Pursuing a "Sense of Success": New Teachers Explain Their Career Decisions

Susan Moore Johnson and Sarah E. Birkeland
Harvard Graduate School of Education

This article, based on a longitudinal interview study of 50 new teachers in Massachusetts, presents respondents' reasons for staying in their schools, moving to new schools, or leaving public school teaching within their first 3 years of teaching. Although the respondents' prior career orientations, financial situations, and preparation played a role in their career decisions, their experiences at the school sites were central in influencing their decisions. Teachers who felt successful with students and whose schools were organized to support them in their teaching—providing collegial interaction, opportunities for growth, appropriate assignments, adequate resources, and schoolwide structures supporting student learning—were more likely to stay in their schools, and in teaching, than teachers whose whose schools were not so organized.

Policymakers and educators are confronting a much-publicized national teacher shortage, which will require a projected 2.2 million new teachers within the decade (Gerald & Hussar, 1998). The shortage is due to the convergence of a variety of factors—higher birth rates, increased immigration, changes in class size policies, the anticipated retirement of one half of the teaching force, and the likelihood that one in five new teachers will leave the profession within 3 years of entry (Henke, Chen, & Geis, 2000).

SUSAN MOORE JOHNSON is the Carl F. Pforzheimer, Jr., Professor of Teaching and Learning at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, 431 Gutman Library, Appian Way, Cambridge, MA 02138; e-mail *susan_moore_johnson@harvard.edu*. She is also the Principal Investigator of The Project on the Next Generation of Teachers. Her areas of specialization are teacher policy, educational leadership, collective bargaining, and school reform.

SARAH E. BIRKELAND is a Research Assistant at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, c/o The Project on the Next Generation of Teachers, 431 Gutman Library, Appian Way, Cambridge, MA 02138; e-mail *birkelsa@gse.harvard.edu*. Her areas of specialization are new teachers' experiences in schools and their career decisions, alternative certification program design, and induction of new teachers.

The overall shortage is exacerbated by the movement of teachers from school to school and district to district as a result of voluntary and involuntary transfers. Richard Ingersoll (2001), who calls this phenomenon "migration," found that it accounts for one half of the turnover that schools and districts experience. Predictably, the shortage and the impact of migration are unevenly and inequitably distributed; schools and districts in low-income communities experience a disproportionate share of migration and a steady loss of teachers (Haycock, 1998).

Policymakers and practitioners have rapidly devised strategies to alleviate the shortage, even though its causes and its course are only partially understood. They have revised certification requirements, offered mortgage subsidies, instituted on-line job applications, and funded mentoring programs, all without a clear and complete understanding of teachers' concerns about the profession and their schools. What is attractive or unattractive about teaching today? Why do some recruits stay in teaching, while others leave? What factors cause teachers to move to new schools? What programs or conditions enable some schools to retain teachers and ensure that they can do their best work, while other schools repeatedly lose their staff and face the constant need to recruit and orient new teachers?

This article reports on a longitudinal study designed to explore these questions. In 1999, researchers from The Project on the Next Generation of Teachers selected and interviewed a diverse group of 50 new teachers in the Massachusetts public schools. (The authors and four other researchers conducted interviews at various times during this study.) We sought to understand how the teachers experienced their work across a variety of school settings and how they conceived of careers in teaching. In 2001, we conducted follow-up interviews in an effort to track the new teachers' career movement over time and learn why they had decided to stay in their schools, move to new schools, or leave public school teaching.[1] We wondered whether their plans, experiences, and career decisions had been consistent or had changed over the first 3 years of our study, whether and how the particular settings in which they worked influenced their career plans, and whether they intended to continue teaching.

We found that, although teachers in the entering generation bring their own set of expectations and concerns to schooling, their stories echo those of teachers past. Deciding to become a teacher today raises many of the same concerns that teachers have encountered in U.S. public schools for more than a century—low pay and prestige, inadequate resources, isolating work, subordinate status, and limited career opportunities. But these issues take on new forms and meanings in the current context of work and schooling, a context in which prospective teachers face an unprecedented number of career options and the work of teachers is increasingly scrutinized. Identifying both the enduring and the distinctive features of this cohort's experience can lead to a deeper understanding of how teachers experience their work, while also enabling policymakers and practitioners to respond effectively to the immediate demands of the teacher shortage.

We found that certain characteristics of the 50 teachers who were interviewed for this study—their prior career experience, gender, and preparation—were related to their decisions about whether to continue teaching during the first 3 years. For example, in our purposive sample, a first-career teacher, a woman, or someone with traditional preparation and certification was more likely to remain in public school teaching than was a mid-career entrant, a man, or someone who had entered teaching through an alternative preparation and certification program. However, these characteristics of the teachers only partially explained their career movement. In deciding whether to stay in their schools, transfer to new schools, or leave public school teaching, the teachers weighed, more than anything else, whether they could be effective with their students. They described the many ways in which the working conditions in their schools—teaching assignments, collegial interaction, curriculum, administration, discipline—either supported or stymied them in that search for success.

Teaching as a Professional Career

Teaching in the United States has long had precarious professional standing. Sykes (1983) observed that, although teaching "has enjoyed a measure of public esteem and gratitude through the years, . . . there is a long-standing taint associated with teaching and corresponding doubts" (p. 98) about people who choose that profession. Compared with law and medicine, the teaching profession has been labeled a "semi-profession" (Lortie, 1969). Until the 1950s, teaching was short-term, itinerant work taken up by men on their way to a "real" profession and by women before marrying or having children (Lortie; Rury, 1989; Tyack, 1974). Teaching also holds low status in the occupational hierarchy because it is likened to child care and, thus, is regarded as women's work (Hoffman, 1981). Moreover, the public is not convinced that teachers need specialized knowledge to do their work. As Darling-Hammond (2001) observed, "The view of teaching as relatively simple, straightforward work, easily controlled by prescriptions of practice, is reinforced by the 'apprenticeship of experience' that adults have lived through during their years as students in schools" (p. 761). Moreover, until recently, the knowledge base of teaching has been quite thin (Good, 1983) and, thus, claims to specialized expertise were hard to justify. The sheer number of teachers needed annually discourages competitive and selective hiring, thus reinforcing the view that there is little quality control in public school teaching. From the public's perspective, therefore, teaching is not highly esteemed work.

Since 1975, when Lortie published his landmark study, *Schoolteacher*, researchers have asked different samples of teachers to reflect on their work and workplaces (Goodlad, 1984; Hargreaves, 1994; Huberman, 1993; Johnson, 1990; McNeil, 2000; Metz, 1978; Provenzo & McClosky, 1996; Rosenholtz, 1987). Although teachers repeatedly say that they find teaching personally rewarding, they also report that low pay and poor working conditions

undermine their satisfaction. Relative to other lines of work, teachers' pay has improved little in the last 30 years. The American Federation of Teachers' *Survey and Analysis of Teacher Salary Trends 2000* (American Federation of Teachers, 2000) reports that "after adjusting for inflation, the 1999–2000 average teacher salary of $41,820 is only $46 above what it was in 1993. It is just $2,087 more than the average salary recorded in 1972—a real increase of only about $75 per year" (p. 15). Similarly, *Education Week* reports that the earnings gap between teachers and nonteachers with bachelor's degrees increased between 1994 and 1998 from $12,068 to $18,006, while the gap between teachers and nonteachers with master's degrees increased from $12,918 to $30,229 ("The High Cost of Teaching," 2000, p. 30). New teachers who are single often report that they manage to live on their salaries but anticipate that in the future such pay will not allow them to support families. Many experienced teachers report taking on second jobs so that they can "afford to teach" (Johnson, 1990). Although entrants to teaching do not think that they will be handsomely compensated for their work, they do expect the intrinsic rewards that teaching promises (Johnson, 1990; Lortie, 1975). If poor working conditions make it difficult or impossible to achieve success in the classroom, low pay becomes an increasing frustration.

However well prepared and committed they may be, teachers have no assurance that they will succeed in the classroom because teaching, by its very nature, is unpredictable work. Lortie (1975), who analyzed the "endemic uncertainties" of teaching, concluded that "uncertainty is the lot of those who teach" (p. 133). A good workplace can reduce that uncertainty and increase a teacher's chances for success and satisfaction; by contrast, a deficient workplace is likely to increase uncertainty and fuel a teacher's dissatisfaction. The working conditions that matter to teachers encompass a wide range of factors, from school facilities and bureaucracy to the competence of administrators and opportunities for professional development. A heavy teaching load, an unsupportive principal, or a broken copy machine can interfere with good teaching and make it hard for teachers to achieve the intrinsic rewards they seek.

One of the greatest sources of uncertainty for teachers is whether they will be able to connect with students and build productive relationships (Lortie, 1975; Metz, 1978; Nias, 1989). Teachers report that their work is more difficult when they and their students do not share characteristics such as social expectations, race, ethnicity, and language. Increasingly, teacher education programs seek to prepare candidates to work effectively with students from different backgrounds. Yet it is difficult for any teacher—particularly a new one—to do this alone. Schools also can help teachers, students, and their families to foster positive, collaborative relationships by establishing explicit norms for respect and equity, enforcing schoolwide expectations about behavior, and engaging parents in the goals and life of the schools.

Teachers also must rely on knowledgeable colleagues and professional communities for ideas and advice about how to teach, but again there is no certainty that their schools will provide such support. McLaughlin and Talbert (2001), who have extensively studied the context of teaching, document the difference between strong and weak professional learning communities. In the former, teachers recognize their interdependence, have high standards for their work, readily share what they know, and promote continuous learning by all. In weak professional communities, teachers are left to fend for themselves and find themselves competing rather than collaborating with colleagues. Rosenholtz (1989) explored the consequence of professional community for student learning by comparing teachers' experiences in "moving" and "stuck" schools. Moving schools tended to have high consensus about what was important. Teachers in those schools "seemed attentive to instructional goals, to evaluative criteria that gauged their success, and to standards for student conduct that enabled teachers to teach and students to learn" (p. 206). However, "in low consensus schools, few teachers seemed attached to anything or anybody, and seemed more concerned with their own identity than a sense of shared community" (p. 207). Principals proved to be key in determining the extent of collaboration among teachers in these schools. Today, each of these findings has implications for how schools can effectively attract and support new teachers.

