Introduction

This article traces the political, historical, and ideological roots of the Relay Graduate School of Education. Relay represents a more current iteration of alternative teacher preparation programs and emerged from the earlier partnerships between education schools and independent alternative programs (Mungal, 2012). In the past 40 years there has been an increase in modern alternative teacher preparation programs originating from outside the university setting. These programs have become major producers of teacher candidates, attracting a significant number of teaching candidates who enter into the teaching profession and bypass university-based education schools.

This article informs the field of teacher preparation on the emerging phenomenon of Relay Graduate School of Education. Unaffiliated with university-based education schools, Relay bypasses education schools and is allowed to confer a Masters of Arts in Teaching (M.A.T.) through state organizations such as the New York State Board of Regents and other equivalent state agencies. There is very limited research on Relay.

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and its growing influence in teacher preparation and education. Notably, Relay has expanded to 10 states and one district within six years with more planned (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2016a). Much of this expansion has happened deliberately with little fanfare or limited criticism (Mungal, 2016). Historically, Relay pushed against and broke the monopoly held by teacher preparation programs within education schools. The educational reformers that supported Relay utilized political pressure to bring about changes to state law that allowed for the independent graduate school to flourish. Ideologically, the emergence of Relay is contextualized within the shift towards a market economy and government deregulation. The market economy, or marketization, allowed for competition between organizations. Deregulation allows non-government agencies to compete for public funding. This eroded monopolies held by government agencies as well as eroding government oversight.

While the emergence and expansion of Relay has been a largely unnoticed phenomenon, it has had both positive and negative implications for teacher education. Along with Teach for America (TFA), Relay has forced education schools to rethink how best to prepare teachers but has also become more prescriptive and less flexible (Mungal, 2016). Though responsible for a relatively small percentage of prepared teachers, Relay continues to expand, making stronger inroads into the charter school networks.

While education schools embrace and promote issues of social justice, equity and differentiated learning models (Bell, 2007; Cochran-Smith et al., 2015; Marshall & Oliva, 2009; Morgan, 2014), Relay promotes ideologies that are more closely aligned with marketization and competition, and have been viewed as more prescriptive and militaristic. These concerns will grow as Relay continues to expand. While the manifestation of Relay appears to be a somewhat sudden event, in reality, it came about after a series of political and organizational decisions involving Hunter College and Teacher U, The New York State Board of Regents, three New York City-based charter school networks, and a number of educators and politicians.

I first describe the origins for this study in the research design. Second, I contextualize teacher preparation in the United States, historically, politically, and ideologically as well as describe the conditions in which modern alternative teacher preparation programs took hold. Third, I explore the origin of Teacher U and its partnership with the charter school networks, and the emergence of Relay and its partnership with Teach For America. I also report on methods that Relay uses in the classrooms and capture the critiques of Relay. Finally, I assess the role of Relay and its implications for teacher education. This historical analysis ultimately
suggests that the role and relevance of Relay Graduate School is growing at a fast rate yet is still largely unnoticed among educators, education schools and to a much larger degree, the general public.

**Research Design**

This research is primarily based on qualitative data analysis of relevant documents (Lichtman, 2013), including data from primary and secondary articles, publicly accessible state policies, printed materials, Internet websites such as from Relay, charter school network sites, newspapers, and journals. The document analysis reveals the quick growth of Relay Graduate School of Education across the nation—a phenomenon that has gained traction at state levels but has yet to enter the lexicon of everyday familiarity. I frame this as a case study that captures the emergence and growth of Relay. Lichtman (2013) notes that a researcher may draw boundaries on what or who is being studied, where the focus of the study lies and what time period can be reasonably covered. A case study “is an examination of a particular group or event or program” (Lichtman, 2013, pp. 108). In this case, the time period captures the emergence of Relay—the network formation that led to unprecedented and unexpected growth.

This article emerged from my original work looking at the partnerships between education schools in the New York City area and teacher preparation programs such as Teach For America and the New York City Teaching Fellows (Mungal, 2012). My primary research was on the impact of alternative teacher preparation programs on education schools, and the interview data informed me of this emerging unnamed entity. It was beyond the scope of my original research to interview Relay personnel because of the emerging nature of the organization.

Interviewees reported rumors of an unnamed independent graduate school of education. This information taken together revealed the key players within the charter school networks that were supporting Relay. Interviewees directed me to the state policies that were being implemented by the New York State Board of Regents. Information on the key actors involved with Relay was captured within my original interview data and supported by newspaper and Internet searches. This included charter school network founders, a school dean who would become the Commissioner of Education for the State of New York in 2009, as well as Teach For America which already had established a partnership with the New York City Department of Education (NYCDOE). The interview responses captured a sense of confusion and urgency. Their early concerns are reflected in the findings.
The qualitative data analysis software, Atlas.ti, allowed me to analyze and highlight themes and codes, and to uncover complex relationships between and within documents and texts. These codes represented my interpretation of themes, ideas, categories or instances that emerged during the reading and analyses. Examples include general themes such as charter schools, Teach For America, and alt program benefit. I also tracked changes on the Relay website. As Relay expanded, I was able to track its growth by frequently checking the Relay Opportunities (jobs) website which gave insight into future expansion.

