like venture capital, must begin with a business plan, involve quantitative measurement of efficacy, be replicable to "brought to scale," and ideally "leverage" public spending in ways compatible with the strategic donor. Grans are referred to as "investments," donors are called "investors," impact is renamed "social return," evaluation becomes "performance measurement," grant-reviewing turns into "due diligence," the grand list is renamed an "investment portfolio," charter networks are referred to as "franchises" - to name some of the resting of giving investment. (p. 2-3)

These critiques speak to a concerned consensus about the role of right-wing privatizers in education reform (McShane & Hatfield, 2015; Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015). Saltman's insistence that education philanthropy undermines democratic society is a critique of capitalist society and the practice of using capitalism as the organizing principle for public education. He points out that philanthropists cannot give large sums without accumulating them first. Then he links the "redefinition of educational philanthropy" with the "upward redistributions of wealth and expanded inequalities in wealth and income in the 'second gilded age'" of the last forty years (Saltman, 2010, p. 64). Megan Thompkins-Strange made the same point when she asked "should we hate the player or hate the game?" (Thompkins-Strange, 2015, p.127).

Kenneth Zeichner and César Peña-Sándoval critiqued the role of the New Schools Venture Fund in shaping legislation that supported the privatized reforms that "disrupt and dismantle public institutions in favor of a preferred a priori solution of deregulation and markets in the absence of sound empirical evidence" (Zeichner & Peña-Sándoval, 2015, p. 12). Zeichner also authored a 2016 NEPC brief on the lack of evidence supporting nGSEs claims of efficacy, shining a light on the faulty logics of accountability-driven investment in nGSEs, given the shoddy empirical basis for their 'success' (Zeichner, 2016). Scholarship critical of the links between rising inequality, the concentration of power over reforms, and the future of public education exist amidst generally uncritical media imagery of the role of philanthropy in education.

All of the heretofore mentioned themes—deregulation, privatization, neoliberalism, philanthropy, policy advocacy, and teacher education—coalesced in a new critique of the impact of markets on teacher preparation. *Learning to Teach in an Era of Privatization: Global Trends in Teacher Preparation,* released in 2019 and edited by Christopher Lubienski and T. Jameson

Brewer, examined the impact of deregulation, privatization, and policy-oriented philanthropy on teacher preparation and the profession of teaching. Knowing full well that "markets won," this book circles back to assess the state of professionalization and concludes, unsurprisingly, that the privatization of teacher preparation has undermined teacher professionalism and created a cadre of uncritical educators programmed to accept accountability, standards, and neoliberalism. The book profiles Relay Graduate School of Education, the most recognizable nGSE, as a "newly created, stand-along organization founded by a cadre of private conservative philanthropies who share interest in privatizing the alternative teacher certification process" (Atkinson & Dotts, 2019, p. 92). The authors characterize Relay as the "pinnacle" of privatization because it represents the corporatization of K-12 schooling through its affiliation with Uncommon Schools, KIPP, and Achievement First *and* the deregulation of teacher preparation through its partnership with TFA. Relay is the most visible example of a high-profile reform fueled by deregulation and funded by privatized philanthropy that resulted in the creation of a stand-alone teacher preparation program. It has received *both* scrutiny and praise for its organizational origins in education reform and for its programming that emphasizes the technical aspects of classroom management (Friedrich, 2014; Hess & Henig, 2015; Mungal, 2019; Phillip, et al., 2018). And it offers a perfect segue into the growing body of research on nGSEs.

Research on nGSEs

Generally speaking, the growing body of peer-reviewed research on nGSEs falls into two major clusters. The first cluster of studies addresses the context and conditions out of which nGSEs emerged. This research defines the phenomenon of nGSEs by articulating where it came from and how it speaks to the larger education reform movement. These studies label the phenomenon in different ways—our research team coined the term nGSE (Cochran-Smith,

Carney, & Miller, 2016; Cochran-Smith, et al., 2020; Cochran-Smith, 2021), but others have referred to the same phenomenon with terms such as "independent teacher preparation programs" (Zeichner, 2016) or "alternative certification pathways" (Fraser & Lefty, 2018)—but they are theorizing and defining the same phenomenon. The second cluster of research features in-depth studies of individual cases. In this cluster, case study is a common approach to unpacking various elements of nGSEs, from history (Mungal, 2016) to pedagogy (Miller, 2017; Sanchez, 2021; Carney, 2019, 2021; Nagrotzky, 2019) to program design (Fraser & Lefty, 2018). The purpose of this section of the literature review is to understand the current state of scholarship about nGSEs and to make the case for examining all 11 nGSEs through the same lens. This section intentionally *does not* include promotional scholarship or media about nGSEs; promotional pieces published by nGSEs or their funders are be treated as data sources rather than part of the literature on nGSEs. Scholarly chapters, newspaper articles, press releases, and opinion pieces that promote nGSEs are treated as data sources throughout.

Defining Research about Context and Conditions. Scholarly attention to the nGSE phenomenon first emerged in 2016. That year, Kenneth Zeichner authored a National Education Policy Center (NEPC) brief entitled "Independent teacher education programs: Apocryphal claims, illusory evidence." Zeichner's report defined independent teacher education programs as a subset of alternate routes into teaching that had no affiliation with universities. Zeichner cautioned policymakers to question the growing consensus around program quality based on enthusiastic press and glowing internal evaluations of programs at Relay GSE, High Tech High GSE, and Match Teacher Residency, TEACH-NOW, and iTeach, which an online certification-only program. He suggested that the well-marketed ploy to frame independent programs as "bold, innovative, and successful in accomplishing their goals" concealed a fundamental lack of

reliable research about program quality—and obscured a concerning tendency to prepare teachers for urban schools with "highly controlling pedagogical and classroom management techniques" (Zeichner, 2016, p. 5).

At just about the same time and independently, Marilyn Cochran-Smith and colleagues coined the phrase *nGSE* at a symposium at Boston College, marking the beginning of a Spencer Foundation-funded multi-year research program to investigate and understand teacher preparation pedagogies at nGSEs. The nGSE study is the larger study from which this dissertation emerged, as well as the wellspring of scholarship that has defined nGSEs. Cochran-Smith et al. (2020) defined nGSEs as "new graduate schools of education, which [a]re not university based but w[a]re state authorized and approved as institutions of higher education to prepare teachers, endorse them for initial teacher certification, and grant master's degrees" (p. 20). Cochran-Smith traced the emergence of nGSEs to perceived 'problems' with university-based teacher education programs that could be 'fixed' with more deregulation, more accountability, and more practice-based programming. Our team analyzed data collected at High Tech High GSE, Sposasto GSE, TEACH-NOW, and the MAT Program at the American Museum of Natural History that we shared at conferences (Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; 2018; 2019; 2021), in peer-reviewed publications (Miller, 2017; Sanchez, 2019, 2021; Carney, 2019, 2021; Stringer Keefe & Miller, 2021, Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021). These case studies were the first independent empirical examinations of what went on *inside* teacher education programs using participant data and proprietary information provided by the nGSEs themselves as participants in the study. This body of research is defined by its comprehensive emic perspective on the pedagogical and institutional aspects of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs.

Building upon the initial framing pieces, more research has shed light on various aspects of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs. Prominent critiques of reductive pedagogical approaches for 'no excuses' schools that serve minoritized students associated with nGSE charter affiliates (Freidrich, 2014; Philip, et al., 2018; Stitzlein & West, 2014; Zeichner, 2016) have embedded an overarching concern for equity into the discourse about market-based reforms, generally, and about nGSEs, specifically. Other critiques took aim at the market mechanisms themselves (Anderson, 2019; Hursh, 2017; Mungal, 2016) by zeroing in on "the outsize influence of pro-privatization entities" (Anderson, 2019, p. 1) and the agenda to "replace state-run teacher education programs with programs run by charter schools, such as the Relay Graduate School" (Hursh, 2017, p. 390). To be sure, flattering analyses of teacher education programs exist as well (Hess & Henig, 2015; Schorr, 2013). These pieces described nGSEs as 'bold innovations' occurring in the private sector and welcomed them as part of a slate of democratic alternatives to statism; importantly, these promotional pieces relied on the impressions of their authors about programs, rather than systematically collected data. James Fraser and Lauren Lefty's monograph (discussed above) about the history of alternate routes into teaching offered a broad overview of the historical policy context that fostered independent graduate schools; they stopped short of *endorsing* nGSEs, but they were ungenerous toward university-based teacher preparation programs.

The most recent development in the contextualizing and defining literature regarding nGSEs circles back to work of the Cochran-Smith team, which I joined in 2018, whose agenda now includes a strategic focus on the institutional aspects of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs (Cochran-Smith & Alexander, 2021; Cochran-Smith, Keefe, & Jewett Smith, 2021; Jewett Smith, 2021; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2022). Using neoinstitutional theory (Meyer &

Rowan, 2013), this current focus examines the market-oriented policy context by analyzing nGSEs' missions, actors, backers, funding models, and networked ties (Cochran-Smith, Alexander, & Jewett Smith, 2022). This body of work attends to changes in the field of teacher preparation by analyzing the interplay between two sources of change: *external* structural market mechanisms (Meyer & Rowan, 2013) and narratives promoted by internal discourse and actors (Schmidt, 2008). Cochran-Smith, Alexander and Jewett Smith (2022) found that these two sources of change were mutually reinforcing because they both promoted field-level change rooted in markets and reform.

Individual Cases of nGSEs. Relay plays an outsize role in the research on nGSEs. The majority of peer-reviewed research on nGSEs focuses on Relay, which is rapidly expanding nationwide. In fact, since 2015, Relay has added *10* campuses in major urban centers, including Indianapolis, Atlanta, Nashville, Denver, and San Antonio. Relay has appeared in almost all of the literature about the context and conditions of reform in teacher education, mentioned above (for examples, see Atkinson & Dotts, 2019; Freidrich, 2014; Reckhow & Thompkins-Strange, 2015; Zeichner & Conklin, 2017; Zeichner & Peña-Sándoval, 2016). At this point, Relay is often used as a proxy for the privatization of teacher education and a symbol for the reduction of professional learning to "boot-camp-style" teacher training (Freidrich, 2014). Atkinson & Dotts (2019) situated Relay GSE within the emergence of "strategic action fields" (Fligstein & McAdam, 2012) in teacher preparation. Strategic action fields are "constructed meso-level social order in which actors… are attuned to and interact with one another on the basis of shared understanding" in this case philanthropies, think tanks, CMOs, and other ed reformers with shared faith in alternate teacher education (Atkinson & Dotts, 2019, p. 90). Echoing the overall argument of the collected volume *Learning to Teach in an Era of Privatization,* Atkinson &

Dotts' analysis of Relay's graduate coursework based on access to Relay's curriculum maps and syllabi argues that privatization has undermined teacher professionalization by replacing reflective and theoretical coursework with technical training in classroom and time management. This pedagogical critique centers on Relay's use of Doug Lemov's *Teach Like A Champion* and its overwhelming emphasis on decontextualized instructional practices and classroom management (Anderson, 2019; Freidrich, 2014; Mungal, 2016; Phillip et al., 2018). Reducing teaching to automatic and scripted practice does not just undermine professionalism, critics argued, it "threaten[ed] the overarching purpose of educating for democracy" (Stitzlein & West, 2014, p. 1). August Shiva Mungal (2015, 2016) took this up by documenting the creation of a "parallel education structure" in New York that centered around the alternate funders, schools, and teacher education programs.

That said, positive portraits of Relay certainly exist. James Fraser and Lauren Lefty's profile of Relay GSE titled "Entrepreneurs take on teacher prep" profiled the degree-granting graduate school of education as a scalable model of non-university-based teacher preparation (Fraser & Lefty, 2018,). Articles based on journalists' visits to Relay published in *Education Next* and the *Stanford Social Innovation Review* applaud Relay's reinvention of teacher education that links program completion to K-12 student learning gains (Kronholz, 2012; Schorr, 2013). They touted the connection between philanthropic funders, innovative program design, and funding models designed to be "self-sustaining" through tuition income and school-placement fees (Kronholz, 2012). Placing a premium on the innovative aspects of pedagogical programming, practice-based teaching simulations, and income-generating funding models, Relay's advocates offered a window into how the organization is generally portrayed in the public media (Otterman, 2011; Strauss, 2012). The promotional profiles of Relay treat Relay as a

case of a promising reform but without the rigorous approach of case study, which requires systematic data collection that leverages multiple perspectives (Stake, 2006). The result is a body of material that rightly belongs in the category of advocacy, not research. To its supporters, Relay is the darling of the teacher education reform movement. At the same time, though to different interests, Relay has become a symbol of all that is praiseworthy *and* lamentable about contemporary teacher education reform.

Other nGSEs have received, in general, less attention *and* less critique than Relay. Scholarship and press surrounding the Match Teacher Residency/Sposato Graduate School of Education mirrored the press related to the Relay phenomenon in many ways: controversy ensued over an urban charter network that structured teacher learning around high leverage practices (Miller, 2017; Keefe and Miller, 2021). Sposato's core similarities to Relay—connection to philanthropists, prescriptive pedagogical practices, and close relationship to a network of charter schools that also use prescriptive practices—have been highlighted in case studies from the Cochran-Smith nGSE research team (Miller, 2017; Keefe and Miller, 2021). High Tech High GSE, which is also privately funded and charter-embedded, has drawn the attention of researchers without inciting critique because its pedagogical model is based in a philosophy of project-based deeper learning for educational equity (Sanchez, 2019; Sanchez, 2021). Fraser and Lefty's (2018) truncated profile of HTH praised how HTH/GSE channeled the spirit of Silicon Valley to disrupt dated conceptions of disciplinary and social divides in favor of multidisciplinary project-based learning in intentionally diverse classrooms. They characterized the teacher education program as "job-embedded training" that fueled a pipeline of teachers who buy into specific institutional methodologies (Fraser & Lefty, 2019, p. 148). Fraser and Lefty also wrote a profile of the Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning (then,

Woodrow Wilson Graduate School of Teaching and learning, now High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning), the pet project of Art Levine. Here, too, Fraser and Lefty's historical analysis lauded the undoing of supposedly dated inputs like "seat time—a direct relic from the industrial age—to a knowledge- and skill-based, time-variable competency curriculum in a blended online and offline setting—a product of our tech age" (Fraser & Lefty, 2019, p. 144). Nowhere was the emphasis on 21st century adaptations for teacher education more salient than in the literature on TEACH-NOW (now Moreland University). TEACH-NOW is an entirely online teacher certification and/or master's degree program that offers rolling-enrollment and modular coursework. It is a for-profit company that started out with, but then rejected, the support of the New Schools Venture Fund (Carney, 2019, 2021). Based on inside access to TEACH-NOW's online coursework through the nGSE study, Carney's (2019, 2021) research on TEACH-NOW revealed an organizational tension between the push to be innovative and the pull towards legitimacy that played out across pedagogical (online coursework) and institutional (for-profit funding) aspects.

The question of funding at nGSEs is taken up in a recent issue of *The New Educator,* guest edited by Marilyn Cochran-Smith and featuring the work of the nGSE research team's case studies of teacher preparation programs at High Tech High GSE, TEACH-NOW, Sposato GSE, and the MAT Program at the American Museum of Natural History as well as cross-case analysis. Based on inside access to the program participants and proprietary data, these case studies offer the most comprehensive examinations of nGSEs. Our analysis showed that the Museum's MAT program was one of the most well-funded nGSEs; it relied on a combination of private dollars and public grants, yet it was removed from the wider networks, or strategic action fields, tied to education reform per se (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021). Cochran-Smith's team

concluded that both the MAT program at the public American Museum of Natural History *and* High Tech High/GSE were guided by democratic organizational logics, despite ties to prominent regional philanthropies (Cochran-Smith, Keefe, & Jewett Smith, 2021; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021; Sanchez, 2021).

Taken together, studies of nGSEs have elucidated different programmatic and institutional aspects of the emerging population of teacher preparation programs. The spotlight on Relay and its praiseworthy and/or controversial practices cast a shadow over the other 10 programs and made it difficult to speak holistically about changes in the field that are *not* linked directly to Relay. The literature *itself* is polarized, plus the diversity among methodological approaches, data sources, and conceptual foci makes it hard to read across the literature. Some approaches analyzed the pedagogical aspects of teacher preparation programs, and others examined the institutional aspects of new organizations and actors. Some case studies relied on rigorous research methodologies, others used the term 'case study' in name only. Some studies relied on first impressions and ideological alignment to promote nGSEs, while others used research-backed theoretically-driven data collection. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine all 11 nGSEs *together* through the same historical and institutional lens in order to understand living institutional changes in the field of teacher education.

Chapter Three
Methodology, Data Collection, & Data Analysis

Methodology: Historical Approaches for Institutional Analysis

In this section, I explore the intersection of two methodological approaches, field-level history and institutional analysis. Taken together, these approaches to analyzing organizations frame the analytic approach for this dissertation. Drawn from histories of teacher preparation (eg., Anderson, 1988; Fraser & Lefty, 2018; Labaree, 2004; Lagemann, 2000) and institutional analyses (eg., Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000), the theory underlying my analytic process leverages the rich context of document-based analysis with frameworks from sociological neoinstitutional theory for understanding field-level change. Drawing on the previous chapter, in this section I illustrate how these two methodologies are complementary. Institutional analyses of change are, by definition, historical in nature because studying organizational and institutional change requires a longitudinal perspective that examines a phenomenon over time. On the other hand, the process of constructing organizational history involves concepts delineated by institutional theory. The historical perspective also helps contextualize the implications of this study for research and practice in a rapidly shifting landscape. This section introduces the methodological intersection of educational history and institutional analysis as the framework for the analytic process used to conduct this dissertation.

The Role of History Within Institutional Analysis

William Richard Scott, renowned theorist who pioneered the modern sociological school of neoinstitutionalism, wrote that "to an institutionalist, knowledge of what has gone before is vital information" (Scott, 2014, p. 55). In *Institutions and Organizations*, Scott (2014) noted that

> quasi-historical studies followed the development of a single organization over a relatively long period of time. Not long after, however, organizational ecologists began

> to conduct their longitudinal studies of organizational populations, beginning with the birth of the first organization of a given type and following the subsequent development of that population. Such studies emphasize the importance of taking a longer time perspective, ideally capturing the entire history of a given form (p. 55).

This dissertation is guided by this logic—that the development of a new population of organizations is best examined historically. Scott, Ruef, Mendel, and Caronna's landmark study of change in the field of healthcare did just that. *Institutional Care and Healthcare Organizations: From Professional Dominance to Managed Care* was "an empirical study of changes occurring over a half century in the healthcare delivery system of one metropolitan region" (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000, p. 18). Longitudinal studies of organizational evolution are also often called "natural histories." Bidwell (2006) pointed to the use of "natural history" in early institutional studies of organizations like the Tennessee Valley Authority (Selznik, 1949) or the Women's Christian Temperance Union (Gusfield, 1955). The concept of "natural history" in social science research is rooted in Durkheim's 19th century approach that relied on the "value of historical investigation for social explanation" (Knotterus, 1986, p. 128). Bidwell (2006) added that, "Natural history is uniquely suited to the discovery and demonstration of process" in institutional analysis (p. 46).

The analysis offered here, which is dedicated to analyzing an emergent population of organizations—i.e., new graduate schools of education—aims to capture "the entire history of a given form" and "discover" the process of institutionalization that supported its rise (Bidwell, 2006, p. 35). For this reason, approaching institutional analysis historically enhances the depth of the narrative about the emergence of new organizations and the processes driving the growth of nGSEs. Bidwell's 2006 article "Varieties of Institutional Theory: Traditions and Prospects for Education Research" sought to correct the "neglect of historical analysis" in neoinstitutional

analysis, particularly in education research (Bidwell, 2006, p. 33). He made the case for more historically-informed analyses of institutions in education research by invoking founding historical institutionalists like de Tocqueville, Marx, and Durkheim. Bidwell argued that historically-informed neoinstitutional analyses of educational organizations could advance knowledge of market-driven institutional change among new populations of organizations. This study directly takes up Bidwell's challenge by examining the emergence of a new population of organizations in teacher education in the context of market-driven change.

Institutional Concepts Within Historical Narratives of Teacher Education

While there is a deep tradition of institutionalists employing historical lenses, there is an equally powerful tradition whereby educational historians use constructs from institutional theory to narrativize organizational history. The aforementioned historical analyses written by Lagemann, Anderson, Labaree, and Fraser and Lefty provide methodological examples of organizational histories that inform my study of the emergence of nGSEs. They serve as methodological models for this dissertation. For example, James D. Anderson's *The Education of Blacks in the South: 1860-1935* (1986) featured a "description of how educational movements and ideologies were translated into institutional behavior" at Black teacher training institutions in the South (p. 3). His methodological approach

> reflects two primary goals. First, this volume seeks to give meaning to educational movements and ideologies as they influenced the basic organization and substance of educational institutions. Second, it seeks to provide a detailed documentation of the actual structure and content of each level of black education… what actually existed in the way of [teacher preparation] ... how politics, power, and ideology shaped the framework and opportunity structure of black educational institutions (p. 3).

Anderson linked educational movements with the historical context and the "organization and substance" of teacher education programs to create a narrative that contextualized educational

change as well as spelled out "what actually existed." I used this kind of framing to link marketization (the ideological context), education reform (the movement) and histories of nGSEs (the substance of what actually exists). In a similar vein, in his analysis of American education schools, David Labaree (2004) used historical sociology,

> to explain the emergence of some of the most salient characteristics of the education school as a social institution, in the sociological meaning of that term. That is, I am seeking to establish general patterns that characterize education schools as a whole, that define them as a social type whose norms and structures serve as a model for the individual educational organizations that seek to function under the label of the education school (p. 9).

Labaree's methodology highlighted the potential applications for understanding change in the field of teacher education because Labaree's "book's methodology is drawn from historical sociology, focusing on the emergence of the structural characteristics of the education school as an institution" (p. 10). Labaree used historical sociology to illuminate the structural characteristics of education schools, much the way this dissertation uses historically-informed organizational analysis to study the characteristics of nGSEs.

Finally, James Fraser and Lauren Lefty (2018) approached change in the field of teacher education by asking,

> why did this happen when it did? What were the historical forces that led to such a rapid increase in the diversity of models for preparing American teachers at the end of the twentieth century? The case studies offered in the chapters that follow seek to answer that question by providing the historical context for change in many diverse institutional settings (p. 22).

Fraser and Lefty constructed what they called case studies of promising reforms to explain the diversification of teacher preparation programs and narrativize the arc of change in the field. To mitigate the contentiousness of reform, they added that "viewing a contentious time through the

prism of the discipline of history allows one to embrace the complexity and contingency of historical developments and move beyond simplistic good versus bad value judgements" (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 5). This added layer offers insight into the benefits of taking a historical perspective on change in a controversial field in order "to step back, to ask larger questions of natural and international context, and to see the push and pull of contending forces working out long-standing differences as well as the emergence of new priorities." (Fraser & Lefty, 2018, p. 165). Adopting this kind of approach in this dissertation allowed me to ask how nGSEs collectively embodied the "emergence of new priorities" in the field of teacher education. From post-war Black teacher education to the rise of education schools at universities to contemporary competition between alternate routes, histories of teacher preparation tended to focus on the institutional aspects of organizations that drove field-level change. This dissertation followed in their methodological footsteps.

Methodological Assumptions

The methodological approach for this dissertation is drawn from institutionally-oriented histories and historically-informed institutional studies. The works cited above represent model studies, which are discussed in detail in the literature review section. The methods I used for data collection and analysis also represent a combined approach, which is a hybrid methodology drawn from two different types of analysis in education research. The first phase of my dissertation research involved primary and secondary document analysis modeled on the works of educational historians like Fraser & Lefty (2018), Lagemann (2000), Anderson (1988), and Labaree (2004). Primary document analysis involved thematic document coding and analysis using a framework elaborated in the previous chapter. The second phase of data analysis borrowed methods from Scott, Ruef, Mendel, and Caronna's (2000) longitudinal institutional

analysis of the health care field to interpret qualitative data across cases using general thematic research methods for analyzing qualitative data (Miles, Huberman, & Saldãna, 2014) and multicase methods (Stake, 2006). By combining approaches to study the emergence of nGSEs, I traced the rise of nGSEs by constructing profiles of individual organizations in order to address the first research question about organizational features.

This methodological approach assumed that one way to understand the emergence of nGSEs as a new population of organizations is through the process of document analysis *rather* than through a statistical or numerical analysis of figures, such as tuition dollars or enrollment statistics. Because the nGSEs as *organizations*, and not the teacher preparation programs they sponsor themselves, are the subject of interest here, a documentary approach enhanced by interviews with program leaders was the best way to understand the organizational trajectory of nGSEs, individually and collectively. Relying solely on official information produced from within nGSEs can produce a one-side view, which is why I included critiques of nGSEs in order to capture multiple perspectives on how the organizations are evolving (Miles, Huberman, & Saldãna, 2014).

A second major assumption I made in applying an historic lens to the emergence of nGSEs is that they represented a significant shift in the history of teacher preparation. The actual number of teachers prepared at nGSEs remains low, although the proportion of candidates seeking alternate routes is increasing steadily (Yin & Partelow, 2020). In 2019, alternative programs at institutions of higher education, a category that includes nGSEs as well as alternative programs within universities, enrolled 9% of all teacher candidates (Yin & Partelow, 2020). However, alternative programs outside of institutions of higher education enrolled 17% of teacher candidates and traditional programs at universities enrolled 75% of all teacher candidates

in 2019 (Yin & Partelow, 2020. The nGSE phenomenon remains small for now, even within the realm of alternate providers. However, there is a plethora of evidence to suggest that the sweep of market-based policies across many aspects of American life, from incarceration to education, is here to stay (Atkinson & Dotts, 2019). In the past twenty years alone, nGSEs have experienced a remarkable uptick (Cochran-Smith & Alexander, 2021), which suggests they have solidified a place in the new marketplace of teacher preparation. Analyzing the emergence of new organizations in teacher preparation tells a story that resonates beyond the field of education.

Conducting the Analysis

To conduct this analysis, I employed historical and institutional approaches to data collection and analysis to trace the emergence of a new population of organizations in the field of teacher education. Table 3.1 offers a graphic representation of my research process. The first phase in the process was the construction of profiles of nGSEs. These individual organizational profiles highlighted the institutional aspects of organization— history, actors, logics, funding models, and environments at each nGSE. I developed these profiles as individual charts with the central organizational features of each organization. These profiles aggregated basic organizational information in once place so that I could begin to see the entire field of nGSEs through a single lens by imposing the same organizational framework on top of each program. This helped me create the rich narrative behind the emergence of the new population of organizations that opens Chapter 4. The second phase, which took place iteratively and continuously throughout data collection and analysis, used general qualitative thematic research methods to conduct an institutional analysis of trends across organizations to examine institutional logics and emerging fields. Below, I outline the data sources and analysis plan for each of the major research questions, repeated here for ease of reading:

4. What is the nature of nGSEs as organizations, including their historical features, funding models, and organizational environments? What changes have occurred in these features since the inception of nGSEs?
5. What logic animates nGSEs as organizations?
6. What happens to teacher preparation in market-organized environments?

Figure 3.1
Research Plan for Historical and Institutional Analysis of the Emergence of nGSEs

<table>
<tr><th colspan="4">Research Plan for Conducting a Historical and Institutional Analysis of the Emergence of nGSEs</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Phase 1: Individual organizational profiles of nGSEs</td><td>Data Sources</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">RQ1</td><td>Focus of analysis: profiles of nGSEs; organizational and historical features</td><td rowspan="2">Framework: Analytic framework drawn from neoinstitutional theory
History (origins, changes)
Funding Models (tuition, business model, external sources)
Environments (logics, actors, governance)</td><td rowspan="2">Interviews with nGSE founders and program leaders
Institutional documents and data
Websites
Admissions and marketing materials
Federal 990 Tax Forms
Press releases
Public media articles
Peer-reviewed articles</td></tr>
<tr><td>Method: Primary and secondary document analysis</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">⇓ Foundation for ⇓</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">Phase 2: Cross-population analysis of nGSEs</td><td>Data Sources</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">RQ2</td><td>Focus of analysis: market logics</td><td rowspan="2">Framework: Cross-population analysis of logics
Institutional logic
Market logic
New Education Philanthropy</td><td rowspan="2">Profiles of nGSEs
Chapter 4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Method: Neoinstitutional qualitative analysis, multiple case study</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">RQ3</td><td>Focus of analysis: niches</td><td rowspan="2">Framework: Cross-population analysis of logics, fields, and niches
Hybrid logics
Community logic
Organizational field
Market niche</td><td rowspan="2">Profiles of nGSEs
Chapter 4 and 5</td></tr>
<tr><td>Method: Neoinstitutional qualitative analysis, multiple case study</td></tr>
</table>

Data Sources

This dissertation drew on a variety of qualitative data sources. Some of the data has been collected over the last five years as part of the larger nGSE study, and some of the data was collected and updated expressly for this analysis. The existing data belonged to the larger study, which has been underway since 2016. Most of the data in that dataset was developed specifically for case studies and cross-case analysis of teacher preparation at four strategically-chosen sites: Sposato GSE, High Tech High GSE, TEACH-NOW, and the MAT Program at the American Museum of Natural History. Working in partnership with these research sites, we had access to institutional materials and records, proprietary documents, program leaders, teacher educators, teacher candidates, and other internal sources of information. Partnership with the larger study gave me access to internal documents and interviews from the four nGSEs listed above. For the past five years, we have also systematically tracked and collected publicly available documents and materials from our four focal case sites.

My analysis expanded the scope of nGSE sites to investigate the emerging population of all 11 organizations. I utilized all of the existing data for the four focal case studies and built upon and updated data collection so that I had documentary evidence for all 11 sites. Having worked with this data set for years and coded many of the documents for the larger study, I began by mining the existing databases associated with the larger study, and then built new data bases of relevant institutional material by conducting online searches for organizational documents, publicly available documents, periodicals, and existing studies of nGSEs. I also conducted interviews with the leaders and founders of several additional nGSEs: Reach Institute for School Leadership, the Upper Valley Educators Institute, High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning, and the Rhode Island School of Progressive Education.

My approach to data collection was informed by the work of institutional theorists who work at the intersection of institutional analysis and archival historical research. Scott, Ruef, Mandela, & Caronna (2000) relied on the following types of qualitative data sources in their analysis of change in the field of healthcare,

> each case study involved somewhat different data collection activities, but in general we employed the following sources: (1) archival materials obtained from the organization, including memos, annual reports, catalogues and brochures, and histories written by organizational participants; (2) periodicals, including local and national newspapers, magazines, and journals; (3) historical accounts written by nonparticipants, and (4) interviews with former and current organizational leaders and informants (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000, p. 55).

This strategy centers the role of organizational documentation in tracing the history of a phenomenon. Scott and colleagues also emphasized the importance of capturing change over time through comprehensive longitudinal data collection:

> We use a variety of archival sources. For each of the organizational populations, we create a database that records, on an annual basis, when individual organizations entered and left each of these populations as well in changes over time in some of their basic characteristics, such as side, number of services, ownership, and licensure. We employ these data in longitudinal analyses to ascertain whether and when these organizational populations underwent various types of change…. (p. 5).

Since the purpose of this dissertation was to trace the emergence of a new population of organizations and to examine the organizational characteristics of the new population, Scott, Ruef, Mendel, and Caronna's (2000) data collection strategy offers a strong model for this project. To this end, I constantly visited publicly available websites for signs of organizational evolution throughout this process.