The New Generation of Teachers

The cohort of teachers about to retire was hired between 1965 and 1975, when women entered the workforce in large numbers and, for the first time, were permitted to continue teaching after marriage and childbearing. At that time, women and people of color did not yet have access to the full range of occupations, and thus public education benefited from a "hidden subsidy," as large numbers of well-educated individuals took up teaching and remained in the classroom over the course of their careers. Those who consider teaching as a career today do so in a different work context than that of their predecessors. Today, prospective teachers have access to occupations offering high pay and status; comfortable, well-equipped work settings; continuous training; and opportunities for rapid career advancement. Thus there is no guarantee that they will choose teaching over other options. Nor do they necessarily expect to teach for the long term; serial careers are the norm, and short-term employment is common. Therefore, the challenge of recruiting teachers to meet the shortage is unprecedented, in both nature and scope.

Supporting and retaining teachers is likely to be an even greater undertaking, particularly in low-income and low-performing schools. Despite the inequitable distribution of resources across schools, teachers today are expected to educate all students to high standards. Whereas at one time a teacher's success or failure could be hidden from administrators, colleagues, and the public, now states publish their schools' standardized test scores and principals review teachers' performance based on how their students do on the tests. Moreover, teachers now are charged with reducing the achievement gap between White students and students of color, although many

have no idea how to do so. Public schools today put great pressure on teachers to dramatically improve students' performance on standardized tests, yet the schools often fail to provide the support that might make such improvement possible (Kauffman, Johnson, Kardos, Liu, & Peske, 2002).

Although some of the 50 teachers whom we interviewed in 1999 worked in schools where novices received organized support from experienced teachers, many respondents were simply left alone as they learned how to teach (Kardos, Johnson, Peske, Kauffman, & Liu, 2001). Other researchers have asked teachers about the importance of various factors in their decisions to leave teaching or change schools, but they have not explored the role of professional culture in their choices. Our work suggests that professional culture must be taken into account and may provide schools the leverage to successfully retain new teachers.

It is not enough to learn how public schools can best recruit the new entrants needed to meet the current teacher shortage. We must also know whether and why those entrants stay in teaching. And among those who remain in teaching but transfer from one school or district to another, we need to understand what factors precipitate such moves. Explaining new teachers' career decisions not only will enable schools to address the current teacher shortage through increased retention but also will inform educators more broadly about the nature of teachers' work and how best to support it.

What Is Known About Teachers' Career Decisions

There is a small, but growing, literature about the factors that influence teachers' career decisions. In their 1991 study, Murnane, Singer, Willett, Kemple, and Olsen reported on the career decisions of more than 50,000 college graduates over 3 decades—the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s—focusing on both those who decided not to teach and those who chose to teach. Using quantitative analysis, they found that the supply of teachers among different regions was sensitive to the salary differential between teaching and other jobs, relative working conditions, and the personalization and efficiency of hiring procedures. For those who did enter teaching, Murnane et al. found the risk of migration and attrition to be highest during teachers' first few years in the classroom. The authors reported trends in who leaves teaching most quickly—high school math and science teachers, young women, and people with high standardized test scores—but could only speculate as to why some people leave and what might have kept them longer.

Recently, Public Agenda (2000) reported the results of telephone interviews with a random sample of 664 teachers, all in their first 5 years of teaching. Despite widely held beliefs about teachers' dissatisfaction with their work, these researchers found that more than two thirds of their respondents said that they got "a lot of satisfaction from teaching" (p. 9), and three fourths viewed teaching as "a lifelong choice" (p. 11), this despite the fact that three fourths also reported that they were "seriously underpaid" (p. 18). If given the choice between a school where they could earn a significantly higher salary and a school with better working conditions (such as well-behaved students and supportive parents, administrators who backed teachers, effective colleagues, or a mission they believed in), Public Agenda respondents consistently said that they would choose the school with better working conditions, by a margin of 3 to 1 (p. 46).

These survey results underscored the new teachers' commitment to teaching and the financial concessions that they reportedly would have made to work in schools that supported their work. However, the sample, which included new teachers with 1–5 years of experience, did not include individuals who left teaching during the study. Because research shows that 20% of new teachers leave within the first 3 years (Henke & Zahn, 2001), it is likely that the concerns of a substantial number of teachers were not represented in this study. The findings probably overstate new teachers' satisfaction and readiness to compromise salary for working conditions.

Hanushek, Kain, and Rivkin's (2001) study of teacher mobility and attrition in Texas explores teachers' decisions to move from school to school. The authors found voluntary transfers to be strongly related to student characteristics, concluding that in choosing new schools "teachers systematically favor higher-achieving, non-minority, non–low income students" (p. 12). Lankford, Loeb, and Wyckoff (2002) found similar patterns of "sorting" in New York State, where teachers were more likely to leave poor urban schools than higher-income suburban schools. The findings of both studies, drawn from large, state-level quantitative datasets, leave open the question of whether teachers' preferences are related to the students themselves or to the working conditions and personnel policies in the schools that serve low-achieving, minority, or low-income students. Haycock, who has written about the steady drain of high-quality teachers from such schools, suggests that inadequate supplies and "scandalous working conditions" in schools that serve low-income communities may explain teachers' unwillingness to staff them (2000, p. 11). Understanding this issue is of great importance in deciding how to address both the teacher shortage and migration, particularly in urban settings. For one would devise a different policy response if teachers were reluctant to teach low-achieving, minority, or low-income students than if they were reluctant to teach in poorly resourced, dysfunctional schools.

Ingersoll, in his 2001 analysis of national survey data, found that 27% of teachers who moved to other schools and 25% of those who left teaching did so because of "dissatisfaction." Although these teachers listed low pay as the primary source of their dissatisfaction, they also cited school-level working conditions, such as inadequate administrative support, student discipline problems, lack of faculty influence in decision making, and lack of student motivation. However, Ingersoll did not have access to information about how teachers weighed the relative importance of these factors.

If—as Murnane et al. (1991), Public Agenda (2000), Hanushek et al. (2001), Haycock (1998, 2000), and Ingersoll (2001) suggest—workplace conditions are pivotal in teachers' satisfaction with teaching and their ultimate career

choices, it is essential to better understand novice teachers' concerns and responses. Otherwise, policymakers and practitioners will continue to introduce what they believe to be promising recruitment and retention strategies, and new teachers will continue to abandon schools, districts, and the profession. Lankford et al. point out that, although large-scale quantitative studies reveal patterns of migration and retention, "we know very little about sorting or the causal relationships that lead to sorting" (2002, p. 39). This study addresses those causal relationships by documenting teachers' early experiences, tracking their decisions over time, and exploring their explanations for the decisions they make.

Overall, the round of interviews that we conducted in 1999 revealed how many factors come into play as teachers consider whether to remain in teaching, and the data underscored the role of school-site conditions in teachers' ultimate career decisions. Follow-up interviews conducted during the summer of 2001 enabled us to track these new teachers' experiences and choices and to explore how they weighed various factors in deciding whether to stay in public school teaching, remain in their schools, or move to new ones. These interviews reinforced the importance of the school site and of teachers' quest for success with students.

Methodology

Our original sample included 50 first- and second-year teachers working in a wide range of Massachusetts public schools—urban and suburban; elementary, middle, and high; large and small; conventional and charter. In selecting our sample of 50, we sought to maximize diversity on a wide range of measures and thus identified four sources of potential respondents: private college and university teacher education programs; public university teacher education programs; charter schools (both state-sponsored and within-district); and the 1999 list of recipients of the Massachusetts $20,000 signing bonus, offered in a state-sponsored alternative certification program.[2]

In each case, we sought variety within the source groups as well, including, for example, teacher education programs that focused on both undergraduate and graduate preparation, charter schools that offered different kinds of instructional programs, and Massachusetts signing bonus recipients who came from various professional backgrounds. We selected both first-career and mid-career entrants to teaching. We also contacted charter schools directly, either through the directors of the schools or through individual teachers working there. We contacted recipients of the Signing Bonus Program directly, using a list of names and schools provided by the Massachusetts Department of Education. In total, only two of the teachers who were contacted chose not to participate in the study. Table 1 summarizes the characteristics of the teachers in the sample.

We built this sample gradually and purposively, seeking to attain variation in the gender, race, ethnicity, and age of the individuals and in the types

Table 1

Composition of Sample: New Teachers by Gender, Race/Ethnicity, Age, Career Stage, and Experience Level (N = 50)

Gender	n		Race/ethnicity	n		Age	n		Career stage	n		Experience level	n	
Female	33	66%	White	35	70%	22–29	30	60%	First-Career	26	52%	1st Year	36	72%
Male	17	34%	Person of color	15	30%	30–39	14	28%	Mid-Career	24	48%	2nd Year	14	28%
						40–49	4	8%						
						50–54	2	4%						
Total	50	100%		50	100%		50	100%		50	100%		50	100%

of schools where they worked. (Table 2 provides information about the kinds of schools where the teachers worked.) The respondents, who were assured confidentiality and anonymity in any written reports, are identified by pseudonyms throughout this discussion.