Background to Alternative Teacher Preparation and Relay

There has been a proliferation of alternative teacher preparation programs over the past 40 years. Historically the preparation of teachers was not always through formalized training, and teachers came from a variety of backgrounds. In this section I give a brief overview of teacher preparation in the United States; I outline the influence of federal policies on teacher preparation that laid the foundation for alternative programs; I describe how market ideology, choice and competition led to policy change; and last I trace some origins of modern alternative programs specifically in New York City.

Relay’s emergence as an independent graduate school of education can be viewed as an unintended consequence of historical, political and economic factors. Independent graduate schools such as Relay and more recently Match (Burris, 2012; Match Education, 2015; Relay Graduate School of Education, 2011) now prepare and credentialize teachers without college and university input. Relay Graduate School of Education and Match Education represent a newer direction in teacher preparation.

Teacher Preparation in the United States

Alternative routes into teaching have always been part of education in the U.S. Early routes into teaching included apprenticeships, completing college and entering the classroom, seminary training, early academies, or passing teaching exams (Fraser, 2007). The normal schools (Sawyer, 1983; Wright, 1930) began preparing teachers for high schools in the 1830s (Bunker, 1916; Reynolds, 2014). By the 1920s, comprehensive colleges and liberal arts schools emerged, and the normal schools began to transform into training colleges and graduate schools (Grant, 2005). These colleges and universities would dominate education, research and learning for the next 50 years. By the late 1970s, teacher shortages and economic instability would force educators and lawmakers into rethinking teacher preparation. This domination by colleges and
universities would obscure the historical backdrop of alternative routes into teaching. The institutionalization of teacher preparation left early routes into teaching to be viewed as alternative preparation.

The failing world economy of the 1970s was accompanied by an ideological shift from a Keynesian welfare-state model of economics to a Friedman free market model (Engel, 2000; Friedman, 1962). The shift to a free market economy model (also referred to as neoliberalism, globalization, marketization, or market ideology) also heralded a period of intense education reform. Marketization is associated with accountability, competition, choice and self-interest (Apple, 2006; Hursh, 2005; Hyslop-Margison & Sears, 2006; Ross & Gibson, 2007). The 1983 commissioned report A Nation at Risk (ANAR) exemplified this market shift and critiqued the lack of academic rigor in universities and the lack of highly qualified teacher candidates (Ramirez, 2004). ANAR endorsed increased accountability, competition in the form of alternative teacher preparation programs, and parent choice in the form of charter schools (The National Commission on Excellence in Education, 1983). Organizations such as TFA and Relay represent the ideologies of marketization and grew out of the failure of the American education system as described in ANAR.

Federal Education Policies

Changing federal policies promoted education reform and also contributed to the growth of alternative programs. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) of 1964 was first to link federal funding to education, paving the way for later government influence on education reform (Middleton, 2008). Later reauthorizations of ESEA such as No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2001, Race to the Top (RTTT) under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act in 2009 and Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA) in 2015 would increase that influence. These later re-authorizations pushed for more deregulation opening the door for charter schools, alternative teacher programs and eventually the independent education schools. NCLB added to the fears of a failing education and emphasized a number of market reform ideologies such as competition, high stakes testing, and standardization, parent vouchers for remedial services, accountability, and school choice (Hess, Rotherham, & Walsh, 2004). Educational reformers capitalized on these fears and lobbied for alternative entry into education through charter schools, and alternative preparation programs.

Race to the Top (2009) emphasized highly qualified teachers, increasing support and preparation programs for teachers and principals (United States Department of Education, 2009). It placed a greater emphasis
on reforming and improving teacher preparation, via alternative routes, while promoting merit pay based on teacher evaluations and effectiveness (for a more extensive description of federal policies and reports see Mungal, 2012). The *Every Student Succeeds Act* moved the focus away from standardized testing and the one-size-fits-all canon to supporting high academic standards, accountability, and state and local control (U.S. Department of Education, 2015). Relevant to this article is ESSA’s focus on the preparation and development of effective teachers while supporting “high-performance public charter schools for high-needs students” (The White House, 2015). Significantly, ESSA’s strong support by government for charter schools and alternative teacher and principal programs will allow the expansion of Relay and other independent education schools.

**Marketization, Deregulation, and Competition**

The shift from away from a Keynesian economic model toward a free market model (known as marketization or market ideology) occurred in the 1980s (Mungal 2012). Two key components of the marketization are competition and deregulation of government institutions such as schools, health, the military and prisons (Friedman, 1962; Harvey, 2005). Marketization promotes individual achievement, economic growth, and national security through globalization, and most importantly, choice and competition (Engel, 2000). Proponents of marketization first argued that the education system was not functioning properly and that by adopting principles of the free market, education would become more accountable and innovative (Friedman, 1962).