I aimed to collect the same kind of information across all 11 nGSEs. Here I outline what those documentary data sources were. The primary data sources listed below informed the

construction of the organizational profiles that became the foundation for analysis of characteristics, logics, and niches. I drafted these profiles using primary and secondary document analysis with a framework of institutional concepts described in the analysis section below. The profiles became the subject of cross-population analysis of all 11 organizations that I narrativize in Chapter 4. Table 3.2 illustrates the scope and types of data sources.

Table 3.2
Phase 1 Data Sources and Origins

Data Type	*Data Origins*	*Examples*
Organizational documents	Publicly-available, searchable online, proprietary, access through larger study	Annual reports, Accreditation materials, Admissions emails, Press releases, Program overviews
Funding documents	Publicly-available, searchable online	Tax returns, Grant applications
Periodicals	Publicly-available, searchable online	Major newspapers, scholarly journals, opinion editorials, online magazines
Interviews	Access through larger study	Program founders, program leaders

Organizational Documents. To study the emergence of a new population of organizations, I based my primary analysis on organizational documents and information written and released by nGSEs. This included, but was not limited to, publicly available annual reports, histories and self-studies written by organizational actors, mission statements, organizational charts, and faculty and student handbooks. The majority of this information was publicly available through programs' websites and press releases. I also collected organizational information from the programs websites, such as program overviews, 'About us' narratives, biographies of program founders and leaders, biographies of board members and/or senior leadership team members. Websites also yield a plethora of information related to admissions, funding, and financial aid; these promotional materials include documents, videos, and recorded

webinars related to admissions and aid. Where possible, I included accreditation materials, self-studies, and program evaluations provided by organizations.

Publicly-available Funding Documents. I also drew on a variety of publicly available documents related to program funding. These documents required more specific and targeted online searches to locate grant proposal narratives, grant funding disbursements, and federal non-profit tax documents. All non-profit organizations' federal 990 tax filings are in the public domain. These documents reveal annual spending, income from tuition and gifts, organizational assets, members of the governing board, and the top paid salaries. I examined and collected all available years in order to look at change over time with respect to size, funding, actors, and assets. I verified information from 990s by referencing The Foundation Center, an online clearinghouse that tracks major foundation grantmaking. I also utilized a paid service run by GuideStar, an online database that aggregates non-profits' 990s over time and produces analytics based on financial performance. This contributed primarily to my analysis of the role of philanthropy at nGSEs.

Periodicals. For the past year, I gathered data through targeted searches of individual nGSEs in a variety of periodicals. Searching organizations by name in Google and Google Scholar, I located articles and media coverage in major newspapers, scholarly journals, opinion editorials, online magazines, and online interviews. These sources offered contrasting perspectives to material published by nGSEs for internal or promotional purposes; generated by journalists, scholars, critics, policymakers, and advocacy organizations, to name a few, these media articles enhanced the diversity of perspectives on nGSEs. These data sources captured the perspectives of reformers and advocates, as well as critics, scholars, journalists and program

completers; capturing a wide range of perspectives on nGSEs brought a complex and layered lens that will enhanced the quality and range of data sources for the analysis.

Studies of nGSEs. Because one objective of this project is to build organizational familiarity with individual nGSEs, I drew on empirical studies written by education researchers as secondary documentary data sources. Chronicled in the literature review, these examinations—by critics and advocates of nGSEs—offered perspectives about program history, organizational actors, networked ties, and institutional environments that cannot be found in organizational or promotional documents. These secondary data sources also contained references to original, or primary, data sources for analysis which helped me find more documents and check the comprehensiveness of my searches.

Interviews. To enhance the documentary database, I conducted and recorded virtual interviews with four nGSE program leaders about their organizations' origins, histories, actors, logics, and governance structures. I already had rich interview data from the larger study's four case sties (Sposato HSE, High Tech High GSE, TEACH-NOW, and the MAT Program at the American Museum of Natural History). New interviews were supported by a Spencer Foundation grant awarded to the nGSE team specifically to investigate the institutional aspects of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs. We conducted one-hour virtual interviews with program leaders and founders from four additional nGSEs. Interview questions were informed by the concepts from institutional theory that drove my three research questions about origins, logics, and fields. Our interviews were transcribed for analysis and contributed to the larger study as well.

Population profiles as data. The first phase in this research project, enumerated in the table above, involved the construction of organizational profiles. These profiles aggregated

descriptive data about the emerging population of new teacher preparation providers at nGSEs. Each graphic profile featured descriptive information about each organization's history, leadership, values, and finances. The purpose of constructing the profiles was twofold. First, creating the organizational profiles was an attempt to reconstruct the historical emergence of nGSEs using primary and secondary document analysis. Second, the 11 profiles served as the foundation for cross-population analysis. Once the profiles were complete, I used them to craft the broader arguments about nGSEs' origins, logics, and fields. I examined diversification among nGSEs by looking at key differences across profiles to determine the extent of market-driven diversification and the presence of various logics.

Data Analysis

Data analysis took place in two phases. Phase 1 involved primary document analysis for the construction of individual organizational profiles. Phase 2 was deeply iterative and cyclical; I began a qualitative cross-population analysis by drawing on concepts from institutional theory. I borrowed analytic techniques from historical secondary document analysis, standard thematic qualitative methods (Miles, Huberman & Saldãna, 2014), and multi-case study (Stake, 2006).

Phase 1 Analysis. The first step in this analysis involved constructing analytic organizational profiles of nGSEs. In this dissertation, I avoided the reified use of the term "case study" because the product I intended to create, which I am calling an organizational profile, drew heavily on publicly available documents, rather than inside information. The case study method implies a different level and kind of depth from what was intended for this project. I traded case study-level depth for targeted breadth of the whole population. One of the driving purposes of this study was to place all 11 programs together to understand how the phenomenon has emerged over the last twenty years *and* to subject all 11 organizations to the same analytic

process. The result was organizational profiles that showed the institutional aspects of the new population. Although these organizational profiles ere similar to case studies in some ways, the profile approach has been used in institutional analysis (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000; Bidwell, 2006) and histories of teacher preparation (Fraser & Lefty, 2018; Mungal, 2016). The use of case study among both fields is yet another shared methodological approach between institutionalists and historians.

To construct the organizational profiles, I analyzed data using a framework drawn from neoinstitutional theory. The framework featured concepts introduced in the previous section that relate to program history, funding models, and institutional environments. The program history section analyzed primary documents and interview in order to reconstruct each organization's origin story; this involved analyzing documents for information about the organization's founding, founding leaders, initial business approach, start up funding, and early organizational trajectory, followed by an analysis of major organizational changes since inception. All documents were analyzed for evidence of major structural changes to business model, funding sources, leadership, size, or nomenclature. The next section offered a descriptive analysis of the funding models by examining organizational income through tuition dollars, financial schemata through business models (for-profit or non-profit), and external funding sources (major foundations, federal grants, private donations). The final section examined the institutional environments, made up of actors, logics, and governance structures (Scott, Ruef, Mendel, & Caronna, 2000; Scott, 2014). In this section, I analyzed primary and secondary documents for information about the leading figures (founders, program leaders, figureheads) at each organization, the underlying belief systems that guide actors and actions, known as logics in institutional theory, and the governance structures and systems that exercise control over

operations, including federal and state authority and accreditation agencies. Table 3.2 offers a simplified visual graphic of the framework that guided all primary and secondary document analysis for the creation of organizational profiles.

By conducting a parallel analysis of all 11 organizations, I laid the foundation for drawing conclusions about the phenomenon's origins and momentum across all 11 cases. The purpose was to capture the rise of the new population of teacher preparation providers in order to set up cross-population analysis of diversification and logic at nGSEs. Researching, placing, and narrativizing all eleven programs in chronological order allowed me to draw broader conclusions about the new population and its implications for the wider field of teacher preparation.

Phase 2 Analysis. The second phase of analysis took the organizational profiles and analyzed *across* the population in what I am calling cross-population analysis. The purpose of cross-population analysis was to examine the increasing diversification among organizations and the emergence of new logics and niches. In this step, I analyzed concepts across the eleven profiles, borrowing analytic techniques from historical secondary document analysis, standard thematic qualitative methods (Miles, Huberman & Saldãna, 2014) and multicase study (Stake, 2006).

Miles, Huberman, and Saldãna (2014) delineated qualitative processes for "coding data segments for category, theme, and pattern development" to develop assertions from the data (p. 77). Formal cross-population analysis followed the creation of the individual organizational profiles, but analysis inevitably took place iteratively and simultaneously throughout the research process (Miles, Huberman, & Saldãna, 2014). I found that this was the case for much of this process, from ideating to writing. The process of analysis was deeply iterative and cyclical from start to finish. Throughout the process of collecting data and writing descriptive analyses of

individual organizations, I created informal analytic memos with data segments that correlated to informal *a priori* 'hypothesis codes' for concepts drawn from institutional theory. Hypotheses codes "are developed from a theory or prediction about what will be found in the data before they have been collected or analyzed " (Miles, Huberman, & Saldãna, 2014, p. 83). I looked for evidence related to the diversification and logics animating organizations, and throughout the research process, I maintained separate documents for each concept that store data, jottings, and analytic memos related to the cross-population analysis of diversification and institutionalization. These documents were more than "just descriptive summary of the data but [rather] attempts to synthesize them into higher level analytic meanings" (Miles, Huberman, & Saldãna, 2014, p. 97). Cross-population analysis was related to Stake's (2006) conception of multicase analysis that builds on individual case studies to "work with a set or collection of case studies so that they effectively illuminate a common program or phenomenon" (p. xiii). The cross-population approach offered me an opportunity to look comparatively across the profiles to offer a deeper understanding of the phenomenon that is more nuanced and more durable in the application of institutional theory. I conducted a cross-profile thematic analysis within the conceptual categories of diversification and institutionalization, while leaving open the possibility of addressing other emergent thematic patterns related to the institutional aspects of the new population. The purpose was to generate assertions, or "declarative statements of summative synthesis, supported by confirming evidence from the data" (Miles, Huberman, & Saldãna, 2014, p. 100). Using a case-oriented approach, I searched "for underlying similarities and constant associations, compare cases with different outcomes, and begin to form more general explanations" related to the diversification and logic frameworks (Miles, Huberman, & Saldãna, 2014, p. 103). My methodological plan proved reliable throughout the writing process. Though

the process was far more iterative and less linear than I anticipated, it was nevertheless a reliable methodology that kept me theoretically-grounded and document-based during the analysis phase and writing process.

Chapter 4
The Rise of nGSEs: Differentiation in Action

In American educational history, market forces have long affected the institutional location of teacher education. Along these lines, noted educational historian David Labaree (2004) suggested that over the course of the 20th century, market forces "affected teacher education in three ways: by pushing the education school to become a teacher factory, by encouraging it to evolve into a people's college, and by elevating it to the university level" (p. 20). As Labaree argued, in order to meet the increasing demand for school teachers, state normal schools evolved from elite teacher training programs into "a kind of teacher factory, mass producing as many practitioners as the market required" (p. 24). As Labaree suggested, widespread demand for higher education led normal schools to become a people's college for anyone seeking entry into higher education. Then, between the 1890s and the 1970s, "market forces propelled the normal school through a process of institutional evolution that eventually transformed it into a general purpose university" (p. 29). Localized teacher training institutes were strategically absorbed by colleges and universities looking to secure new revenue streams and consolidate control over higher education.

By midcentury, teacher education programs were housed at many colleges and universities "which granted liberal arts and other degrees as well as education degrees" (Labaree, 2008, p. 29). Schools and departments of education offered teacher preparation programs that conferred bachelors' and master's degrees in education. After decades of institutional itinerancy, colleges and universities became the sole pathway into the profession of teaching (Labaree, 2004). In other words, prospective teachers had to attend a college or university in order to teach in public schools. However, by the 1980s, the so-called "university monopoly" on teacher

preparation became the subject of heated debate (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Fraser and Lefty, 2018; Hess, 2005); in the context of emerging neoliberalism, teacher educators, economists, pundits, and politicians debated whether and how to use the mechanisms of the market to break up institutional monopolies and improve the quality of American education (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Fraser and Lefty, 2018; Hess, 2005). Critics who adopted a pro-market stance felt that the university's "monopoly" on teacher education was hindering quality by putting up barriers to entering the field of teaching. So they advocated for alternatives to break up the institutional monopoly through competition (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Fraser & Lefty, 2019).

Interestingly, Labaree, who is an historian, argues that market forces have always shaped the institutional conditions under which teachers are prepared to teach. His work attributed the shifting institutional characteristics of teacher preparation providers to the forces of supply and demand. Institutional scholars, however, offered a different interpretation of the American education system that offers a competing explanation of what drives the institutional characteristics of educational organizations, including teacher preparation providers. In the 1970s, renowned organizational theorist John Meyer suggested that the American education system was *institutionalized*. By this, he meant that the education system writ large was organized by convention; individual organizations became *institutionalized* by conforming to *regulative, normative,* and *cultural-cognitive* traditions that bestowed legitimacy upon the organization. In other words, school systems mimicked one another—in structure, staffing, scheduling, credentialing, curriculum, and coursework—because signaling legitimacy was more important than originality or efficiency (Meyer, 1977; H. D. Meyer & Rowan, 2006). As one of the most influential scholars in the area of organizational sociological theory, John Meyer argued

that on a macro-sociological level, education did more than bestow status upon individuals; rather, he argued, "modern education is seen instead as a system of institutionalized rites transforming social roles through powerful initiation ceremonies" (p. 56). These rites were "enforced in daily life by rules about credentials written into law and applied in organizational practice" (p. 65). This ritualism created organizational uniformity, or *isomorphism*.

John Meyer characterized education systems as *isomorphic* and *institutionalized* in the 1970s when teacher education was provided exclusively by colleges and universities. As Labaree argued, market forces had pushed teacher education programs through a series of institutional relocations in the first half of the 20th century. But by the 1970s, teacher education programs had come to rest in universities, which were part of the larger *institutionalized* and *isomorphic* field of higher education that Meyer identified. Per the theory, individual organizations came to resemble one another through shared norms, regulations, and beliefs. Thus, institutional theorists argued, educational organizations, which were more concerned with legitimacy than efficiency, were beyond the forces of the market (H. D. Meyer & Rowan, 2006).

Then, in the 1980s, proponents of markets began criticizing the university "monopoly" on teacher education (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Hess, 2005, Labaree, 2004). Labaree's market-driven institutional history and Meyer's theory of *institutionalization*, ideas that were not connected in the eighties, form the analytic framework for this chapter, which examines the historical and organizational origins of nGSEs in the early 20th century.

In essence, this chapter makes the argument that nGSEs, regarded as a new population of teacher preparation organizations, are highly *diversified*, as opposed to *isomorphic*. In this chapter, I argue that nGSEs evolved rapidly along individualized organizational trajectories and are, as a result, a diverse emerging population of new organizations.

In contrast to the consolidation of schools and departments of education at colleges and universities during the mid 20th century as described by Labaree, this dissertation found that nGSEs evolved rapidly along unique organizational trajectories at the beginning of the 21st century. Rather than evolving through mimicry of peer organizations as systems did in the 20th century, nGSEs adopted new *cultural cognitive* frames that drove organizational diversification. Scott (2008) defined cultural cognitive frames as "shared conceptions that constitute the nature of reality and the frames through which meaning is made" (p. 57). Scott suggested that these cultural cognitive frames were part of a triad of elements that drove institutional behavior: *regulatory* elements of institutions consist of rules and laws; *normative* systems define collective goals and assumptions; and *cultural cognitive* elements concern individual values and belief. In this chapter, I argue that *cultural cognitive divergence* among nGSEs was due, in large part, to the diversity of nGSE parent and partner organizations. Whereas in the 20th century, teacher preparation programs gradually assimilated into what some believe is an *institutionalized* university system, nGSEs born in the 21st century did almost the opposite, reflecting both different types of parent organizations and the desire to differentiate their programs from competitors.

In this chapter, I show that nGSEs have evolved rapidly over the last fifteen years along highly individualized organizational trajectories. This means that, in general, they experienced a great deal of change in a short period of time. These new organizations complied with the legal (*regulatory*) requirements for teacher preparation programs set by the states, and they generally shared assumptions about the nature of teaching as a learned rather than innate (*normative*). For example, nGSEs share a belief that well-prepared teachers can boost student achievement and that well-prepared teachers are made, not born (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020). I argue that it is not

the few external regulative or shared normative aspects of these new organizations that set nGSEs apart from one another and from universities. It is the cultural cognitive frames shaped by diverse parent organizations—charter management organizations (CMOS), museums, county offices of education, regional teacher training institutes, for-profit online colleges—and different goals that distinguish nGSEs from one another and wider peer organizations.

To analyze the nature of nGSEs as organizations, I offer four propositions about nGSEs' historical and structural features based on analysis of historical documents, proprietary institutional data, publicly available promotional material, and financial documents. First, I propose that nGSEs have experienced more change than continuity in their short histories. Many nGSEs began as pilot programs that evolved when the pilot was reincorporated as a permanent program. Some nGSEs changed their names in order to reflect organizational shifts. Oftentimes, these shifts involved breaking away from or creating a new parent organization. The climate of constant change fueled the rapid evolution of nGSEs. The second proposition is that nGSEs reconfigured time and place, altering the traditional grammar of university-based graduate teacher education. Here, I argue that the relocation of teacher education to new spaces (Cochran-Smith, et al., 2020; Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022), such as charter schools, the internet, or museums, diversified the population while diminishing the importance of physical plant. In exploring the relocation of nGSEs, I analyze two models: the residency model, which places teacher candidates in schools full time, and the modular model that prioritizes flexibility and portability online. Given this spatial shift, nGSEs offer coursework that wraps around other experiences, like school residencies or other presumed employment. This shift means that nGSEs generally do not maintain elaborate campuses for graduate-level teacher education, which represents a major break with the university-based tradition.

The next section of this chapter explores the predominance of embedded business models among nGSEs. I define embedded business models as organizations that are governed by a closely-related parent organization. These organizations reflect the beliefs and goals of their parent organization, and they share physical and human resources. In this section, I show that most nGSEs are, or have been, governed by a parent organization at some point over the last fifteen years. Two nGSEs (the AMNH MAT program and the Teachers College of San Joaquin) are fully integrated into other organizations, meaning they do not exist on paper apart from the parent organization. Five nGSEs (High Tech High GSE, Sposato SGE, Upper Valley Educators Institute, Reach and TEACH-NOW) are embedded organizations that share resources, personnel, funding, and trustees with parent organizations but exist as independent entities. Four nGSEs are standalone operations, though they all originated as embedded organizations (Relay, High Meadows, RISPE, and Alder). Given the predominance of embedded models in this population, my third proposition is that nGSEs business models capitalize on shared organizational infrastructure (people, values, funders) from diverse *organizational fields*—from public museums to education reform organizations to for-profit higher education. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) originally defined *organizational fields* as "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute an area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services of products" (p. 148). In the case of nGSEs, tight alignment with various parent and partner organizations means that nGSEs themselves do not necessarily form a unitary field of "similar service" providers. Though they are all in the business of teacher preparation, nGSEs reflect the vastly different fields from which they originated. In some cases, these new organizations are aligned with their partners and funders in fields outside of teacher education. These three arguments about rapid evolution,

relocation, and embedded business models illustrate how *cultural-cognitive divergence* has played out over the past fifteen years as nGSEs have evolved rapidly in different directions with different partners and purposes.

In contrast, the fourth section of this chapter examines the shared features of nGSEs. While I argue that organizational divergence is a far more noteworthy trend in the emergence of nGSEs, there are a few shared, holdover commonalities among the *normative* and *regulative* aspects of organizational culture. Since adherence to state regulations is rarely a matter of choice, I focus on shared norms, and I argue in the fourth proposition that nGSEs cling to select markers of traditional *normative* legitimacy. To show this, I examine accreditation trends, leadership patterns, organizational nomenclature, and research initiatives. Together, these four aspects of organizational culture illuminate the ways that traditional markers of legitimacy persist despite the rapid diversification among the *cultural cognitive* aspects of organizations.

Taken together, these four arguments present a picture of how nGSEs got their start and what they look like today, individually and collectively. This chapter introduces each nGSE historically and illustrates how each organization has a unique history predicated on new kinds of partnerships and features. Rather than conforming to peer organizations, nGSEs evolved along unique organizational trajectories that both stem from and articulate new conceptions of reality and meaning in teacher education. Broadly speaking, these new organizations resonate less with the organizational aspects of traditional university-based teacher education than the fields from which they originated—museums, regional professional development associations, charter management organizations, or for-profit higher education.

Change Over Continuity

In this section, I argue that nGSEs have experienced more change than continuity since the first nGSE was founded in 2004. When evolving from the experimental pilot stage, a number of nGSEs changed their names in order to reflect organizational shifts. The climate of constant change speaks to the rapid evolution of nGSEs as each organization followed a unique developmental trajectory. This stands in historical contrast to the relatively straightforward trajectory that schools of education followed in the 20th century as various teacher education programs migrated into colleges and universities (Labaree, 2004). Rather than consolidating under a single institutional umbrella, nGSEs are moving in different directions by associating with different fields—CMOs, museums, county offices of education, regional teacher training institutes, for-profit online higher education. Evidence of rapid change is exhibited in three key areas of organizational life: nGSEs' origins, early organizational name changes, and shifting partnerships over time. Through this lens, this section presents a chronology of highly diversified organizational evolution.

Pilot Origins

The majority of nGSEs began as pilot programs initiated by new responding to perceived problems with the quality of university-based teacher education programs (Cochran-Smith, 2020; Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022). In the early 2000s, a variety of organizations—from public museums to CMOs to regional teacher training centers to private foundations—piloted programs in teacher education. In some cases, these organizations embraced the "fail fast" ethos of design thinking to rapidly develop, test, and refine prototypes (Mehta & Fine, 2019; Nelson, 2018). In other cases, established organizations such as CMOs or museums piloted teacher education programs in conjunction with their existing resources and

networks. The pilot trend brought with it an inherent element of change: for programs to morph out of the pilot stage, they needed to be incorporated as a new organization with a permanent graduate program.

The first nGSEs emerged in the early 2000s in association with charter schools. Before nGSEs began conferring master's degrees themselves, several charter schools piloted teacher preparation programs for teacher certification. The first example is High Tech High, which began its foray into teacher preparation in 2004 when the project-based urban charter school began credentialing its own teachers in San Diego. The two-year district intern program offered practicing teachers a pathway to California's preliminary teaching credential. Candidates taught full time while taking two years of specialized evening coursework that prepared teachers for student-centered project-based learning (Mehta & Fine, 2019; Sanchez, 2019). The district intern program predated the creation of the High Tech High Graduate School of Education (High Tech High GSE) by two years and remained technically outside of High Tech High GSE even after its creation (Sanchez, 2019). High Tech High continues to operate the licensure-only intern program, while High Tech High GSE now offers a two-year master's degree program that features a residency inside one of High Tech High's sixteen K-12 schools. The High Tech High GSE's project-based constructivist pedagogy is aligned with High Tech High's K-12 approach (Mehta & Fine, 2019; Sanchez, 2019). The High Tech High GSE residency culminates in a California preliminary teaching credential and a master's degree in teaching and learning. High Tech High's initial foray into teacher education translated into the creation and launch of the first nGSE. To this day, High Tech High's GSE shares physical space and personnel with the K-12 network and has since broadened its reach several times, from the original district internship to a full-fledged school of education to a nationwide professional development conference.

At roughly the same time that High Tech High was launching its first teacher education program, back in New York, the leaders of three prominent charter networks were brainstorming a similar approach. Tired of competing with one another over teachers, Norman Atkins, Founder of Uncommon Schools, and David Levine, Founder of Knowledge is Power (KIPP) met one another and "talked about how we could essentially do more and better work together than fighting over the limited talented resources that were out there and hatched an idea of training teachers and eventually training school leaders together to benefit Uncommon and KIPP and Achievement First in the charter sector" (Atkins, 2016). The outcome of Atkins and Levine's meeting was the creation of Teacher U, now known as Relay Graduate School of Education (Relay). From 2006 to 2011, Relay was "incubated" at Hunter College in New York (Atkins, 2016). KIPP, Uncommon Schools, and Achievement First, a third charter network, partnered with Hunter College to develop Teacher U, which granted master's degrees to "to prepare teaching-degree candidates to teach within the EMO [education management organization] administered public charter school networks instead of the district administered public school system" (Mungal, 2019). This specialized approach morphed in 2011 when the Relay Graduate School of Education (Relay) was authorized to grant degrees as a standalone graduate school by the New York State Board of Regents (Mungal, 2019).

During the seven year period between 2007 and 2013, one new nGSE pilot program emerged each year. In 2007, the Reach Institute for School Leadership (Reach) began credentialing teachers through a credential-only teacher internship program in Oakland. The Reach Institute for School Leadership had been founded the year before and approved by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing (CTC) to credential teachers as the Bay Area School of Enterprise/Reach Institute. In 2011, Reach was authorized to grant master's degrees in

education. Reach was born from an organization called On The Move, a grassroots community organizing non-profit "rooted in school reform practices" that provided leadership coaching to schools across the Bay Area ("History of Reach," 2021).

In 2008, the Boston-based Match Charter Public School began licensing teachers through the Match Teacher Residency. Four years later, the program evolved into the Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education (Sposato), which received approval from the Massachusetts Board of Higher Education to grant master's degrees in 2012. Named for the founding Match principal Charles Sposato, the Sposato residency culminates in a Master's of Effective Teaching degree. In 2009, the Teachers College of San Joaquin (TCSJ) was founded in Stockton, California. Incorporating an already-existing district-based teacher internship program into its new graduate school, TCSJ was the progeny of a regional school district office, the San Joaquin County Office of Education. In 2010, the California-based Aspire charter school network launched a pilot program to grant master's degrees in conjunction with the University of the Pacific. Five years later, the master's pilot program relaunched as an independent graduate school called Aspire University, which became the Alder Graduate School of Education in 2017.

In 2011, a longstanding regional professional development center in the rural Upper Valley region of New Hampshire earned approval from the New Hampshire Postsecondary Education Commission to create an alternative to university-based master's program. The Upper Valley Graduate School of Education (UVGSE) was created by the Upper Valley Educators Institute (UVEI) to grant master's degrees and license teachers for public schools. In 2021, the UVGSE and UVEI merged into a single organization. In 2012, the American Museum of Natural History (AMNH) piloted a new teacher education program at the famed museum in New York. The museum created an urban Earth Science teacher residency program in partnership with New

York City public schools (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020). For the first few years, the New York State Board of Regents conferred the museum's master's degrees until the program was rehoused in the museum's degree-granting Richard Gilder Graduate School (RGGS), founded in 2006 to confer doctoral degrees in Comparative Biology. In 2013, a fully-online for-profit nGSE emerged when the Educatore teacher certification program enrolled its first online cohort after a two-year development period. Two years later in 2015, TEACH-NOW became TEACH-NOW Graduate School of Education with approval from the District of Columbia Higher Education Licensure Commission to operate as an institution of higher education and confer master's degrees.

Since the inception of the larger nGSE study from which this dissertation draws, two additional teacher preparation pilot programs have emerged at nGSEs. In 2015, the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, led by Arthur Levine, worked with Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) to develop a competency-based teacher education program. Borrowing rhetoric from the tech industry, the Woodrow Wilson Academy initiated what it called a "fail-fast" year with "design fellows" before enrolling master's candidates in 2018 (Jain, 2018). During its short history, the organization changed its name twice. The academy became the Woodrow Wilson Graduate School of Teaching and Learning, then ultimately the High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning (High Meadows). However, on July 28, 2021, High Meadows issued a public memorandum stating that "the Graduate School is actively seeking a partnership with another institution of higher education to best fulfill our mission and vision. If a partnership with another institution cannot be secured, the School will cease academic operations on December 31, 2021," which has since been updated to March 31, 2022 ("Letter of Public Notice," 2021). High Meadows is the only nGSE we have identified that has

faced complete closure. Meanwhile, in nearby Rhode Island, a new nGSE is in the earliest stage of inception. The Learning Community, a Providence-based K-8 charter school, announced the creation of a "fully independent degree granting institution of higher education," (Borg, 2019) called the Rhode Island School for Progressive Education (RISPE). RISPE launched its programming in 2021 with an ESL certification program for practicing teachers. Since launching with The Learning Community, RISPE has pivoted away from its partnership with charter schools and plans to unveil an alternative certification pathway in 2022, followed by a Master of Arts in Teaching in 2023, and a Master's in Education 2024 ("About Us," 2021).

With diverse organizational origins—from CMOs, to museums, to regional centers for professional development, to prestigious national foundations—most nGSEs experienced a foundational organizational shift as pilot programs gained traction (or failed to). Most nGSE teacher education pilot programs morphed into newly-formed schools of education to award master's degrees. The origins of these eleven organizations illustrate the breadth of the fields that intersect with teacher education in the early 21st century as the result of nGSEs' origins. As new players in teacher education, CMOS, museums, regional offices of teacher development, for-profit online colleges like TEACH-NOW—embraced change in order to test programs and products in the market of non-university teacher preparation. However, organizations continued to evolve once nGSEs congealed as independent entities.

Name Changes: Spin Offs and Spin Ups

In this section, I examine how name changes indicated internal change or turmoil. I argue that nGSEs were rebranding themselves when moving *away* from an existing organizational arrangement or moving *towards* a more marketable brand. For example, several nGSEs rebranded when parting ways with external degree-granters. When relaunching as standalone graduate schools, both Relay and Alder chose value-laden names. The

> The Alder myth tells of trees that stand on the front lines with courage, strength, and leadership–always and only in service to what is right and just–protecting and caring for all that is noble. We chose Alder as our name because we believe these qualities are embodied by excellent teachers and because they are emblematic of our organizational values and inspire us to uphold them ("About Alder," 2021).

Along somewhat similar lines, Relay chose its name because the word

> originates from the core goal of our work—making sure that all children have access to great teachers who will inspire them to learn and achieve. Research shows that children who have at least three effective teachers in a row—a "relay" of great teachers—show a dramatic increase in academic success ("Support," 2021).

Finally, with the approval of the New York State Board of Regents, the AMNH rehoused its MAT pilot program into its degree-granting Richard Gilder Graduate School, which was formed in 2006 to confer PhD's in Comparative Biology. In all three cases, nGSEs parted ways with their pilot degree granter: Hunter College for Relay, The University of the Pacific for Alder, and the Regents for the AMNH MAT program. Moving away from an external degree granter presented each nGSEs with a strategic opportunity to rebrand; for example, Alder and Relay emphasized their choice in selecting value-laden names that reflected the *cultural-cognitive* frames that motivate the organization. The AMNH MAT program was less a deliberate rebranding than realignment with the museum's existing degree-granting school.

Other nGSEs rebranded in order to realign the organization's scope or priorities. For example, the Woodrow Wilson Academy initially bore the name of its sponsor, the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation. Two years in, the Woodrow Wilson Academy changed its name to the Woodrow Wilson Graduate School of Teaching and Learning. In 2020, in the wake of national outcry over the death of George Floyd, the school changed its name *again* to

distance itself from Wilson's "racist legacy," which was incompatible with the program's commitment to "equity, justice, and anti-racism" (Out Name Change, 2020). Instead, the school chose to "recognize the commitment and leadership of our founding Board chair, Carl Ferenbach" and his foundation, the High Meadows Foundation (Our Name Change, 2020). Leaning into its funders, the High Meadows name change is a nod to the dynamic explored in the next chapter, nGSEs' loyalty to market logics.