The first round of data collection involved one tape-recorded, face-to-face interview (1½ to 2½ hours) with each respondent; the interview protocol is included in Appendix A. In summer 2000, we contacted the respondents again, to learn whether they were still teaching and, if so, where. In summer 2001, we conducted follow-up interviews with 47 of the original 50 respondents. These interviews lasted 20–40 minutes and were conducted by telephone or in person. (One respondent who had left the United States replied by e-mail.) Two members of the original sample provided updates on where they were working but did not respond to our subsequent request for an interview. One additional participant could not be located, having left the state to pursue another line of work. Interview questions for the second round, which are included in Appendix B, focused on the respondents' career decisions. Had they stayed at the same school, moved to another school, or left teaching altogether? How did they explain their choices?

In conducting the analysis, we first sorted the respondents according to their career decisions, attaching the descriptive labels "Leaver," "Mover," or "Stayer" to the subgroups.[3] We composed a thematic summary for each transcript, highlighting important themes that emerged and attaching further descriptors to the labels that we had already assigned to participants (labeling the Movers as "Voluntary" or "Involuntary" and the Stayers as "Settled" or "Unsettled"). We then engaged in a rigorous analysis of the transcript data, seeking information about respondents' levels of satisfaction and explanations for their decisions. Drawing on the thematic summaries, we developed a coding scheme for data on career decisions and coded the transcripts, sorting respondents' explanations by cross-cutting themes such as pay, professional culture, or teaching load. We also grouped respondents by gender, preparation, career experience, and school type to look for patterns in their experiences and responses. We reviewed the respondents' 1999 interviews for further insight into their choices. Finally, in refining our findings, we relied on an iterative testing process, moving back and forth from the factors

that we had identified to the details of the interview data and the thematic summaries.

Our purposive sample of teachers precludes us from generalizing to all new teachers in all settings, or even to all new teachers in similar settings. Nevertheless, the respondents' accounts and appraisals are informative, provocative, and cautionary. They can assist policymakers and practitioners in contemplating the needs of the next generation of teachers and assessing competing strategies for recruiting them and supporting the early years of their work. The respondents' accounts can also guide further research.

Career Decisions: The 50 Teachers 3 Years Later

In the following discussion we first summarize the patterns of career movement observed in this sample, noting the number of respondents who, after 3 years, left public school teaching (the Leavers), changed schools (the Movers), or remained in their schools (the Stayers). We then consider those groups by individual characteristics, comparing those for whom teaching was their first career with those who were mid-career entrants, as well as those who entered teaching through traditional and alternative routes. In the following sections, we present representative cases of Leavers, Movers, and Stayers, focusing on how they explained their career decisions. Finally, we consider important cross-cutting themes that emerge from this analysis of cases and can inform both policy and practice.

Interpreting Patterns of Responses: Leavers, Movers, and Stayers

Three years into the study, 11 of our original sample of 50 teachers were Leavers, having left public school teaching altogether—6 after their 1st year, 4 after their 2nd, and 1 after her 3rd. Notably, more than half of those who left did so after their 1st year in the classroom. It is important to note that our original sample included 15 teachers in their 2nd year; thus a retention rate for 1st-year teachers cannot be inferred from these data. The 2nd-year teachers who were included in our sample from the start were necessarily those who had chosen to stay in the profession after the 1st year.

Eleven of the original 50 were Movers, 3 having changed public schools involuntarily and 8 voluntarily. Six of the Voluntary Movers also changed districts in the process. Two of the Involuntary Movers were bumped from their positions by more senior teachers; one teacher, whose contract was not renewed, found a job at another school.

Twenty-eight respondents were Stayers, still working in the school where they had started teaching. Of those, however, more than half (15) were not satisfied with their schools or with the career of teaching ("Unsettled Stayers"), and there was evidence that they might change schools or leave teaching in the near future.

The flowchart in Figure 1 summarizes the movement of teachers in our sample during their first 3 years of teaching. Because the original sample

Table 2
Composition of Sample: New Teachers by School Characteristics (*N* = 50)

Grade level of school	*n*		School setting	*n*		School type	*n*	
Elementary	22	44%	Urban	30	60%	Traditional public	37	74%
Middle	15	30%	Suburban	20	40%	Charter	13	26%
High	13	26%						
Total	50	100%		50	100%		50	100%

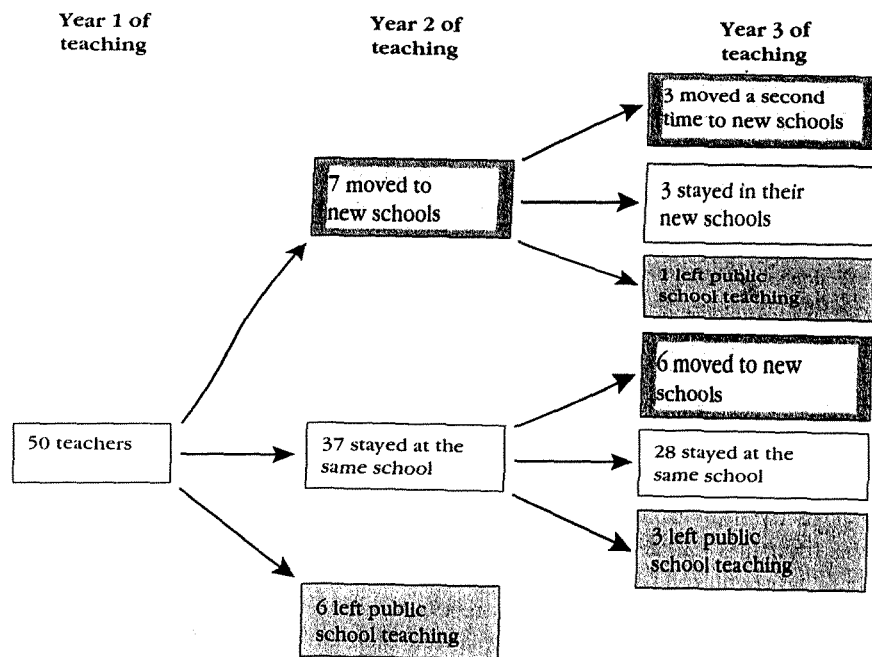**Year 1 of teaching**   **Year 2 of teaching**   **Year 3 of teaching**

Figure 1. **Early career movement of the teachers in the sample (n = 50).**

included 14 teachers who were already in their 2nd year, we asked those teachers whether they had moved after their 1st year of teaching, and we incorporated that information into the flowchart as well. Although the information is not presented on this chart, we also know about the career decisions that these 14 teachers made after their 3rd year of teaching, because we conducted our follow-up interviews between their 3rd and 4th years. One had decided to leave public school teaching, 10 had signed on to stay at their original schools, and 3, who had previously moved, planned to teach again in their new schools.

Examining the teachers' career movement reveals certain patterns related to the characteristics of respondents (see Table 3). However, these patterns must be interpreted cautiously. For example, mid-career entrants were more than three times as likely as their first-career counterparts to move from one school to another. This comparison suggests that, as a group, they were fickle or unstable. However, our data suggest that those with prior career experience—often in higher-status and better-resourced lines of work—were less tolerant of schools that did not support good teaching. Having already made one career move—often taking a cut in pay and status as a result—they may have been prepared to move again in search of a work environment where they could succeed.

Similarly, one would quickly note that respondents who had entered teaching through alternative routes (either the Massachusetts Signing Bonus

Table 3
Percentages of Stayers, Movers, and Leavers by Career Stage, Route, and Gender (N = 50)

Career decision	Career stage at entry		Route to teaching		Gender	
	First career entrants (n = 26)	Mid-career entrants (n = 24)	Traditional certification (n = 38)	Alternative route (n = 12)	Female (n = 33)	Male (n = 17)
Stayed	66%	46%	61%	41%	57%	53%
	(17)	(11)	(23)	(5)	(19)	(9)
Moved	8%	25%	14%	17%	18%	12%
voluntarily	(2)	(6)	(6)	(2)	(6)	(2)
Moved	8%	4%	8%	0%	9%	0%
involuntarily	(2)	(1)	(3)	(0)	(3)	(0)
Left public	19%	25%	16%	42%	15%	35%
school teaching	(5)	(6)	(6)	(5)	(5)	(6)
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Note. Not all of the columns add up to exactly 100% because of rounding.

Program or a charter school)[4] left public school teaching in higher proportions than those who had received certification through traditional programs. Of the 12 teachers who were not traditionally certified, 5 (42%) left public school teaching within 3 years; only 6 (16%) of the 38 traditionally certified teachers left during that time. However, it would be a mistake to draw hasty conclusions about the mid-career entrants or alternative certification programs on the basis of these numbers alone. A substantial proportion of mid-career entrants in our study (29%) were participants in the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program, which failed to provide job placements for participants even though directors had promised to do so. As a result, the teachers in this program found their own jobs late in the summer, often settling for positions that did not match their expertise and interests. Our data suggest that the movement of mid-career entrants to new schools reflects the poor fit between these teachers and their first jobs. The numbers reveal certain important patterns of responses among the 50 teachers, but the respondents' stories tell us much more about what was behind the patterns of movement.

The Importance of Efficacy

Of central importance in all of the teachers' explanations of their decisions to stay in their schools, to move, or to leave teaching was whether they believed that they were achieving success with their students. Overall, teachers expressed measured expectations for achieving such success. For example, when we asked Jerry, a White mid-career entrant in his early thirties,

what it would take to keep him in teaching, he said: "I'll need a sense of success, not unqualified constant success, because I know that's completely unrealistic. But, overall, you know, on average, that I'm making more of a difference for kids and that they're learning from me." Our respondents reported that achieving success in their teaching depended largely on a set of school-site factors—the role and contributions of the principal and colleagues, the teachers' assignments and workload, and the availability of curriculums and resources. In deciding whether to stay or leave, teachers weighed these factors and judged to what extent shortcomings in one or more compromised their chances of teaching effectively.

The Leavers: Stories of Frustration and Failure

There are two themes in the stories of the Leavers, the teachers who were no longer teaching in public schools. One theme is career orientation, that is, whether the individual regarded teaching as a short-term or long-term commitment. The second theme is success in the classroom.