The shift to marketization and the deregulation agenda allowed for privatization of public schools via educational management organizations (EMOs) running charter schools, teacher preparation and other alternative programs. A key deregulation aim is to *break the monopoly* held by education schools (Tonna, 2007; Torres, 2005; Walsh & Jacobs, 2007) and school districts. The deregulation agenda also raised great concerns from the academic community surrounding the actual results of the EMOs (Newman & Kay, 1999; Suell & Piotrowski, 2007). This scrutiny led education organizations and researchers to examine more closely the value of teacher preparation, the effectiveness of teacher preparation programs, and how best to reform the system. Education was no longer a public good but instead open to capitalist self-interest, competition and consumer preference.
Modern Alternative Teacher Preparation Programs

To appreciate the emergence of Relay, it is important to understand how the teaching shortages of the 1970s and 1980s led to alternative teacher preparation programs. The alternative teacher programs laid the foundation, both politically and financially for Relay to flourish. The teacher shortages, along with pressure from education reformers supporting alternative routes, prompted a number of groups to discuss and then support such programs.

The New York City Board of Education and education schools joined together with New York City Chancellor Harold O. Levy, United Federation of Teachers president Randi Weingarten (Goodnough, 2000), and Richard P. Mills (then Commissioner of Education for the State of New York, 1995-2009), to support alternative teacher programs (Mungal, 2012) with the caveat that all students would enroll and complete a part time education degree over a two-year period (Keller, 2000). This partnership would last until 2012 (Mungal, 2012). What began with the teacher shortages later took hold due to concerns over a perceived notion of low quality teachers, low student scores and wasteful spending.

The proliferation of the modern alternative programs has proven to be an enduring phenomenon and as a result, a number of critics and advocates have moved away from whether such routes should exist, to planning how best to design programs to better prepare teaching-degree candidates toward increasing student success (Grossman & Loeb, 2008). The growth of alternative programs coupled with the support from policymakers, business interests, media, and the public backlash against stories of an education system in decay, gave rise to the belief that anything alternative is better than what currently exists (Mungal, 2012). Proponents of education reform began to lobby for the dismantling of parts, if not all of the education system. The reformers were successful in bringing about change, breaking the monopopoly, and opening education to privatization interests. New York City became the location for education reformers to lobby for an independent graduate school of education leading to a parallel education system (Mungal, 2015).

The next section describes the emergence of Relay through the views of faculty, literature and documents. These three facets are interwoven to present a linear timeline showing how the partnerships between the charter school networks, Teach For America, Teacher U, and the New York City Department of Education eventually led to Relay Graduate School of Education.
Findings on Relay Graduate School of Education

The emergence of Relay has its roots in a meeting in 2005 by two charter school founders. A discussion between Norman Atkins of Uncommon Schools and David Levine of Knowledge is Power (KIPP) concerning the state of teacher preparation led to a shared belief that there were not enough quality teachers to meet their demands, and that the education schools were not producing highly qualified teachers:

The conversation kept circling back to a shared complaint: Neither KIPP nor Uncommon Schools could ever seem to find enough great teachers to staff their schools. It was a major obstacle to growth. These programs relied on smart, persistent instructors willing to put in long hours to reach some of America’s most at-risk young people. (Baric, 2013)

Within seven years, with the support from various political and educational institutions, and through a series of partnerships with charter schools and Hunter College in New York City, that Teacher U and Relay would emerge.

Teacher U

This section describes Teacher U; the transition to Relay; the policies that established Relay, and the Relay method that introduces different approaches to training and teaching. Teacher U was formed when charter school founders Norman Atkins of Uncommon Schools, David Levine of KIPP charter school, and Dacia Toll of Achievement First approached the Dean of Hunter College, David Steiner, with a proposal for a teacher preparation program specifically for the charter schools (Mungal, 2012; Carey, 2009). Steiner already supported the idea of a more practicum-based teacher program. This partnership between Hunter College and these charter school networks led to the formation of Teacher U (Carey, 2009). Teacher U’s objective was to prepare teaching-degree candidates to teach within the EMO administered public charter school networks instead of the district administered public school system. Teacher U’s program is described as:

Three of the highest performing charter school organizations, KIPP (Knowledge is Power Program), Achievement First and Uncommon Schools to collaboratively design a new teacher program that will lead to teacher certification and a master’s degree in education. The mission is to create a transformational change in teacher education and student achievement. (“Hunter College—KIPP, Uncommon Schools, Achievement First,” 2008)

This transformational change was the attempt by leaders of three
charter school networks to prepare teachers specific to the needs of the charter school. What made Teacher U unique was that the intent was focused on servicing the need for teachers in charter schools and not the public-school system. Eventually the principle actors from the charter schools wanted their independence from the education schools. This partnership between Hunter College’s Teacher U and the charter school networks would continue for four years ending in 2012 with the emergence of Relay.