The TEACH-NOW Graduate School of Education also changed its name in 2020. Founded in 2011, TEACH-NOW briefly operated under the name Educatore School of Education. Then, after operating solely as TEACH-NOW for seven years, TEACH-NOW changed its name to Moreland University in 2020, hoping that by "expanding their provisions to replicate a university-style structure and acting as an umbrella institution for multiple colleges, they will be able to continue this rate of growth into the future" (Wallbank, 2020). In the words of TEACH-NOW founder Emily Feistritzer, the impetus came from graduates who "really pushed for a name change; they wanted university on the name when they got their diplomas" (Moreland, 2020). As a for-profit company, TEACH-NOW's name change was motivated by the customer demand for the legitimacy that accompanies university status.

But *creating* a new university raises an interesting conundrum for the nGSE phenomenon. As we have defined them (Cochran-Smith, et al., 2016), nGSEs are unaffiliated with universities, so by rebranding as universities, two nGSEs introduced a new dimension to the existing organizational diversity by laying claim to traditional indicators of academic legitimacy. In addition to TEACH-NOW's change to Moreland University, in 2021, the Reach Institute for School Leadership in Oakland merged with a non-traditional, job-embedded start-up undergraduate teacher preparation program at the new Oxford Teachers Academy. Together,

these two programs became Reach University. TEACH-NOW and Reach opted to form outside of universities as part of a movement to "reinvent" teacher preparation (Reach, 2021; Carney, 2019). By shifting to embrace university status, Reach and TEACH-NOW show that nGSEs evolve in different directions and embrace highly unique trajectories in the process.

As their histories indicate, nGSE pilot programs had origins in a diverse array of organizations and initiatives. Some initially had university partners, which were authorized to grant master's degrees, but were able to *spin-off* once they became graduate schools themselves while others used their success to *spin-up* universities of their own. Most nGSEs never had university affiliations but went through a process of restructuration as they formalized non-degree granting pilot programs into graduate schools. Two overarching features are striking about nGSEs' early histories. First, the emergence of this new population of teacher education providers was characterized by far more change than continuity, given that every nGSE has experienced some kind of major structural shift since its inception. Second, this population of teacher education providers is evolving in divergent ways. That is, rather than rowing in a single direction, each nGSE is charting its own courses, partly as a result of diverse parent organizations and partly as the result of different specialization, which I elaborate in Chapter 6.

Reconfiguring Time and Space

In this section, I show how nGSEs have reconfigured time and place in their reorganization of teacher preparation outside of universities. This is the second major point I make that supports this chapter's overarching argument about *cultural cognitive divergence* at nGSEs. By altering the traditional grammar of university-based graduate teacher education, nGSEs have relocated their programming to new spaces closely related to their diverse origins (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020). In general, master's coursework at nGSEs takes place in charter

school classrooms, museum exhibits, district offices, and online. In this section, I argue that the relocation of teacher education to new spaces (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020; Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022) has contributed to cultural cognitive diversity among nGSEs while diminishing the importance of physical plant. In exploring nGSEs' relocation of teacher preparation, I analyze two teacher preparation models: the residency model, which places teacher candidates in schools nearly full time, and what I call the modular model, which prioritizes flexibility and portability online. Given this spatial shift, nGSEs offer coursework that wraps around other experiences, like school residencies or other presumed employment. This shift means that nGSEs do not maintain elaborate campuses for graduate-level teacher education, and this represents a major break with the university-based tradition.

Time and place are "contextual elements" that can be used with the broader *institutional logics* perspective in order to explain organizational changes (Ponte & Pesci, 2021; Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). The *institutional logics* perspective, elaborated in the next chapter, "focuses on the role of culture as central to institutional analysis" by studying the "socially constructed patterns of symbols and material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals and organizations produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804). This section analyzes how nGSEs organize time and place in order to show that nGSEs' material practices are situated in unique locations that reflect the specialized nature of their programming. Since nGSEs have reconfigured where and how teachers earn master's degrees, they have eliminated the need to maintain elaborate campuses or headquarters. Instead, nGSEs tend to orchestrate coursework to wrap around other experiences, such as school residencies or other presumed employment. To elaborate this argument, this section describes the residency model,

the rise of the modular flexibility model, and the wraparound effect of nGSE coursework that contributes to the decline of physical plant as an organizational feature of nGSEs.

The Residency Model

Nine of the eleven existing nGSEs structure teacher preparation around residency models of learning to teach. Residencies reorganize time and place to foreground time inside K-12 schools. Sometimes labeled as "internships," these approaches place teacher candidates *inside schools* for the majority of the hours they are enrolled in a master's program (Berry et al., 2008; Jagla, 2009; Solomon, 2009). The bulk of teacher education comes from *being* immersed in a K-12 school and working with a mentor teacher. However, "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)" (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020). The majority of residency programs in the United States are still affiliated with universities (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020). Drawing on previous scholarship from the larger research team, I

> use the term 'internship' to refer to teacher preparation programs wherein 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' models are terms that refer to programs wherein teacher candidates work alongside experienced teachers over time, usually a year or more, during most of the school week (e.g., four or more days per week), but the teacher candidates are not the teacher of record. During the residency or apprenticeship period, they take courses concurrently with classroom experience in the evenings or during one day a week or on weekends. It is important to note that terms, such as internship, apprenticeship, and residency, are not used consistently across programs or states (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020).

In general, nGSEs use the term residency to describe the ways that they have reorganized time (how candidate hours are spent) and space (where candidate hours are spent) for teacher preparation. For example, at High Tech High GSE, teacher candidates receive "900+ hours of classroom experience in one of the 16 High Tech High schools in the first year–more than 1.5x the average program" ("What sets us apart," 2021). During the second year of the program, teacher candidates are fully employed while taking classes towards their master's at High Tech High GSE in the evenings. High Tech High designed its GSE to be adjacent and physically connected to one of its K-12 schools. The Match Teacher Residency at Sposato works much the same way. During the first year in the program, Sposato candidates belong to the Match teaching corps, which places them inside charter schools 40 hours a week. They gather on week nights and Saturdays for GSE coursework. During the second year, while working towards the Master's of Effective Teaching degree, candidates are fully employed as teachers in schools while taking remaining coursework.

Relay offers a two-year residency program in 18 different cities nationwide. While the particularities vary from state to state, residencies involve a "gradual on-ramp towards teaching" working alongside a master teacher while taking GSE coursework in the evenings ("MAT + Teaching Residency," 2021). Relay partners with urban public districts and charter schools for its in-school residencies. During the second year, Relay residents teach full time while completing a capstone project and preparing for a master's defense ("MAT + Teaching Residency," 2021). Alder GSE also partners with public and charter schools in California for a two-year residency program. Residents pair with a mentor teacher for the entire year before seeking full-time employment and completing their master's degree ("Mentor and Resident Experience," 2021). Reach, also in California, has a job-embedded intern credential program that

can be coupled with its Master's in Teaching & Induction Program. TCSJ offers a residency program *and* an internship program for the preliminary California teaching credential; as noted above, the residency is for aspiring teachers, while the internship supports teachers of record in earning a master's degree and credential on the job. In New England, the Upper Valley GSE's 10-month internship places candidates in regional public school classrooms full time while working towards licensure and earning credits for a master's degree. RISPE's first job-embedded licensure program is expected to launch in 2022 with two residency-based master's degrees following in 2023 and 2024.

Lastly, the AMNH MAT program builds on the residency concept, but it takes the reorganization of time and place to another level with four interrelated place-based residencies (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020). Teacher candidates undertake one museum-based teaching summer residency, followed by two semester-long teaching residencies inside high-needs New York City public schools. The final term of the program features a field-based original science research residency (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020). The museum takes the concept of a school-based residency and expands upon it to include a residency in informal science education at the museum and a research-based residency where teacher candidates conduct original Earth Science research. All four residencies are in service of the same goal: creating Earth Science content experts for New York's urban schools (Olivo, 2021; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020).

The residency model fundamentally reconfigures both time and place for teacher education (Berry et al., 2008; Solomon, 2009). Teacher candidates work full-time inside partner schools, often alongside master teachers. As organizations, these nine nGSEs build *upon* and *around* the residency—the nGSE scaffolds the in-school residency by contracting with selected partner schools and master teachers, and the nGSE curriculum builds *upon* the classroom

experience and offers courses *around* the resident's time in schools. Yet, despite the structural similarity, residencies immerse teacher candidates into specific and very different teaching environments—charter networks, urban public schools, rural areas—which actually *accelerates* organizational divergence through the creation of context-specific partnerships with local schools (Cochran-Smith et al., 2022; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2019). Because the context varies—from rural public schools in Vermont to post-Katrina charter schools in Baton Rouge to unified urban school districts in Oakland to "no-excuses"-style charter schools in Boston—the organizational values of the nGSEs vary widely. Adopting the residency model means that time inside schools is the most time-consuming aspect of the degree program during the academic year. Nine nGSEs strategically selected mission-aligned school partners and personnel to enact their goals through a residency and built their GSE coursework upon and around the residency experience. While the majority of residency programs in the United States are still affiliated with universities (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020) or are various standalone urban residencies exist nationwide (Solomon, 2009; Berry et al., 2008), most nGSEs utilize the residency model to reconfigure time and place in ways that fosters diverse organizational culture among the population.

The Modular Flexibility Model

The two non-residency-based nGSEs have also fundamentally reordered teacher education around new conceptions of time and place. TEACH-NOW and the High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning exist entirely online. TEACH-NOW "employs an innovative online, activities-based, collaborative learning approach delivered in cohorts" (Moreland, 2020). Its founding mission was to "prepare tomorrow's teachers for tomorrow's students in tomorrow's learning world" (TEACH-NOW, 2013; Carney, 2019). High Meadows (formerly Woodrow Wilson) was conceived as an in-person competency-based program in

Cambridge, MA. As a result of the pandemic and other organizational issues, however, High Meadows repackaged its program into a fully online platform to make it a more marketable commodity as it searched for a new partner in higher education. From interviewing the program's leader, we know that the organization's rebooted product is a turnkey, ready-to-launch online competency-based master's degree including coursework and instructional videos.

TEACH-NOW and High Meadows took a similar approach to time. They operated as modular programs that were broken down into discrete units to accommodate working, as well as aspiring, teachers. I use the term *modular flexibility* to describe how these programs reordered time and space. High Meadows' model was organized around "a core group of competencies—skills, knowledge, and dispositions—that teachers need to succeed in the classroom. Master's candidates' level of mastery in these competencies is measured throughout the project-based coursework—called challenges" ("Degree Details," 2021). Candidates moved through the modules at their own pace and progressed once they demonstrated mastery. TEACH-NOW's novel approach to time was reflected in the how they enrolled candidates—accepting new cohorts of candidates each month, except December, with coursework organized into one-month modules with synchronous and asynchronous components (Carney, 2019). This flexible modular approach catered to TEACH-NOW's international affiliates, many of whom were practicing teachers in international schools seeking American teacher licensure.

Wraparound Coursework and Decline of Physical Plant

There are two significant organizational byproducts of nGSEs' reconfiguration of time and place. The first is what I refer to as the wraparound effect of nGSE coursework. The wraparound effect is that the majority of nGSEs offer coursework at night and/or on the weekends. In the case of residencies, teacher candidates spent many more hours in schools than

they did in classes; for example, AMNH MAT candidates spent four days a week in schools, Sposato candidates were in schools forty hours a week, and Reach candidates worked full time in classrooms. With residencies, GSE courses complement in-school experiences and often take place on-site at partner organizations, such as K-12 schools, museums, or regional professional development centers. For example, Relay and Alder residents took GSE courses on site at their partner schools. High Tech High GSE was located adjacent to a High Tech High K-12 school. Sposato's coursework took place in the evenings and on Saturdays at Match Charter Public Schools. UVGSE classes took place at the Upper Valley Educators Institute and online. The AMNH MAT residents took courses on Fridays at the museum in a museum lecture hall and among the exhibits. Reach's district intern program "adapts their programs to meet the on-the-job training needs of their participants" ("Intern Credential Program," 2021). Across residencies, the role of the GSE has shifted to foreground the in-school learning experience.

The wraparound effect applies to the two online programs as well. TEACH-NOW and High Meadows' modular approaches were segmented into discrete units to accommodate adults working full-time. While TEACH-NOW did not dictate the candidate's work life the way the residencies did, TEACH-NOW coursework was designed to be portable and flexible so that working adults, career switchers, or Veterans could enter the field of teacher education. High Meadows' competency-based coursework was designed to be self-paced so that teachers could earn their master's degrees as quickly as their competence would allow. The program's pivot to online instruction added a new dimension of flexibility to the degree. These programs capitalized on the appeal of online, modular programming and its customizability for working adults, particularly teachers, who wanted to earn a master's degree while working full time.

The ways nGSEs reconfigured time and place de-emphasized the importance of physical plant. As new organizations entering the field of teacher education, nGSEs did not maintain elaborate campuses or even headquarters. With nGSE residencies, in-person coursework took place primarily at partner organizations, such as schools, and/or online. Tax records show that these nGSEs operate with very little independent physical infrastructure. Unlike the imposing facades of universities, nGSEs maintain scant physical space because they do not need to accommodate extensive business or academic operations. For example, TEACH-NOW maintained office space in Washington, DC, but all coursework took place virtually. The AMNH MAT occupied shared research space in the museum's archives and utilized public exhibits and outdoor facilities as learning spaces. High Tech High GSE shared space with High Tech High's K-12 schools. Relay, Sposato, and Alder utilized partner schools for classroom space. TCSJ and UVGSE shared resources with and were physically embedded within regional professional development centers. As evidenced by their tax records, most nGSEs maintained modest business offices and utilized their partner networks for facilities rather than maintaining pricy campuses. This shift points to another critical feature of nGSEs as organizations: the significance of embedded business models.

Embedded Business Models

In this section, I analyze the predominance of embedded business models at nGSEs. Embedded business models refer to organizations guided by a clear and closely-related parent organization. In this section, I show that most nGSEs were, or had been, governed a parent organization at some point over the last fifteen years. Within this category, there was variation; for example, two nGSEs were fully integrated into other non-profit organizations, meaning that they do not exist apart from the parent organization. These organizations' financial records and

business operations were integrated into those of the parent organization, which is the case with the AMNH MAT program and Teachers College of San Joaquin. Several other nGSEs, including Upper Valley GSE, Sposato GSE, and High Tech High GSE, are independent organizations, but they share resources, personnel, funding, and trustees with their parent organizations. TEACH-NOW and Reach were once stand-alone organizations that recently launched their own parent organizations, Moreland University and Reach University. Finally, High Meadows, Relay, RISPE, and Alder exist as stand-alone operations, even though many of them had parent organizations during the pilot phase.

Here, I argue that that embedded business models contributed to *cultural cognitive divergence* among nGSEs by creating tight alignment between the nGSEs and their diverse parent and partner organizations. By capitalizing on shared organizational infrastructure (people, values, funders), nGSEs embedded themselves in other fields outside of teacher preparation—from public museums to education reform organizations to for-profit higher education. Institutional theorists define *institutional fields* as "those organizations that, in the aggregate, constitute a recognized area of institutional life: key suppliers, resource and product consumers, regulatory agencies, and other organizations that produce similar services of products" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983, p. 148). In the case of nGSEs, tight alignment with diverse parent and partner organizations meant that nGSEs do not form a unitary field of "similar service" providers. Rather, nGSEs reflected the organizational characteristics, histories, and priorities of their diverse parent organizations.

Fully Integrated Business Models

Two of the eleven nGSEs were fully embedded within other organizations—the AMNH MAT program and the Teacher's College of San Joaquin. These nGSEs did not maintain

separate books or file separate financials from the parent organization each tax year. These non-profit graduate schools were organizationally integrated into the parent organization's physical and financial infrastructure. I call these *fully integrated* business models. The Teacher's College of San Joaquin is the "only regionally accredited institution of higher education that is a department within a county office of education" ("About Us," 2021), which is itself a public sector organization that houses all of the business infrastructure for TCSJ, including payroll disbursement, and tuition collection. While TCSJ maintains its own website, it shares personnel, business infrastructure, and trustees with the San Joaquin County Office of Education.

The MAT program in Earth Science is housed within the Richard Gilder Graduate School at the AMNH. Neither the MAT program nor the graduate school operates as a stand-alone organization; rather, both are parts of the larger museum, and so they do not file separate tax returns. The MAT's science faculty are jointly appointed as curators the museum and professors at the graduate school. MAT classes take place in and among the public exhibitions and museum classrooms. The Richard Gilder Graduate School and the MAT program wre fully integrated into the museum's business apparatus that governed funding, personnel, and space.

In its earliest years, Alder operated as a fully integrated program within the Aspire Public Schools CMO. In 2015, when Alder began granting its own degrees, it expanded became a stand-alone non-profit graduate school of education. This is typical of the pilot phase at several nGSEs, including High Tech High's district intern program or Match's Teacher Residency. Once most these organizations launched their own GSEs, they developed separate business infrastructure to handle staffing, revenue, and fundraising for the GSE. Only the museum and TCSJ have remained fully integrated.

Embedded Business Models

The embedded business model represents an additional degree of separation between the nGSE and its parent organization. I use this term to refer to organizations that share features—name, place, personnel, funders, and faculty—with their parent organizations, but they are stand-alone in that they are governed by their own boards and have independent sources of revenue. High Tech High GSE, for example, shares physical space, funders, and faculty with High Tech High. The founders of High Tech High also founded its GSE to forward the mission of the parent organization by preparing teachers for the project-based progressive charter network (Mehta & Fine, 2019). However, the High Tech High GSE was founded as an independent nonprofit with its own governance structure. The Sposato Graduate School of Education maintains a similar relationship with its parent organization, Match Education. Match's executive leaders also oversee Sposato, but the GSE is a separate nonprofit entity with its own trustees and sources of revenue. The Upper Valley Graduate School of Education and its parent organization, the Upper Valley Educators Institute, maintained separate governance structures starting 2014 when the school of education was founded, though they shared a name, space, and faculty. In 2021, the UVGSE and UVEI "merged into a unified, graduate school of education, offering programs in teaching, educational leadership, and literacy education ("About Us," 2021). Capitalizing on the history, reputation, funders, and resources of a parent organization gave these fledgling organizations a leg up because they had the opportunity to capitalize on existing assets rather than starting from scratch.

However, two nGSEs with charter affiliations quickly pivoted *away* from the embedded business model. In 2019, the Rhode Island School for Progressive Education was formed by The Learning Community, a K-8 nonprofit charter school network (Borg, 2019). However, RISPE

quickly pivoted away from its founding parent organization and now exists as a stand-alone non-profit organization with its own personnel and funding streams. Relay, which was founded by the leaders of three prominent charter networks in New York, was originally embedded in Hunter College as "Teacher U" during its pilot phase, during which time it was technically a university-based teacher preparation program. When Relay became a stand-alone school of education, it did so independent of KIPP, Achievement First, and Uncommon Schools. Relay was the first stand-alone graduate school of education founded in New York State since Bank Street School of Education in 1916 (Mungal, 2019).

University Spin Ups

In a fascinating recent twist, the three stand-alone nGSEs have recently amended their governance structures in order to "embed" their new graduate schools of education *into* newly-created umbrella organizations. These nGSEs have reversed the order of origin by creating *their own* universities and subsequently embedding their graduate schools within brand new universities created to expand on their success in the field of teacher preparation (Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022). Echoing the 20th century evolution of normal schools into state colleges, TEACH-NOW, Reach and High Meadows have created what I call university *spin ups.* In 2020, TEACH-NOW GSE renamed itself Moreland University, which is now the umbrella for TEACH-NOW and its future endeavors in for-profit online higher education. This new arrangement opens the door to additional schools under the Moreland label (Moreland, 2020). In a press release written by Moreland, the organization writes, "While it cut its teeth on education, Moreland University recognizes that there is now room for growth into other fields" (Moreland, 2020). In December 2021, TEACH-NOW founder Emily Feistritzer sold the whole enterprise (TEACH-NOW and Moreland University) to a St. Louis-based corporate education

suite, called The Calibri Group. In 2021, Reach did something similar. The Reach Institute for School Leadership embedded itself in the newly-founded Reach University, which houses the Reach Institute for School Leadership, its graduate school of education, as well as the new Oxford Teaching Academy, a job-embedded bachelor's program for aspiring teachers, which was incubated at Reach for a year before launching. This move also makes Reach the first nGSE to experiment with undergraduate teacher preparation.

But not all partnerships are motivated by success. After just three years in operation and with $23 million in seed money, as of this writing, the High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning is searching for a new partner in higher education so that it can embed its portable online master's program into another institution of higher education. Despite its close ties to MIT and extensive funding, the stand-alone graduate school was unable to survive its infancy without a parent organization. If it does not secure a partner in higher education, the self-proclaimed "fail fast" experiment will come to an end on March 31, 2022 (Jain, 2019; "Letter of Public Notice," 2021; "Letter of Public Notice," 2022).

Over the course of the 20th century, "market forces propelled the normal school through a process of institutional evolution" that culminated in state universities (Labaree, 2004, p. 27). This gradual institutional relocation resulted in the phenomenon that nGSEs and other reforms promised to disrupt: the university "monopoly" on teacher preparation. As we have shown (Cochran-Smith, et al., 2020), nGSEs entered the field of teacher education as graduate schools of education not affiliated with universities. As new and untested organizations, nGSEs sought legitimacy by, on the one hand, promoting their novel approaches to reinventing teacher preparation and, on the other, relying on embedded business models to capitalize on the existing capital, resources, and credibility of other organizations. Now Moreland and Reach have moved

to create their *own* universities, which suggests that formal markers of educational legitimacy still matter. So while nGSEs have relocated teacher preparation to new spaces, embraced new models for school-based or online teacher preparation, de-emphasized physical plants, and positioned themselves as providers of flexible wraparound programming, they also clung to some traditional markers of legitimacy.

Traditional Markers of Legitimacy

In the final section of this chapter, I examine the shared normative organizational features of nGSEs. Here, I argue that nGSEs are linked by a new shared *normative* and *regulative* aspects of organizational culture, despite broad cultural diversity. Since adherence to state regulations is rarely a matter of choice, I focus on shared norms. My fourth proposition is that nGSEs cling to select markers of *normative* legitimacy. However, these *normative* markers of legitimacy—like accreditation and nomenclature—*have not* institutionalized nGSEs through a process of mimicry (Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022). Rather, nGSEs illustrate that market forces have rewarded *cultural cognitive* divergence, not *institutionalized* mimicry. The norming pull of legitimacy carries little weight amongst these organizations that are dedicated to overturning and reinventing the conventions of the past. Yet, as new organizations, nGSEs embraced selected markers of legitimacy. To show this, I examine accreditation trends, organizational nomenclature, and research initiatives at nGSEs. Together, these aspects of organizational culture illuminate the ways that traditional markers of legitimacy persist despite the rapid diversification among the *cultural cognitive* aspects of organizations. The final section of this chapter discusses the organizational arenas where nGSEs bridge their newness with the past by embracing accreditation, education, nomenclature and research as indications of their legitimacy.

Accreditation

Many nGSEs are accredited by regional and/or programmatic accreditors (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020; Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022). In some cases, regional accreditation is required by the state; in others, accreditation is elective, though it is often tied to federal financial aid eligibility requirements. (However, as discussed in the next chapter, most nGSEs operate outside the federal financial aid system, which renders accreditation a matter of legitimacy rather than eligibility.) As we have argued elsewhere,

> Beyond state accreditation, seven nGSEs are either institutionally accredited by one of the nation's regional accreditors, which have traditionally accredited colleges and universities to allow cross-institutional transfer of credits and to confer students' eligibility to seek federal tuition grants (Alder GSE, HIGH TECH HIGHGSE, Reach Institute, Relay GSE, Teachers College of San Joaquin, Upper Valley Institute/GSE) or are currently seeking regional accreditation (Rhode Island School for Progressive Education)…In addition to institutional accreditation, the educator preparation programs at three nGSEs (the MAT at AMNH, Relay GSE, TEACH-NOW) are accredited by CAEP, the larger of the two national programmatic accreditors in the field of educator preparation. (Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022, p. 32)

Reach, Teachers College of San Joaquin, High Tech High, and Alder are all approved by the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing and institutionally accredited by the Western Association of Schools and Colleges (WASC). However, none of these schools sought national professional programmatic accreditation (from CAEP or previously, NCATE or TEAC) on top of regional accreditation. The Upper Valley Educators Institute is institutionally accredited by the regional accreditor, the New England Commission on Higher Education (NECHE, formerly the New England Association of Schools and Colleges). High Meadows once began the process of seeking NECHE accreditation prior to announcing its merger or dissolution. Sposato, also in New England, is approved by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and is pursuing accreditation

by the Accrediting Commission of Career Schools and Colleges, rather than regional accreditation through NECHE. The Richard Gilder Graduate School at the AMNH is institutionally accredited by the New York State Board of Regents and the Commissioner of Education, and the MAT Program is programmatically accredited by the Council for the Accreditation of Educator Preparation (CAEP). Relay has programmatic accreditation from CAEP and is institutionally accredited by the regional accreditor, the Middle States Commission on Higher Education.

TEACH-NOW is programmatically accredited by CAEP and institutionally accredited by the Distance Education Accreditation Commission (DEAC). It has also been approved by the National Council for State Authorization Reciprocity Agreements and the Veterans Administration to receive federal funds. TEACH-NOW is also approved by the Higher Education Licensure Commission (HELC) and the Office of the State Superintendent for Education to operate in Washington, DC, as well as the Arizona Department of Education in Arizona and the Hawaii State Approved Teacher Education Programs in Hawaii. Approval in Washington, Arizona, and Hawaii is the foundation for interstate reciprocity and allows TEACH-NOW to recommend graduates for initial certification. As we have argued elsewhere (Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022), accreditation seems to plays a more important role for TEACH-NOW because of the organization's for-profit status. TEACH-NOW has combated skepticism over both its online *and* its for-profit nature in part by seeking multiple accreditations and approvals, in addition to enhancing its networks with partners from around the world. Accreditation may mean more at TEACH-NOW than it does at other nGSEs, where accreditation is seen as a bureaucratic hurdle, rather than a testament to their quality (Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022).

Nomenclature

The majority of nGSEs have integrated university nomenclature into organizational culture, signaling adherence to longstanding norms in the field of teacher education. While nGSEs have been unequivocal in their call to "reinvent" teacher preparation by breaking with universities, they have, nevertheless, integrated normative nomenclature into their organizations as a way to "lay claim to institutional territory long reserved for universities" (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020). For example, six nGSEs use the term "graduate school of education"—Alder, High Tech High, Relay, Sposato, TEACH-NOW, and Upper Valley. High Meadows is a "graduate school of teaching and learning." Teachers College of San Joaquin's name mimics both a prestigious university and harkens back to the pre-institutionalized period of regional teachers colleges (Labaree, 2004). Moreland and Reach have come full circle to embrace the business opportunities that the term "university" affords them.

nGSEs borrow university nomenclature within programs as well (Cochran-Smith, et al., 2020; Cochran-Smith, 2020). Alder, Sposato, High Tech High GSE, Reach and the AMNH MAT use the term "dean" to describe program leaders. TEACH-NOW, Relay, High Tech High GSE, High Meadows, and TCSJ are led by a "president." High Tech High GSE and High Meadows even use the term "emeritus" to describe their past presidents. Relay takes the term "provost," and RISPE has a "Vice President of University Services and Administration," even though the organization is not a university. Using the university language for organization names and personnel titles offers a window into how nGSEs think of themselves as university peers. This confirms that they are deliberately encroaching on university territory by borrowing *just enough* university culture, in this case nomenclature, to signal legitimacy and position themselves as competitors in the organizational field of teacher preparation.

However, nGSEs also reach *outside* the field of teacher preparation to signal their adherence to start-up culture and its businesslike ethos. This point prefigures an argument made in the next chapter that nGSEs are governed by *market*. In this case, combining nomenclature that reflects universities *and* business suggests the overall tension between educational legitimacy and market orientation. Interestingly, in addition to using university nomenclature, nGSEs have also borrowed and created titles from the world of business, as have many graduate schools of education at universities. Some titles indicate the significance of networks, including Managing Director of Strategy and Partnerships (Alder), Director of Partnerships (Sposato), Vice President of Strategy and Partnerships (RISPE), and Chief External Affairs Office (Relay). Some organizations are run by Chief Executive Officers (Sposato and TEACH NOW), Chief Learning Officers (TEACH NOW), or Chief Financial Officers (High Tech High GSE). The fact that nGSEs borrow nomenclature from business, start ups, and higher education is an indication of the hybrid values that guide nGSEs as organizations. Along different lines, however, the AMNH MAT program's officers have titles that reflect the significance of museum-based science research: Associate Curator, Department of Earth and Planetary Science or Frick Curator of Fossil Mammals, Division of Paleontology and Principal Investigator, Sackler Institute for Comparative Genomics. In the case of the AMNH MAT program, research-oriented titles reflect the academic values that guide the museum's teacher preparation program; it is driven by demand for Earth Science teachers as well as the museum's mission to produce original science research. The AMNH MAT emphasis on research highlights the next aspect of nGSEs' ties to traditional university operations: the emphasis on scholarly research.

Research

Many nGSEs have incorporated an element of original institutional research into organizational culture in a way that mimics the research traditions of universities. While the research initiatives at nGSEs vary, they all represent attempts to generate and disseminate original practices or knowledge. Research and dissemination play a prominent role in culture—and revenue—at some nGSEs. That six nGSEs have woven original research into their organizational fabric is an indication that traditional markers of legitimacy persist, even where the rhetoric or reinvention and innovation looms large. Even so, while several nGSEs have adopted the rhetoric of original research, the execution looks very different from research universities and from one another. High Tech High's main research practice involves an annual conference; the AMNH MAT program incorporates original science research into the course of study, and Sposato's research initiatives are paid income generators. Once again, this variation underscores a common theme about nGSEs: each organization takes a different approach to a common endeavor. For example, High Tech High's Center for Research on Equity and Innovation "brings together practitioners, researchers and youth to address complex problems of practice in K-12 education and create more equitable, engaging learning environments for all students" ("What We Do," 2021). The center facilitates what it calls "networked improvement communities," online workshops, and online protocols. High Tech High GSE also hosts the annual Deeper Learning Conference, which is "an annual gathering of powerful educators focused on creating more equitable outcomes by engaging students in deeper learning" ("Deeper Learning Conference," 2021). The annual conference costs $1090 per attendee and has become a major source of revenue and publicity for High Tech High GSE.

Sposato's research arm also doubles as a revenue generator. Match Export is the umbrella for disseminating knowledge generated by Sposato and its parent organization Match. Match Export is "our effort to share our knowledge with educators" since "we have learned a lot about the nature of good teaching, about how to coach and develop good teachers, about rigorous curriculum, and generally about how to design and run a good school" ("Match Export," 2021). Match Export oversees Match Minis, Match Fishtank, and Match's Coursera MOOCS. Match Minis are short video clips about aspects of classroom management, lesson planning, classroom moves, school culture, and parent involvement that reflect Match's vision of good teaching ("Matchminis," 2021). Fishtank Learning offers free curriculum materials, lesson maps, unit prep, and content assessment from Match curriculum designers. Teachers and schools can upgrade to Fishtank+ for paid access to even more in-depth preparation and content development.