Three of the 11 Leavers in our sample—all of them young men—had said from the outset that they would stay in teaching only a few years. They saw themselves as short-term contributors to the profession, and each planned to pursue another career after a short stint in the classroom. Yet none of them worked in a school that was supportive of new teachers, and all struggled to get by. One taught for 3 years before taking an administrative job in his school; the other two left teaching even earlier than they had planned. Although the school-site factors that compromised their success in teaching did not determine their plans to leave teaching, those factors did hasten their departures. Kareem, an Arab American and recent college graduate, taught for only 1 year at an urban charter school before changing careers. He explained, "A better experience may have delayed my decision to leave, but I doubt it would have changed it."

Eight of the Leavers, however, had entered public school teaching open to the possibility of a longer-term commitment. They sought to do meaningful work, but all experienced great frustration or failure. These teachers left because they were overwhelmed by the demands of the job and saw few prospects for improvement or success, either in their schools or in other public schools. The experiences of these teachers illuminate causes of teacher attrition that may be alleviated by practice or policy.

The Leavers repeatedly listed the same set of factors that drove them out of public school teaching, although they weighed the factors differently in their decisions to leave. They described principals who were arbitrary, abusive, or neglectful, and they spoke of disappointment with colleagues who failed to support them as they struggled to teach. For example, Helen, a White, 31-year-old former engineer, described a principal whose management methods included "edict by voicemail (with) no invitation at all for any discussion," and a teammate who was "contemptuous of planning." After 2 years of teaching middle school math at a charter school, Helen decided to pur-

sue another line of work in which she might find more supportive managers and colleagues. "I just—the thought popped in my brain, these people don't have a clue what it is to be a professional. I've been a professional. I've had plenty of really fine professional occupations, and I know what it is, and this is not it, and I can't stand being treated so unprofessionally."

Many of the Leavers were overwhelmed by inappropriate teaching assignments or excessive teaching loads, and they resented the lack of curriculums and resources. Camilla, a Latina first-career teacher, was assigned two different English courses and two different history courses in her 2nd year at a large, urban middle school. This made for four separate preparations a day, two in a subject area unfamiliar to her. She commented, "I'm completely unqualified to teach history, so it was a little bit difficult." Two of her courses included a significant number of students with learning disabilities, and she felt she was not given "the right facilities, or books, or materials, or whatever it was to help these kids along." Overwhelmed and frustrated, Camilla quit in the middle of the school year to take a job in another field.

Pay and prestige figured into the decisions of some who left public school teaching, but for others, these were secondary irritants. Working conditions loomed large, as teachers longed for the support and resources that would enable them to feel successful. In fact, two who moved to private schools took pay cuts. Some Leavers, like Helen and Camilla, said they would have been willing to endure low pay and low status if teaching had been intrinsically more rewarding.

The Stories of Two Leavers: Ranya and Derek

Ranya, a middle-aged Asian American woman, came to teaching after a successful career as a scientist. She wanted to contribute to society by teaching students who found school difficult: "I thought, if you could help, maybe—the bright kids are not the ones that are going to need you, actually. It is the middle kid or the not-doing-so-well kid. If you can help them along somehow to be successful, then that would be meaningful to me. That is what I thought." Lacking formal preparation, she participated in the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program's summer training before beginning work as a full-time science teacher in a suburban high school.

As a 1st-year teacher, Ranya was assigned to teach five heterogeneously grouped science classes, a load that she called "horrendous." She had expected good resources in this middle-class, suburban school, only to discover that no one had ordered books or supplies: "[N]othing is there. Nothing is set up for anything, labwise, nothing—no textbooks for a month and a half. Within that time, we had two parent conferences. So here I was, a new teacher, no textbook. It was hard."

The students in Ranya's classes represented a wide range of abilities and interests, and she found it very difficult to keep them all engaged simultaneously. "It's really, really hard to figure out every single day, every minute of

that class, to keep everybody happy, to keep everybody occupied and keep everybody accomplishing something for them. . . . You have 15 different goals every day." Ranya had expected to find students who shared her own love of science, but she felt that many of the students were simply biding time until graduation. "It is a required class so they have to pass. . . . Out of the 90–95 kids I have, probably, like, maybe 2 kids are actually interested in science."

Ranya believed that skill in engaging and managing a heterogeneous class can be learned, and she hoped that someone at her school would teach her. She had made her needs known early to the administration: "I told them clearly, even before I accepted the job, I said, 'I have no experience and I would need some help with this, this, and this.' " But help was not forthcoming, even when she asked several colleagues for assistance. Ranya's assigned mentor also was responsible for evaluating her, and even as her classroom management problems mounted, she feared that a plea for help would result in a negative evaluation. At the end of her 1st year, when her contract was not renewed, primarily because of her problems with classroom management, Ranya did not look for a new teaching job. She felt that she had failed as a teacher. She later explained, "I am afraid, at this point, to go out there and fail one more time. I really can't handle that at all." Given that she had no prior experience, little preparation, a challenging teaching assignment, minimal collegial support, and no books or supplies for the first 6 weeks of school, it is hardly surprising that Ranya decided to leave teaching.

Derek, a 26-year-old African American man, the son of teachers, always wanted to "make a difference in [his] community" and thought teaching was the "logical" way to begin his career. He expected to teach for only a few years. While completing his master's degree in education, he student-taught at an urban high school; he subsequently took a job at a community-based, primarily African American charter school where he would have autonomy and influence as a teacher. Despite his graduate training, Derek felt unprepared for the classroom, lacking the "bag of tricks or the firm foundation" that a veteran would have. He found his charter school unequipped to support his wish to grow as a teacher, largely because most of his colleagues were novices, with fewer than 5 years of experience. "Nobody is treated like a new teacher at [this school]. . . . The reason you don't feel like a rookie is because you're just as confused as everybody else." After his 1st year, he considered leaving, "primarily because I don't think I was making the difference that I wanted to make."

During his 2nd year Derek worked hard, experienced more success in teaching, and was excited and proud to be part of his school. By his 3rd year, however, things at the school began to unravel. The principal suddenly abandoned a plan for improving the school that he had encouraged the teachers to develop. Tensions grew in relation to issues of curriculum and autonomy, leading 11 of 16 staff members to leave at the end of Derek's 3rd year. "Our school was not really setting up structures for teachers to do the best job, given the population, and the things that we have to deal with. . . . I think that really provided [the] impetus for people to leave."

Derek would have left the school out of frustration, but he was committed to the students, with whom he had formed close relationships. The principal urged him to take an administrative job, and Derek accepted the chance to revive the school by establishing much-needed systems and procedures to support new teachers. Although he thought that the administrative experience would look good on his resume, he did not expect to stay in the position for more than a year, and he was not sure what he would do next. He did not intend to return to teaching.

Money and status figured prominently in Derek's career decisions. After his 2nd year, he said, "[I]f this profession offered more money, I'd stay here forever, but it doesn't." He would like "to have a family and, you know, live a little better than I live now. So I'm going to have to leave." Part of his reason for accepting the administrative job was that it brought a pay increase of nearly 20%. Derek spoke angrily about how teachers' low pay reflected others' low regard for them and their work: "The way people outside the profession view teachers makes me sick."

Derek's concern about the low status and pay of teaching is consistent with that voiced by many of the men in our sample. In general, they expressed more dissatisfaction about money and status than did the women. These concerns seemed to have heightened their desire to realize intrinsic rewards quickly and may have led to less tolerance for unsatisfying situations. The men in our sample were more than three times as likely as the women to leave public school teaching during the first 3 years of their careers. The men were also much more likely to be unsettled in their roles,[5] interested in administrative positions, or planning to move out of education entirely.

There are important differences in Ranya's and Derek's stories about why they chose teaching, how they prepared to teach, what their schools offered, how they fared with students, and why they decided to leave teaching. Derek enjoyed working with his novice colleagues, and he felt effective in working with students; Ranya, who felt no such camaraderie and had minimal support, saw herself as ineffective. However, neither thought his or her school was organized to ensure the success of new teachers or their students. Both felt inadequately respected and rewarded for their efforts.

The Voluntary Movers

The Voluntary Movers—teachers who chose to transfer to other schools or districts—told stories that echoed many of the Leavers' accounts. They did not feel effective in the classroom, and they attributed most of their troubles to the shortcomings of their schools. What distinguished them as a group, however, was that they did not regard the problems as inevitable or endemic to a career in public school teaching. Thus, instead of leaving, they chose to find schools where they could give teaching another chance. Jerry reflected this orientation in discussing his career plans: "I'd like to reconsider my long-term plan based more on my general attitude and relationship with teaching

and with students, not so much on my particular fit with one school or another, because I know that I can always improve that."

The extent to which there was a good "fit" between a new teacher and his or her school proved to be critical in that teacher's eventual satisfaction. Some of the Movers had been hired for their first jobs late in the summer, in an abbreviated hiring process that provided little opportunity for them to discover whether the new school would be a good match for their skills and interests. When they decided after 1 or 2 years that their first schools did not measure up to their expectations, they became far more deliberate in their search for better placements.

First and foremost, the Voluntary Movers were looking for schools where they could be successful in the classroom. Their accounts revealed that they had left schools where teachers worked in isolation and where novices were left to sink or swim, and transferred to schools that offered organized support for new teachers and schoolwide collegial interaction. They left schools where student disrespect and disruption were taken for granted as inevitable and moved to schools that had well-established norms of respect, effective discipline systems, and deliberate approaches to parental involvement.