Teacher U Transitions to Relay Graduate School

Teacher U’s departure from Hunter College and the renaming to Relay Graduate School of Education happened suddenly (Mungal, 2012). There were a number of political moves that set the stage for the quick transition. Hunter College Dean David Steiner had moved on to become Commissioner of Education for New York State in 2009 (Cramer, 2011). Steiner began supporting a number of policies that weakened the monopoly held by teacher preparation programs in education schools (Mungal, 2012). Under Steiner, the New York State Board of Regents would first grant a provisional charter to authorize clinically-rich teacher programs to address shortages such as in STEM areas as well as “students with disabilities and English language learners” (New York State Board of Regents, 2010) and then authorize an independent teacher preparation graduate school of education (New York State Board of Regents, 2010, 2011).

What almost went unnoticed with the introduction of this clinically-rich program was the Board of Regents provision allowing non-institutions of higher education to grant a master’s degree from New York State. This weakened the link to the education schools and established that not-for-profit organizations would able to prepare teaching-degree candidates. This also reinforced interests by non-profit educational management organizations as well as philanthropic organizations to influence education policies and gain financial benefits (Burch & Bulkley, 2011; Miron & Urschel, 2010). Steiner served as Commissioner for slightly over two years before transitioning back to his position as Dean of Hunter College (Monahan, 2011). Steiner’s role is usually tied to the origins of Teacher U and Relay (Baric, 2013; Carey, 2009). However, as Commissioner of New York State, his contributions place him as a key player in the upper echelons of the founders of the Relay Graduate School of Education. Steiner remains a member of the board of trustees for Relay (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2018f).
Policies That Established Relay

On February 3rd, 2011, the New York State Board of Regents, supported by New York State Commissioner of Education David Steiner, granted a provisional charter to form an independent college, the Relay Graduate School of Education. Relay established two locations in Manhattan and Brooklyn and was authorized by the Board of Regents to offer a Master of Arts in Teaching (M.A.T.) degree in middle school education (New York State Board of Regents, 2011). Their literature states that “an essential part of the Board of Regents reform agenda is stimulating exciting and new teacher education institutions to use an intensely clinical approach to preparing teacher candidates” (New York State Board of Regents, 2011, p. 2). The Transitional B Certificate also permitted Relay teaching-degree candidates to be teacher of record in their clinical placement and be enrolled in an alternative teacher certification program (Office of Higher Education, 2011).

The inaugural class for Relay was comprised of 250 teaching-degree candidates of which “about half of the teachers are Teach For America corps members” (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2011). The aim in 2012 was to increase that number to “500 to 550 students in New York and New Jersey” (Kronholtz, 2012, p. 8). Relay GSE has established partnerships with Teach For America to provide elite recruits. TFA had also partnered with the New York City Department of Education to place their corps members in failed public schools managed by the charter school networks such as Uncommon Schools, KIPP and Achievement First. An offshoot of this partnership has been the creation of a parallel public structure (Mungal, 2016), where failing schools become publicly supported charter schools and are staffed by TFA-recruited and Relay-prepared teachers. Meanwhile, conventional public schools are served by teaching-degree candidates from university-based education school programs or local alternative programs such as the New York City Teaching Fellows (Mungal, 2012).

The Relay Method

Part of the phenomena of Relay, was that their approach would be different from the usual education schools by focusing on the clinical experience. Relay’s stated goal is to prepare teachers for low-income schools without any partnerships with university-based education schools. Relay’s website states:

Relay’s mission is to teach teachers and school leaders to develop in all students the academic skills and strength of character needed to suc-
ceed in college and life. Our vision is to become the place where a new generation of continuously-improving, results-focused individuals can fulfill their destiny in the world's greatest profession. (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2015a)

Being a Relay teaching-degree candidate takes “relentless practice, feedback and dedication.” The website went on to describe the training as “Record. Replay. Refine” and “Learn. Practice. Reform” with brief descriptions on the regimen to complete the assignments (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2015a). “Learn, Practice, Reform” has been updated to “Learn, Practice, Perform, Transform” (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2018a).

Relay has, for the most part, eliminated courses replacing them with what they term modules (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2015b). These modules would instead emphasize diverse teaching techniques (Otterman, 2011). Training for Relay candidates includes, “interactive handouts” which are worksheets that accompany the lecturer’s PowerPoint presentations (Otterman, 2011). Candidates learn and mimic the style they are to use in their classrooms. They include such techniques from the 49 strategies catalogued in Teach Like a Champion (Lemov, 2010). One example is, “Right Is Right” where candidates push or “hold out” for the students to give 100 percent accurate answers. The Relay modules are online videos that their teachers must view (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2015a).

Relay focuses on a strong clinical aspect placing candidates into classrooms after their intensive summer program. However, there will be neither a campus nor lectures. Instead students will be mentored within the schools where they will teach (Otterman, 2011). Relay now provides a residential advisor on campuses to give you support as well as “assist your development, including modeling and co-teaching, curriculum and lesson planning, and communication with Relay” (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2018d). Implicit in Relay’s mission is to address the failure of public education, “that is failing millions of American children, leaving them without the skills they need to succeed in the 21st century. Vastly improving teacher education, they believe, is critical to fixing that picture” (Otterman, 2011). These techniques and models of teaching have led to criticisms of Relay.