The Upper Valley Graduate School of Education's Barbara Barnes Initiative for Collaborative Learning brings together "networked educators [to] work on a shared design challenge, research the challenge in their setting, consult research literature related to the challenge, design a prototype solution, pilot and evaluate the design, and publish the results" ("Barnes Initative," 2021). This research initiative, which resembles the nature of professional learning at High Tech High GSE, positions UVEI as a regional networking facilitator for practitioner research across the region.

Research plays an essential role in the culture of the AMNH MAT program as well, but in a very different way. Under the supervision of practicing science researchers, teacher candidates conduct original research as part of their capstone residency in Earth Science. The museum's education faculty actively disseminate museum-based research; for example, the

museum's evaluation department recently published a profile of the program in Education Week (Hammerness, Contino, & McDonald, 2020); its teacher educators frequent science education conferences (Contino & Kinzler 2016, Kinzler & Contino, 2016), and museum-based education personnel publish about learning to teach in museums (Adams & Gupta, 2015).

Alder maintains a database of research conducted by Alder researchers and faculty. This work has appeared in *Educational Researcher* and *Cultural Studies of Science Education,* as well as two recent edited volumes, *Researching Science Education: Same Issues from Different Lenses* and *Navigating the Challenges of Elementary Science Teaching and Learning: Using Case-Based Pedagogy to Understand Dilemmas of Practice.*

High Meadows self-publishes its own research on competency-based teacher preparation, science teacher education, and program design. Teachers College of San Joaquin curates an extensive digital Professional Learning Center with paid professional development units prepared by outside partners, but does not market its own research on teaching or teacher education. Relay's Professional Education department has developed its own content and offers paid professional development workshops online; Relay has also recently overseen the publication of a report entitled, "Lessons Learned from High Gaining Alumni of Relay Graduate School of Education National Principal and Supervisors Academy."

Research plays a prominent role in organizational culture at nGSEs. nGSEs' research initiatives vary in purpose, orientation, and depth. Some research initiatives are more promotional than scholarly, and some research dissemination wings are part of sophisticated marketing operations that generate organizational revenue. These research initiatives tend to emphasize practitioner research that is intended to promote professional development and the improvement of context-specific practices. But the incorporation of research, however it is

conceptualized by the organization, suggests that traditional markers of legitimacy associated with universities still matter to new educational organizations breaking into the field. As new organizations, nGSEs incorporate *normative* elements of accreditation, nomenclature, and research to signal their legitimacy in the field of higher education.

Divergent Histories and Environments

This chapter presented four interrelated arguments about nGSEs' organizational histories and environments based on analysis of proprietary documents, public websites, promotional marketing materials, press releases, and tax records. The first proposition was that nGSEs evolved rapidly along divergent trajectories as the result of different *cultural-cognitive* frames derived from varied origins and networks. The second proposition was that nGSEs have reconfigured time and place for teacher preparation, altering the traditional grammar of university-based graduate teacher education and foregrounding the role of schools in learning to teach. The third proposition was that nGSEs capitalized on shared organizational infrastructure, often by employing embedded business models. But sharing organizational infrastructure (funding, personnel, values) with parent and partner organizations meant that nGSEs did not form a single field because they were more aligned with the fields from which they originated than with each other. However, my fourth proposition revealed that traditional markers of legitimacy persisted at nGSEs, though the *norming* forces of legitimacy had not overshadowed the *cultural cognitive divergence* that resulted from diverse origins.

Together, these four propositions support my argument that 21st century market forces have incentivized *cultural cognitive divergence* at nGSEs. These organizations are as responsive to market forces as their 20th century predecessors (Labaree, 2004), but 21st century markets reward differentiation and reinvention, rather than mimicry and convention. The histories,

programs, and business models of nGSEs demonstrate how unique organizational trajectories and highly specialized cultural approaches to teacher preparation have gained momentum in the last fifteen years. Chapters 5 and 6 argue that this is the function of a market-oriented policy climate that encourages the development of organizational niches. In the next chapter, I illustrate that each nGSE's response to market forces was distinctive. This turn towards specialization, it turns out, is not just the result of a sudden wave of innovation but is a direct response to the imposition of market-based reforms onto the field of teacher preparation.

Chapter 5

Market Logics at nGSEs: An Analysis of Symbolic & Material Practices

Chapter 4 points out that market forces have long affected the institutional location of teacher education; in fact, the push-and-pull of supply and demand in the mid 20th century "propelled the normal school through a process of institutional evolution that eventually transformed it into a general purpose university" (Labaree, 2004, p. 29). Then, in the 1980s, the university's so-called "monopoly" over teacher preparation became the subject of heated debate (Cochran-Smith & Fries, 2001; Cochran-Smith et al., 2020). Concern with the perceived university monopoly dovetailed with broader national and international discourses about the power of deregulated economic systems to increase quality through competition. By deregulating and diversifying *institutionalized* areas of American life, market-based reforms promised to elevate American institutions by reviving unbridled competition. This broad logic placed faith in markets to improve social institutions, including education (Meyer & Rowan, 2006).

In education, neoliberal reforms encouraged the creation of alternatives—alternative schools like charter schools, alternative teacher pathways like Teach for America, and even alternative philanthropic giving paradigms with more targeted attention and higher expectations about outcomes. Reformers who believed in the power of markets advocated for breaking up *institutionalized* educational monopolies. In Chapter 5, I argue that nGSEs are guided by market logic. I analyze how market logic guided the emergence and evolution of nGSEs, then in Chapter 6, I explore the creation of specialized niches in the demand-driven market for teacher preparation programs. Through careful analysis of nGSEs' historical features, organizational environments, and business models based on program documents, marketing materials, public

website information, and tax filings, I argue that markets have generally rewarded specialization and diversification among nGSEs.

To demonstrate the guiding logic of markets at nGSEs, I make three points that rely on the concept of *institutional logic*, a term from sociological neoinstitutionalism that captures an organization's underlying order of values. Institutional logics, as Thornton and Ocasio (1999) wrote, are "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (p. 804). Logics often manifest themselves as "a set of material practices and symbolic constructions which constitute [an institution's] organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). In Chapters 5, I identify nGSEs' underlying logic by analyzing their material practices (programs, structures, residencies, roles) and symbolic constructions (values, mission, partners, fields) to see what "assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules" underlie organizational culture.

Friedland & Alford (1991) wrote that institutional logic is a set of material practices that individuals and programs elaborate in the course of everyday life that symbolize broader organizing principles. They identified several institutional orders that had their own logics, including the capitalist market, bureaucratic state, nuclear family, and religion. Later, Thornton, Ocasio, and Lounsbury (2014) refined this list to include markets, state, democracy, family, religion, and community. In this chapter, I analyze everyday symbolic and material practices at nGSEs for evidence of market logic. Market logics are organizational mechanisms that practically or symbolically embody the core values and concepts of capitalism, such as

competition, supply and demand, incentives for innovation, risk and reward, investment and interest, privatization, growth, and personal gain (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999).

The purpose of this chapter is to integrate the market perspective into what has so-far been a historical and institutional analysis of organizational culture. Chapter 4 presented an analysis of organizational features and trends. Chapter 5 brings the market perspective to bear by arguing that market-based teacher education reforms encouraged the development of new organizations guided by market logic. These new organizations had to compete with one another and with many other teacher education providers, which is why they specialized early and evolved quickly. Despite a high degree of specialization at each organization, market logic is ubiquitous across nGSEs.

My analysis of market logic at nGSEs focuses on nGSEs' funding models. I define funding models as all of the mechanisms for collecting and managing material subsistence at nGSEs, a category that includes each organization's tuition arrangement, relationship to federal financial aid, marketing approaches, and external funding arrangements. My analysis of these structures reveals that nGSE funding models, including the ten non-profits, were guided by market logic. Evidence of market logic is revealed in nGSEs' experimentation with reduced tuition models, reliance on philanthropic investment, privatization of organizational funding, and adoption of commercial marketing tactics. Market logic is *not* exclusive to for-profit organizations, nor is it a synonym for being profit-driven. Market logic manifests itself in funding practices and, as I elaborate in the next chapter, demand-driven organizational niches. Several nGSEs were barely breaking even despite lavish philanthropic support. Market logic, therefore it not synonymous with business-like success. Here, I use data from interviews, financial aid documents, admissions websites, and federal tax filings to analyze tuition, financial

aid, and funding arrangements at nGSEs. And in doing so, I find that market logic was ubiquitous across nGSEs.

The first major section of this chapter shows how nGSEs' material and symbolic practices are guided by market logic. I show that nGSEs' material practices for collecting tuition, navigating federal financial aid, and raising external funds were driven by market logic. Then I review symbolic and rhetorical evidence of market logics at nGSEs by exploring how these new organizations embraced markets through the symbolic commodification, universalization, and reinvention of teacher preparation.

The chapter's second major section unpacks the role of private philanthropies guided by the ethos of the "new education philanthropy," which is a new "muscular" approach to large scale philanthropic giving that incorporates accountability to measurable outcomes with social impact investment (Hess, 2005). Using federal tax data, I examine the difference in revenue generated by tuition payments and revenue from philanthropies, showing how major corporate philanthropies support nGSEs. Given the reliance of most nGSEs on ongoing philanthropic support, the chapter then examines the overlapping web of national corporate funders and localized community funders that support nGSEs.

Market Logic at nGSEs

Market logics, broadly speaking, are mechanisms that practically or symbolically embody the core values of capitalism in organizational culture (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999). This section analyzes logics on the organizational, rather than institutional, level. Like institutional logics, *organizational logics* encapsulate an organization's broader organizing principles (Friedland & Alford, 1991). In this section, I show how market logics animated nGSEs' funding and financial practices. By analyzing federal tax records, publicly-available websites, promotional material,

grant narratives, and proprietary institutional information, this chapter demonstrates the infusion of market logic into nGSEs' tuition models, their use (or not) of federal financial aid, and their external funding arrangements. After analyzing the role of market logic in shaping nGSEs' funding practices, I examine how nGSEs symbolically embrace the commodification, universalization, and reinvention of teacher preparation.

Tuition Models

Tuition arrangements at nGSEs utilized market-based strategies in order to make obtaining a master's degree in education straightforward and affordable. Along these lines, nGSEs offered cash incentives, cost-sharing plans, no-interest payment plans, and fellowships to keep tuition low for teacher candidates. Relay's website, for example, even made a distinction between the cost of tuition and the expected out-of-pocket cost to candidates, which read more like a health insurance company's explanation of benefits than a university's financial aid award. nGSEs experimented with a host of cost-saving measures and worked to contain "out-of-pocket costs" for teacher candidates by appealing to private donors, partnering with charter networks, generating new revenue streams, deferring collection of loans, and securing prestigious grants.

Based a variety of data sources, from handbooks to websites to accreditation documents to grant narratives, my tuition analysis revealed that market logic was everywhere. For example, the AMNH MAT program's tuition ($44,750) was twice as high as any other program; however, the out-of-pocket cost for prospective teachers was the lowest ($0), and the enrollment incentive was the greatest ($30,000 living stipend plus laptop and certification fees). The museum received extensive public and private funding, which helped to underwrite tuition fellowships and provide funds for these generous stipends (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020). Grant funding was so abundant for the AMNH program that some graduates also received a $10,000 salary boost during their

first three years of teaching. No other program was able to underwrite *all* of the program costs the way the museum did, but others found interesting and innovative ways to manage tuition costs. For example, TEACH-NOW kept costs low by operating entirely online and charging $13,000 for a master's degree in education including initial certification (worth $6,000 on its own). TEACH-NOW candidates paid $1000 in no-interest monthly installments as they progressed through the 13-month program master's program or the 9-month program for certification only. Reach offered the lowest price point for obtaining a master's degree and an initial teaching credential at $9,250. Reach did not offer payment plans or partner with the federal financial aid system, which meant that candidates were responsible for the full amount.

Sposato characterized its unique tuition arrangement as an "income share agreement" that split the risk of loan default between the organization and the candidate. In an article about Sposato's creative funding approach (Goldstein & McCue, 2020), Sposato founders explained their reasoning, which is worth quoting at length:

> In 2011, we were opening a brand-new graduate school of education. Ours was the typical start-up problem. We had no track record. Why should customers—recent grads from selective colleges who wanted to become schoolteachers—choose us? The top graduate schools, like Harvard, had established reputations and gorgeous campuses. The upstart graduate schools, often operating online, spent huge amounts to acquire a customer—as much as $14,000 in marketing expenses to acquire a single master's student.
>
> We had none of that: no prestige, no campus, nor that kind of advertising budget.
>
> What was our competitive advantage? We were willing to live or die on job placement. Many education school graduates get their degrees in May without a job offer in hand. New teacher hiring often happens in June, July, and even August. If students borrow with conventional student loans, they must

> repay them even if they don't get hired. For those who earn a master's degree in teaching, this happens quite a bit.
>
> We believed we could generate teachers that principals would really want to hire, and that our graduates would get multiple job offers in springtime. So why not finance things differently?
>
> We drafted an offer to prospective students: "We believe principals will covet teachers who get our degrees. Therefore, we'll absorb all of the risk that you won't get hired. Assuming you get hired into a new school of your choosing, and you're earning $40,000 to $60,000 as a starting salary, you'll pay us back the tuition over 2 years, interest free.

Goldstein and McCue's language typifies the integration of market logic into organizational culture—they suggested that Sposato should be thought of as a startup, they referred to teacher candidates as customers, they searched for a competitive advantage, and they initiated a cost-sharing model that spread risk among candidates, schools, and Sposato as a marketing strategy. This quote from Sposato leaders echoes several arguments from Chapter 4. Goldstein and McCue acknowledged the importance of organizational legitimacy and renounced the importance of physical plant; these symbolic constructs—start up, customers, competitive advance, marketing—were embodied in their tuition mechanisms. Sposato teacher candidates paid $18,000 in tuition in no-interest installments over three years once they were hired to teach full-time. Sposato further subsidized tuition for teacher candidates by providing a $4,000 philanthropic grant and an $8,000 placement fee paid by the schools that hired their graduates. In other words, the organization found clever ways to reduce the financial burden on the candidate by spreading the cost across multiple payors.

With many nGSE programs, the cost of tuition varied between residencies and master's-only pathways. For example, the cost of earning a master's degree at the Upper Valley Educators

Institute was $6,600 for those who had already completed their residency program, but $23,280 for candidates who had not completed their initial preparation programming. UVEI made no-interest payment plans available upon request as did Relay and the Teacher's College of San Joaquin. TCSJ tuition ranged from $5,500 to $9,200 for former interns and residents to $15,360 for non-residency candidates seeking master's degrees only. High Tech High GSE residency tuition totaled $22,000 over two years. As of 2021, residents paid $12,000 tuition to HTHGSE during the first year and were also awarded an $8,000 living stipend. During the second year, once candidates had earned their preliminary teaching credential, they worked full time in schools and paid another $10,000 towards their master's degree. Alder Graduate School of Education's $19,500 residency tuition was collected in three installments—summer, fall, spring—that could be broken into 12 no-interest payments. However, Alder residents earned $10,000-$20,000 during the school year, and Alder's residency scholarship offered additional need-based aid (ranging from $3,000 to $10,000) to residents. Relay Graduate School of Education costs vary by state and site. By 2021, Relay operated in 18 cities nationwide and each site offered various combinations of residencies, master's degrees, and certification-only pathways. For example, in Denver during the 2021-2022 school year, for a teacher to earn a master's degree and initial certification, tuition was $35,300, but with Relay institutional aid, the out-of-pocket cost was estimated at $21,000. In the same city, a residency with a master's degree and certification brought the cost down to $9,500 out-of-pocket after institutional aid and Americorps funding. Those figures were roughly the same in New York ($9,000 for residents; $21,000 for master's degree only) and San Antonio ($8,000 for residents; $20,000 for master's degree only).

It is important to note that teacher candidates at High Tech High GSE, Alder, and Relay were eligible to apply for federal financial aid, and that these three nGSEs supported student' applications for federal aid using the Free Application for Federal Student Aid (FAFSA). Federal aid to HTHGSE students "consists primarily of William D. Ford Federal Direct Loans (Unsubsidized), Federal Graduate PLUS Loans, and Federal Work Study" ("Funding and Financial Aid, 2021). Similarly, Alder residents who committed to a high-need field in a high-need school for four years were eligible for Golden State Teacher Grants (up to $20,000) and federal TEACH Grants ($5,658). They could also apply for federal loans. Relay residents were also eligible for federal TEACH grants, unsubsidized direct loans, and AmeriCorps Education awards; AmeriCorps awards were available to Relay residents and Teach For America corps members earning master's degrees at Relay ("Types of Aid," 2021). I offer more information about federal financial aid and market logic in the next section.

At the time of this writing, the Rhode Island School for Progressive Education had not released tuition figures for its residencies and master's degrees, but it had partnered with the Rhode Island Department of Education (RIDE) to fund its initial program in ESL certification for practicing teachers. The cost for ESL certification at RISPE was $5,000 with the state reimbursing up to $3,200 (RIDE, 2021). However, in 2021, RISPE received funding support from the New Schools Venture Fund and the Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation. RISPE's leaders said that the organization was committed to covering the cost of training for residents so that they could attract teachers of color into the workforce.

The High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning's $27,000 tuition was unsubsidized by philanthropy or federal aid. However, High Meadows applicants were automatically considered for "merit-based trustee fellowships" that covered the entire cost of

tuition, although details were sparse about how and to whom this aid was awarded. High Meadows processed additional requests for aid through the College Board's College Scholarship Service (CSS), but High Meadows candidates did not qualify for federal financial aid because the organization was not regionally accredited. Importantly, in the last few months of 2021, High Meadows suspended its admissions process for 2022-2023 in anticipation of either closing or merging with another partner in higher education. Unlike other nGSEs that relied on grants, philanthropy, or federal aid, High Meadows did not develop tuition-reducing supports for its teacher candidates. Despite $23 million dollars of philanthropic investment, High Meadows did not subsidize tuition for teacher candidates the way other nGSEs did.

A Turn Away from Federal Financial Aid: External Funding Arrangements

Eight of the eleven existing nGSEs did not participate in the federal financial aid system at all. These eight nGSEs survived without income from federal financial aid. Given universities' historic reliance on federal financial aid coupled with the explosion of student debt and the controversial but popular cry that teacher preparation has been a "cash cow" for universities (Duncan, 2009), this turn away from government funding represents a significant organizational shift.

Instead of federal financial aid, nGSEs have turned to other sources of funding. Broadly speaking, they have embraced the privatization of funding. The privatization of funding means turning away from publicly-available government funding and towards private sources of income; this means transacting with private foundations and individuals to secure funding. Even the nGSEs that *did* accept federal financial aid relied heavily on privatized funding. In fact, based on federal tax filings, High Tech High, Relay, and Alder received millions of dollars in grant money from major corporate foundations each year. This point is taken up in the next

section in greater depth. For now, suffice it to say that the magnitude of philanthropic giving enabled nGSEs to launch a variety of innovative funding arrangements outside of traditional tuition revenue. In this section, I provide further information about the types of market-based funding arrangements that allowed nGSEs to exist (and sometimes grow) without student-driven income from federal aid.

To augment tuition revenue, nGSEs experimented with alternative sources of funding to augment tuition revenue, whether they accepted federal financial aid or not. The most lucrative and visible source of this privatized revenue came from prestigious reform-minded foundations like The Gates Foundation, The Hewlett Foundation, or The Walton Family Foundation. While the next section profiles these funders and their contributions in depth, for now, it is worth noting that these foundations were guided by the rules of what Rick Hess (2004) called the "new education philanthropy" wherein reformers 'invested' in organizations and initiatives that they believed would offer 'returns' in terms of teacher quality, retention, or effectiveness.

However, nGSEs also found other market-aligned ways to generate revenue through risk sharing payment systems, for-profit business models, and the diversification of organizational reach into professional development initiatives. For example, Sposato's risk sharing agreement, featured above, spreads the cost of teacher training out over time (4 years) and payors by collecting income from candidates ($18,000), the schools that hire them ($8,000 placement fee per teacher) and private donors ($4,000 per candidate). Sposato's model offsets organizational risk by spreading responsibility for payment among parties; meanwhile, it embraces an ethos of accountability since the organization is on the hook for producing a more enticing product (i.e., *their* graduate) than the product produced by the competition. At Sposato, tuition paid by

candidates brings in $350,000 in annual tuition revenue, whereas the placement fees generate $220,000 per year.

As I pointed out in Chapter 4, the relocation of teacher preparation to K-12 schools or to the internet has altered the funding dynamics of nGSEs as well. Online programs have low overhead; eliminating facilities, offices, and additional administrative support cuts organizational expenses dramatically. As shown above, TEACH-NOW takes this one step further by operating as a privately-held for-profit corporation. TEACH-NOW keeps its tuition low, plus its rolling enrollment mechanism and payment plan ($1,000 a month/candidate) means that the organization has a constant stream of revenue with very little overhead. TEACH-NOW's rapid expansion, particularly buoyed by the COVID-19 pandemic, reflects its business model which has the capacity to grow exponentially given that its online platform can expand without compromising the quality of the product, as long as a sufficient number of instructors is available. It goes without saying that operating as a for-profit institution of higher education is the ultimate expression of market logic.

Relocating aspects of teacher preparation to K-12 schools, as is the case with the nine residency-based nGSEs, also alters funding arrangements. For example, residencies often come with a living stipend, which pays teacher candidates an income while they learn to teach, though the amount varies by program ($8,000 at High Tech High GSE vs. $30,000 at AMNH MAT). California's intern programs, such as HTH's District Residency, TCSJ's IMPACT Intern Program, Reach's Intern Program, were designed for salaried teachers working toward a preliminary credential. This altered the traditional logic that learning to teach required time away from paid work. nGSEs, by and large, seem designed to provide or complement continuity of income. This continuity, in and of itself, altered the funding arrangements because, as explained

earlier, teacher candidates were generally *not* going into federal loan debt *plus* they were continuing to generate some form of income during professional or pre-professional preparation.

On top of this, some nGSEs received public funding in the form of competitive, prestigious public grants. For example, in 2020 alone Relay received $738,001, Alder received $2,337,218 and RISPE received $87,594 in government funds. The AMNH MAT program has also been the beneficiary of public investment. The program was granted funding from the National Science Foundation Robert Noyce Teacher Scholarship Programs, two federal Teacher Quality Partnership grants, and money from New York State's federal *Race To The Top* fund (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020). Meanwhile, Relay partnered with Americorps to help fund its residencies and accepted Americorps funding awarded to Teach For America and City Year corps members pursuing master's degrees at Relay. Match Education, the parent organization for Sposato, also accepted Americorps funding for its Match Corps program (Match Corps is a service-based post-baccalaureate fellowship in Match schools that feeds Sposato's admissions pipeline ("Match Corps," 2021).

Finally, some nGSEs created lucrative networks related to their organizational research initiatives that generated organizational revenue. For example, Match Export, which included Fishtank and Match Minis, generated online content that brought in income for the organization ($72,000). High Tech High GSE's professional development initiatives, including the annual Deeper Learning conference, generated almost as much annual income as tuition ($386,998 in tuition vs. $350,860 in professional development). These initiatives produced scalable online content that fostered ideational networks of educators plugged into the organization's particular pedagogical approach. These business and network building initiatives were part of nGSEs' wider attempts to scale up and commodify their programs as products. In Chapter 4, I argued that

these research initiatives were part of an effort to signal legitimacy by clinging to aspects of university culture. Here, I argue that these research initiatives—varied as they are—double as revenue generators for nGSEs. Creating scalable online content introduced a new external revenue stream that augmented tuition payments from candidates, public supporters, and philanthropic investors.

Market logic was not evident only in the material aspects of nGSEs. It was also central in the symbolic and rhetorical aspects of organizational culture at nGSEs. As revealed in the last section, external partnerships—with schools, reform organizations, prestigious grant makers, ideational networks—fueled alternative funding arrangements at nGSEs. These new arrangements revealed how market logic was expressed in nGSEs' material practices as new sources of income enabled nGSEs to enter the field of teacher preparation on new terms (Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022), generally turning away from the federal financial aid system, embracing new privatized funding, and adopting growth-oriented strategies. However, organizational logics can also be expressed as "symbolic constructions which constitute organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). Symbolic constructs played a powerful role in articulating nGSEs' underlying market logic, which I reveal by examining four rhetorical strategies used by individuals and organizations--commodification, universalization, reinvention, and redistribution. The following sections illustrate these four rhetorical strands of market logic, drawing on the data of promotional materials, public websites, interviews with nGSE administrators, and email marketing communications.

Commodification. Some nGSEs positioned teacher education as a commodity that could be bought for personal gain or professional leverage, which was evident in marketing materials

across nGSEs. Although the idea of the commodification of teacher education is not new (Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2016), some nGSEs adopted a particularly straightforward and transparent stance toward marketing their programs as products. For example, the Teachers College of San Joaquin advertised its programming as an opportunity for teachers to "continue their education and move over on the pay scale!" ("Programs," 2021), which suggested that TCSJ was marketing its product as a lever for personal income growth. In the same vein, TEACH-NOW's founder offered graduates a "one time annual gift of $100 as a Visa gift card" for recommending the TEACH-NOW program to a friend ("Founders Findings," 2021). This email marketing strategy attempted to increase enrollment by offering cash incentives to current customers. The commodification of academic degrees is hardly new (Labaree, 2004), but what I am arguing here is that the market-driven logic of nGSEs added and expanded a dimension of self-promotion to the commodification of teacher preparation programs.

The case of the High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning epitomizes the commodification strand of market logic. In 2021, High Meadows packaged its entire graduate program for sale ("Memorandum," 2021) by advertising "content units [that] can be 'unstacked' and re-deployed to address both professional development and licensure markets ("Memorandum," 2021). High Meadows marketed its program as "an investment in this asset moves an institution past the R&D phase of new program" so the new host could "launch and scale a fully-online master's program" ("Memorandum," 2021). The sales pitch included "investment highlights" about its "innovative, differentiated program model built on R&D backed by trusted philanthropic capital" and its "advantaged position in a large, fragmented market" with "unique value proposition for students at national scale" that is "poised for growth"

in teacher preparation and "adjacent markets" ("Memorandum," 2021). Market orientation was amplified by the commodification of degrees at these three nGSEs.

Universalization. TEACH-NOW Graduate School of Education, the sole for-profit nGSE among the 11 that exist, signaled its market orientation through the use of rhetoric that I call "universalizing," a term that connotes a drive for universal appeal. Most often used in the context of major world religions, "universalizing" refers to decontextualized belief systems designed to appeal to all people. The goal of a universalizing entity is to operate on a global scale, regardless of cultural or geographical particularities. Universalizing religions also reward followers for spreading the faith. This logic, which was consistent with market logic, guided TEACH-NOW's symbolic and material practices.

TEACH-NOW's website claimed that it "offer[ed] a revolutionary online learning experience that prepares you for teacher certification, wherever you are" with learning cohorts "as diverse as the world itself, with 150+ countries represented to date" ("Home," 2021). TEACH-NOW proclaimed that "We make it easy for you!" because "from anywhere in the world, you can earn your teaching license… no matter where you are in the world, you can achieve more with our educational graduate programs" ("International," 2021). As these quotations suggest, TEACH-NOW's rhetoric was very explicit about the universal benefits of its graduate programming. To make its programming universal, TEACH-NOW partnered with organizations and association from across continents, sectors, and specializations: Search Associates, an international school consulting firm; International School Services, an international school network supplier, head hunter, and consultant; Teaching Nomad, a teacher placement agency for Asia and the Middle East; Educational Collaborative for International Schools, a global-nonprofit education development organizations; Quality Schools International,

an English-language education organization; Alrajhi Education, an Emerati education management consultant; Rhythm and Moves, a physical and music education partner; the National Association of Therapeutic Schools and Programs, a professional association for therapy programs; the American-Chinese Educational Exchange for Chinese-speaking teachers; International Education Services, a recruiter; Noble Network of Charter Schools, a Chicago-based CMO; and the Association of International Schools in Africa, the Association of International Schools in India, and Network of International Christian Schools.

The sheer diversity of TEACH-NOW's network—with various kinds of organizations from headhunters to consultants to professional associations *and* various causes including therapeutic programs, music education and charter networks—speaks to its universalizing intentions. TEACH-NOW aimed for global scale by offering programming that accommodated practicing and aspiring teachers, regardless of context or geography. Finally, as noted above, TEACH-NOW incentivized current participants to recruit new applicants with cash rewards (Feistritzer, 2021). At TEACH-NOW, market logic was expressed in universalizing terms as the for-profit organization positioned itself as a growth-oriented global leader in teacher preparation.

Reinvention. Relay, Sposato, Reach, and the Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning set out intentionally to "reinvent" teacher preparation. In this section, I demonstrate how the "reinvention" of teacher preparation is a rhetorical extension of market logic. Even though all nGSEs are attempts to reinvent aspects of teacher preparation, these four organizations adopted the language of "reinvention" to position themselves as innovators and disrupters that solved problems that state-run systems couldn't. Some of these programs deliberately positioned themselves against the field of university-based teacher preparation programs. These four nGSEs were rhetorically explicit about this approach to market logic. For example, the Reach Institute

for School Leadership stated that it "began in 2006 with a simple but profound charge: reinvent teacher education" ("Home," 2021). The organization developed a job-embedded teacher certification program first (2007), then began awarding master's degrees (2011), and then launched a job-embedded undergraduate teacher education degree program through its new university (2021). At Reach, reinvention refers to the relocation of teacher preparation from the university to classrooms where teacher candidates are embedded in the workplace. At Reach, as well as Sposato, Relay, and Woodrow Wilson, "reinvention" served as a source of organizational pride; reinvention was positioned an organizational asset.

In 2011, *The New York Times* profiled Relay's launch into the field of teacher education as a stand-alone graduate school of education. The article, worth quoting at length, captured the spirit of reinvention perfectly:

> There will be no courses at the Relay Graduate School of Education, the first standalone college of teacher preparation to open in New York State for nearly 100 years. Instead, there will be some 60 modules, each focused on a different teaching technique. There will be no campus, because it is old-think to believe a building makes a school. Instead, the graduate students will be mentored primarily at the schools where they teach. And there will be no lectures. Direct instruction, as such experiences will be called, should not take place for more than 15 or 20 minutes at a time. After that, students should discuss ideas with one another or reflect on their own.
>
> If it all sounds revolutionary, it's supposed to. In its promotional materials, Relay uses fiery terms to describe its mission, promising to train schoolteachers in a way that "explodes the traditional, course-based paradigm that has been adopted by traditional schools of education over the past century (Otterman, 2011).

Relay's market logic manifested itself in a series of aspects of university-centered teacher education that it explicitly rejected (coursework, campus, lecture, theory), which was enhanced by "revolutionary" rhetoric that "explodes" traditions honored by university-based schools of education. Relay's promise to "upend" and "eschew" norms demonstrated the new organization's commitment to overturning (and vilifying) traditional constructs like credit hours or pedagogical theory (Otterman, 2011). In 2019, *The 74 Million* published an article entitled, "A Decade After It Promised to Reinvent Teacher Prep, Relay Is Producing a Much-Needed More Diverse Teaching Corps" (Lowe, 2019). Reviving the reinvention strand, the article highlighted Relay's growth and success in recruiting teachers of color as indications of its success reinventing teacher education. Referring to Relay's expansion into 18 nationwide urban franchises, the article credited Relay with breaking down barriers that prevented people of color from entering the field of teaching through university-based teacher preparation programs. In the following section, I connect Relay's reinvention of teacher demographics with another expression of market logic—the redistribution of teacher quality.