Esther, a middle-aged, White, mid-career entrant to teaching and a former engineer, moved from her low-income, racially diverse urban vocational high school after 1 year. She was astonished by the way that students behaved in class and felt ill-equipped to reach them. "They won't sit still—their rudeness, their total disrespect for each other, for the teacher, their language, everything. . . . I had never seen anything like it." By Esther's account, chaos and disrespect were not confined to the classrooms; teachers fought among themselves and treated the administration harshly. "[The principal] was really mocked, literally, by a lot of the teachers in the teachers' room. . . . They had no respect for him at all." Esther believed that the principal brought on such disrespect through poor management; he never observed teachers in their classrooms and provided scant curricular or instructional support. He also failed to create an orderly school environment. "He didn't set a strong enough tone for the school."

Esther looked for a school with a strong leader, supportive colleagues, and an orderly, respectful environment. She accepted a job in a suburban high school near her home. She felt more successful there, teaching students whom she describes as "more respectful and more there for learning" than the students at her first school. However, she looked back a little wryly at her decision to move to a suburban school. She had wanted to teach in a racially and economically diverse urban environment, and she had hoped to be successful. In her first school, energy and resources were not directed toward creating an environment conducive to student learning, and she lacked the skills to succeed without support. "Maybe if I were a better teacher, more experienced, just a different kind of teacher, maybe I could [have succeeded]."

The Voluntary Movers also left schools where teachers could be given any assignment or work load (and new teachers routinely got the most challenging).[6] They moved to schools where assignments were fairly distributed and appropriate to teachers' knowledge and experience. The schools that they left often had nonexistent or contradictory curricular guidelines and scant resources; the schools that they chose typically had more resources and curriculums that were well conceived and flexible. Prominent in the accounts of the Movers were stories of principals who were absent, punitive, or controlling. In seeking better work settings, the teachers looked for administrators who understood the challenge of being a new teacher, were fair and encouraging, and created structures of support and interaction among the school's teachers.

One of the most striking features of the data is that all of the Movers transferred to schools serving populations wealthier than in their original schools. The average change in student eligibility for free or reduced-priced lunch from the Movers' first schools to their second was 46 percentage points. Sometimes the change involved moving from diverse urban schools to more racially and economically homogeneous suburbs; sometimes it involved moving from a racially diverse, low-income, urban school to one that served less impoverished students. These teachers' accounts provide additional insight into the findings of Hanushek et al., who documented teachers' movement to higher-wealth schools but did not have sufficient information to explain that movement. The Movers in our study made it clear that they were not simply transferring in search of wealthier students. As the following stories of Keisha and Mary highlight, these teachers were seeking schools organized for the success of both students and teachers. Such schools had stable faculties and the capacity to initiate and sustain improvement efforts. They provided support for new teachers' learning and sufficient resources for good teaching. The schools that were effectively serving low-income students also assembled additional supports and services, so that the teachers could concentrate on instruction. That the schools chosen by the Movers tended to be located in less impoverished communities probably says more about the inadequacy and inequity of public education in the United States than it does about the preference of teachers to work with wealthier students.

The Stories of Two Movers: Keisha and Mary

Keisha, a 29-year-old African American woman, worked as an administrator in higher education for 5 years before deciding to become an elementary school teacher. Her interest in teaching had been piqued by the prevalence of literacy problems among the college students with whom she worked. After completing her master's degree in elementary education, she took the first job she was offered, teaching a second-grade class of 25 students in a low-income, predominately minority, urban elementary school.

Keisha described her work during the 1st year as "doing the best you can with what you have," which "is not good enough for me." Although the teachers at her school were friendly, they rarely worked together and did not provide Keisha with the kind of advice and support she looked for: "They weren't where I needed them. All of them weren't, as a whole, where I

needed for them to be for me professionally." Keisha described the school as regimented in discipline and curriculum, making her feel "really stifled." The teachers who were regarded by the administration as "stellar" had their "kids in rows" and went "from page to page and page to page" in math books. Keisha felt a lot of pressure from the frequent classroom visits of her principal, who was very demanding and quick to criticize her. "Discipline appeared to be more important than academics to him."

By late winter of her 1st year, Keisha had begun to think about finding a job in another school. When her principal assigned her to teach the fourth grade, where she would have to learn a new curriculum and prepare her students to take the state test, she decided it was time to leave. "I just felt that that was a really unreasonable thing to ask of me in my 2nd year of teaching. . . . That was kind of the straw that broke the camel's back."

Keisha chose her second school, a within-district charter school serving a diverse but slightly less impoverished population, much more carefully than her first. She visited several times, meeting with the principal and teachers, observing classes, and attending a special activity for parents. Her interviews with both the principal and teachers covered a wide range of topics and gave her a good sense of what it would be like to teach at the school. Because she recognized that she would, "in essence," be a "1st-year teacher again," Keisha asked, "What are the support systems in place for folks like me, . . . new people to the profession, new people to the school? What are the professional development opportunities?" She was encouraged by their responses and accepted the principal's job offer.

Keisha focused almost exclusively on school culture and philosophy in explaining her decision to move. She found the professional culture of her new school "really inviting and really supportive." She didn't experience "the stigma" of being a novice—where "these are the newbies." However, she was confident that she would not be left to struggle alone. "There is an expectation that you're a professional and you're going to do the best job that you can possibly do. If you need help, we're here to help you and support you." In her new school all teachers were part of a team, and Keisha worked closely with her veteran and novice colleagues. Each week's schedule set aside 4½ hours for team meetings, where "we have the opportunity to sit down and actually plan and work together. We plan curriculum together, we implement curriculum together. . . . No one is quite working in isolation."

Unlike Keisha, who sought more flexibility in her second school, Mary looked for more structure. She had found her first assignment frustrating, largely because her urban charter school was seriously lacking in order and resources. Like other mid-career entrants, Mary, a 36-year-old White woman, had chosen to teach after considerable thought. She wanted work that would be more "preventive" than her earlier work in crisis intervention. Yet, as a new teacher in a new charter school, she was not making the kind of difference with her students that she had hoped for. Teachers were responsible for getting all materials for their classes, and there was no curriculum. There were no schoolwide norms for behavior, no systems in place for reg-

ulating traffic flow between classes or funneling resources to teachers, no established ways of doing things. Mary's school felt chaotic to her, and she realized that she "needed a more sane environment" if she were to continue teaching. "I expected the kids to have a lot of different issues. . . . What I did not expect was the day-to-day operational difficulties in the school environment that impact how I do my job with the students, and how important the consistent operations and structure [would be]." When she considered leaving teaching entirely, another teacher urged, "You really need to work in another environment. Don't give up on this, because you're a good teacher. Don't give up on teaching yet."

Like Keisha, Mary looked for a second position systematically. "I knew I needed more structure, but I was also, at the same time, really nervous about being in a super-traditional setting. . . . But at the same time, I knew I needed less craziness, if I was going to be an effective teacher." She interviewed at several schools and chose her current middle-class, suburban middle school, even though it meant a $5,000 pay cut. She was convinced that the school would provide the structure and resources she needed to teach successfully. "I could tell it was the type of environment that my old school was trying to achieve but didn't have the order to pull off." At the new school, she said, "you are able to just focus on, How am I going to teach this? versus, Where am I going to get materials to teach this?"

Mary particularly appreciated the novice status that was afforded to her at her new school. "Even though I'm an older teacher coming in, I really needed supervision, and I wasn't getting supervision where I was." Regular meetings with her new supervisor were important: "He meets with new teachers almost every week at the beginning, and then every other week. And I never felt like I was getting off track. I always felt like I could be very open with him. And so I never got to a point where—which I had at my previous school—that 'this is not working, these kids are failing, and I don't know how to fix it.'" Although she missed the energy of the faculty at her charter school, she was happy to feel effective in her work: "I feel like the way the school is structured, I can successfully teach. I'm not always successful, but I'm mostly successful, versus being successful 10% of the time."

Although Keisha's and Mary's stories differ in their details—Keisha was looking for a less rigid environment, Mary was looking for more structure—both highlight a common theme in the stories of the movers: Finding an environment where they felt successful with students was critical to keeping them in the profession. As another Mover, Katie, explained, "This particular year was necessary to affirm that [teaching was a good fit for me]. Last year was difficult and discouraging at times, and I needed a change like this in order to maintain that confidence."

The Stayers: "Settled" and "Unsettled"

Our sample of 50 teachers included 28 Stayers who, in Year 3 of our study, were still teaching in their first schools. (Eighteen were in their 3rd year of

teaching, 10 were in their 4th.) However, their interviews revealed that they were not all satisfied with their roles or their schools. We distinguished, therefore, between two subgroups of Stayers. There were 13 "Settled" Stayers (8 third-year and 5 fourth-year), who expressed satisfaction with their schools and with their roles and, therefore, could be expected to continue in their first assignments for some years. The remaining 15 we called "Unsettled" Stayers. Ten of these, who were moderately satisfied with their schools, expressed doubts and reservations about the career of teaching. All said that they valued their work with students, but they were variously dissatisfied with low pay, the lack of public respect for teachers' work, students' lack of seriousness about school, the exhausting demands of teaching well, the absence of a career path, and/or their greater interest in alternative lines of work. It seemed unlikely that these teachers would search for different work environments because their complaints centered primarily on the role or the career of the teacher, which they saw as being constant across the profession.

However, five Unsettled Stayers were dissatisfied with key aspects of their schools, and in many ways, their accounts sounded like those of the Voluntary Movers. They told of exhausting or unworkable assignments, ineffective or intimidating principals, unhelpful colleagues, inadequate curriculums, the lack of an effective discipline policy, and little effort by the school to involve parents. But they also listed sources of satisfaction with their schools; although all spoke of considering other schools, the weight of dissatisfaction had not yet caused them to leave. For example, a multiracial first-career teacher named Sally considered changing schools at the end of each of her first 3 years at a high-minority urban charter school; but each time, she decided to stay. "[I] still definitely feel committed to the kids," she explained. "I'm not sure if I'm fully committed to the school itself. . . . I think I'd be looking for a place that has more structure that is visible. A place where it would be easier to see who makes the decisions, how the decisions are made, and why." The interviews with Unsettled Stayers suggested that individuals in this group would likely make changes during the next several years, some by leaving teaching altogether and others by moving to new schools.