**Criticisms of Relay**

Even before Relay emerged, educators were critical of Teacher U and the news of the coming (but yet unnamed) Relay. The criticisms leveled against Relay range from how Relay’s degrees are defined, their faculty’s qualifications, to program oversight. Interviewees in my original
research were critical of the research describing the success of alternative programs. One interviewee stated, “There is a lot of data that suggests that it’s not currently better than what we have” (Mungal, 2012, pp. 77). Another interviewee believed that alternative programs were not only about teacher preparation but about overhauling education. A critic described Relay in the following ways:

In order to enroll in their program, one must teach, uncertified, in an affiliated school. Traditional public school teachers need not apply. Degrees are earned by online video and reading modules, attending discussion groups and by the uncertified teacher’s students’ test scores. If the test scores are not up to snuff, the teacher does not earn her degree. There are no classes in educational theory or history; nor any indication that the candidate must complete a master’s [sic] thesis requiring research and reflection. It is cookie-cutter training grounded in one vision of instruction—the charter school vision. (Burris, 2012)

A consortium of 24 teacher preparation programs contested the ability of Relay to grant a degree stating, “Relay ‘did not meet the standard of a degree-granting program’” (Mooney, 2013). One member of the consortium, Christopher Campisano, director of Princeton University’s teacher program focused on the definition of what constitutes a graduate degree, “with the distinction between what is basically a training program and one that represents a broader education” (as cited in Mooney, 2013). Campisano raises an important concern; without the breadth of pedagogy connected to education schools, this type of program should not be defined as a master’s program and is little more than a training program.

Mooney’ attention to the credentials of the Relay faculty in New Jersey built upon former Assistant Secretary of Education, policy analyst and education historian Diane Ravitch’s concerns about the extent of the New York State Board of Regents power:

Why did the New York State Board of Regents permit this “school” to call its program a “graduate” program of education with the authority to award masters’ degrees? There is something incestuous about a “graduate” program created by charter schools to give masters’ degrees to their own teachers. (Ravitch, 2012b)

Ravitch went on to discuss the level of qualifications held by the faculty at Relay and noted that the faculty was lacking “anyone with a doctorate in any field” (Ravitch, 2012b). However, New Jersey State Secretary for Higher Education, Rochelle Hendricks indicated that Relay in New Jersey still had to “meet state requirements that faculty members hold doctorates or an equivalent qualification in the field in which they are appointed,” which can include proof of academic scholarship or research”
Relay did not originally comment on how it would meet state requirements for faculty but later stated:

It could show equivalency in a number of ways, including through classroom experience, participation in “cutting-edge scholarship,” and demonstrated experience in teaching teachers. It added that the Relay faculty member would be “the equivalent of the leading entrepreneur teaching in MBA programs or the leading writers and artists teaching in MFA programs.” (Mooney, 2013)

Relay’s response challenged the state standards and framed their objectives as being state-of-the-art along with promoting market ideological language of the entrepreneur. This suggests that Relay (in New Jersey), with the support of Hendricks can decide what the “state requirements” and what is an “equivalent qualification” thus potentially watering down what it means to be faculty. This sets a precedent where it is now within the domain of Relay to decide what qualifications are required for a faculty member, and what form of government oversight will take place.

Relay sought to allay concerns by hiring an outside consultant, Antonio Cantu, the chair of the Department of Teacher Education at Bradley University in Illinois (Mooney, 2013). Cantu supported Relay’s application and recognized the absence of doctorates among faculty as problematic, but then reinforced Relay’s flexibility proclaiming:

My recommendation is that Relay GSE make every attempt to fill the full-time faculty positions—particularly those planned for the second year of implementation—with candidates that possess the characteristics listed [by the school] and have earned a doctorate. (Mooney, 2013)

In other words, the recommendation from Relay’s independent consultant was that, as long as Relay makes every attempt by the second year to attract and hire doctoral faculty, but with “characteristics listed [by the school] (sic)” (Mooney, 2013), then that would meet requirements. Whether these Relay-suggested equivalents are acceptable is beyond the scope of this research. It does suggest that Relay, should they be allowed to, could circumvent state requirements as intended.

Perhaps a more important concern is whether alternative programs will have the same oversight or be granted special treatment due to their connections to government, reform movements and philanthropic organizations. Faculty and administrators from education schools raised concerns about the potential lack of oversight; “How [is Relay] going to be monitored? Who is going to be evaluated? All of that remains to be seen” (Mungal, 2012, p.114). Interviewees believed that these political and network connections give alternative programs an advantage. One interviewee stated while she “didn’t think competition is bad. When
you’re really disproportionately favoring [the] alternative route and giving them a fast pass...Then I have a problem” (Mungal, 2012, p.82). The theme of adhering to regulations was very evident. One interviewee, a dean, stated:

If we have to go through accreditation, then I want them held to the same standard. I want them to have to go through the hoops and ladders that I go through ... I want them to go through what the colleges go through to keep up at high quality. (Mungal, 2012, p. 82)

This oversight concern is an area that needs further research to see who will police Relay and whether or not it is effective. Other concerns about Relay focused on how they would provide some of the necessities for students such as library services (Mungal, 2012). Cantu (as cited in Mooney, 2013) noted that the Relay library has “2000 self-produced videos about teaching best practices.”