The rhetoric of reinvention also permeated the founding of the Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning (now High Meadows). Its founder, Arthur Levine, an outspoken critic of teacher education *and* the former president of Teachers College at Columbia University, set out to "create something dramatically different" because of the "need to reinvent" existing teacher education programs (Levine, 2015). Levine's argument for reinvention rested on the country's transition from a national, analog, industrial economy to a global, digital, information economy. Education, he argued, along with other institutionalized fields like government, media, and healthcare needed to be "reinvented" for the 21st century (Levine, 2015). Woodrow Wilson's reinvention of teacher preparation manifested itself in material

practices such as the elimination of "inputs" such as credit hours, seat time, or "how long you were taught at" (Levine, 2015). This echoed the "no campus, no courses, no lectures" rhetoric at Relay and spoke to the dramatic appeal of reinvention rhetoric to reshape symbolic and material practices.

The rhetoric of reinvention also helped define organizational culture at the Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education. The website prompted visitors with the question, "You might have looked at our homepage and wondered, 'Where's the quad?' 'Where are the people sitting in circles in the sunshine and talking about stuff?'" ("A Different Kind of Graduate School," 2021). Like Relay and High Meadows, Sposato rejected the symbols of universities. Sposato's website even offered a chart that compared its approach to the traditional education school approach. The us-vs.-them rhetoric revealed how the school had rethought the core elements of teacher preparation—coursework, assessment, student teaching, faculty, outcomes—in direct opposition to what it considered the university approach. Overt rejection of university schools of education permeated Sposato's communications and connoted commonsense authority about what was logical for the field of teacher education (Cochran-Smith et al., 2020; Cochran-Smith, 2021). For example, Sposato wrote that it "continues to provide ongoing coaching to its students during their first year of full-time teaching," while typical education school graduates "finish their degree then get contacted by the alumni office for donations." They added that Sposato was "not a great program for folks who are just looking for a license or a degree. There are significantly easier ways to do both," implying that their program's rigor exceeded the lackluster expectations of typical schools of education ("Philosophy," 2021). This comparative—and often condescending—spin centered universities' failures in shaping the Sposato reinvention of teacher preparation, which it packaged as efficient and comprehensive.

Here, as with the other organizations profiled in this section, reinvention was a rhetorical extension of market logic; these nGSEs position themselves as innovators and risk-takers that have reinvented a faulty institution with a more efficient market approach. Reinvention is consistent with market logic because both symbolic systems embrace risk as the engine of growth. The shared assumption was that starting a new organization premised upon rejecting established norms was a risky venture that relied on the market faith and capital of deep-pocketed believers who were willing to risk their own dollars on new approaches to reinvent a broken institution.

Redistribution. The rhetoric of redistribution symbolized the underlying market logic at seven nGSEs with urban teacher residencies—Relay, Sposato, Reach, Alder, High Tech High GSE, RISPE, and the AMNH MAT program. These nGSEs saw themselves as part of an effort to redistribute high quality teachers to low-income, high-needs urban schools that had historically been underserved by schools of education and bureaucratized teacher licensure mechanisms (Cochran-Smith & Reagan, 2021; Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2014). Given the fact that "large numbers of poor and minority students are the most likely to have teachers who are inexperienced, assigned to teach outside of their fields, or otherwise not well qualified" (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2014, p. 24), these nGSEs attempt to "redress inequalities in the distribution of quality" by turning to competitive market forces to break open "the current failure of school districts, states, and teacher education programs to provide all students with high quality teachers" (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2014, p. 24). The rhetoric of redistribution rested on the assumption that "the redistribution of educational resources, especially teacher quality, has the power to close the gaps that separate minoritized students and students living in poverty conditions from their more economically, politically, and social advantaged peers" (Cochran-

Smith & Reagan, 2021, p. 29). For example, Relay's mission was "to ensure that all students are taught by outstanding educators. Our vision is to build a more just world where every student has access to outstanding educators and a clear path to a fulfilling life" ("Relay Advantage," 2021). Similarly, Sposato's mission was to "prepare unusually effective novice teachers for schools serving low-income populations, and to develop, validate and disseminate innovative approaches to teacher preparation" ("How We're Different," 2021). Relay and Sposato placed the preparation and redistribution of "outstanding" or "effective" teachers for urban schools at the center of organizational purpose. So did the AMNH MAT program, which recruited, prepared, and retained "certified teachers of Earth Science for the critical shortage area in New York State and in New York City" (Educator Preparation Program Overview, Accreditation Document, 2018). The AMNH MAT program saw itself as part of broader efforts to increase teacher quality in shortage areas and for high-needs New York City schools. Alder, RISPE, and Reach focused on diversifying the teaching workforce as part of each organization's effort to redistribute teacher quality to low income urban schools. For example, Alder's mission was to "create opportunity and cultivate success for every student by recruiting and education excellent teachers and leaders who reflect our schools' communities" ("About," 2021). RISPE said that it was "the first institution of higher education in the state to be founded with the express mission of diversifying Rhode Island's teacher workforce" ("Home," 2021). Reach marketed its teachers to charter networks and school districts as a way to "hire new teachers that represent the diversity of your community" ("Programs," 2021). Finally, High Tech High GSE's redistributive effort was tied to High Tech High's origin as an "equity project" intended to create intentionally diverse, integrated, and untracked K-12 classrooms. High Tech High GSE prepared teachers to "bring a critical equity lens to their work to address historical and systematic oppression

affecting underserved students" ("Mission," 2022). High Tech High GSE symbolically positioned itself to disrupt historically inequitable educational systems by producing teachers with the disposition and skills (critical equity) to reverse the unequal distribution of high-quality teachers and improve educational outcomes for minoritized students. These seven nGSEs, all of which featured urban residencies, were helping to reshape the teacher labor market in some areas by centering—and in some cases incentivizing—certain outcomes. For example, the AMNH MAT required a three-year post-graduation teaching commitment in high needs New York State schools. Sposato graduates "are expected to teach for 2 years after their residency year in a school that serves majority high-poverty students" ("FAQ," 2022). As I elaborate in the next chapter, these nGSEs created new organizations that served various outcomes (shortage areas, high poverty schools), and the rhetoric of teacher quality signaled a commitment to redistributing high quality teachers to historically underserved schools using newly opened, deregulated policy pathways to create new demand for teacher preparation programs that redress educational inequity (Cochran-Smith & Villegas, 2014).

This section offered evidence of market logic in the symbolic and rhetorical aspects of organizational culture at nGSEs. Expressed as "symbolic constructions which constitute organizing principles" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248), market logic was evident in the symbolic constructs that articulated nGSEs' underlying values. The rhetoric of commodification, universalization, reinvention, and redistribution enabled nGSEs to articulate organizational purposes or goals that markets facilitated. Market logic manifested itself in tangible organizational structures, like tuition and funding, as well as in symbolic verbiage about the organization's purposes. The next section of this chapter introduces a critical element of market-

based teacher preparation reform: the private funders who support market-based alternatives to the state education bureaucracy.

The New Education Philanthropy at nGSEs

As noted above, with most nGSEs, private philanthropy has played an outsize role in organizational development. Most nGSEs are supported by a network of investment funds and corporate foundations guided by the ethos of what Hess (2005) called the "new education philanthropy." The new education philanthropy takes a new approach to large scale philanthropic giving that combines accountability for measurable outcomes with social impact investment (Cochran-Smith, Keefe, & Jewett Smith, 2020; Fraser & Lefty, 2018; Greene & Hess, 2019; Labaree, 2004; Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015). Unlike the philanthropic tycoons of the 20th century such as Rockefeller and Carnegie (Hess, 2005), the "new education philanthropists" take a more 'muscular' approach to giving that involves greater foundation oversight guided by the logic of return on investment (Au, 2018; Hess 2005; Lagemann, 1992). These prominent foundations tend to favor start up organizations that challenge traditional and public institutions and can scale up quickly. In the case of nGSEs, this translates into funding to help disrupt the field of teacher preparation by using data-driven innovation and markets to improve teacher quality (Ellis, Suoto-Manning, & Turvey, 2018; Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015). As reform scholar Jay P. Greene (2015) points out, however, even with their millions, private foundations "lack the resources to purchase education reform through the sheer force of their money" when compared with the billions that state and federal governments spend on education each year. Therefore, 21st century foundations have turned to policy advocacy by supporting market-based reforms like nGSEs (Greene, 2015). Other types of grant makers—including individual family philanthropies, venture funds, government investment funds, community foundations, and

financial institutions' charities—have followed suit. In the new education philanthropy paradigm, grant makers 'invest' in organizations and initiatives that promise the highest 'returns' in terms of measurable educational outcomes. With nGSEs, the contributions from these "new education philanthropists" underscore and provide further evidence of underlying market logic. Sustained contributions from an overlapping web of repeat donors have become "patterns of material practices… by which [organizations] produce and reproduce their material subsistence" (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999, p. 804); in other words, ongoing philanthropic support allows many nGSEs to stay afloat from year to year, especially as they work to decrease the cost of their degrees.

To show the outsized role of private philanthropies on the material practices of nGSEs, I examine their revenue streams, paying special attention to the margin between revenue generated by tuition and annual revenue from grants. From all available nGSE federal tax returns, it is clear that philanthropic revenue is the most significant source of funding. In fact, it appears that most nGSEs would be strapped without ongoing philanthropic support. Even those with solid tuition revenue streams are still dependent upon grant revenue. Broadly speaking, I argue that ongoing contributions from privatized funding underscore nGSEs' underlying market logic because the money represents a funding pattern that produces and reproduces material subsistence for these new organizations (Thornton & Ocasio, 1999).

Tuition Revenue vs. Philanthropy Revenue

Philanthropic contributions are essential to the existence of nGSEs and to sustaining the new market for non-university teacher preparation programs. All 11 nGSEs I analyzed received private philanthropic funding at some point in their history, including the for-profit company TEACH-NOW. At some organizations, private philanthropic contributions exceeded 90% of

annual revenue. In general, nGSEs received ongoing support from some combination of *major corporate foundations* (e.g., the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Walton Family Foundation, the Chan-Zuckerberg Initiative), *individual family foundations* (e.g., the Gilder Foundation, the Kathryn W. Davis Foundation), *venture philanthropy investment funds* (e.g., New Schools Venture Fund, Silicon Schools Fund), *community foundations* (e.g., Silicon Valley Community Foundation, United Way of Rhode Island, Memphis Education Fund), *reform advocacy organizations* (e.g., Great Public Schools Now, New Schools for Baton Rouge), and *national financial institutions' charities (*e.g., Schwab, Fidelity, Credit Suisse).

My analysis of nGSEs' revenue streams indicates that most nGSEs relied on a web of reform-oriented new education philanthropies dedicated to funding privatized solutions for public education problems. Figure 5.2 is based on each organization's 2020 federal 990 tax return. With the exception of TEACH-NOW, nGSEs are non-profit organizations that are required to make their tax filings available to the public. I accessed these documents through a paid database that aggregates all available tax filings. This analysis is based on all available 990s plus nGSEs' websites, press releases, news articles, and partner sites. Figure 5.2 presents 2020 figures for nGSE tuition revenue, government grants, and private contributions, though the broader analysis is based on tax data from all available years. Following the chart, I contextualize each organization's revenue streams by describing its network of financial supporters.

Figure 5.2
nGSE Revenue, 2020

nGSE	**Tuition (Program Services) Revenue**	**Government Grants**	**Normal grants and contributions**	**Tuition (Program Services) as a Percentage of Total Revenue**
Alder Graduate School of Education	$1,400,453	$2,337,218	$10,273,912	10%
American Museum of Natural History (AMNH MAT Program)	N/A	$40,955,240	$76,420,969	N/A
Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education	$587,218 • $350,718 Tuition • $219,000 Teacher Placement Fees • $17,500 Partnership Licensing	$0	$317,849	36.5%
High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning	$249,300	$0	$2,780,100	8.1%
High Tech High Graduate School of Education	$737,858 • $386,998 Tuition • $350,860 Professional Development	$4,950	$4,812,579	12.9%
Reach Institute for School Leadership	$1,159,383	$0	$927,963	55.1%
Relay Graduate School of Education	$40,772,000 • $26,781,227 Tuition • $13,730, 398 Leadership Program Fees • $230,375 Other Program Revenue	$738,001	$16,978,835	69.8%

Rhode Island School for Progressive Education	$0	$87,594	$334,220	0
San Joaquin County Office of Education Educational Foundation (Teachers College of San Joaquin)	N/A	$0	$195,107	N/A
TEACH-NOW		N/A	N/A	100%
Upper Valley Graduate School of Education	$224,194	$0	$0	100%

As this figure shows, Alder Graduate School of Education generated 10% of its 2020 revenue from tuition payments ($1,400,453) compared with $2.3 million in government grants and $10.3 million in private grants and contributions. Alder's largest private contributors were the Silicon Valley Community Foundation (SCVF) and the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation (Gates Foundation). In 2020, SCVF contributed $1.8 million to Alder and the Gates Foundation gave nearly $1.2 million. Great Public Schools Now, Startup Education, the National Center for Teacher Residencies, Silicon Schools Fund, Charles and Helen Schwab Foundation, Robert & Ruth Halperin Foundation and Chamberlin Family Foundation each gave between $100,000-$500,000. In a pattern that we will see again and again, Alder received support from national (Gates, Startup Education) and regional (Great Public Schools Now, Silicon Schools Fund) reform funders as well as financial (Schwab) and individual family (Halperin and Chamberlin) contributions.

The AMNH MAT Program's financial records did not exist apart from its parent organization, the American Museum of Natural History. The museum was the recipient of over

$76 million in private charitable grants each year. The museum's donations came from individual family foundations, community foundations (The New York Life Foundation, Jewish Communal Fund, Silicon Valley Community Foundation), and major financial institutions (Goldman Sachs, Schwab, and Fidelity). From interview data and proprietary institutional documents, we know that the MAT Program specifically received ongoing support from the Kathryn W. Davis Foundation and the National Science Foundation Robert Noyce Teacher Scholarship Program (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021). The museum's pilot program began with money from New York State's *Race to the Top* award, and it continues to receive ongoing public support that subsidizes tuition. For example, in 2020, the museum also received two federal Teacher Quality partnership grants for $793,157 and $147,480. The program receives ongoing support from the Kathryn W. Davis Foundation that underwrites living stipends for teacher candidates.

The Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education generated nearly 40% of its revenue from program services, a category that included tuition paid by candidates ($350,718), placement fees paid by the schools that hire Sposato graduates ($219,000), and partnership licensing ($17,500). In 2020, Sposato also drew $700,000 in additional support from The Match Foundation, which exists to support Sposato and its charter affiliate, Match Charter Public Schools. Over the past three years, the Match Foundation received funds from the Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund, The Boston Foundation, the George H. and Jane A. Mifflin Memorial Fund, Boston Gives, and the Bob and Pat Barker Foundation, and the Longfield Family Foundation. In the past, Sposato itself received funding from the Gates Foundation and a regional family foundation, The Lynch Foundation. This means that directly and indirectly, Sposato has received funds from the same types of funders as the AMNH and Alder: national

corporate foundations, nationwide financial institutions' charitable foundations, regional community foundations, and individual family foundations. These income streams augmented Sposato's income-sharing and partner school fee arrangements described earlier in this chapter.

In 2020, the High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning received $2,780,100 in private charitable contributions. The $249,300 in tuition revenue High Meadows collected represented 8.1% of total revenue. High Meadows' funding came primarily from the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation and the Silicon Valley Community Foundation with minor support from the Combined Jewish Philanthropies of Greater Boston and the Ayco Charitable Foundation. In the past, High Meadows had received major support from the Gates Foundation, the Amgen Foundation, the Nellie Mae Foundation, the Simons Foundation, the Barr Foundation, and the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, and the Bezos Family Foundation. Since its inception in 2015, High Meadows generated nearly $23 million in philanthropic investment, primarily from reform-oriented foundations, rather than individual family foundations or financial institutions.

High Tech High GSE generated 12.9% of its 2020 revenue from program services, a category that included $386,998 in tuition revenue and $350,860 in professional development, which is namely High Tech High GSE's annual Deeper Learning conference. The remainder of High Tech High GSE's 2020 revenue came from high profile foundations like the Gates Foundation ($2,997,000), the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation ($889,650), Jobs for the Future ($360,000), the KnowledgeWorks Foundation ($160,000) and the New Schools Venture Fund ($130,000). High Tech High and High Tech High GSE have a longstanding financial relationship with the Hewlett Foundation, which helped launch both ventures, and the Gates Foundation, which has provided ongoing support for the charter network and its GSE.

The Reach Institute for School Leadership generated 55.1% of its 2020 revenue from tuition, which is particularly interesting considering that Reach offered the lowest tuition of any nGSE. Reach also received nearly $1 million in grant revenue in 2020. Since its inception, Reach has had support from the Fordham Foundation, The Dean Witter Foundation, the Walter & Elise Haas Fund, and the Irene S. Scully Foundation.

Relay also received the majority of its revenue from program services, including $26.8 million in tuition revenue, $13.8 million in leadership program fees, and $230,000 in other program revenue. Income from Relay's programs accounted for 69.8% of its revenue; the remaining revenue came from government grants ($738,001) and private contributions ($15,740,834). In 2020, Relay received seven-figure grants from the Robin Hood Foundation, the Robbins Family Foundation, and the San Antonio Area Foundation Group Return. It also had significant support from the Silicon Valley Community Foundation, the Memphis Education Fund, the Community Foundation of Greater Memphis, Great Public Schools Now, the Gates Foundation, New Schools for Baton Rouge, the Silicon Schools Fund, as well as gifts through major financial institutions like Credit Suisse, Schwab, and Fidelity. In the past, Relay has also had support from the New Schools Venture Fund, the Walton Family Foundation, Glenview Capital Management, and the Michael & Susan Dell Foundation. Thus, Relay too received funds from an array of family foundations, regional community foundations, major reform-oriented philanthropies, and major financial institutions.

The Rhode Island School for Progressive Education, which was formed in 2016, launched its first income-generating program in 2021. In 2020, the organization received grants from the New Schools Venture Fund ($200,000) and the United Way of Rhode Island ($12,500) in addition to $87,594 in government grants. In 2021, the organization received a grant from the

Charles & Lynn Schusterman Family Philanthropies and partnered with the Rhode Island Department of Education to subsidize its inaugural program in ESL certification. Prior to 2020, RISPE received startup funding from the Nellie Mae Educational Foundation, Rhode Island Foundation, Joukowsky Family Foundation, and the United Way of Rhode Island. Tax documents indicate that RISPE, which has a community-centered mission to educate teachers of color for Rhode Island's urban public schools, began fundraising with local foundations and has gradually expanded its fundraising circle to include national reform-minded foundations like the New Schools Venture Fund and the Schusterman Family Foundation.

The Teachers College of San Joaquin is fully integrated into its parent organization, the San Joaquin County Office of Education, which is a government-funded office of education that does not publish financial records publicly. However, press releases, grant makers' tax records, and institutional documents reveal that TCSJ has received direct grants from the Arthur E. and Marie F. Raymus Foundation, the Joseph &Vera Long Foundation, the Intrepid Philanthropy Foundation, the Community Foundation of San Joaquin, and the San Joaquin County Office of Education Educational Foundation. Some of these localized family and community foundations underwrote modest grants ($2,500-$10,000) that TCSJ awarded to local teachers enrolled in TCSJ programs ("Teachers College of San Joaquin awards grants to 10 teachers," 2017). Like the AMNH MAT program, the Teachers College of San Joaquin is fully integrated into its non-profit parent organization (The San Joaquin County Office of Education), which obscures the precise flow of revenue to and from the nGSE.

The Upper Valley Graduate School of Education, which merged with its parent organization in 2021, received no external funding in 2020 or at any time in the past. In federal tax returns, all $224,194 of organizational revenue came from tuition collected directly from

candidates, often paid by teachers' school districts (since no federal financial aid is available to UVGSE candidates). However, the Upper Valley Educators Institute collected $939,456 in contributions and grants *and* claimed UVGSE tuition as its revenue. Before officially merging, the two closely intertwined organizations appear to have combined their revenue streams, which indicates that private contributions made to the parent organization played a role in the nGSE as well. In 2021, UVGSE merged with UVEI, and they now operate as a single organization.

TEACH-NOW, the online for-profit nGSE, generated $5.67 million in annual revenue in 2020 according to Dunn & Bradstreet, a "provider of business decisioning data and analytics" ("About Us," 2022; Teachnow Inc., 2022). As a privately held for-profit corporation, TEACH-NOW Inc. does not release its federal tax filings. However, in 2011, TEACH-NOW's founder received $100,000 in startup capital from the New Schools Venture Fund (Carney, 2019). Since that initial investment, TEACH-NOW has been a for-profit self-sustaining business that operated solely on tuition revenue.

Philanthropy has played an instrumental role in the emergence of nGSEs. Corporate philanthropies, community foundations, and financial institutions provided seed capital and ongoing support for operations. Some nGSEs depended on grants and gifts while others moved towards independence by generating revenue from tuition and other program services like professional development. Regardless, philanthropy plays an essential role in supporting the broader phenomenon.

The Web of Private Philanthropies Supporting nGSEs

As shown above, several funders appear over and over again in the list of nGSE philanthropies: The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, the Charles & Helen Schwab Foundation, the Schwab Charitable Fund, Fidelity Investments Charitable Fund, Silicon Valley Community

Foundation, Silicon Schools, Great Public Schools Now, and the New Schools Venture Fund. These funders form an overlapping web of philanthropies and advocacy organizations that provide ongoing financial support for new market-based educational organizations, including nGSEs. These ongoing and overlapping contributions from private funding sources underscore nGSEs' underlying market logic given that the money from these funders forms a pattern of support that produces and reproduces material subsistence at nGSEs. As the section above shows, the massive infusion of private capital keeps nGSEs afloat, individually and collectively. The majority of this capital comes from a single industry, the technology industry. The Gates Foundation, Silicon Valley Community Foundation and Silicon Schools transfer money from the tech sector into multiple nGSEs, including Alder, High Tech High GSE, Relay, Sposato, High Meadows, and RISPE. This point is underscored by the prominence of the Hewlett Foundation and the Chan Zuckerberg Initiative in funding High Tech High and High Meadows, respectively.

Figure 5.3
Overlapping nGSE Supporters

Fund/Foundation *Total assets*	**Recipient (FY2020 unless otherwise stated)**	**Amount**
Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation *$36.79 billion*	Alder HTH GSE Relay Sposato (2015) Woodrow Wilson (2015)	$1,176,994 $2,997,000 $765,000 $7,000,000 (consortium gift) $5,500,000 (estimated)

Silicon Valley Community Foundation *$13.5 billion*	Alder AMNH Relay High Meadows	$1,800,000 $62,500 $500,000 $768,100
Fidelity Investments Charitable Gift Fund *$30 billion*	Alder AMNH Relay Sposato	$20,000 $933,582 $290,000 $50,000
Schwab Charitable Fund *$10.6 billion*	Alder AMNH Relay	$50,000 $854,765 $250,250
Charles & Helen Schwab Foundation *$447,745,348*	Alder Relay	$200,000 $175,000
New Schools Venture Fund *$55,916,420*	RISPE TEACH-NOW (2011)	$200,000 $100,000
Great Public Schools Now *$24,273,108*	Alder Relay	$500,000 $315,000
Silicon Schools Fund *$20,248,040*	Alder Relay	$250,000 $100,000

Over the past fifteen years, the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation has provided ongoing support for Alder Graduate School of Education, High Tech High Graduate School of Education, Relay Graduate School of Education, Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education, and the Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning (now High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning). The Gates Foundation also provides support for the charter systems affiliated with several of these nGSEs—for example, $5.7 million to Aspire Public Schools in 2003 and $10.3 million to High Tech High in 2018 (Gates Foundation, 2003; Paynter, 2018) The Gates Foundation is "guided by the belief that every life has equal value" and "works to help all people lead healthy, productive lives" ("Foundation Fact Sheet," 2022). In the United States, the foundation's focus is "to ensure that all people—especially those with the fewest resources—

have access to the opportunities they need to succeed in school and life" ("Foundation Fact Sheet," 2022). The foundation was created when Microsoft CEO Bill Gates transferred $20 billion of Microsoft stock to the foundation. Warren Buffett followed suit and donated "much of his fortune" to the Gates Foundation, which has spent $53.8 billion since its inception in 2000 ("Foundation Fact Sheet," 2022). The Gates Foundation typifies the new education philanthropy and market logic because it is "committed to measuring progress so we can see what's working and what isn't" ("Foundation Fact Sheet," 2022). The Gates Foundation's domestic K-12 strategy is politically and rhetorically aligned with nGSEs' market, reinvention, and redistribution logics, discussed above. The Gates Foundation's concern with ensuring "that all students have access to high-quality public education and to help more students graduate from high school with the skills they need to enroll, succeed in, and complete college," particularly "Black and Latino students and students experiencing poverty" ("At a Glance," 2022). Gates' strategy assumes that "high-quality public education is a bridge to opportunity" and that "excellent schools—led by leaders who focus on continuous improvement grounded in data and evidence—are critical to student success." This accountability-driven mission is well-aligned with nGSEs, particularly those urban residencies that manifest market logic as an effort to reinvent teacher preparation for urban schools and redistribute teacher quality.

The Silicon Valley Community Foundation is a "regional catalyst, connector, and collaborator" that supports philanthropists who "invest with impact through advocacy, research, policy and grantmaking" ("About Us, 2022). SCVF, which is the nation's largest community foundation, lists accountability as one of the values driving its improvement of social systems. Though it is a regional California funder, the SCVF and its 13-billion-dollar endowment has

supported Alder, the AMNH, Relay, and High Meadows. In 2020 alone, SCVF gave over $3 million to nGSEs and their parent organizations.

In 2020, the Fidelity Investments Charitable Trust (Fidelity Charitable) disbursed over $1.3 million to Relay, Alder, the AMNH, and Sposato. However, Fidelity Charitable is not a corporate philanthropy. Rather, it is a giving instrument overseen by Fidelity Investments and directed by individual donors. In other words, high net worth individuals make irrevocable contributions to Fidelity accounts in the form of cash, stocks, bonds, or privately-held assets like business interests (Fidelity Charitable, 2022). Fidelity Charitable streamlines tax receipts, invests the funds, and disburses grants to 501(c)(3) non-profit public charities on the donor's behalf. Thus, in a sense, the Fidelity account obscures the donor's identity with respect to tracible tax purposes. The Schwab Fund, which disbursed funds to Alder, Relay, and the AMNH works the same way as the Fidelity Charitable Fund.

However, the Charles & Helen Schwab Foundation is the private (not business) foundation of Charles & Helen Schwab. The foundation has invested over $300 million since 2001 with a primary focus on the Bay Area. The foundation gives to "K-12 education and higher education, human services, health, civic and cultural life, and programs serving students with learning and attention difficulties" ("Foundation History," 2022). Like Gates, the Schwab Foundation focuses on quality and choice as the centerpiece of its K-12 reform efforts; its website says,

> Parents, particularly in low-income communities and communities of color, face limited choices for their children's education. While many talented individuals become teachers every year, countless others are discouraged by a system that provides too many obstacles to excellence. A transformation is needed in K-12 education ("Program Areas," 2022).

Thus, the Schwab Foundation invests in new organizations that it feels will enhance the quality of public education, like "high quality public charter schools, programs to ensure that every child has access to effective and diverse teachers and school leaders." ("Program Areas," 2022). This rhetoric echoes the marketized language of reinvention and redistribution discussed above. By focusing on quality and alternatives, Schwab sees itself as promoting quality through organizational alternatives to public education.

The New Schools Venture Fund is a non-profit venture philanthropy in Oakland, California. It "offers not just funding, but partnership and support, to innovators who seek to build strong schools and organizations dedicated to a more just future in education," particularly those that serve "Black, Latino, and low-income neighborhoods ("Our Model," 2022). NSVF says the "returns we seek are educational and social, not financial" ("Our Model," 2022). The fund's four investment areas are innovative public schools, learning solutions, diverse leaders, and racial equity in education. NSVF provided seed capital for two nGSEs, TEACH-NOW in 2011 and the Rhode Island School for Progressive Education in 2021. Since the receipt of NSVF funds provided by the Walton Family Foundation, TEACH-NOW has operated on its own as for-profit corporation. In 2019, the Walton Family Foundation provided $3.5 million to NSVF to diversify the teaching profession; RISPE received $200,000 as part of an initiative to diversify teacher pipelines (NSVF, 2019). In this case, the Walton Family Foundation provided the funds, and NSVF selected and managed outcomes for grantees. The New Schools Venture Fund typifies the active grant management approach that applies the logic of accountability to measurable outcomes in social impact investing.

Great Public Schools Now is a Los Angeles non-profit reform organization that invests in "schools, organizations, and initiatives that catalyze excellence in public education" ("About

Us," 2022). Great Public Schools now "grew out of a plan to double the number of charter schools in Los Angeles Unified" led and funded by the Eli and Edythe Broad Foundation in 2015. Great Public Schools Now funds organizations that increase the number of charter schools for high-needs students in Los Angeles (Janofsky, 2016). In 2020, the organization funded Alder ($500,000) and Relay ($315,000) which is the in process of entering the California market. The organization oversees investment funds, including a new fund for educational recovery that "directs resources to the most vulnerate children to help them overcome unprecedented educational, mental health and social impacts of the pandemic" ("Educational Recovery," 2022).

The Silicon Schools fund is a Bay Area non-profit that provides seed funds to launch or redesign schools in the San Francisco Bay Area. The fund primarily supports Bay Area charter school networks, including Aspire (associated with Alder GSE), KIPP: Public Schools Northern California (associated with Relay GSE), and Oxford Day Academy (associated with Reach University). It supports alternate routes like Teach For America Bay Area and the Marshall Teacher Residency as well as nGSEs. In 2020, Silicon Schools disbursed funds to Alder ($250,000) and Relay ($100,000), which is on the brink of entering the California market. Like the New Schools Venture Fund and Great Public Schools now, Silicon Schools places a heavy emphasis on creating *new* organizations, primarily charter networks, as an alternative to public institutions. This has translated into broad supports for new organizations in the field of teacher education and broad support for nGSEs, particularly those that operate in California.

Broadly speaking, this overlapping web of nGSE supporters is very California-centric. The New Schools Venture Fund, Great Public Schools Now, Silicon Schools, Silicon Valley Community Foundation, and the Charles and Helen Schwab Foundation focus on California markets, even though some of them fund nGSEs outside of the region. There is clear and broad

philanthropic support for the expansion of Relay GSE into California, despite academic controversy about Relay's approach (Philip, et al., 2018). In 2020, all of the organizations that funded Alder also funded Relay, which suggests that there is room in the market for alternative schools of education that serve urban public and charter schools. The Gates Foundation, based in Seattle, has a more national footprint, though its clear funding focus is on California's nGSE market.