Settled Stayers: Stories of Success and Growth

By contrast, the 13 Settled Stayers spoke positively about both their schools and their careers, and often it was clear that their favorable views about their schools enabled them to look beyond their reservations about teaching as a profession. Most notably, they were confident about being effective teachers; and as they gained confidence and competence, they found frequent opportunities for growth and development.

These teachers spoke of principals who understood the idea of continuous improvement and colleagues who encouraged them to set reasonable goals for themselves. Several chose not to join committees or take on extra duties during their 1st year, knowing that colleagues supported that choice. Others gave themselves permission not to cover every topic in the curriculum, understanding that they would become more efficient in their teaching as the years progressed. One respondent, an African American recent college graduate named Tanya, gratefully recalls being told by her principal, "You're a 1st-year teacher. You are going to fall on your face. That's okay. . . . we will deal with it."

At the schools where the Settled Stayers taught, the other teachers and principals coordinated sources of external assistance and established norms and expectations about the importance of maintaining an orderly, respectful learning environment. The challenge of creating and sustaining such environments requires more than voting at a faculty meeting to adopt a code of behavior. Principals, teachers, and parents must together develop not only responses to misbehavior but also preventive strategies to keep students focused on their studies. Several teachers observed that concerted efforts by a school to engage parents in their children's education and the life of the school increased the likelihood that teachers could be more effective. Lori, a White, first-career Settled Stayer working in a racially and ethnically diverse magnet school, commented on her school's predictable schedule and consistent discipline policy: "It makes teaching so much easier. It takes so much of the guesswork out of it."

It is important to note that the 13 Settled Stayers in our sample worked in schools that served diverse populations of students and a wide range of socioeconomic classes. A few taught in well-equipped, racially and socioeconomically homogeneous suburban schools; others taught the most underserved children. The proportions of students qualifying for free and reduced-price lunch in Settled Stayers' schools ranged from 4% to 80%, with an average of 49%.[7] Four Settled Stayers, all White, taught in schools where more than half of the students were minorities and more than three-quarters qualified for free and reduced-price lunch. Those four teachers attributed their satisfaction to factors similar to those cited by teachers in wealthier, less diverse schools: supportive administrators and colleagues, clear expectations for students, and safe, orderly environments.

The Stories of Two Settled Stayers: Valerie and Amy

Valerie, a White woman, revived a long-time interest in teaching after leaving her first career in technology so that she could raise young children. Having completed a master's program in teacher education, she accepted a position as a part-time kindergarten teacher in the predominately White, high-income suburban school where she had done her student teaching. At the time of our study, she was convinced that she would stay in teaching—"I've found my niche"—although she acknowledged that her husband's salary subsidized that choice. She laughed as she said, "I pay for the groceries."

Although she expressed some desire to teach in a less homogeneous environment, Valerie found great satisfaction both in teaching and in her school: "The kids are wonderful. The parents are wonderful." She felt that the teachers were "probably the strongest part of the school." Valerie described

a group of six to eight colleagues who "run workshops for the rest of us, who are still trying to figure things out." In her 1st year, Valerie's curriculum consisted simply of a list of topics to cover during the year. Thereafter, the teachers worked with a curriculum coordinator to align their math, science, and health programs. "So if I'm doing the unit on living and nonliving [things], I just pull the binder out, and everything I need is right there." Although Valerie worried that the ambitious content might be developmentally inappropriate for 5-year-olds and that the scope of coverage might be unrealistic for a half-time kindergarten program, she understood what she was expected to do and had access to many ideas about how to approach it.

As a mid-career entrant, Valerie found that people assumed she had teaching experience simply because she was older: "Even the curriculum coordinator will be, like, 'This is what we need to do,' and I'm, like, 'What is she talking about?' Sometimes I need to remind her that I don't understand what [she's] saying." But Valerie also enjoys the increasing opportunity to exercise leadership in her school. Her principal treats her as the unofficial leader of the kindergarten team, sending the parents of prospective students to observe her class: "I take that all favorably. As a whole, I think we all kind of share, but I try to pull the team together."

Amy was a Settled Stayer in her 3rd year, a first-career White woman teaching second grade in a racially diverse, low-income urban school. Having worked with children since she was young, Amy had studied to be a teacher as an undergraduate and at the time of our study was convinced that she would teach long-term. Success during her first 2 years of teaching reinforced her belief that teaching was a good match for her. When Amy searched for her first job, she made a two-pronged effort, inquiring through the district's centralized personnel department and also directly with several principals whose schools interested her. She considered several options and was drawn to her chosen school in part by its reputation as a place where students did well and teachers were committed to learning.

During her 1st year, Amy did not have a mentor or the steady advice of experienced colleagues. She believed that she would have benefited from having a strong mentor, but she found some support in collaborating with another novice teacher. Amy recognized that her teacher education program had not been "practical," and so she responded to her principal's suggestions that teachers attend professional development sponsored by the district. When she felt unprepared in literacy, she took a course on guided reading and reorganized her classroom so that she could use the techniques. She also pursued professional development in math teaching and by the end of her 2nd year was chosen as math coach for her school as it implemented a new curriculum. During her 2nd year she served as an informal mentor for four less-experienced teachers, while also answering the questions of experienced teachers who sought assistance with the new curriculums.

Amy was very proud of her school—she called it "the best school" in the district—and was increasingly confident about her success as a teacher. She had been evaluated favorably by her principal, who often brought visitors to her classroom—a practice that Amy interpreted as evidence of approval. As her school experienced rapid turnover and new teachers replaced veterans, Amy became an increasingly confident expert. She enjoyed the exchange with her colleagues and relished the opportunities for learning that mentoring provided.

Valerie's and Amy's situations were very different: Valerie taught in a suburban setting; Amy was committed to her urban school. Teaching was Valerie's second career, Amy's first. Valerie enjoyed the support of veteran colleagues; Amy lacked the opportunity to collaborate with experienced colleagues but eventually mentored other novices. Yet both teachers found enough support to feel successful with their students. Each thought that she had the respect of her principal, and each saw opportunities to assume leadership in her school. Like other Settled Stayers in our sample, these two women said that they would likely stay in their schools for as long as they could grow professionally and for as long as they found opportunities to feel successful and valued.

The Importance of Professional Culture

Many of the Settled Stayers reported, as Valerie did, that some combination of teachers and principal took responsibility for developing strength and coherence throughout their schools. These school leaders arranged schedules that accommodated team planning and structured explicit opportunities for collegial interaction. Fred, a White first-career teacher who was very satisfied with teaching in his school—a professional development school operating in partnership with a local university—cited a schoolwide "expectation that teachers learn from one another."

In our second round of interviews, teachers' observations about school culture corroborated and extended findings from the original round of interviews with this sample. In our earlier work (Kardos et al., 2001), we identified three types of professional culture based on respondents' accounts of their schools, departments, clusters, or grade-level teams. In "veteran-oriented professional cultures," such as the one that Ranya encountered, the modes of professional practice were said to be determined by, and designed to serve, veteran faculty members; those norms emphasized privacy and professional autonomy. By contrast, "novice-oriented professional cultures," such as those experienced by Derek and Mary in their charter schools, were dominated by new teachers and featured youth, idealism, and inexperience. Although new teachers remained at the center of novice-oriented professional cultures, the absence of experienced and expert peers meant that new teachers received little professional guidance. Finally, "integrated professional cultures," such as the one that Keisha found in her second school and Valerie in her first, were organized to engage teachers of all experience levels in collegial and collaborative efforts.

Our respondents who worked in integrated professional cultures not only reported greater satisfaction but also were more likely to remain in public schools after their 1st year of teaching (89% had remained in public

schools, as compared with 83% from novice-oriented cultures and 75% from veteran-oriented cultures). More striking, we found that 83% (15 of 18) of the respondents who had worked in integrated professional cultures during their 1st year were still teaching in the same school during the 2nd year, as compared with only 55% (11 of 20) of those from veteran-oriented cultures and 67% (8 of 12) of those from novice-oriented cultures.

Similar confirmation of the value of integrated professional cultures can be found by observing who left teaching or moved to another school by the 3rd year of the study. Of the 11 Leavers, only 2 had worked in integrated professional cultures; 4 had worked in novice-oriented cultures, 5 in veteran-oriented cultures. Similarly, only 1 of the Voluntary Movers had worked in a professional culture that we identified as integrated, whereas 7 had been in veteran-oriented and 2 in novice-oriented cultures.

Conclusions and Implications

The challenge of attracting, supporting, and retaining new teachers to staff the nation's schools will require a comprehensive strategy, one that addresses the full range of new teachers' concerns. The detailed accounts of teachers in this study remind us that merely recruiting promising teachers will not guarantee a solution to the school staffing challenge. And simply enrolling them in induction programs will not ensure that teachers have the continuing support that they need to teach well. This study demonstrates that new teachers achieve success and find satisfaction primarily at the school site; unless their experiences with students and colleagues are rewarding, they will likely transfer to another school or leave teaching altogether.

Thus clear lessons emerge from this research, not only for principals, experienced teachers, and district administrators, but also for state and local policymakers. School administrators and veteran teachers must take action immediately to scaffold new teachers' development and to enhance their experiences in schools, and policymakers must help to make teaching an attractive, accessible, and financially rewarding career.

Implications for School Leaders

Creating the conditions that support teachers in their classrooms is no simple matter. At a minimum, it involves ensuring that new teachers have an appropriate assignment and a manageable workload, that they have sufficient resources with which to teach, that their principals and fellow teachers maintain a stable school and orderly work environment, and that they can count on colleagues for advice and support. Our interviews with the Leavers and Movers reveal how often schools fall short in meeting these basic conditions and how many disappointments new teachers experience as they try to do the work that they were hired to do. School leaders who seek to support and retain new teachers in their schools should seriously consider each of the following approaches.