Relay GSE has opened the door to another independent graduate school of education branded Match Education (Ravitch, 2012a). Match Education shares its brand name with the Charles Sposato Graduate School of Education, Match Beyond and Match Export (Match Education, 2015) and also trains teachers to work in high needs urban public schools. Ravitch describes a parallel graduate school system that now serves charter school networks and public schools (Ravitch, 2012a) similar to the research on a parallel education structure (Mungal, 2016). Similar in terms of being an independent master’s program and preparing their teachers is High Tech High in San Diego (Otterman, 2011). Mungal (2012, 2016) describes the parallel education structure with charter schools served by TFA and Relay graduates, and non-chartered public schools served by graduates from university-based teacher education programs and other alternative programs.

The original research (Mungal, 2012) also captured the concerns that alternative program recruitment would not focus on the local communities especially when these communities tend to be urban public schools. Programs such as TFA and NYCTF, that recruited teaching-degree candidates tended to be very homogeneous. Interviewees described these recruits as “all White people only” who hold different cultural, economic, and world views. One interviewee was critical of the candidates. “[They are] very different than a traditional student who sees this as more of a career than the Fellows who will, as soon as they’re in the program they’re already thinking about, “What am I going to do when I’m done with my Master’s degree?”” (Mungal, 2012). The recruiting practices mean that fewer teachers would come from the local neighborhoods.

As great a concern may be the militaristic nature that emerges from
programs such as TFA and Relay. In a learning video used to train Relay students, “The teacher barks commands and questions, often with the affect and speed of a drill sergeant” (Burris, 2012). Burris goes on to describe other features of learning video:

The questions concern the concept of a “character trait” but are low-level, often in a ‘fill in the blank’ format. The teacher cuts the student off as he attempts to answer the question. Students engage in the bizarre behavior of wiggling their fingers to send ‘energy’ to a young man, Omari, put on the spot by the teacher. Students’ fingers point to their temple and they wiggle hands in the air to send signals. Hands shoot up before the question is asked, and think time is never given to formulate thoughtful answers. When Omari confuses the word ‘ambition’ with ‘anxious’ (an error that is repeated by a classmate), you know that is how he is feeling at the moment. As the video closes with the command, “hands down, star position, continue reading” there is not the warmth of a teacher smile, nor the utterance of ‘please.’ The original question is forgotten and you are left to wonder if anyone understands what a character trait is. The pail was filled with ‘something’ and the teacher moves on. (Burris, 2012)

The description of the video conveys highly rigid techniques that did not account for learning differences of the students. It also describes the tension of the students. Another critic added that “the classroom is the education reformer’s dream: a young White female teacher stalking a classroom of minority students in uniforms” (“Assailed Teacher: Relay Graduate School of Education is Intellectual Boot Camp,” 2012). However, the article goes on to describe the scenario, highlighting the lack of positive reinforcement, the “hostility” in her commands and the uniform actions (wiggling) of the students. Another article framed the lesson as lacking in give-and-take between the student and teacher. Instead the article contends:

This is not humanistic education. This is inhuman education. It is a scary glimpse into how reformers, charter school operators and the general public see teaching. Of course, no thinking person would want themselves or their children to be taught in this way. No, this is education for “those” people’s children. The ones that need a warden and not a teacher. (“Assailed Teacher: Relay Graduate School of Education is Intellectual Boot Camp,” 2012)

Much of these methods need to be further explored, specifically its militaristic connotations and the implications for students of color.

Ravitch wonders about the teaching-degree candidates, their socioeconomic status (SES) and their role in educating students in urban schools. She asks:
What is it in the psyche of young men and women, most of whom graduated from prestigious secondary schools, private and public, that enables them to impose a boot-camp style of discipline on boys and girls of color that is unlike anything in their own experience? (Ravitch, 2012)

This argument reflected concerns of administrators and faculty involved in the preparation of both alternative and university-based teaching degree candidates. “We try and work against the notion of teachers as superheroes especially White teachers who fly in and rescue poor underserved kids” (Mungal, 2012, p173).

Lastly, another concern is the evaluation of teachers. Reformers have supported the evaluation of teachers based on student and class scores (Kane, Taylor, Tyler, & Wooten, 2011). The success of Relay graduates is tied into the performance of their students. With Relay, their elementary school teachers are asked to “show that their own students averaged a full year’s reading growth during the school year” (Kronholtz, 2012). This evaluation system while supported by reformers (Blume, 2015; Joseph, 2013), has been criticized by researchers for

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**Growth of Relay Graduate School Since Inception**

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*Philadelphia and Camden form one program; San Francisco was scheduled to be open Fall 2017
being an ineffective method to evaluate teachers (Layton, 2014; Polikoff & Porter, 2014; Shavelson et al., 2010). It is difficult to assess or make claims based on the viewing of a single video, but the criticisms extend beyond the boot camp methods to faculty credentialization, program oversight, SES differences and the lack of stronger pedagogical training and teacher evaluation.