The 21st century education philanthropists that support nGSEs are guided by business management practices for high-impact social impact investing. These hands-on grant makers manage their grantees' outcomes through accountability measures and look for returns in terms of teacher demographics and student learning as measured by standardized tests. nGSEs, particularly the charter-affiliated nGSEs with growth-oriented business models like Alder, Relay, and High Tech High, received millions of dollars from this web of funders each year. These donations, however, came with strings attached since all of the philanthropies listed above were driven by the spirit of reform that embraces reinvention and redistribution as measures to improve American education. Though this funding arrangement, nGSEs are embedded in a larger education reform agenda with a history of privatizing American educational institutions. Certain nGSEs, such as Relay and Alder, embody this more than others, such as UVEI or TCSJ, that operate on a smaller and more regional scale. Regardless, private philanthropy plays an important role in underscoring how market logic is entrenched in organizational culture across nGSEs.

Teacher Education and Market Logics

For the past thirty years, market forces have influenced teacher education practice and policy. At the broadest level, the deregulation of teacher preparation created a new market for

alternate routes into teacher certification, urban teacher residencies, online teacher preparation programs, and new graduate schools of education (Cochran-Smith, 2021; Cochran-Smith, Jewett-Smith, & Alexander, 2022; Fraser & Lefty, 2018; Lubienski & Brewer, 2019). Market forces also shaped a new education philanthropy paradigm dedicated to reform, accountability, and impact (Cochran-Smith, Jewett-Smith, & Alexander, 2022). Together, these new markets and new funders invited and rewarded change in the field of teacher preparation.

As new organizations, nGSEs have capitalized on new markets and new funders by embracing organizational change and market logic. As this chapter shows, all eleven existing nGSEs were animated by market logic. The ubiquity of market logic is what "distinguishes them as a population from other providers within the larger organizational field [of teacher preparation]" (Cochran-Smith, Jewett-Smith, & Alexander, 2022, p. 2). As institutional theorist Richard Scott (2014) pointed out, based in part on his analysis of the institutional shift in health care from professional dominance to managed care "the incursion of economic (specifically, market) logics into organizational fields previously organized around other logics" fueled diversification within the field as "competition, privatization, cost-benefit analysis, and outcome measures" began to shape organizational behavior (Scott, 20000, p. 251). This is precisely the case with nGSEs given that these new organizations embraced competition, privatized funding models, and business-like organizational structures. But beyond the transformation of organizational structures, markets also encouraged these new organizations to diversify through specialization. As I have shown, nGSEs are remarkably different from one another, even in the way that they embody market logic in their symbolic and material practices. For example, in the symbolic realm, Relay's conception of the "reinvention" of teacher preparation for charter schools is genuinely different from TEACH-NOW's universalizing message or High Meadows'

commodification of teacher preparation programming. In the material realm, Sposato's school placement revenue stream is different from High Tech High's annual infusion of funds from the Hewlett Foundation and Alder's acceptance of federal financial aid. In short, nGSEs have experimented with reduced tuition models, philanthropic investment, privatized funding, and the adoption of commercial marketing tactics *in really different ways.* This makes it clear that there is no one way to "*do* market logic" in teacher education. Rather, diversification is an inherent feature of the emergence of nGSEs. And while there is substantial scholarly concern about the danger of privatizing teacher education (Boyles, 2019; Lubienski & Brewer, 2019; Mungal, 2019; Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015), my analysis suggests that sweeping generalizations about privatization overlook organizational nuance. For example, Boyles (2019) argued that this new privatized philanthropic paradigm is part of a corporate assault on teacher education because "educational policy in the United States is inexorably linked to business interests, and therefore, promotes ethical egoism over ethical altruism" (p. 19). While it is true that nGSEs can be categorized as privatized organizations that reflect business interests (market logic), this does not mean they are all self-interested profiteers. In fact, some of them are animated by strong ideas related to democratic education and public service. Some of these ideas even rise to the level of hybrid logic*,* a concept from institutional theory that captures the coexistence of multiple, competing logics within the same organization. At some nGSEs, a different competing logic—community logic—complicates the easy-to-vilify values of the market. Some nGSEs are motivated by a competing logic that stresses local guidance and community impact; these organizations are driven by the demand for teacher preparation programs that serve specific communities. Examples are RISPE, UVEI, Reach and High Tech High, where local community impact drives organizational culture and symbolic practices. In this way, several nGSEs are

animated by hybrid logic that makes them responsive local contexts and communities. This unusual arrangement creates a productive organizational juxtaposition that furthers specialization since these organizations are anchored by demand in varied communities and contexts. In the next chapter I continue to develop this argument about the specialization of nGSEs by analyzing the impact of demand in market-organized environments. I take up this idea of competing logics by examining how demand drives the creation of specialized teacher preparation niches that are related to broader discourses about macroeconomic change, including local teacher shortages, and sociocultural movements that nuance the ubiquity of market logic across nGSEs.

Chapter 6
Demand-driven Organizational Niches: Specialization Among nGSEs

Chapters 4 and 5 were about the organizational culture of nGSEs. These chapters analyzed organizational characteristics (Chapter 4) and institutional logics (Chapter 5) and provided a window into the emerging phenomenon of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs. These chapters showed that nGSEs came from diverse parent organizations and that they evolved

in different directions over a short period of time. For example, several organizations changed their names within a very short time frame and/or broke away from start-up partners. Some organizations experienced exponential growth, while others that sputtered in launching. Overall, my analysis suggests that nGSEs have a complex relationship to universities—sometimes rejecting university traditions, and sometimes imitating aspects of university culture. However, each organization developed its own unique cultural-cognitive organizational approach, and each nGSE was organized around internally "shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and create frames through which meaning is made" (Scott, 2013, p. 67). As I showed in Chapter 5, the cultural cognitive divergence across nGSEs was linked to market logic.

If Chapter 4 provided a window into the structural characteristics of nGSEs as new organizations, then Chapter 5 elaborated their underlying organizing principles. Using the concept of *institutional logic* to examine each organization's underlying symbolic and material practices (Thornton, Ocasio, & Lounsbury, 2014), I argued that all nGSEs were, to varying degrees, animated by market logic. Market logic was evident in the material practices guiding funding and tuition models at nGSEs. I demonstrated that most of these organizations turned away from public funding to embrace privatized, business-like tuition models while accepting privatized corporate funding from new education philanthropies. I also showed that market logic permeated nGSEs' symbolic practices, from the way they marketed their programs to the way they conceptualized teacher quality. By analyzing four rhetorical strategies—commodification, universalization, redistribution, and reinvention—Chapter 5 showed that market values, such as supply and demand, expansion, growth, and innovation, animated organizational culture and purpose.

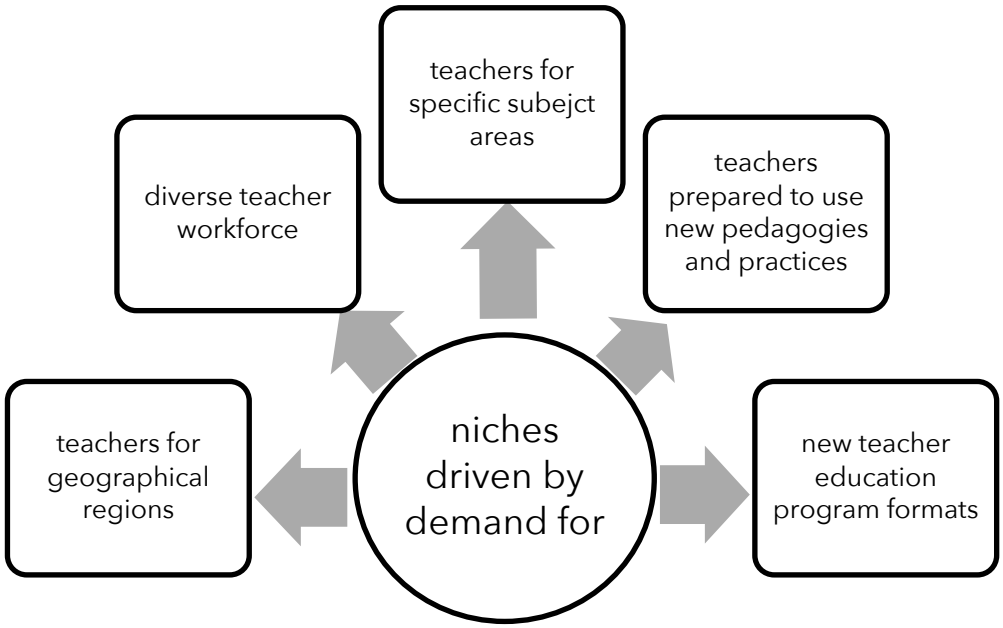
Taken together, these two chapters show that the organizational culture of nGSEs was, broadly speaking, logically uniform but culturally diverse. That is, although all of the nGSEs were animated by market logic, they were still very different *from one another* in terms of their purposes, parent organizations, and programmatic evolution. This is because market logic embraces competition and rewards specialization. The present chapter is about specialization, particularly how two foundational elements of organizational culture—cultural-cognitive divergence and market logic—interact and what they mean together. This chapter asks how emerging teacher preparation organizations operated in market-organized environments and answers that question, at the broadest level, with the concept of specialization. Specialization arose as a response to specific demand and drove the creation of new niches in the market for teacher preparation; this, in turn, acted against isomorphism within the population (Meyer & Rowan, 2006). Variation among nGSEs reflected the fact that markets rewarded specificity, not mimicry, in the goals of teacher preparation programs and the ways they were enacted, located, funded, and situated.

To make this argument, this chapter analyzes the origin and creation of specialized teacher preparation niches at nGSEs. I define *niche* as the way an organization specialized in response to specific demand for a particular kind of teacher preparation. I show how specialized niches emerged in response to demand *for teachers* (1) in specific geographical regions, (2) who would diversify the teacher workforce, (3) with expertise in specific content areas, (4) with experience in particular pedagogical approaches and instructional practices, and/or in response to demand *from teachers* for (5) emerging online formats. Geographical niches have emerged in rural areas such as Northern New Hampshire and Vermont as well as urban areas such as New York and Oakland. Demand has also driven the diversification of the teaching workforce, particularly the

preparation of people of color, as well as focus on specific content areas, particularly in the sciences. Some specialized teacher preparation niches arose to meet the demand for teachers familiar with particular pedagogical approaches and instructional practices such as those used at what were previously referred to as "no excuses" charter schools.[1] Other pedagogical approaches that drive niches are project-based learning and anti-racist teaching. These niches sometimes overlapped with the demand for new formats within the teacher preparation programs themselves. Here, organizations have carved out niches based on new learning formats such as online teacher preparation or competency-based teacher preparation. These organizational niches can, and often do, overlap or are layered on top of one another, which results in an even greater degree of specialization. This chapter identifies and analyzes the market niches of all 11 nGSEs and shows how they have emerged in response to particular demands.

Figure 6.1
Market forces and organizational niches

[1] As I explain below, the term "no excuses" has been retired by several prominent charter schools and the nGSEs that prepare teachers for them. This description was relevant when nGSEs like Sposato, Relay, and Alder were founded in conjunction with "no excuses" charter networks like Match, KIPP, Achievement First, and Aspire.



Organizational Niches Driven by Demand *For Teachers*

In this section, I examine how demand-driven niches emerged. These new teacher preparation niches emerged to meet the demand for teachers in conjunction with broader macroeconomic trends and sociopolitical movements, such as the shift to a global knowledge economy or pandemic-era racial justice movements. These organizational niches increased the supply of teachers for certain regions, to diversify the workforce, with knowledge of certain content areas, and with training in new pedagogical movements and instructional practices. Six nGSEs specialized in supplying teachers for specific geographical regions, particularly coastal urban centers. Four nGSEs sought to diversify the profession of teaching, particularly by recruiting people of color into the workforce. Three nGSEs carved out niches preparing teachers for certain academic content areas, particularly in the sciences. Five nGSEs prepared teachers to meet the demand for particular pedagogical approaches and instructional practices, especially those espoused by charter schools. In the final section of this chapter, I examine how demand *from teachers* for teacher preparation programs in emerging learning formats drove the evolution of niche teacher preparation programs online. Throughout the analysis, I show how these

demand-driven teacher preparation niches emerged in response to broader sociocultural discourses about diversity and economic competition. My aim in this chapter is to show how nGSEs have specialized in response to market forces by showing how the forces of supply and demand push new organizations to articulate a specific niche as they break into the business of teacher preparation.

The argumentative logic of this chapter—that demand drives teacher preparation niches—is in many ways a continuation of David Labaree's historical interpretation of teacher preparation in the 20th century. Labaree (2004, 2021) argued that the forces of supply and demand have always influenced the institutional location of teacher preparation. He argued that late 19th century "burgeoning enrollments in the expanding common schools produced an intense demand for new teachers to fill a growing number of classrooms," while at the same time "normal schools had to confront a strong consumer demand from their own students, many of whom saw the schools as an accessible form of higher education rather than as a site for teacher preparation," which led "normal schools to transform themselves into the model of higher education that their customers wanted, first by changing into teachers' colleges (with baccalaureate programs for nonteachers), then into state liberal-arts colleges, and finally into the general-purpose regional state universities they are today" (Labaree, 2020). According to Labaree, the organizations dedicated to teacher preparation in the 20th century were animated by changing consumer demand. My argument in this chapter is related, but a little different. I argue that today's new graduate schools of education—new organizations dedicated to teacher preparation—are animated by a different kind of demand. Rather than being influenced solely by the needs of consumers, nGSEs are influenced by macroeconomic and sociocultural demands for new kinds of teacher preparation programs. This chapter examines these broader sources of

demand and the kinds of specialized teacher preparation niches they created in the 21st century market. This chapter shows that market forces continue to influence the organizational culture and institutional location of teacher preparation.

Geographical Region

At six nGSEs, organizational specialization was a response to local demand. New organizations emerged to supply teachers for geographically defined regions. These programs defined the scope of their organizational activity in terms of serving a local community's educational needs. These nGSEs identified and created specialized niches for teacher preparation programs in New York, rural Vermont and New Hampshire, Rhode Island, San Diego, central California, and the Bay Area. This coastal phenomenon emerged out of urban and rural teacher shortages, and in many cases, these localized market niches overlapped with other types of niches. For example, the American Museum of Natural History's MAT program prepared Earth Science teachers for New York State's high needs schools—the program carved out a niche that was geographically-specific *and* aligned with a specific content area. The trend towards even greater specificity in terms of program purpose made niche programs even more specialized. In this section, I focus on programs that serve specific geographical regions.

The AMNH MAT program was founded in response to a critical shortage of certified secondary Earth Science teachers in New York State (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021). Even though the museum had a long history of providing science-based professional education for practicing teachers, the MAT program was its first foray into initial teacher preparation. During its pilot phase, the MAT program was part of a nationwide initiative to train 100,000 new STEM teachers in 10 years (100Kin10) (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021). The museum applied for and was granted money from New York State's *Race to the Top* fund to initiate the program. The MAT program

focused on preparing certified Earth Science content specialists for high needs schools in New York City and New York State. To this end, the MAT program partnered with four urban public secondary schools in New York and Yonkers. Meanwhile, the program benefitted from the monied landscape of private philanthropic giving in New York City (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2020). Its resource suppliers were public and private donors who supported the MAT program's niche for preparing public school teachers trained by the museum for high needs schools in New York City. Part of this funding underwrote fellowships that covered the cost of tuition and provided candidates with a $30,000 living stipend. The Kathryn W. Davis tuition fellowships were awarded to all candidates on the condition that they remain in New York State to teach in high-needs public schools for three years following graduation. The majority of graduates chose to stay and teach in New York City. The teacher preparation program emerged in conjunction with a statewide shortage that could be addressed by training Earth Science teachers in New York City's urban public schools with the financial and educational resources of the museum. The museum identified demand and addressed it by creating a specialized operation within the museum by building on existing capacity, personnel, traditions, infrastructure, and knowledge.

Similarly, the Upper Valley Graduate School of Education (now UVEI) fills a highly regionalized teacher preparation niche in rural New England. The Upper Valley Educators Institute is a regional professional development center that has served the Upper Valley between Vermont and New Hampshire since the late 1960s; its standalone graduate school of education was founded in 2011 to confer master's degrees to local teachers as part of an effort to build the region's professional capacity. Interestingly, national reform-oriented philanthropies did not play a major role in sustaining UVEI; rather, it was supported by local school districts that paid for their teachers to earn master's degrees at UVEI. In December 2021, the Upper Valley Educators

Institute and Upper Valley Graduate School of Education merged into a single organization. In a press release, the organization's executive director, Page Thompkins (formerly of Reach Institute), wrote that "as many institutions and online providers are seeking to scale up, UVEI will remain a small, personal, relationships-based, regional program dedicated to working primarily with educators and schools in New Hampshire and Vermont" ("What Does it Mean to be a Graduate Institute of Education?," 2021). Thompkins reasserted that the organization's mission was to serve a singular region, the rural Upper Valley and its regional public schools. Thus, UVEI continued to define its niche through graduate programs and teacher preparation for a unique interstate location defined by the rural border region between Vermont and New Hampshire.

The Teachers College of San Joaquin emerged to meet a similar regional need in the agricultural Central Valley region of California. UVGSE and TCSJ serve rural regions, whereas the other eight in-person programs are located in major cities. TCSJ was founded within the San Joaquin County Office of Education in Stockton, California. The public nature of its parent organization is unlike other nGSEs; the County Office of Education is publicly funded, though it has limited support from localized philanthropies and community foundations. TCSJ's residency and district internship programs operated in a variety of schools in the rural agricultural region; TCSJ served unified school districts (e.g., Lincoln Unified School District, Ripon Unified School District), charter networks (e.g., River Island Academies, Tracy Learning Center), and special education offices (e.g., San Joaquin County Office of Education Special Education) in the Central Valley. Together with its public parent organization, the San Joaquin County Office of Education, TCSJ's localized field of resource suppliers and partners indicated highly regionalized specialization. In a state with a variety of teacher preparation programs that include

nGSEs, public and private universities, and district internship pathways, TCSJ's niche lies in providing teacher preparation and professional development for an agricultural region of California in the Central Valley's public and charter schools.

Nearby in the Bay Area, the Reach Institute for School Leadership provided a localized teacher preparation pathway in Alameda County, which includes the city of Oakland. The founding of the Reach Institute for School Leadership was "rooted in the school reform practices and leadership coaching of On The Move, which began in 2004" (History of Reach," 2021). On The Move is a community-based coalition of public-sector leaders who built a leadership development pipeline in the Bay Area. Grounded in serving the community needs of Oakland, Reach started with a job-embedded teacher credentialing program at the Bay Area School of Enterprise (BASE). BASE was a charter school designed to serve students who needed an alternative to the public school system, but was not affiliated with a larger education reform agenda. Reach began a teacher credentialing program in 2006, then in 2011, it expanded into a master's-degree granting organization in order to develop local teachers' leadership capacity. Reach "sought to specifically address the 'need for better, more job-embedded, and more authentic forms of teacher and leadership development'" (Great School Voices, 2020a). Dedicated to reinventing teacher preparation *and* serving Oakland's urban schools, Reach's job-embedded training took place in charter schools and unified school districts in the Bay Area. Reach also had the support of regional funders (e.g., Haas Fund) in additional to national foundations (e.g., Fordham Foundation, Dean Witter Foundation).

In October 2020, Reach's localized niche was articulated by community advocates when an organizational controversy unfolded around Reach's new president. *Great School Voices*, a blog that calls itself "the watchdog on quality and equality in education with an eye on Oakland,

California," wrote about the "dismantling of the Reach Institute and how community is fighting back" (Great School Voices, 2020a). The articled called Reach "one of the region's most impactful educational leaders" and "a huge resource for Oakland and the community" (Great School Voices, 2020a). The article charged that the board's appointment of a new president and subsequent ouster of long-term faculty violated the organization's ties to the community. A follow up post titled, "What the F is Happening at Oakland's Reach Institute," underscored that the Oakland schooling community saw Reach as "Oakland's most effective leadership development programs, cultivating and providing some of the most important educators in the region. It is a local resource, with local leadership and catering to local talent. Or at least it was" (Great School Voices, 2020b). The two dismissed faculty members were not reinstated to Reach's faculty, and the controversial president, Mallory Dwinal-Palisch, has been named the Reach University Chancellor in charge of overseeing the graduate institute (Reach Institute for School Leadership) and undergraduate program (Oxford Teachers College) in Louisiana and California.

In Southern California, the High Tech High Graduate School of Education created a unique localized niche that was specific to San Diego's population and industries. Its niche was articulated geographically, as I discuss here, and pedagogically, which I touch on later. The GSE originated in partnership with High Tech High K-12 charter schools in San Diego. High Tech High's sixteen project-based K-12 schools were designed to serve an intentionally diverse cross-section of San Diego school children (Mehta & Fine, 2019). The charter emerged in response to the shortage of qualified problem-solvers for California's growing tech industry; major tech companies had to hire from abroad because American schools did not prepare students for the rapidly growing tech industry (Mehta & Fine, 2019). The GSE, in turn, was founded to prepare

teachers to lead collaborative, untracked, project-based, and student-led classrooms at High Tech High (Mehta & Fine, 2019). High Tech High GSE received major support from reform-minded corporate foundations with ties to the tech industry (Hewlett Foundation, Gates Foundation), but it also grounded itself in serving San Diego's educational needs *and* remedying skilled labor shortages in the tech industry. High Tech High GSE's niche was in producing project-based practitioners at equity-focused schools within its own charter network *and* in sharing its model widely so that other teacher preparation programs could study and emulate its equity-focused design principles. HTHGSE's niche, then, was to serve a particular network of schools (High Tech High) *and* model new school design principles for teachers and school leaders interested in progressive and equitable teaching and learning. Part niche, part business model, High Tech High GSE served its own San Diego-based K-12 schools as well as the wider field of teacher preparation.

Interestingly, the most recent nGSE to emerge, the Rhode Island School for Progressive Education, has defined its niche in three ways—(1) to prepare teachers of color (2) in anti-racist pedagogy to improve (3) Rhode Island's urban public schools. Here, I focus on just the last piece. In 2019, RISPE launched in partnership with a Providence-based K-8 charter school called The Learning Community. By the time RISPE opened its first teacher education program in 2021, however, it had dropped ties with the charter network ("Home," 2021). Instead of building off its organizational ties to a charter network, RISPE aimed to "diversify Rhode Island's teacher workforce" to "improve outcomes for students in Rhode Island's urban public schools by diversifying the teacher pipeline, promoting the use of anti-racist pedagogy, and preparing teachers for success with high-quality clinical experiences" ("Home," 2021). RISPE's commitment to Rhode Island was a direct response to "national and local demand:"

> Nationally, 40% of schools don't have a single teacher of color. Only 18% of teachers nationwide are people of color. In Rhode Island, the problem is even worse: less than 5% of our teachers are people of color and only 2% are Latino, in a state where students of color make up 40% of the overall student population, and 80% in our urban schools ("Home," 2021).

In this case, the specialized organizational niche is articulated as a direct response to market forces. To this end, RISPE elicited support from localized community foundations (United Way of Rhode Island, Rhode Island Foundation), national foundations (New Schools Venture Fund, Charles & Lynn Schusterman), and the state government. The Rhode Island Department of Education (RIDE) partially underwrote tuition for RISPE's first program, which was an ESL certification program for licensed public school teachers. RISPE has yet to launch its master's degree programs, which will be school-based residencies, but the organization has already articulated a very specific regionalized niche—preparing teachers of color in anti-racist pedagogies for urban public schools in Rhode Island.

Workforce Diversification

RISPE's complex 3-pronged niche offers a segue into understanding how some nGSEs have carved out organizational niches dedicated to remedying shortages in the teaching workforce. Above, we saw how RISPE articulated its niche with respect to the shortage of teachers of color—its solution was to recruit and prepare teachers of color for Rhode Island's public schools where students of color make up 80% of the population. Relay GSE and Alder GSE have also refined their organizational niches to meet the demand for more teachers of color. This niche comes from "near unanimity among researchers and practitioners about the need to recruit and retain more teachers of color" (Philip & Brown, 2020, p. 1). In a 2020 National Education Policy Center brief, university-based researchers Thomas Philip and Anthony L. Brown critiqued the discourse promoting teacher diversity, but they demonstrated that,

> Prior research documents the strengths of teachers of color, including their essential role as cultural translators, their greater awareness of racial trauma experienced by students, their increased likelihood of working in schools that enroll low-income students of color, and their concrete benefits for racially matched students with respect to higher test scores, more positive disciplinary outcomes, higher expectations, and authentic forms of care. (Philip & Brown, 2020, p. 3)

However, their analysis cautions about how the "narrow goal of employing teachers of color can divert attention away from the comprehensive transformation of schools and society… particularly in 'no excuses' schools [where] teachers of color are caught in a double bind, trying to satisfy irreconcilable demands focused on extreme accountability on one hand and commitments for cultural relevance and justice on the other" (Philip & Brown, 2020, p. 3). While Philip and Brown point out that the movement to recruit more teachers of color is imperfect in that it obfuscates more systemic school reform, several nGSEs have specialized in recruiting teachers of color. In doing so, they have created niches by responding to a shortage of teachers of color. For example, Relay Graduate School of Education's institutional approval in the state of California is premised upon its focus on teacher diversity. In its initial eligibility review submitted to the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing in April 2021, Relay highlighted its commitment to teacher diversity, saying that,

> Relay is deeply committed to partnering closely with TK-12 schools to develop a pipeline of strong, diverse teachers—especially in high-needs grades and subjects. We are proud that 69 percent of Relay's total student body—and 74 percent of Relay online students—identify as people of color. Relay's efforts to expand diversity in the field extend to its own faculty as well, with 50 percent of Relay's faculty self-reporting as a person of color ("Initial Institutional Approval", 2021).

Relay's niche has been reinforced by popular press. In 2019, *The 74 Million* published an article titled, "A Decade After It Promised to Reinvent Teacher Prep, Relay Is Producing a Much-Needed, More Diverse Teaching Corps." In the article, Relay is credited with "success rare among graduate schools of education in recruiting and teaching candidates of color and male and black male candidates in particular. Nearly 10 percent of Relay's students are black men, for example, five times the percentage of such teachers nationally" (Lowe, 2019). Alder GSE, which operates in California, has defined its organizational niche similarly. Alder GSE "recruit[s] from the local community to expand and diversify the teaching population" to "create teaching teams that reflect the demographics of their students" ("About," 2021). As an organization, Alder's promotional materials say that it is guided by research on the role of residencies in recruiting, training, and retaining teachers of color ("Research Informing Our Work," 2022). Like RISPE and Relay, Alder has created an organizational niche defined by bringing people of color into the California workforce to address supply-side shortages.

In a slightly different vein, the Reach Institute for School Leadership's niche for job-embedded teacher education programs in Oakland was linked to bringing community-based youth workers into the teaching workforce. In an interview, Reach's founding director stated that the organization was part of a broader grassroots movement to develop the capacity of local leadership in Oakland. For Reach's teacher education program, this meant training people already working in urban educational settings—afterschool programs, community centers, coaches—to become credentialed teachers for Oakland's K-12 schools. The job-embedded nature of the program, Thompkins said, was not so much a revolutionary reorganization of teacher preparation. Rather it was a pragmatic way to entice working adults from within the community to enter classrooms fulltime without losing income to pursue teaching credentials.

The organizational niche emerged to facilitate the transfer of seasoned community youth workers into schools. This represents a slightly different approach to the diversification of the workforce taken up at other organizations, but they are both focused on human capital. These organizational niches are concerned with *who* teaches; they specialize in recruiting people with certain characteristics and backgrounds to address supply-side shortages in the teacher workforce.

Subject-Specific Content Areas

So far, this section has shown how nGSEs specialize by carving out localized niches and specializing in new pathways into the profession of teaching for underrepresented groups. Another market pressure that nGSEs have responded to is supplying teachers for in-demand subject areas, particularly in STEM fields. The AMNH MAT program, for example, began as part of a nationwide initiative to train 100,000 new STEM teachers in 10 years (100Kin10) (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021). The program's specific focus on Earth Science is related to New York's statewide Regents Examination in Earth Science. The museum's vision of good science teaching was grounded in informal science education and highly specialized Earth Science content knowledge. Informal learning, broadly speaking, is learning that takes place outside of formal classrooms; the museum's exhibits, archives, and objects are a prime example of an informal learning environment (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021).. The MAT program placed residents in an informal science teaching residency within the museum to teach museum visitors with original science artifacts (Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021). During the school year when residents were teaching in high-needs schools Monday through Thursday, they spent Fridays at the museums in and amongst the exhibits learning Earth Science content from the museum's senior science researchers and exhibit curators. The program's heavy emphasis on Earth Science content knowledge culminated in an original science research project. The MAT program's

vision was that its graduates would be content knowledge experts who used the methods of hands-on, informal science education—and the resources of the museum—to enable New York's students to become producers and consumers of Earth Science knowledge.

The High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning, formerly known as the Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning, was founded to "focus on supporting teachers in the areas of science, technology, engineering, and math (STEM) for students from pre-Kindergarten through the senior year of high school" (WWNFF, 2015). To support this effort, the graduate school received funding from major philanthropic foundations in science and technology, including The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation, Amgen Foundation, and Simons Foundation. The Amgen Foundation funded the Amgen Biology Teacher Education Program, which offered "cutting-edge, competency-based teacher education for the life sciences at the secondary school level" (WWNFF, 2015). Like the AMNH MAT program, High Meadows received targeted funding to support its science niche. But what began as a clear niche in the life sciences shifted. As of July 2021 when High Meadows announced that it was searching for a new partner in higher education, it had dramatically transformed its program to reflect a new niche that is more about the program's convenience as an online, competency-based program than it was about its content in the life sciences. After only three years, High Meadows found that its niche was, in fact, too narrow for a start-up. In an interview, High Meadows' senior program administrator said that High Meadows had had trouble recruiting enough teacher candidates who wanted to pay for a degree at a brand-new program focused solely on secondary science. As a result, High Meadows "rebranded" its niche as a competency-based online degree. I return to this in the next section about demand-driven organizational niches.

Interestingly a generation ago in the 1960s, the Upper Valley Graduate School of Education's parent organization, the Upper Valley Educators Institute, was founded in response to the Soviet launch of Sputnik. Teachers in the rural Upper Valley region networked with one another to recruit local students to become trained science teachers for the region's schools. Founded in 2011, the UVGSE carved out a regional niche rather than a content specific one. Nevertheless, it is notable that organizational specificity was relevant even among nGSEs' organizational forerunners.

These organizational niches have specialized in increasing the supply of teachers for certain regions, to diversify the workforce, and in certain subject areas. Even though nGSEs have shared characteristics as new, non-university graduate schools animated by market logics, their specialization has resulted in diverse cultural and cognitive features. This means that nGSEs are incredibly difficult to generalize beyond shared structural features. Each program has carved out a distinctive niche in the market for teacher preparation programs. In the next section, I analyze the demand-driven organizational niches that have emerged in conjunction with new pedagogical movements and emerging learning formats.