Incorporate Hiring Into the Induction Process

A surprising number of our respondents were poorly matched with the schools where they taught. Many reported having been quick to accept the first job they were offered, and some took positions in schools where they were still student-teaching, without looking anywhere else. Few had conducted systematic job searches or waited to decide on one position until they had heard about others. Some were hired at the district office and assigned to schools that they knew little or nothing about. The Voluntary Movers in our sample who undertook focused searches for different schools reported a high level of satisfaction with the schools that they found.

Although induction logically begins when a new teacher accepts a job, in fact, it often starts when the new teacher learns about the school during the hiring process. In districts where applicants interview at the school site with principals, teachers, and/or parents, they can begin to understand the school's mission, curriculum, and students. At the same time, people at the school who are sizing up the candidate can convey what it would be like to teach there and what kind of support they can offer to the new teacher. Research in New Jersey by Liu (2002) revealed that only one third of new teachers in the state experienced a highly decentralized hiring process that allowed the prospective teacher, the principal, and teachers to exchange information about their expectations and offers of support. Most candidates, if they visited a prospective school at all, were interviewed only by the principal. Often a principal's rush to find teachers or a candidate's urgency to land a job leads to shortcuts, depriving both sides of important information that could prevent mismatches and better ensure success. If hiring is to become a more informative and productive process—perhaps leading to better fit and less teacher migration—district officials must relinquish control, and experienced teachers must join principals in meeting, informing, and assessing prospective colleagues.

Grant Novice Status to New Teachers

Successful teaching is hard work, and many teachers have inordinately heavy workloads. A high school assignment may include 150 students, several course preparations, hall duty each day, and meetings after school. New teachers who are just getting a handle on classroom management, learning new curriculums, and navigating district paperwork are often overwhelmed by the demands of a full load. Yet rarely do schools grant new teachers sheltered status, in which they have reduced teaching loads, fewer administrative duties, or graduated expectations and support for improving their pedagogy. Neither do they grant new teachers opportunities to increase their responsibilities and grow into appropriate leadership roles.

From the Settled Stayers we learned about the value for novices of reduced teaching assignments; regular feedback about classroom teaching; high-quality, targeted professional development; and graduated expectations for instructional improvement. As competition for teachers intensifies, job

candidates are likely to become increasingly savvy in locating districts and schools that provide for eased entry and steady growth. One-time incentives, such as signing bonuses, will lose their appeal when compared with a work setting that promises novice status and sustained support for all new entrants.

Establish an Effective Mentoring Program

Increasingly, states and districts have instituted formal mentoring arrangements, which pair novices with experienced teachers. Although on the surface this design makes sense, it seldom delivers what most new teachers imagine it will—personal encouragement, assistance in curriculum development, advice about lesson plans, and feedback about teaching. We found that, although almost all of our respondents had been assigned paid mentors, the pairings were often inappropriate (different subjects, grades, or even schools), personalities seldom clicked, and schedules rarely allowed the novices and mentors to observe each other's classes (Kardos et al., 2001). Kardos (2002) surveyed new teachers in New Jersey and found that, although 74% of the new teachers had mentors (and, in fact, the pairings were overwhelmingly appropriate in terms of school, subject, and grade level), only 17% had been observed teaching by their mentors. Classroom instruction was a peripheral, rather than central, focus of their interactions. Our work suggests that schools would do better to rely less on one-to-one mentoring and, instead, develop schoolwide structures that promote integrated professional cultures with frequent exchange of information and ideas across experience levels.

Create Schoolwide Conditions That Support Student Learning

Student behavior is often cited as a reason that teachers change schools or leave teaching, and it certainly played a role in the career decisions of our respondents. However, the teachers in this sample consistently framed their difficulties in managing students as the result of insufficient school structure or support systems, not as the result of problems with the students themselves. Our research reaffirms the importance to teachers of working in schools that have clear goals and carefully designed plans for facilitating a focus on learning. The new teachers in our sample sought orderly settings where productive work was the norm for adults and students. As new teachers, they had to count on the principal and experienced teachers to take the lead in creating such environments, but they were eager to collaborate in establishing the norms of behavior, discipline codes, and schoolwide routines that typify successful schools.

Implications for Policymakers

No matter how committed school leaders might be to improving their schools to better retain their new teachers, success is always limited without the support of policymakers at the local and state levels. Often, policymakers over-look the many ways that their laws and regulations affect the school site and the work of teachers there. They do not realize how much they can do to ensure new teachers' success and satisfaction.

Policy Influence at the School Site

Policymakers can aid school leaders in achieving the school site recommendations outlined above. For example, policymakers may take the first step toward facilitating appropriate matches between teachers and schools by decentralizing the hiring process. In addition, because the schools and districts that do offer novice status for new teachers generally do not serve the students who need new teachers the most, states and school districts must concentrate resources on high-poverty schools. Otherwise, migration will continue to plague schools that serve low-income and minority communities. Finally, districts and states need to fully fund high-quality mentoring programs designed to serve the needs of new teachers.

Broad Implications for Policy: Pay and Career Paths

We found that, although certain school-site conditions are absolutely crucial if new teachers are to achieve "a sense of success," broader professional concerns about pay, prestige, and career opportunities continue to figure into individual teachers' choices. Even the most supportive, well-organized schools will continue to lose individuals such as Derek, who cannot make enough money as a teacher to support a family, or Helen, who is frustrated by the lack of respect afforded teachers by the public. Therefore, policymakers at all levels must take seriously the long-range challenges of increasing teachers' pay and developing differentiated careers that reward expertise and encourage advancement. For it is policymakers who authorize funding for public education, set teachers' salaries, and approve new career structures. Without some changes, capable, committed teachers will continue to turn away from teaching, and students ultimately will suffer as a result.

If teachers are to be better paid, policymakers must recognize that what teachers earn—in the beginning and through their careers—determines who considers teaching, who gives it a try, and who ultimately stays. Substantially higher pay will not be approved quickly, especially in hard economic times, but that reality does not diminish the importance of the issue. As our respondents made clear in their interviews, the economic costs of choosing to teach serve as a significant deterrent to staying in that highly demanding profession.

State and district officials are only beginning to consider a career structure for teachers that offers differentiated roles and commensurate pay. Carefully structured career ladders that engage expert teachers in work such as mentoring new teachers, developing curriculums, or providing professional development, can serve new teachers in need of support as well as experienced teachers with knowledge and skills to share. Career ladders are also attractive to new teachers, as they offer the promise of advancement and role

differentiation. Formalizing structures that allow skilled and experienced teachers to take leadership roles—as happened informally in Valerie's school—affords new teachers novice status and allows them a long-range vision of the career. Differentiated pay structures that are aligned with such roles could do a great deal to enhance the career of teaching, in both substance and reputation.

Our respondents' accounts revealed the importance of these broad challenges for both practitioners and policymakers. Again, the immediate challenge for most new teachers in this study was to succeed with students day by day, and these teachers counted on their schools to support them in that pursuit. Unless schools and local and state policies pay careful attention to the needs and wants of the next generation of teachers, the pool of recruits will be small and the rate of retention unimpressive. Daily and over the next decades, students will pay the price in their classrooms.

APPENDIX A
Protocol for Interviews Conducted in December 1999

1. Before I get into the specific questions, I would like to get a general sense of your experience. How's it going?
2. Has teaching been what you expected? Why? Why not? What did you expect before you entered?
3. How would you describe your school—the people and programs—to someone who doesn't know it? How many teachers teach here?
4. What is it like to teach here?
5. I understand that your assignment is to teach _____. Beyond that, what other responsibilities do you have?
6. How did you decide to teach?
    If teaching is first career:
    *   What other career options did you consider?
    *   Did your parents influence you? What do/did your parents do?
    *   Why did you decide to reject those other careers?
    If teaching is not first career:
    *   What did you do before you decided to teach? Why did you decide to make the career change?
7. People come to teaching by different pathways. What type of teacher preparation have you had?
    *   Are you certified by the state?
    *   How did you come to teach at this school?
8. Can you describe the types of support you've received as a new teacher, within either the school or the district?
    *   Have you had a mentor?
    *   Is the support that you have received what you needed?
9. I am interested in the contact that you have on a regular basis with other teachers, both formal and informal.
    *   Can you tell me how often you talk with other teachers, in what kinds of situations, and what you talk about?
    *   Do you watch other teachers teach?
10. Is what you just described typical of other teachers in this school?
    *   How would you characterize the way they work together?

11. Is there a common sense among teachers of what teachers in this school should do in their work? Are there certain norms and expectations?
    If yes:
    *   Could you describe these norms and expectations?
    *   Where do these norms and expectations come from?
    *   How do you know, or how did you learn, what is expected of you?
    *   Do you share these norms and expectations?
    If no:
    *   Why do you think this is the case?
    *   Are there groups within the faculty that have certain norms and expectations?
12. How does it feel to be a member of this faculty?
13. Principals take on different roles in different schools. I am interested in understanding how you see your principal. What role would you say he or she plays?
    *   Is this what you think a principal should do?
14. Do you have a curriculum that you are expected to follow?
    If yes:
    *   What kinds of things does it specify (general goals, specific topics, specific lessons, how to use time)?
    *   In your view, is it a good curriculum? Why? Do you like using it? Does it work well for your students?
    *   Does anyone check to see that you're following the curriculum?
    *   Some people think that their curriculum provides too little freedom, and some think that their curriculum provides too little structure. What do you think?
    If no:
    *   How do you decide what to teach and how to teach?
    *   In your view, does this process of deciding what to teach and how to teach it work well for you? Do you think this works well for your students?
    *   Does anyone monitor what you're teaching?
    *   Some people think that their curriculum provides too little freedom and some think that their curriculum provides too little structure. What do you think?
15. Are there tests that you are required to give to your students?
    *   How closely are they tied to what you teach?
    *   How are the results used?
    *   Do the tests affect what and how you teach?
    *   Does the Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System [MCAS] affect what you teach and how you teach it?
16. Do you feel sufficiently prepared to teach in the way that you're expected to teach here?
    *   Where do you go for information or advice about what and how to teach?
17. We are interested in incentives and rewards for teachers. What is your salary and how is it set?
    *   What benefits do you get? Are there any other perks?
    *   Was there any way to negotiate your salary when you started?
    *   How are your raises determined?
    *   Can you take on additional responsibilities for extra pay? Do you?
    *   Do you supplement your pay with additional work outside the school?
    *   Can you cover your living expenses on what you make?
    If teaching is first career:
    *   How does your salary compare with what you'd be making if you had pursued your second-choice career?
    If teaching is not first career:
    *   How does your salary compare with what you've made in the past?
18. What do you think of the idea of salary being based on performance?