**Growth of Relay**

Most concerning to educators and education schools has been the rapid growth and spread of Relay. Within five years, Relay has expanded to 10 states and Washington, D.C., with 15 campuses serving 17 cities. Table 1 summarizes the growth of Relay since inception in 2012 as an indicator of the graduate schools’ growing influence (Bizapedia, 2016a, 2016b; Chalkbeat Jobs Board, 2016; Cheshier, 2014; Dreilinger, 2013; Eventbrite, 2016; McHugh, 2014; Relay Graduate School of Education, 2011, 2015b, 2015c, 2015d, 2016b; Terruso, 2014; “TFA Houston Alumni Community,” 2014):

Relay GSE has completed a search for a dean for their Memphis program (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2014a), Baton Rouge, Dallas and San Antonio for 2016 (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2015b). Relay advertised for a Lead Planner for Denver, Colorado for its 2016 expansion (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2014b). Relay has opened campuses in Delaware as well as a campus serving Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Camden, New Jersey (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2016a). Relay has also listed Atlanta, Georgia, and Washington D.C. as newer job locations (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2017a). Relay has also advertised for a full-time Dean Fellow for the Bay Area (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2017b) and an instructional coach in Atlanta (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2017c).

Relay has opened a new campus in Denver, Colorado, offering a residency program and an M.A.T. program (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2018e) as well as a summer principal leadership program (Hernandez, 2016). The San Francisco campus which was originally slated to open seems to have been pushed back, however the positions for elementary and secondary assistant professors of practice are listed on job websites (“Relay Graduate School of Education jobs in San Francisco, CA,” 2018). The position of Dean Fellow, Relay Bay Area, is still being advertised with a starting date of Spring 2018 (Relay Graduate School of Education, 2018b).

Relay is also partnered with charter schools or charter school networks as well as Teach For America. TFA is located in 53 communities across the United States (Teach For America, 2017). There are also 6,939
charter schools serving 3.1 million students (National Alliance of Public Charter Schools, 2017a) in 40 states and DC, with ten states not having charter school laws (National Alliance of Public Charter Schools, 2017b). Relay’s partnerships with the charter schools and with TFA gives them viable established charter schools to expand to and the market to provide teachers.

Discussion

The emergence of Relay may be seen as a victory for educational reformers. It accomplished a number of the components of the original deregulation agenda such as increasing the supply of teachers to high-needs urban areas and the elimination of unnecessary steps toward becoming a teacher. Most importantly, it broke the teacher preparation monopoly, bypassing the need for education schools within institutions of higher education (Finn Jr., 2001; Glass, 2008; Walsh & Jacobs, 2007). Still, researchers have pointed out areas of concern that have been glossed over. However, the methods used by Relay and the results need to be examined more closely.

Earlier work investigated the partnerships between alternative programs, education schools and the New York City Department of Education and focused on the influence of alternative programs on university-based education schools in New York City (Mungal, 2012). It is evident that university-based and alternative preparation programs have been sharply divided by issues such as the nature of coursework, and length of programs. Findings indicate that the education schools made significant changes to their programs such as fewer credits, shorter programs, mentorship, financial implications and so on (Mungal, 2012). In other words, teacher preparation programs gained insight into their own functions from the partnership with alternative teacher preparation organizations. These university-based programs also recognized and reaffirmed the need for a strong pedagogical training, in contrast to the prescriptive model utilized by the alternative programs.

Assessing the Role of Relay Graduate School

Relay has the potential for a great degree of growth when one considers the widespread influence of the charter school networks as well as independent charter schools across the nation. Relay eliminates the need for education schools as well as the research-based pedagogical training associated with university-based education schools. What Relay does offer is prescriptive training that ignores differentiated learning needs while meeting the demands of the local education agencies (LEA)
and charter schools. Relay sees itself as being progressive by utilizing introductory summer sessions, online coursework, along with video training and session modules for candidates working toward their Masters while being teacher of record.

TFA provides teaching-degree candidates who were recruited from elite colleges and universities and were committed to working in inner city high needs schools (Mungal, 2016). These candidates were then trained at the Relay campuses. Relay produces a relatively small percentage of teaching-degree candidates but its influence has been incrementally growing. As noted earlier, it is this growth that is occurring under the radar of many educators within education schools. Relay has opportunities to expand into all the communities that host TFA, the founder’s charter schools and any or all of the almost 7,000 charter schools across the country.

The federal government’s emphasis on charter schools and alternative programs (through Race to the Top), has increased interest and will challenge education schools—potentially creating other parallel education structures in other cities (Mungal, 2016). As a result, Relay-based prepared teachers will fill the ranks within the charter schools while university-based prepared teachers work within the non-charter public schools.