Pedagogical Approaches and Instructional Practices

Several nGSEs specialized to meet demand for pedagogical approaches and instructional practices, most of which were associated with the emergence of new charter school networks. The rapid rise of privately-run and philanthropically-funded charter schools that adopted new pedagogical approaches and specific instructional practices created demand for a new kind of teacher. Relay's origin story, discussed at length in Chapter 4, typifies this demand. The founders of KIPP and Achievement First, two "no excuses" style charter networks, found themselves competing over the same pool of talent in the New York labor market. So, they decided to train

their own teachers specifically for "no excuses" charter classrooms. Like nGSEs, the charter schools affiliated with them—KIPP, Achievement First, Aspire, Uncommon Schools, High Tech High, Match Charter Public Schools—are specialized educational organizations premised upon particular pedagogical approaches or specific instructional practices. Specialized charter schools then created demand for new kinds of specialized teacher preparation programs to uphold and enact these particular pedagogical approaches (e.g., Deeper Learning or "no excuses") and instructional practices (e.g., project-based learning or teacher "moves"). The nGSEs that emerged in response to this demand were specialized niche organizations that emerged to satisfy demands for teachers with specialized knowledge and skills.

This section examines three niches related to particular pedagogical approaches or instructional practices for (1) "no excuses" charter schools, (2) "Deeper Learning," and (3) anti-racist teaching. I show how new pedagogical approaches and instructional practices emerged in conjunction with school reform and broader social movements. These social forces influenced organizational culture while markets incentivized them to be responsive to demand for new approaches and practices.

"No Excuses" Charter Schools. "No excuses" charter schools emerged in the early 1990s with the advent of the first KIPP school in Houston (Golann, 2021) and then the Bronx.[2] These schools served low-income minoritized students, the majority of whom were Black and Latino. "No excuses" charter schools quickly replicated in urban centers nationwide; from Achievement First in New York to Aspire in California, charter networks scaled up rapidly. According to the National Center for the Study of Privatization in Education (NCSPE) at Teachers College Columbia, by the year 2020,

[2] As I explain in detail below, charter schools have now generally turned away from the term "no excuses."

> KIPP served 110,000 students in 255 schools across the country. Of those students, 88 percent came from low-income families; 95 percent were Black or Latino. Thirteen similar "no excuses networks evolved in KIPP's shadow. By 2020, these networks, from Achievement First to Aspire to Success Academy to YES Prep, together enrolled another 200,000 students in 433 schools across the country (NCSPE, 2021).

Similar to the emergence of nGSEs in the 21st century, the rapid expansion of "no excuses" charter networks was fueled by media acclaim and philanthropic investment (Golann, 2021). Conservative academics and intellectuals such as David Brooks, Thomas Friedman, Roland Fryer, and Malcolm Gladwell praised "no excuses" charter schools for their "resolve and methods" (NCSPE, 2021). Prominent foundations associated with The Gap, Microsoft, and Walmart gave millions of dollars for charters to scale up (NCSPE, 2021).

"No excuses" schools earned their name from the stance that "there must be no excuses for adult failure… the root cause of educational failure and black-white achievement gaps was not poverty, not parents, not children, and above all not race. It was the belief that failing schools were the source of the problem and that great schools could be the solution" (Pondiscio, 2019). The "no excuses" model featured a distinct "pedagogical strategy: a much longer school day (running from 7:25 am to 5:00 pm), strict behavior expectations, and unyielding commitment by parents and teachers alike to student success, all in the name of guaranteeing that every student makes it to and through college" (NCSPE, 2021). The culture of no excuses schools is highly prescriptive and interactions are often scripted (Golann, 2021). After spending a year inside a "no-excuses" charter school in the Northeast, Golann described them as follows:

> [students] were given exhaustive scripts for how to dress, how to complete a homework assignment, and how to clap in an assembly. They were given scripts for how to walk down the hallways and how to sit at their desks. They were given scripts for how to interact with teachers—no eye-rolling,

> no teeth sucking, no refusing a teacher's directions, and no talking back, even if wrongly accused (p. 9).

No excuses students were "required to wear uniforms, sit straight, with their hands folded on the table, and their eyes continuously on the teacher. At breaks, they walked silently through the halls in single-file lines" (Golann & Debs, 2019). And, importantly for this analysis, "these schools depend on a finite number of young teachers who can work such long hours" for the 10-day workday (NCSPE, 2021). The emergence of the "no excuses" pedagogical approach demanded a new kind of teacher who was schooled in the beliefs and practices of the "no excuses" model, particularly the scripted pedagogical "moves" that characterized "no excuses" classrooms. The specificity of the school model, then, created the demand for a new kind of specialized teacher preparation program. Three nGSEs emerged in response to this demand and quickly created niche programs for preparing new teachers for "no excuses" schools. As noted earlier, Relay Graduate School of Education was founded by the leaders of KIPP, Achievement First, and Uncommon Schools. Alder Graduate School of Education was founded at Aspire Public Schools, and the Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education was founded by the leaders of Match Charter Public Schools.

However, the word "no excuses" has since been retired by charter networks and the nGSEs that prepare teachers for them. The phrase "no excuses" does not appear in Relay, Alder, or Sposato's contemporary organizational vocabulary. In 2019, urban charters nationwide began to turn away from the "no excuses" label and renounce what came to be the controversial (and sometimes punitive) disciplinary approaches that characterized "no excuses" school culture (Strauss, 2019; Golan & Debs, 2019). KIPP, for example, "discontinued most of its system of rewards and repercussions…and has introduced restorative justice for student misbehavior" (Strauss, 2019). However, the demand for programs like Relay and Sposato had more to do with

the use of scripted pedagogical "moves" than strict disciplinary codes (Golann, 2021; Keefe & Miller, 2021). The nGSEs that specialized to prepare teachers for "no excuses" charter schools relied on specific scripted practices for classroom management and instruction (Golan, 2019). While the term "no excuses" has fallen into disfavor, the demand for teachers familiar with highly-prescribed instructional practices (Golan, 2021) persists even as the "no excuses" label has become passé. Throughout this chapter, whenever I use the term "no excuses," I am referring to a movement that has been rebranded—Sposato, for example, now says that it prepares teachers for "high performing, high poverty schools"—but began as a movement to prepare teachers for "no excuses" charter schools in the mid-2010s.

Relay. The Relay Graduate School of Education was conceived at an informal meeting between two charter school founders, Norman Atkins of Uncommon Schools and Dave Levine of KIPP. Atkinson and Levine, who found themselves fighting over the same teachers in New York, decided to prepare school teachers and leaders together for their growing network of (at the time) "no excuses" charter schools—Uncommon Schools, KIPP, and Achievement First (Atkinson, 2016). Thus, even before it was born, Relay's was part of a field of "no excuses" style charter schools. To create charter school teachers and leaders, Relay's leaders elicited support from the same funders who supported charter schools, including The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, the Walton Family Foundation, and the New Schools Venture Fund. While Relay began in partnership with New York City charter schools, as it grew into a nationwide organization, its network of charter affiliates expanded nationwide. Despite its expansion to 18 cities nationwide, Relay has held onto its niche for urban teacher preparation. At Relay, this niche is often associated with instructional practices and "moves" that are canonized in Doug Lemov's *Teach Like a Champion*. However, nationwide expansion has not compromised

Relay's niche; rather, Relay has cornered a niche that has translated to new urban environments across the country. Interestingly, the major metropolitan areas that Relay *does not* currently serve—in Massachusetts and California—are served by other formerly "no excuses" charter-affiliated nGSEs, Sposato and Alder. This underscores the fact that nGSEs carve out niches by responding to regional markets in addition to other niche pedagogies or practices.

Alder. Alder Graduate School of Education entered the "no excuses" teacher preparation market in California in partnership with Aspire charter schools in 2010. Although Relay is poised to enter the California market in the near future, Alder's expansion over the past twenty years suggests that the market will tolerate more nGSEs. Grounded in California's K-12 education reform movement, Alder was affiliated with Aspire charter schools, education reform advocacy organizations, national professional associations, and major corporate philanthropies. Alder originated inside Aspire Public Schools, a charter management organization with 36 schools in California that focus on college readiness for students from low-income urban communities ("Discover Aspire," 2021). Aspire and many of its urban charter peer networks partner with Alder for the GSE's in-school residencies. Alder remains tightly connected with charter schools, but it also now partners with unified school districts across California. Alder's funders include venture philanthropies and education reform advocacy organizations that fund charter schools. Alder's mission of "recruiting and educating excellent teachers and leaders who reflect our schools' communities," namely the low-income urban communities served by Aspire Public Schools, reflects the organization's alignment with supplying teachers of color as well as meeting the demand for teachers prepared for charter schools. Alder GSE served partner schools by offering to create "robust pipelines of great teachers for your students" ("School Partners," 2021); in other words, Alder's teacher education programs aimed to service California's urban

schools by meeting the demand for teachers with localized knowledge of schooling contexts. It's niche, then, was preparing and redistributing a pool of diverse teachers prepared in partnership with charter schools.

Sposato. Like Alder and Relay, the Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education emerged out of the K-12 school reform movement. Sposato operated in partnership with Match Charter Public School, a "free, high-performing, innovative" PK-12 urban charter school system in the Boston area ("Match Schools," 2021). Similar to Relay's organizational focus on teaching "moves," Sposato "employed hyper-prescriptive training to prepare teachers for high performing, high poverty urban setting" (Keefe & Miller, 2021). With residencies at top-performing, high-poverty urban schools in Boston, Sposato aimed to prepare "unusually effective novice teachers for schools serving low-income populations" ("Match Schools," 2021). Sposato partnered with other reform-oriented charter networks (New Schools for New Orleans) and education businesses (Coursera) to "be a source of innovation in education nationwide" ("About Us," 2021). Sposato, which is part of a triad of related organizations—Sposato GSE, Match Charter Public Schools, and The Match Foundation—built an outreach mechanism for its "no excuses" style teaching moves called Match Minis, which is a paid online subscription that unlocks a full suite of Match's K-12 curriculum and Sposato's teaching "moves". Sposato received funding from The Match Foundation as well as national grant makers (The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation) and local philanthropists (The Lynch Foundation). Sposato had ties to Boston, but its niche lies in producing "unusually effective novice teachers" for urban charter and turnaround schools nationwide (Stringer Keefe & Miller, 2021). According to Sposato, "schools across the country gladly pay significant placement fees" to hire Sposato graduates ("Job Placement and Support," 2021). It has created a niche among

high-performing urban charter schools across the country in response to demand for novice teachers prepared to engage in highly-prescribed teaching "moves" or practices explicitly intended for high-performing, high poverty urban schools.

Although the rhetoric of "no excuses" has fallen out of favor, the emergence of "no excuses"-style charter schools created demand for new kinds of niche teacher preparation programs that served rapidly-replicating charter schools. Three programs in particular—Relay, Alder, and Sposato—emerged in conjunction with charter networks that utilized highly-prescribed teaching practices to reshape school culture and classroom management (Golann, 2021). This specific vision of good teaching (Cochran-Smith, 2020; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2019) prompted a new kind of teacher preparation organization, one that responded to the context and conditions of specific organizational partners and parent organizations at CMOs. Here, demand drove the creation of new organizations that diversified the population of nGSEs and stood out against the wider field of teacher preparation.

Deeper Learning. The Deeper Learning Conference began in 2013 as an "annual gathering of powerful educators focused on creating more equitable outcomes by engaging students in deeper learning" ("Engage in Deeper Learning," 2022). With funding from the Hewlett Foundation, the same tech foundation that has provided ongoing support for High Tech High and High Tech High GSE, Deeper Learning has become part conference, part movement. High Tech High GSE hosts the annual Deeper Learning Conference, which hosts over 1,300 teachers each year. The movement, however, is a response to the tech industry's perception of the United States' antiquated education system, which they argue was designed for the industrial age. Instead, Deeper Learning proposes a progressive and constructivist pedagogical approach based on six forward-looking competencies for students: content expertise, critical thinking and

problem solving, collaboration, effective communication, self-directed leaning, and academic mindset ("Engage in Deeper Learning," 2022). According to the Hewlett Foundation's Education Program Director, Barbara Chow, the "core goal of deeper learning reform is really to set a more ambitious set of goals for students that better match what we need for the global economy. These skills include the ability to think critically and solve complex problems, to work well in teams, to communicate effectively, to learn how to learn" ("Engage in Deeper Learning," 2022).

Deeper Learning, as a movement, was a response to demand for a workforce prepared for the high-tech jobs of the future. The Deeper Learning Conference and High Tech High GSE were a response to the demand for teachers who knew how to translate this approach into a set of instructional practices. Deeper Learning spokesperson, Gene Wilhoit of the Council of Chief State School Officers, described the niche this way: "Our teachers, they get excited but then they're very quick to come back and say I need help, so we are going to have to change our professional development processes so that our teachers are ready to move into interactions with students ("Engage in Deeper Learning," 2022). High Tech High GSE *is* this change. The GSE emerged in 2004 to meet the demand for teachers ready to engage in the Deeper Learning approach and pedagogy in High Tech High's untracked and socially integrated classrooms. The GSE's niche has been partly regional (to prepare teachers for classrooms that represent San Diego's diversity) and partly pedagogical as the main preparation pipeline for Deeper Learning for High Tech High's K-12 charter schools.

Interestingly, while it does not rise of the level of niche, the Upper Valley Educators Institute has taken up Deeper Learning as one of its regional professional development initiatives for professional learning. UVEI has created a series of for-credit webinars for teachers to engage in practitioner inquiry for Deeper Learning. While Deeper Learning principles do not define the

UVEI niche, they have influenced organizational culture and the course of professional development at UVEI. The dissemination of Deeper Learning demonstrates broader demand for new kinds of teacher education programs that respond to macroeconomic trends, such as the need for more tech-savvy skilled laborers or creative problem solvers. The Deeper Learning movement funded by the Hewlett Foundation and pioneered by High Tech High's K-12 charter schools created demand for a new kind of teacher preparation program to serve High Tech High schools, specifically, and to adopt more responsive teacher education frameworks for 21st century learning, generally. This demand-driven niche was responsive to localized schooling conditions in San Diego as well as broader discourses about the need to reinvent America's education infrastructure for the 21st century.

Anti-Racist Teaching. The Rhode Island School for Progressive Education's "express mission" was to diversify Rhode Island's teacher workforce and promote anti-racist education by "promoting the use of anti-racist pedagogy" and "transforming the state of teacher education in Rhode Island through high-quality, culturally-competent, anti-racist teacher training and an explicit focus on instilling a pipeline of teachers of color for our state's urban public schools" ("Home," 2022). RISPE was the most recent nGSE to emerge and is among the most specialized, given that it engages three different niches at the same time: supplying teachers of color, focusing on Rhode Island, and employing anti-racist pedagogies for teacher education.

Anti-racist ideas and pedagogies have been around for decades, but the term "anti-racism" received a new level of popular acclaim and ubiquity with the 2019 publication of Ibram X. Kendi's memoir *How To Be An Anti-Racist*. Broadly speaking, anti-racism "is an active process of identifying and opposing racism in order to actively change the policies, behaviors, and beliefs that perpetuate racist ideas" (Yale University, 2019). Anti-racist teaching practices

involve incorporating diverse content into curriculum, rethinking school discipline, and interrogating one's own social position as part of an "organizing effort for institutional and social change that is much broader than the classroom" to overturn the systemic, structural, and institutional dimensions of American racism (Yale University, 2019).

In official documentation, RISPE positioned anti-racism as an integral part of its organizational culture and integrated anti-racism as an animating pedagogical feature of its teacher preparation programs and organizational niche. At RISPE, anti-racism was closely related to the other dimensions of organizational specialization, namely preparing teachers of color to join the workforce at Rhode Island's urban public schools. This niche was responsive to broader social demand—it did not correlate specifically with a network of charter schools like the "no excuses" or Deeper Learning approaches. Rather, the anti-racist niche spoke to broader discourses in American society about race and racism that fueled a national reckoning and created demand for anti-racist educators. RISPE combined the impetus to address race and racism in schooling with its effort to diversify the K-12 urban public workforce in Rhode Island, which remains overwhelmingly white. Among nGSEs, as an emerging population of teacher preparation providers, RISPE has created the highest degree of specialization by developing a niche that is regional, professional, and pedagogical at the same time.

In this section, I analyzed how teacher preparation niches emerged to meet specific market needs; as new organizations, nGSEs increased the supply of teachers for certain regions, diversified the teaching workforce, supported STEM content areas, and prepared teachers for new pedagogical movements and instructional practices. Six nGSEs specialized in supplying teachers for specific geographical regions, especially coastal urban centers. Four nGSEs sought to diversify the profession of teaching, particularly by recruiting people of color into the

workforce for urban schools. Three nGSEs carved out niches preparing teachers for certain academic content areas, particularly in the sciences. Five nGSEs prepared teachers to meet the demand for particular pedagogical approaches and instructional practices, especially those espoused by urban charter schools. I argue that new niches reflect broader macroeconomic trends and sociopolitical movements, such as the shift to a global knowledge economy or movements for racial justice and educational equity. nGSEs are fundamentally responsive organizations that were able to adjust to rapidly-shifting markets. For example, Relay, Alder, and Sposato adjusted in real time as the charter networks they served moved away from the "no excuses" model. They refined and rebranded their niches to meet changing sociopolitical conditions. RISPE, which was founded in partnership with a charter school, became a standalone graduate school of education dedicated to promoting anti-racist pedagogies in Rhode Island's urban public classrooms. As organizations, nGSEs are as nimble as the markets are fickle; as I argued in Chapter 4, they embody change over continuity. This section demonstrates how nGSEs specialized in response to market forces by showing how the forces of supply and demand pushed new organizations to articulate a specific niche as they broke into the field of teacher preparation. In this next section, I examine how demand from teachers drove the creation of online niches.

Organizational Niches Driven by Demand *From Teachers*

In this final section, I examine how demand *from teachers* drove the evolution of online organizational niches. These niches emerged in response to increasing demand for online learning formats and drove the specialization of online niches. Here, it is demand *from* teachers rather than demand *for* teachers that drives the creation of niches. In response to demand from teachers for flexible online teacher preparation, three organizations—TEACH-NOW, High

Meadows, and Relay—created niches as online providers of teacher preparation to meet increasing demand for flexible programming. This argument mirrors the argument that David Labaree made (2004, 2021) about how demand from teachers influenced the trajectory and status of teacher preparation in the 20th century. Accessibility is at the heart of both arguments—Labaree's (2004) argument about individuals using teacher preparation as a vehicle into higher education and my current argument about demand driving new niches for online programs. New organizations are responding to demand from teachers for more flexible, online programs for teacher certification and master's degrees.

Emerging Online Formats

So far I have examined how the forces of demand have created new niches for the preparation of teachers for specific geographical regions, workforce conditions, subject areas, and pedagogical approaches. In these cases, broader social and educational change drove demand for new kinds of teacher preparation programs. This section looks at a different kind of demand—demand *from teachers* for organizations that specialize in emerging online formats. In this section, I analyze how demand from prospective and practicing teachers for master's degrees and online certification has driven the creation of new organizational niches in the market for teacher preparation. In this case, demand from prospective teachers to learn in new online formats has resulted in organizations that specialize in online teacher preparation and competency-based teacher preparation. I show how these new formats emerged in conjunction with school reform, technological change, and the COVID-19 pandemic. These broader social forces influenced organizational culture while markets incentivized them to be responsive to demand for new formats for experiencing teacher preparation.

Online Teacher Preparation. Online instruction at all levels of education became ubiquitous during the COVID-19 pandemic. All levels of education organizations were forced to pivot to an online format during initial lockdowns, and hybrid forms of teaching and instruction continued as the pandemic persisted into its third year. Prior to the pandemic, however, there were some online teacher education programs, but fully online instruction had not been adopted broadly in American higher education. That is part of what made TEACH-NOW, a fully online graduate school of education, novel in 2011. TEACH-NOW's certificate and master's programs met online long before Zoom was a household name. TEACH-NOW's niche as a fully online graduate school of education evolved to meet the demand from a global customer base. As a for-profit company, TEACH-NOW's success and growth depended on the demand for an online program that was universally accessible online. This emerging format—learning to teach online *and* facilitating online instruction for K-12 students (Valerio, 2020)—was at the heart of the organizational niche. TEACH-NOW's self-paced monthly modules allowed teacher candidates from around the world to enroll and progress on their own schedules (Carney, 2019).

This approach, which seems commonplace now since many educational organizations have adopted an online element, made TEACH-NOW a niche program prior to the pandemic. During the pandemic, TEACH-NOW founder Emily Fesitritzer told DC's local news that, "Back in 2011, there seemed to be a real need for a program that really was focused on preparing tomorrow's teachers for tomorrow's learning world. I've been in this field for almost a half century, and didn't see anybody really addressing that issue of how do we prepare teachers for anything that comes up" (Valerio, 2020). Early on, Feistritzer identified demand for an online program that could handle 'anything that comes up.' During the first months of the pandemic, TEACH-NOW's monthly enrollment doubled from 80-100 new teachers a month to more than

200 each month. Feistritzer said, “when the pandemic hit, we were ready. We had been training on Zoom and creating ways to teach effectively on it since 2018” (Valerio, 2020). This suggests that TEACH-NOW’s niche as a legacy online program remains relevant even as other teacher education programs, including nGSEs such as Relay, Reach, or High Meadows, have launched fully online programs in the aftermath of the pandemic. TEACH-NOW continues to refine its niche as a provider of online teacher education by changing the nature of the organization—first into a university (Moreland University) in 2020 and then as part of a corporate conglomeration of adult online professional education programs (Colibri Group) in 2021.

Competency-based Teacher Preparation. The High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning, originally the Woodrow Wilson Academy of Teaching and Learning, was launched by the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation to offer competency-based STEM teacher preparation. Like the online format described above, the competency approach was positioned by High Meadows as a more modern way of learning for the 21st century. Competencies are an alternative modular format for learning where completion is linked to mastery through performance. Candidates move through the program at their own pace in accordance with their mastery of key competencies. High Meadows’ core competencies, defined as the skills, knowledge, and dispositions for teaching, were measured by project-based coursework called “challenges” (“Degree details,” 2022). In an explanatory website video, High Meadows’ President Deborah Hirsch, described competencies by saying that “our teachers do not graduate, do not leave here until they are confident and competent and we believe they have all of the necessary skills not only to thrive in today’s classrooms but they also have the skills to prepare for what teaching and learning looks like in the future.”

High Meadows originally constructed its niche in the market for teacher preparation by combining the self-paced competency-based format with STEM teacher preparation. Then in 2021, High Meadows stopped enrolling new candidates and announced that it was searching for a university-based partner in higher education to purchase its programming. In a January 2022 interview, President Deborah Hirsh suggested that the combined STEM/competency niche proved *too* limiting for a startup; High Meadows had trouble finding candidates willing to pay for a competency-based degree at a new and largely untested STEM program. Demand withered at the unsubsidized $27,000 price point, so the organization changed its product. High Meadows repackaged its competency-based initial teacher preparation program as an online master's degree for practicing teachers interested in justice, equity, design and innovation (JEDI). This approach positions High Meadows very differently in the market for teacher preparation, though it seems possible that High Meadows will cease being an nGSE in the near future after its programming gets absorbed by a university partner. It's evolution from a highly specialized competency/STEM niche into an online/justice niche speaks to the way that demand from teachers is driving the creation of specialized niches in the market for teacher preparation.

Niches and Differentiation

New graduate schools of education have entered the increasingly complex 21st century teacher preparation landscape as market-driven organizations. Each nGSE began in response to an identified market demand. Oftentimes, this demand reflected macroeconomic trends, such as teacher shortages and 21st century innovation, as well as larger sociopolitical movements, such as racial justice and school reform. In responding to perceived demands, each organization created a niche, sometimes responding to several dimensions of demand at the same time, that distinguished it within the wider field of teacher preparation. Either to stand out against a field of

alternate routes, university-based programs, district internships, and urban residencies or to meet local needs, nGSEs embraced a market orientation by responding to the forces of supply and demand in order to launch specific new products and programs. This chapter shows that some nGSEs responded to demand within the teacher workforce; these organizations prepared teachers for specific geographical areas, with specific content focus, and in order to diversify the teaching workforce. Others responded, sometimes simultaneously, to the forces of demand by preparing teachers for emerging pedagogical trends and learning formats.

Often, these niches overlapped. The AMNH MAT program, for example, is focused both on New York and on preparing Earth Science teachers. High Meadows prepared STEM teachers using a competency format and evolved into a justice-oriented online program. The most recent nGSE to emerge, the Rhode Island School for Progressive Education, has specialized with a remarkable degree of specificity—it prepares teachers of color in anti-racist pedagogies for Rhode Island's urban public schools. Though it is still in its organizational infancy, RISPE has ambitious plans to combine geographical, pedagogical, and professional niches in service of Rhode Island's public schools.

Markets have encouraged nGSEs to specialize. To distinguish themselves in the increasingly crowded and diverse deregulated landscape of teacher preparation providers wherein "letting a thousand flowers bloom" has been the case, nGSEs have had to tailor organizational culture around specific purposes and goals. As a result, the emerging population of nGSEs includes highly specialized market-driven organizations. nGSEs have emerged to meet specific conditions and therefore have a high degree of organizational specialization. Figure 6.2 lays out the population of nGSEs side by side. This chart reveals the extent to which nGSEs vary

in their origins, missions, and organizational fields (resource suppliers and partners). Their niches are, in many ways, a combination of all of these forces.

Figure 6.1
Specialization at nGSEs

nGSE	Origin	Mission	Organizational Niche	Organizational Partners	Resource Suppliers (Funders)
Alder Graduate School of Education	Aspire CMO	"To create opportunity and cultivate success for every student by recruiting and educating excellent teachers and leaders who reflect our schools' communities." ("About," 2021)	▪ Diversification of teacher workforce ▪ Preparation for "no excuses"-style charter schools	Charter schools and unified school districts in California, e.g., Aspire, KIPP, Pasadena Unified School District, Lynwood Unified School District	Silicon Valley Community Foundation, National Center for Teacher Residencies, Silicon Schools, Great Public Schools Now, Charles & Hellen Schwab Foundation
AMNH MAT Program	American Museum of Natural History	"The primary goals of the MAT program are to recruit, prepare, retain, and support certified teachers of Earth Science [for the] critical shortage area in New York state in and in NYC." (Educator Preparation Program Overview, Accreditation Document, 2018)	▪ Prepare teachers for New York City and New York State ▪ Earth Science content experts	New York City and Yonkers Public Schools	National Science Foundation Robert Noyce Teacher Scholarship Program, Diana Davis Spencer Foundation, Race to the Top; Richard Gilder Graduate School supported by The Gilder Foundation; and AMNH, supported by

					prominent national and regional philanthropies
Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education	Match Education	"The mission of The Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education is to prepare unusually effective novice teachers for schools serving low-income populations, and to develop, validate and disseminate innovative approaches to teacher preparation." ("How We're Different," 2021)	▪ Preparation for "no excuses"-style charter schools	Match Charter Public Schools, New Schools for New Orleans, Coursera, Match Fishtank, MatchMinis	The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, The Match Foundation, The Lynch Foundation
High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning	Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation	"The High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching & Learning is reinventing educator preparation in order to develop teachers who have the knowledge and skills to support their students' ability to thrive in a rapidly changing world." ("Mission, Vision, & Values," 2021)	▪ Competency-based online format ▪ STEM teacher preparation	Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation; Massachusetts Institute of Technology—Scheller Teacher Education Program Education Arcade; Playful Journey Lab; Teaching Systems Lab; MIT Open Learning MOOCs	Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation, Amgen Foundation, Nellie Mae Education Foundation, Chan Zuckerberg Initiative, Barr Foundation, The Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation

High Tech High Graduate School of Education	High Tech High	"The mission of HTHGSE is to develop reflective practitioner leaders who work effectively with colleagues and communities to create and sustain innovative, authentic, and rigorous learning environments for all students." ("About Us," 2021)	▪ Prepare teachers for San Diego, CA ▪ Preparation for Deeper Learning	High Tech High, Deeper Learning Hub, Ed Prep Lab	William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, The Walton Family Foundation, The Simon Foundation, The Amar Foundation, The James Irvine Foundation, Jobs for the Future, The Raikes Foundation
Reach Institute for School Leadership	On The Move	"Reach is an educational institution that believes great teaching is at the heart of every great school. Reach's mission is to improve schools by improving instruction, fostered by providing rigorous, relevant, and applied pathways and preparation for exceptional teaching and leadership in our candidates' daily work." ("Home," 2021)	▪ Prepare teachers for Oakland, CA ▪ Diversification of teacher workforce	Oxford Day Academy, National Institute for Excellence in Teaching, Bay Area School of Enterprise	Walter & Elise Haas Fund, Fordham Foundation, Irene S. Scully Family Foundation, Thomas J. Long Foundation, The Dean Witter Foundation

Relay Graduate School of Education	KIPP, Uncommon, Achievement First	"Relay's mission is to ensure that all students are taught by outstanding educators. Our vision is to build a more just world where every student has access to outstanding educators and a clear path to a fulfilling life." ("Relay Advantage," 2021)	▪ Diversification of teacher workforce ▪ Preparation for "no excuses"-style charter schools	Teach for America, Americorps, City Year, Deans for Impact, and various CMOs (eg. Uncommon, KIPP, RePublic Schools, Achievement First)	Robin Hood Foundation, The Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, Glenview Capital Management, Michael and Susan Dell Foundation, Walton Family Foundation, New Schools Venture Fund
Rhode Island School for Progressive Education	The Learning Community Charter	"The Rhode Island School for Progressive Education (RISPE) is Rhode Island's newest educator preparation provider and the first institution of higher education in the state to be founded with the express mission of diversifying Rhode Island's teacher workforce and promoting anti-racist education." ("Home," 2021).	▪ Diversification of teacher workforce ▪ Preparation for anti-racist teaching ▪ Prepare teachers for Rhode Island	Rhode Island Department of Education	New Schools Venture Fund, Joukowsky Family Foundation, Charles and Lynn Schusterman Family Foundation, Nellie Mae Education Foundation, Rhode Island Foundation, United Way of Rhode Island, Rhode Island Department of Education
TEACH-NOW	Emily Feistritzer	"Our mission: teaching teachers around the world to be resourceful problem	▪ Online teacher preparation	International teacher placement agencies, e.g., Search Associates,	New Schools Venture Fund (one-time seed grant), Colibri Group

		solvers and tech-savvy educators through an online, collaborative, activity-based learning system designed for tomorrow's students in a dynamic and diverse world." ("Home," 2021).		International School Services, Teaching Nomad, Educational Collaborative for International Schools, Quality Schools International	
Teacher's College of San Joaquin	San Joaquin County Office of Education	"The TCSJ mission is to develop a workforce of teachers and school leaders who are comfortable with collaboration, understand the need to prepare students for both work and higher education and have the skills to develop, implement, and sustain innovative educational ideas. TCSJ exemplifies the notion of learning opportunities that are rigorous, provide relevance, are relationship-driven, and incorporate reflection for professional growth." ("Teachers College of San Joaquin," 2021)	▪ Prepare teachers for Central Valley, California	San Joaquin County Office of Education, San Joaquin County Unified School Districts, Venture Academy Family of Schools	San Joaquin County Office of Education, which receives support from the Raymus Community Foundation of San Joaquin, Intrepid Philanthropy Foundation, Joseph & Vera Long Foundation

Upper Valley Graduate School of Education	Upper Valley Educators Institute	"Our Mission: UVEI prepares, inspires, and supports teachers and school leaders to improve the quality of education for learners in their classrooms, schools, and communities. As a graduate school of education, we do this by engaging reflective educators in developing their knowledge, understanding, and clinical practice for the benefit of their students and colleagues." ("About UVEI," 2021)	▪ Prepare teachers for Upper Valley of Vermont and New Hampshire	Public and voucher-funded private schools across the rural Upper Valley region of Vermont and New Hampshire	The Jack and Dorothy Byrne Foundation

The purpose of placing all 11 organizations side-by-side is to emphasize the degree of specialization among this emerging field of teacher preparation providers. It is clear that markets have driven specialization and worked against organizational isomorphism in teacher education. Market-driven specialization has prevented isomorphism in the emergence of nGSEs. The term *isomorphism* was often used to describe educational organizations in the 20th century when the institutional characteristics of educational organizations tended to mimic one another in the pursuit of legitimacy rather than find unique ways to become more efficient organizations. It was thought that educational organizations were beyond the forces of the market (Bidwell, 2006), so technical efficiency mattered less than legitimacy and convention (Meyer & Rowan, 2006). As education (K-12 and higher education) was increasingly deregulated at the end of the century, market forces began to influence organizational behavior in new ways (Meyer & Rowan, 2006). The emergence of nGSEs is a case in point. nGSEs have specialized in response to specific demands, and as a result, they are highly diverse organizations that forge and sustain unique niches.