19. Do you know anything about national board certification?
    If yes:
    - What do you think about this?
    If no:
    - [*Explain that it is a national process of identifying master teachers and paying them more.*] What do you think about this?
20. What do you think about the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program?
    If recipient:
    - What would you have done if you had not received the bonus?
21. There have been some efforts to create a structure, sometimes called a "career ladder," whereby a teacher would take on different responsibilities and earn more pay. Is that of interest to you?
22. Does teaching offer you a "good fit" as a career?
23. How long do you plan to stay in teaching?
    - Will family influence your plans?
    If planning to leave teaching:
    - What would it take to keep you in teaching longer?
    - If a career ladder were in place, would that affect your decision to remain in teaching?
24. These are the four topics that we are researching: Teacher Careers, Professional Culture, Curriculum and Assessment, and Incentives and Rewards. Given these topics, is there anything else that you would like to add?

APPENDIX B
Protocols for Follow-up Interviews in Summer 2001
(Separate Protocols for Stayers, Movers, and Leavers)

Protocol for Stayers

Note: Throughout the interview, probe for comparisons between (a) expectations and actual experience, (b) this and prior year(s), and (c) current and prior school(s).

1. Did you have any doubts that you would be back at the same school this year? Did you think about changing schools?
   If yes:
   - What would you have been looking for?
   - Why did you decide to stay at this school?
   - Did you think about changing to a job other than teaching?

   If yes:
   - What would you be looking for? Why did you decide to continue teaching?
2. What do you like about teaching at your school? Are there things that you dislike?
   Probes related to professional culture (use if respondent raises topic):
   Is the way that you interact with other teachers helpful to you as a new teacher?
   - What *group* of teachers do you work with most? Novices? Veterans? Or a mix?
   - About how many first- and second-year teachers are in your school?
   - How does this year compare with last year?
   Probes related to curriculum (use if respondent raises topic):
   Are your curriculum guidelines and materials helpful to you as a new teacher?
   - Do you have the guidance and materials that you need for the curriculum that you are expected to teach?
     ➤ What do you have that you have found useful? Where do you get it?
     ➤ What do you most need that you do not have?

- Do you feel that your curriculum offers you the right balance between structure and autonomy in deciding what to teach and how to teach it?
- Do you spend more or less time preparing for teaching this year in comparison with last year? Why?
Does the MCAS affect your work? If so, how?
3. Now that you are a _____-year teacher, do you find your role in the faculty or the expectations that others have of you to be any different? How?
   - Role and opportunities outside the classroom
   - Expectations for work inside the classroom
   - Do you have a mentor? Are you a mentor?
   - Do you feel that you were treated as a new teacher this year? [*Be careful if you ask this question. Respondents might interpret "being treated as a new teacher" as a bad thing.*]
4. What was your salary this past year?
5. What are your plans for the future?
   - *Short-term:* What are your plans for next year?
   - *Long-term:* How long do you expect to stay in teaching?
   - Is teaching a good fit for you as a career? Why or why not?
   - [*Probe for distinctions between classroom teaching and other educational roles.*]

Protocol for Movers

Note: Throughout the interview, probe for comparisons between (a) expectations and actual experience, (b) this and prior year(s), and (c) current and prior school(s).

1. What prompted the move to a different school this year?
   Voluntary movers:
   - Tell me more about your decision to change schools.
   - What were you looking for in a new school?
   - Did you ever think about changing to a job other than teaching?
   - At what point in the year did you decide to change schools?
   Involuntary movers:
   - Tell me more about why you had to move.
   - What were you looking for in a new school? [*Ask this only if the respondent chose the new school.*]
   - At what point in the year did you find out that you had to change schools?
   Movers who changed districts:
   - Was there something in particular about this district that appealed to you? What?
   - How does your salary here compare with what you would have made in your old district? Was that a factor in your decision?
2. How did you end up in your present school?
   - What was the hiring [or transfer] process like?
   - Did you consider other schools?
   - Did anybody interview you at your new school? If so, who? What sorts of things did you discuss?
   - Did you get an accurate sense of the school and what it would be like to work there before you took the job?
3. Are you more satisfied at your new school? Why or why not?
   - Are there things at the new school that are better?
   - Are there things at your other school that you miss?
   Probes related to professional culture (use if respondent raises topic):
   Is the way that you interact with other teachers helpful to you as a new teacher?
   - What *group* of teachers do you work with most? Novices? Veterans? Or a mix?

- About how many first- and second-year teachers are in your school?
- How does this year compare with last year?

Probes related to curriculum (use if respondent raises topic):
Are your curriculum guidelines and materials helpful to you as a new teacher?

- Do you have the guidance and materials that you need for the curriculum that you are expected to teach?
  - ➢ What do you have that you have found useful? Where do you get it?
  - ➢ What do you most need that you do not have?
- Do you feel that your curriculum offers you the right balance between structure and autonomy in deciding what to teach and how to teach it?
- Do you spend more or less time preparing for teaching this year as compared with last year? Why?
- Does the MCAS affect your work? If so, how?

4. Now that you are a _____-year teacher, do you find your role in the faculty or the expectations that others have of you to be any different? How?
   - Role and opportunities outside the classroom
   - Expectations for work inside the classroom
   - Do you have a mentor? Are you a mentor?
   - What do you think of this?
   - Do you feel that you were treated as a new teacher this year? [*Be careful if you ask this question. Respondents might interpret "being treated as a new teacher" as a bad thing.*]
   - [*Distinguish between differences based on experience level and differences between the two schools.*]

5. What was your salary this past year?
6. What are your plans for the future?
   - *Short-term:* What are your plans for next year?
   - *Long-term:* How long do you expect to stay in teaching?
   - Is teaching a good fit for you as a career? Why or why not?
   - [*Probe for distinctions between classroom teaching and other educational roles.*]

Protocol for Leavers

Note: Throughout the interview, probe for comparisons between expectations and actual experience.

1. Could you tell me why (and how) you decided not to teach this year?
   - Tell me more about your decision.
   - When did you decide not to return?
   - Would anything have kept you in teaching longer?
   - Did you consider changing positions, schools, or districts instead?

Probes related to professional culture (use if respondent raises topic):
Was the way you interacted with other teachers helpful to you as a new teacher?
   - What *group* of teachers did you work with most? Novices? Veterans? Or a mix?
   - About how many first- and second-year teachers were in your school?

Probes related to curriculum (use if respondent raises topic):
Were your curriculum guidelines and materials helpful to you as a new teacher?
   - Did you have the guidance and materials that you needed for the curriculum that you were expected to teach?
     - ➢ What did you have that you found useful? Where did you get it?
     - ➢ What did you most need that you did not have?
   - Did you feel that your curriculum offered you the right balance between structure and autonomy in deciding what to teach and how to teach it?

- Did you spend more or less time preparing for teaching this year as compared with last year? Why?
- Did the MCAS affect your work? If so, how?

2. What are you doing now?
3. How do you like what you're doing now? How does it compare with teaching for you?
   - What were you looking for in a new line of work? Did you find it?
4. What was your salary this past year?
5. What are your plans for the future?
   - Short-term
   - Long-term
   - Do you think you will return to teaching one day?
   - Is there anything in particular that would bring you back to teaching?

Notes

[1]The authors gratefully acknowledge Susan M. Kardos, David Kauffman, Edward Liu, and Heather Peske for participating in data collection and aiding in the analysis presented in this article.

[2]The 1999 Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program recruited individuals who had never taught in public schools by offering an extra stipend of $20,000 over the course of 4 years (in payments of $8,000, $4,000, $4,000, and $4,000), as well as a 6-week summer training program leading to a provisional teaching certificate, the same credential as that held by graduates of teacher education programs. After its first year, the program was redesigned and renamed the Massachusetts Institute for New Teachers. Only some participants received the signing bonus, but all received summer training, rapid certification, and immediate access to teaching jobs.

[3]The descriptors "Leaver," "Mover," and "Stayer" are borrowed from Richard Ingersoll (2001).

[4]At the time of this study, teachers in Massachusetts charter schools did not have to be certified, and most were not. The law has since changed.

[5]Thirty-three percent (11) of the women in our sample were Settled Stayers, as compared with 12% (2) of the men. Forty-one percent (7) of the men were Unsettled Stayers, as compared with 24% (8) of the women.

[6]During the 1st year of our study, for instance, 19 of 50 respondents (38%) had been assigned to teach grades and subjects for which the new state assessment (Massachusetts Comprehensive Assessment System) would be administered. Apparently, experienced teachers had chosen other grades and courses, perhaps expecting that the pressure of preparation would disrupt their teaching or that they might unfairly bear responsibility for low scores.

[7]School demographic data were available for 9 of the 13 schools. Four of the 13 were charter schools and not required to publish their demographic information.

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