Relay, its programs and its graduates have not been thoroughly investigated by independent researchers and are areas for future research. Awareness and criticisms of alternative programs and Relay will grow and this will bring further scrutiny to Relay. Of interest is the diversion of public school funding to TFA and the charter schools at the expense of public education institutions and students. One perspective suggests that Relay-prepared ‘elite’ candidates get funding, training and guaranteed positions, perpetuating a system that is supposed to address these inequalities (Mungal, 2012). Researchers should look at the disparities in the racial makeup of students versus alternatively trained Relay graduates where mostly White recruits will be placed in urban communities. Along with this is the ideology promoted by TFA that suggests that their corps members will enter into these high needs urban areas as White middle class saviors (Cann, 2015; Hartman, 2013). The prescriptive method for teaching as ascribed by TFA and Relay needs to be more closely examined. Researchers also need to look at the long-term success of students that are taught by Relay Graduates as well as the acceptance rates of charter schools versus completion rates versus yearly dropout/expulsion rates. K-12 students who do not maintain specific standards can be expelled and are then placed into non-charter public schools. Thus, charter schools maintain their high rates of achievement and graduation.
Implications for Teacher Education

The objective of this article is to describe the emergence of the Relay Graduate School of Education. Education reformers have viewed Relay as a somewhat radical and innovative change to teacher education and preparation. It is evident that education schools, teacher preparation programs and the general public are not fully aware of the growing influence from the partnership between Relay, Teach For America, and the charter school networks. Notably, most educators and researchers are unaware of the significance of Relay and its connection to charter school networks. News and Internet reports have focused upon the charter school as a teacher recruiter (Hutson, 2014) or as a support organization (New Schools for New Orleans, 2014) and less about the role of Relay’s expansion.

As legislation for Relay was being implemented, faculty who were involved in the preparation of teachers at university-based education schools displayed a cautious ‘wait and see’ approach (Mungal, 2012). These faculty members did not foresee the push by educational reformers in the 1980s to privatize and then legislate for independent alternative programs. Relay, as well as its partnership with charter schools, poses a challenge to teacher education and to public education. Education schools emphasize aspects such as differentiated learning; strong pedagogical training, equity and equality. These characteristics become less important or take on different meaning within the alternative programs. Education school preparation programs do not have the recruiting prowess of alternative program organizations such as TFA nor do they receive the same subsidies from government and philanthropic organizations. Teacher preparation programs have not been able to properly and decisively correct misconceptions of their university-based programs involving length, cost and strength of a deep pedagogical training.

Partnerships between school boards, alternative teacher recruiters such as TFA, teacher preparation programs such as Relay GSE, have meant that teaching positions are mostly guaranteed for alternative candidates and not the university-based education school candidates. Public education in cities with alternative programs will contend with a parallel education system where some public schools that are run as charter schools will recruit their own teaching-degree candidate such as those trained by Relay.

Significant yet barely noticed, Relay’s influence has been growing across the nation. From its roots as Teacher U, Relay was originally created by and for three New York City charter schools to train elite recruits. It is important to remember that these charter schools are
publicly funded but privately managed. They tend to be failed public schools, which have been taken over by charter school networks with the support of the local education agencies such as the New York City Department of Education and Newark Public Schools. Under the current educational reform agenda, teachers will be more accountability-driven and face scrutiny for their students’ grades and school pass-rates. Some of these teachers will learn an alternative preparation ideology based on prescriptive learning at the expense of differentiated learning.

There will also be a greater emphasis on classroom management where low scoring students can be and usually are expelled thus maintaining high standards. Six years later, the influence of Relay GSE has spread from New York City to ten states and Washington, DC. This includes partnership with Chicago Nobel charter school (Harris, 2014) and the YES Prep as it extends its brand and influence throughout the United States.

Future Considerations

This article presents an overview of Relay, its background, its growth, criticisms and potential direction. The organization is still evolving, growing and expanding. I aim to show the origins of Relay, as well as the critiques (both positive and negative) as the organization expands. I also set out to contextualize the emergence of the independent graduate schools within a free market framework through deregulation and competition. Of note is the way in which a select network of individuals in education and the private sector were able to influence policy to bring about the breaking of the education school ‘monopoly’ to train teachers. Also for consideration is the ongoing clash in ideological perspectives of how best to prepare those teachers (education schools vs. alternative routes). A more detailed exploration of the teaching delivery methods (prescriptive learning) of Relay is needed. Lastly, the issue of oversight needs to be clarified. These issues are worthy of further exploration.

The push from educational reformers, school boards, and policymakers has created demands for a specific type of the teacher for the public schools. Relay was created as an alternative to the university-based education school teacher preparation programs. Educators, education schools, and researchers need to be aware of Relay’s influence within the realm of teacher education, specifically the militaristic nature that has been identified by some critiques. The rate in which Relay (and newer independent graduate schools such as Match) have spread and continue to grow should be cause for concern in light of the growing presence of TFA and charter schools across the nation.
Notes

1 Relay Graduate School of Education is referred to in the literature as Relay, RGSE, R/GSE, or Relay GSE. I refer to the institution as Relay in most instances.

2 This article frames the modern alternative teacher preparation program movement as emerging in the early 1980s due to teacher shortages in the 1970s.

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The Emergence of Relay Graduate School


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