Paying attention to organizational diversity raises an important point about nGSEs that an exclusive focus on market forces would overlooks—nGSEs are part of broader sociocultural movements. nGSEs' niches illustrate their organizational ties to movements for school reform (e.g., "no excuses," Deeper Learning), social change (e.g., diversifying the workforce, anti-racism), and technological innovation (e.g., online learning). While nGSEs were market-driven, they were also tied to broader social agendas and discourses. In fact, they were highly responsive to these social agendas and discourses. Some organizations took issues of racial inequity head on by working to diversify the teacher workforce, implement new pedagogical strategies ("no excuse," anti-racism), or prepare teachers for urban schools (New York, San Diego, Oakland,

etc.). Some organizations responded directly to the demand for new kinds of teachers and schools (urban charter schools). Even the turn away from the label "no excuses" was itself a reflection of nGSEs' market orientation and social responsiveness; they moved away from the language of "no excuses" once the terminology was dismissed as overly punitive. Other organizations spoke directly to popular concern about the datedness of America's industrial education system and sought to modernize learning systems through new pedagogies (Deeper Learning), content focus (STEM), learning systems (competencies), or formats (online). These nGSEs were responding to broader discourses about the challenges America's dated education system faces in the 21st century. In a variety of different ways, they positioned themselves as problem solvers—to sociocultural problems and for economic competitiveness. These niches showed us that nGSEs created space for themselves in the market by positioning themselves as organizational solutions to sociocultural and economic problems.

This chapter focused on how two foundational elements of organizational culture—cultural-cognitive divergence and market logic—interacted. In Chapter 4, I argued that nGSEs evolved rapidly along divergent trajectories as the result of different *cultural-cognitive* frames derived from varied origins and networks. These 11 new organizations approached the task of teacher preparation differently from many traditional teacher preparation programs as the result of their diverse origins, ideational networks, and partner schools. In Chapter 5, I analyzed the ubiquity of market logics across nGSEs. This chapter brought the two concepts—cultural-cognitive organizational divergence and market logic—together by showing how market-driven demand for new kinds of teacher preparation programs drove the process of specialization that resulted in varied organizational culture and cognition about teacher preparation in conjunction with broader sociocultural and macroeconomic trends, like racial justice or economic innovation.

This process of organizational diversification resulted in niches that demonstrate how nGSEs created space for themselves in the market by positioning themselves as organizational solutions to sociocultural and economic problems. For example, High Tech High GSE emerged out of a K-12 charter school in San Diego that integrated students in non-tracked, project-based constructivist classrooms (Mehta & Fine, 2019; Sanchez, 2019) that created a professional development network (Deeper Learning) and GSE. High Tech High GSE was animated by market logic, which was evidenced by its funding arrangement that relied on income from Deeper Learning professional development and ongoing support from the Hewlett Foundation and desire to remedy future skilled labor shortages. It evolved to meet the demand for High Tech High's regional expansion to sixteen different charters and demand for the Deeper Learning more generally. High Tech High GSE specialized as a provider of teacher preparation for Deeper Learning in non-tracked project-based schools. The result was a unique organizational culture and approach to teacher preparation; High Tech High GSE's cognition about teacher preparation was animated by the idea of reinventing teacher preparation for more equitable classrooms and outcomes that could contribute to national economic progress by supplying 21st century workers for California's tech industries. The following basic formulation applies to all eleven nGSEs: unique origins, ideational networks, and partner schools plus market logic creates unique organizational evolution that leads to specialization which results in unique cultural and cognitive aspects of organizations. This is the organizational niche that this chapter profiles in depth for each site. As Figure 6.2 shows, the result is a highly diversified population of providers that are tethered to different organizational fields, diverse ideational networks, and unique partnerships. While nGSEs are subject to the same kinds of regulative and normative pressures from the state and from, these new organizations do not conform to cultural cognitive norms.

Rather, they are different from one another because they respond to demand for new kinds of organizations that respond to sociocultural and economic problems—like shortages of highly-qualified teachers in urban areas or skilled workers for America's tech industry. nGSEs are a significant—though still very small numerically—demonstration of how market forces affect organizational culture. They illustrate that markets incentivize new educational organizations to distinguish themselves from competitors and to accept the risk of specializing. The niche approach I outlined in this chapter explains how market forces, particularly demand, and specialized organizational culture are related and dialectical concepts that explain the diversity within the new population of teacher preparation providers at nGSEs.

Chapter 7
Market Selection and the Future of Privatized Teacher Preparation

This dissertation traced the emergence of new graduate schools of education in the early 21st century. With origins in diverse settings—from public museums to charter schools to scholarly foundations—this population of 11 new organizations responded to policy conditions that called for the deregulation and diversification of the field of teacher education. I found that these organizations had diverse origins and unique organizational trajectories, despite sharing a market-orientation. Each organization responded to unique demand for a new kind of teacher preparation. But as the last three chapters revealed, nGSEs are remarkably hard to generalize. Though they collectively can be considered as one reform, namely the relocation of master's level teacher preparation from universities to new and different kinds of organizations, nGSEs are remarkably different from one another and from other providers wider field of teacher preparation. nGSEs are a diverse population of organizations. Their internally "shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and create frames through which meaning is made" vary widely (Scott, 2013, p. 67). I argue that this is the result of rapid change, the reconfiguration of time and space, and nGSEs' diverse organizational origins. As new organizations that have moved the bulk of teacher preparation to K-12 schools and/or to the internet while evolving continuously from different kinds of parent organizations and agendas, nGSEs naturally have very different cultural-cognitive schemata. I argue that this is the result of specialization in response to demand. As I have shown, market logic was evident in some form, though to varying degrees, at each new organization. nGSEs are fundamentally responses to specialized, and oftentimes regionalized, circumstances that create demand for a new kind of teacher preparation program that reconsiders the organizational aspects of education (Ingersoll,

2011). They are private sector solutions to problems in the public education system, and they enjoy the support of new education philanthropists who fund privatized alternatives to the public education bureaucracy. These philanthropists invest in scalable solutions, reward innovation, and look for returns in terms of outcomes like student achievement or teacher retention. But they also reward specificity, and so many nGSEs are tailored for particular contexts and conditions. Some nGSEs serve certain geographical communities, and others serve certain kinds of school communities. This trend towards organizational specificity has resulted in highly specialized niches in the 21st century market for teacher preparation.

Chapter 4 analyzed how nGSEs got their start and what they look like today. Based on analysis of proprietary documents, public websites, promotional marketing materials, press releases, and tax records, four interrelated arguments about nGSEs' organizational histories and environments emerged. The first proposition is that nGSEs evolved rapidly along divergent trajectories as the result of different *cultural-cognitive* frames derived from varied origins and networks (Scott, 2013). Second, nGSEs have reconfigured time and place for teacher preparation, altering the traditional grammar of university-based graduate teacher education and foregrounding the role of schools in learning to teach. Third, nGSEs capitalized on shared organizational infrastructure, often by employing embedded business models. But sharing organizational infrastructure (funding, personnel, values) with parent and partner organizations meant that nGSEs did not form a single field because they were more aligned with the fields from which they originated than with each other. However, my fourth proposition is that some traditional markers of legitimacy persisted at nGSEs, even though the *norming* forces of legitimacy did not overshadow the *cultural cognitive divergence* that resulted from diverse origins. My general argument here is that 21st century market forces incentivized *cultural*

cognitive divergence at nGSEs. Chapter 4 shows that these new organizations were as responsive to market forces as their 20th century predecessors, but 21st century markets rewarded differentiation and reinvention, rather than mimicry and convention. The histories, programs, and business models of nGSEs demonstrated how unique organizational trajectories and highly specialized *cultural cognitive* approaches to teacher preparation gained momentum over the last twenty years. In sum, each organization evolved along a unique organizational trajectory that stemmed from and articulated a new conception of reality and meaning in teacher education.

Chapter 5 introduced the concept of *institutional logic* and argued that nGSEs' material and symbolic practices were guided by market logic. Institutional logics, as Thornton and Ocasio (1999) wrote, are "socially constructed, historical patterns of material practices, assumptions, values, beliefs, and rules by which individuals produce and reproduce their material subsistence, organize time and space, and provide meaning to their social reality" (p. 804). Logics often manifest themselves as "a set of material practices and symbolic constructions which constitute [an institution's] organizing principles and which is available to organizations and individuals to elaborate" (Friedland & Alford, 1991, p. 248). nGSEs' material practices for collecting tuition, navigating federal financial aid, and raising external funds were driven by markets, yet so were the symbolic and rhetorical practices that espoused the reinvention, redistribution, commodification, and universalization of teacher preparation. This chapter highlighted nGSEs' funding models, particularly the organizational turn away from the federal financial aid system. Instead, nGSEs were supported by a network of private philanthropies guided by the ethos of the "new education philanthropy," which is a new 'muscular' approach to large scale philanthropic giving that incorporates accountability to measurable outcomes with scalable social impact. Given the reliance of most nGSEs on ongoing philanthropic support, the chapter examined the

overlapping web of national corporate funders and localized community funders that supported nGSEs. nGSEs capitalized on new markets and new funders by embracing market logic. As a result, the diversification of organizational forms was an inherent feature of the emergence of nGSEs.

Chapters 4 and 5 painted a picture of organizational culture that was, broadly speaking, logically uniform but cognitively diverse. That is, I found that nGSEs were animated by market logic, but they were still very different from one another in terms of how they thought about and structured teacher preparation, so Chapter 6 took a hard look at specialization. This chapter was about how two foundational elements of organizational culture—cultural-cognitive divergence and market logic—interacted and what they meant together. Specialization, I argued in Chapter 6, drove the creation of new niches in the market for teacher preparation and acted against institutional isomorphism within the population. nGSEs responded to gaps in the market for teacher preparation by supplying teachers where shortages existed in certain regions, demographics, or subjects and by responding to demand for teachers familiar with new pedagogical movements and learning modalities. In this way, nGSEs were responsive to broader sociocultural and macroeconomic trends, like racial justice and economic innovation. By trying to diversify the workforce, serve urban areas, or take teacher preparation online, for example, nGSEs situated their organizations as niche programs that answered to higher purposes of social change or economic competitiveness. These specialized niches also worked against institutional isomorphism, which was once thought to be the driving force of America's educational institutions. Instead of mimicking one another's structures and conventions, these 21st century organizations were diverse and specialized. This, ultimately, made them remarkably hard to generalize.

In the present chapter, I offer a broader interpretation of this study and its implications. First, I review what I found in conducting this analysis, then I discuss what this study shows, paying particular attention to what kind of information this type of historical and institutional analysis yielded. Here, I reflect on the utility of combining historical and institutional methods and perspectives for analyzing organizational evolution. In closing, I talk about the implications of this project for research and practice.

Overarching Arguments

As I discussed in Chapter 2, sociological institutionalism evolved in the 19th century alongside the consolidation of nation states, development of national political institutions, and expansion of markets through widespread industrialization (Bidwell, 2006). During that period of rapid evolution, early institutionalists like de Tocqueville and Durkheim studied what drove institutionalization and kept institutions stable over time. In the late 20th century, a school of new institutionalists sought to the use the same concepts (actors, logics, fields, markets) and units of analysis (institutions and organizations) to understand the *diversity* of institutional life, particularly as it related to macroeconomic trends. During a period of neoliberal reform that revived a *laissez-faire* approach to financial markets and brought government deregulation of social institutions, various elements of organized social life began to diversify, resulting in new kinds of institutional and organizational trends. The emergence of nGSEs is one of them. At the beginning of this dissertation, I quoted Art Levine as saying that we were once again in the "Wild West" stage of change. The "let a thousand flowers bloom" ethos of competition and selection had changed the field of American teacher preparation as the old and new existed side by side (Levine, 2019; Fraser & Lefty, 2019). While some of these metaphors were derisive, they captured the idea that deregulation had created a landscape of constant change in the field of

teacher preparation. My analysis provides evidence that a thousand flowers are, indeed, blooming. The proliferation, expansion, and evolution of nGSEs over the last twenty years shows that deregulated markets have fostered conditions for alternative organizations to flourish. But, the purpose of institutional analysis is not simply to describe new developments. Rather, as Meyer and Rowan (2006) suggest, "the purpose of an institutional analysis is to tell us why—out of the stupendous variety of feasible forms—this or that particular one is actually 'selected' and whose interests might be served by that selected arrangement" (2006, p. 4). In my analysis of nGSEs, I look at just one of the feasible forms that has emerged in the new teacher education. Other pathways into teaching include district internships, urban teacher residencies, fast-track entry routes, online certification programs, and university-based schools of education. But what is less obvious is which ones will be 'selected' in the long term.

In Chapter 4, I showed the rapid—and oftentimes tumultuous—evolution of nGSEs. During just the time of the writing of this dissertation over the past fifteen months, several organizational events have occurred that speak to long term market 'selection.' For example, the High Meadows Graduate School of Teaching and Learning stopped accepting new teacher candidates in 2021 and did not enroll a new cohort of teachers in the 2021-2022 academic year. The organization released a public memorandum stating that it would cease operations in December 2021 if it did not identify a new partner in higher education. That deadline has since been pushed to March 2022, so it is likely that we will not know the outcome until after this dissertation is complete. The important lesson, regardless of outcome, is that the organization did not survive as a standalone graduate school of education; it had to take up a university-based partner or shut down. This is the first known case of an nGSE not making it past the pilot phase.

But if the High Meadows flower has 'wilted,' others are growing and multiplying. Relay Graduate School of Education, which began as a standalone graduate school of education in New York in 2011, now operates 18 different campuses nationwide. It has branches in urban centers across the country in addition to a fully-online teacher preparation program. At the time of this writing, Relay was pursuing entry into the California market and awaiting approval from the California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, a move that is sure to bring more campuses. TEACH-NOW's online teacher certification program experienced a boom during the COVID-19 pandemic. Enrollment doubled as demand for the online niche increased during the pivot to online instruction. In the summer of 2020, TEACH-NOW expanded into a full-blown online for-profit university, Moreland University. Then in December 2021, the Colibri Group, a professional education company based in St. Louis purchased TEACH-NOW Inc. in a "strategic acquisition" that "incorporates a new category of professional education—teacher education—into its family of brands" (Business Wire, 2021). While some nGSEs were being 'selected' by consumers and expanding market share, others faced the hard knocks of institutional selection.

The process of selection speaks to another critical element of this dissertation: the drive to specialize. Under market conditions, new organizations needed to find niches and they need to find unique ways to make their programs and degrees more affordable. All 11 nGSEs illustrate this trend towards niche programming. As this dissertation shows, nGSEs challenge the 20th century "general purpose university" (Labaree, 2004) model, instead building specialization into start up culture. But it was also critical to find a unique way to make tuition more affordable for people who wanted to become teachers and pursue higher education degrees. In the context of a national student debt crisis, part of specializing at nGSEs meant creating new ways to decrease or offset tuition costs, often without the support of the traditional federal aid mechanism. The

nGSEs that expanded, namely Relay, Alder, and TEACH-NOW, found unique ways to offset and minimize the cost of teacher preparation. This core finding is easy to distill—specialization matters, money matters.

Implications for the Study of Institutions

This analysis provides evidence of a small but significant logical shift in the field of teacher preparation. As new entrants to the field, the organizations in this new population of providers are bringing with them a different set of assumptions, values, and material practices that reflect their market orientation. In 2006, Meyer and Rowan (2006) noticed that, in many cases, market conditions "shape the kinds of organizational forms that arise to provide instructional services in education," often creating "different strategic groups of organizations, even within the same industry, as part of a process of market differentiation" (p. 28). This dissertation provides evidence of how market trends have shaped highly differentiated organizational forms in teacher preparation. Market logic has counteracted organizational isomorphism as new schools and colleges, which used to be "held together more by shared beliefs than by technical exigencies or a logic of efficiency" have changed course in the population of nGSEs. With the backing of corporate funders who want to see quantifiable and scalable practices as 'returns' on their 'investments' in education, nGSEs have adopted the logic of efficiency and accountability as part of the broader shift to market logic (Cochran-Smith, Jewett Smith, & Alexander, 2022).

This underlying logical shift in teacher education at nGSEs reflects what is happening in other sectors of institutional life from healthcare to criminal justice to K-12 schooling. Though the population of nGSEs represents a small slice of the wider field of teacher preparation, the ubiquity of market logic suggests that faith in private sector solutions to reform social

infrastructure runs high. This dissertation shows how America's broader supra-institutional shift is playing out in one population of providers within the field of teacher preparation. This dissertation joins other field-level institutional analyses that have "chronicle[d] the incursion of economic (specifically, market) logics into organization fields previously organized around other logics," as sectors like education and medicine "have been colonized by neoliberal views emphasizing competition, privatization, cost-benefit analysis, and outcome measures by stressing financial indicators" (Scott, 2014, p. 251). This shift has been documented in higher education (Meyer & Rowan, 2013, Scott, 2014), but not teacher education per se—until now. Thus, this analysis contributes to the wider institutional literature that helps us understand how society and culture are changing in real time. But it also suggests that the history of teacher preparation is cyclical. As I argued in Chapter 4, histories of American teacher preparation point out that teacher preparation has long been influenced by the market (Labaree, 2004; Lagemann, 2000). One hundred years ago, teacher preparation programs were highly localized. Teacher education was carried out on the local level at normal schools that existed outside of colleges and universities (Labaree, 2004; Lagemann, 2000). In the 20th century, teacher preparation programs became part of the college and university system, where the majority of teachers are still prepared. However, with nGSEs, we are witnessing a return to a more localized and diversified organizational landscape. As twenty-first century entrants to the field of teacher education, nGSEs rely on private funding and operate outside of university-based higher education. Adopting a historical perspective grounds this sociologically-informed analysis of organizations in the wider arc of modern institutional life.

Approaching the nGSE phenomenon from an institutional *and* historical perspective allowed my analysis in this dissertation to be granular and farsighted at the same time. At the

outset of this project, I made the case for studying nGSEs nationally, holistically, organizationally and historically. While I studied each organization in detail by scouring program documents, websites, communications, press releases, grant narratives, financial documents, and interview data, I also tried to take a step back and see the big picture. This approach led me to two general insights about nGSEs. First, nGSEs represent a genuine attempt to do things differently, but second, there is a fundamental tension between private interests and public education. Individually and collectively, nGSEs represent a genuine attempt to do things differently in teacher preparation, to focus on underserved populations, and to question the way things have always been done. The way that nGSEs define underserved populations varies, but many of them try to meet the demand for change in underserved communities and schools in their regions. Community advocacy organizations, charter management organizations, museums, regional professional development centers, and for-profit companies are all trying their hand at teacher preparation to innovate new solutions to public educational problems. These mostly private sector non-profits and companies are altering the traditional grammar of teacher education by choosing new settings and finding new partners to deliver on their promise of doing things differently.

However, the private sector foray into teacher education raises an important question about resources and power. At the beginning of this dissertation, I quoted Diane Ravitch saying that "there is something fundamentally antidemocratic about relinquishing control of the public education policy agenda to private foundations run by society's wealthiest people" (Ravitch, 2010, p. 200). Ravitch criticized the Gates, Broad, and Walton Family foundations for co-opting the federal education reform agenda and tilting the scales towards private sector solutions by supporting "reform strategies that mirrored their own experience in acquiring huge fortunes, such

as competition, choice, deregulation, incentives, and other market-based approaches" (Ravitch, 2010, p. 210). Ten years later, this still rings true. Ravitch's concern, along with others who have made similar arguments (Lubienski & Brewer, 2019; Thompkins- Strange, 2013; Zeichner & Pena Sandoval, 2015) about funding, speaks to a central tension about funders and funding at nGSEs. There is a growing literature that questions whether benevolent intentions (Thompkins-Strange, 2013) are enough to counteract the privatized power channels that fuel nGSEs. This literature raises questions about whose interests are being served by corporate philanthropy—communities underserved by the traditional system *or* society's wealthiest people? Is it possible for both to be promoted at the same time? While nGSEs represent a genuine attempt to do things differently, I do not have evidence to counter Ravitch's claim about the undemocratic nature of excess corporate capital paying for education reform. I do not mean to imply that these reforms are malicious power-grabs—in fact several nGSEs have used privatized funding from major corporate philanthropies to support localized and specialized initiatives for teacher preparation—but that does not make the whole enterprise more democratic.

In institutional theory, there is a concept that describes this tension: the *process of institutionalization* (Bidwell, 2006; Meyer & Rowan, 2006). As I discussed in Chapter 2, the process of institutionalization is "driven by political mechanisms in particular elites' use of power to realize their interconnected ideal and material interests" (Bidwell, 2006, p. 26). In other words, for institutionalization to take place across new organizations, the population of nGSEs needs to serve the material and ideological interests of a powerful elite *and* suit the particular cultural-cognitive frames of the time and place (Bidwell, 2006). The argument here is that in order to develop momentum and take on collective meaning, the population must serve the interests of an elite. As this analysis shows, the nGSE phenomenon writ large is being driven by

a network of private foundations that have embraced neoliberal approaches to education reform and scripted new cultural-cognitive frames about the power of privatization to solve social problems. This confirms something that we knew from the start—that nGSEs are a controversial reform. However, as I stated at the beginning, nGSEs are remarkably hard to generalize. There is little public accountability in the private sector outside of organizational accreditation. But nGSEs also demonstrate and deliver upon a commitment to local schooling contexts. They are grounded in and guided by improving educational outcomes for students in the communities and contexts that they prepare teachers for. Philip Selznick, a famous mid-century institutional theorist, wrote that institutionalization is,

> a process. It is something that happens to an organization over time, reflecting the organizations' own distinctive history, the people who have been in it, the groups it embodies and the vested interests they have created, and the way it has adapted to its environment…. In what is perhaps its most significant meaning, 'to institutionalize' is to *infuse with value* beyond the technical requirements of the task at hand (Selznik, 1957, p. 16-17).

In a way, this dissertation itself is part of the process of institutionalization, in that it is defining a population within the organizational field of teacher education, theorizing shared characteristics, and searching for meaning by placing nGSEs in conversation with broader economic and social trends. In a certain sense, this study infuses nGSEs with value by charging that they are connected to the privatization and deregulation of institutional life. It places this phenomenon in the midst of a controversial shift to privatized institutional life. Even though nGSEs have only existed for twenty years, their rapid growth and expansion suggests that the idea of independent graduate teacher preparation is gaining traction, legitimacy, and momentum. And while nGSEs have been linked to antidemocratic corporate reform in academic literature (Cochran-Smith, Keefe, Jewett Smith, 2021; Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015), they have also been championed

as progressives in the mainstream media. Over the last ten years, *EdWeek, The New York Times, Chalkbeat, EdSource, The Atlantic, The 74Million, Education Next,* and *The Washington Post* have all published commendatory profiles of teacher preparation programs at nGSEs. These accolades contribute to the institutionalization of nGSEs. For example, the media has linked nGSEs' to movements and discourses about more clinically-intensive teacher preparation or about attracting more diverse teacher candidates. This positive attention infuses the nGSE phenomenon with social impact beyond the technical task of preparing teachers. But similar to Ravitch, academics have also raised concern about the antidemocratic nature of how venture philanthropy is promoting privatization of public education (see Ravitch, 2010; Zeichner & Pena-Sandoval, 2015). Thus, the process of institutionalization is hard to generalize since various stakeholders infuse the phenomenon with different values. Teacher preparation at nGSEs is, at the same time but to different constituencies, a market-based innovation that prioritizes underserved communities *and* a catalyst for the corporatization of American education.

After conducting this analysis and finding such wide variation among organizations, I argue that it is a mistake to write off the entire phenomenon of teacher preparation at nGSEs with value-laden assessments—assuming that the phenomenon is *bad* because it is funded by conservative corporate reformers, or assuming that it is *good* because nGSEs prioritize new markets. The fact is that many nGSEs *are* funded by conservative corporate reformers and that many prioritize new markets that center underserved regions, schools, communities, and candidates. To understand this is to accept that nGSEs are genuinely trying to improve educational structures and outcomes by working within the neoliberal theory of change. By this, I mean that nGSEs are embracing the power of the private sector and market logic to affect social and educational change. These organizations all operate at the level of teacher preparation

without challenging the underlying social structures and economic systems that create pools of excess capital, on the one hand, or neglected and underserved communities, on the other. This theory of change reflects an underlying belief that "inequality and poverty are susceptible to educational correction" and has, in turn, "reduced pressure on the state for other social policies that might more directly ameliorate economic distress" (Kantor & Lowe, 2013). In general, the nGSE approach does something ambitious and progressive, but it does not challenge or question the system's economic foundation, especially given most nGSEs' reliance on charitable foundations and corporate philanthropies. Even nGSEs that do not rely on philanthropic contributions for operations, such as UVEI, TCSJ or TEACH-NOW, represent an attempt to relocate and redefine teacher preparation that is consistent with the market-driven relocate-and-restart reform ideology. For this reason, it seems likely that the nGSEs phenomenon will be 'selected' by markets and continue to grow and expand in the years to come. The fact that the phenomenon continues to promote the idea that equity can be achieved through education, and, in this case, teacher education, without a more dramatic overhaul of social policy (Cochran-Smith et al., 2016; Cochran-Smith et al., 2018; Cochran-Smith & Reagan, 2021) is a palatable yet unthreatening narrative for philanthropists and policymakers. nGSEs are part of structural change at the level of teacher preparation and do not undermine broader socioeconomic systems. While they might be responsible for redistributing teachers to areas of high demand, these new organizations are fundamentally working within the paradigm of privatization.

In closing, I offer implications drawn from this study and approach. I make some suggestions about how this new information could impact the work of people positioned in research and practice. Even though this historical and institutional analysis has overt implications for policy on account of its emphasis on institutional structures, the policy-related implications

seem less relevant since policymakers have settled upon consensus about the efficacy of privatized reforms and alternate routes. This analysis neither condemns nor commends nGSEs; rather, it unpacks their features, offers a balanced look into organizational culture that is influenced by market reforms, and highlights variation over generalizability. I found that nGSEs' shared organizational features that could be generalized using concepts like funding, logics, and niches, but that the execution of programming, partnerships, and purposes varied widely within the population.

While this is not a study of practice per se, my analysis of the importance of niche programming has implications for anyone in the business of education management. This analysis provides a roadmap to startup educational culture by revealing the types of funding structures, organizational partnerships, networked fields, and community relations that allow new organizations to survive the start-up period. This study of nGSEs illustrates how eleven new organizations went about starting a new graduate school, including what policies they capitalized on, what funders they appealed to, and what logics they chose to animate organizational culture. This analysis demonstrates the importance of market-tailored niche programming that spans multiple fields and institutional orders and shows that there is no one recipe for organizational success. Together with the case studies from the wider nGSE project, my dissertation complements the studies of practice at the AMNH MAT program, High Tech High GSE, Sposato GSE, and TEACH-NOW by revealing the types of organizational logics that guide practice at emerging organizations (Cochran-Smith, 2021; Cochran-Smith, Keefe, & Jewett Smith, 2021; Carney, 2021; Keefe & Miller, 2021; Olivo & Jewett Smith, 2021; Sanchez, 2021). For this reason, I suggest that this dissertation is relevant to all kinds of market-driven educational organizations, from independent schools to charter networks to private and for-profit

universities. People in the business of education management at private organizations can use this analysis of organizational diversity and market logic to understand 21st century pedagogical, managerial, and cultural trends in organizational life. This analysis reminds them to specialize—to be precise, community-oriented, cost-effective, and original.

This analysis presents a conceptual qualitative educational analysis that is both historical and institutional. Modeled after topical historical monographs of higher education like Ellen Conliffe Lagemann's *An Elusive Science* and David Labaree's *The Trouble with Ed Schools,* this analysis built upon historical methodological traditions such as primary document analysis and chronological ordering. It added a layer of complexity by drawing on sociological neoinstitutionalism, which is aimed at the study of contemporary organizational culture. My goal with this dissertation was to place contemporary organizational cultural trends in the broader history of American teacher education. The organization was the unit of analysis. I collected documentary data from each organization and conducted in-depth document analysis to reconstruct each organization's origins, evolution, and values. Neoinstitutional theory provided the key vocabulary and concepts that guided my document analysis—actors, environments, logics, fields. This perspective supported an analysis of how institutional sea change is unfolding in real time among a small group of organizations. Implicit in this methodology was an assumption that institutional change and organizational culture ciould be understood qualitatively through the use of documentary data. For example, the emergence of nGSEs could have been studied by analyzing enrollment data or tuition revenue. Instead, this dissertation constitutes a narrative analysis that offers a rich interpretation of the emergence of nGSEs and their organizational characteristics and elucidates a story of change over continuity. The combined historical and sociological approach revealed competing logics and productive tensions; it

painted a picture of organizational complexity that defies the easy conclusions that we should dismiss or embrace nGSEs. This approach could inform the study of other educational reforms, particularly the emergence of private K-12 reforms, by looking at the history of the field, constructing organizational histories, then studying contemporary organizational culture in order to understand historical trends and contemporary patterns.

The most rewarding and productive aspect of approaching the nGSE phenomenon from an institutional *and* historical perspective was that it allowed this analysis to be granular and farsighted at the same time. This approach facilitated the identification of broad patterns and individual organizational idiosyncrasies at the same time. It also supported a measure of ideological balance in studying a controversial phenomenon. However, as nGSEs increase market share and are responsible for training more and more teacher candidates (even though the overall number of nGSE graduates is low compared with university-based schools of education), it is critical to understand what drives their success. Regardless of size, the nGSE phenomenon matters because it touches an increasing number of American school children whose teachers have been prepared at nGSEs. As new organizations, teacher preparation programs at nGSEs have the power to influence the knowledge, beliefs, practices, and dispositions for teaching that mediate teacher candidates' experiences in schools. They also have the power to keep newly minted teachers in schools by incentivizing them to stay in the classroom and decreasing their overall debt burden.

More than anything, this study shows how political abstractions turn into empirical realities; in this case, how policy trends that favored market reforms have impacted the behavior of organizations that have taken up the task of preparing teachers for our nation's schools. These organizations are designed to offer specialized niche solutions to educational problems by

reinventing the institutional aspects of teacher preparation. As organizations, they are nimble, flexible, and agreeable in the sense that they pivot quickly, respond to sociocultural trends, and speak to today's deep pocketed education reformers. Though still a small phenomenon, the growth and institutionalization of nGSEs indicates that the field of teacher preparation is undergoing a period of intense change as new organizations privatize, localize, and specialize.

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