

The Next Generation Of Teachers: Changing Conceptions of a Career In Teaching



Guided by information from their interviews with 50 first- and second-year teachers in Massachusetts, the authors propose a mixed model for the teaching career — one that would be responsive to the needs of both

teachers who envision long-term careers and those who envision short-term stays in teaching.

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IN RESPONSE to projections that the U.S. will need 2.2 million new teachers in the next decade,¹ states and districts have introduced an array of innovative and aggressive recruitment strategies, including offering teachers subsidized mortgages, job-sharing arrangements, laptop computers, and health club memberships. As competition for new teachers intensifies and local districts scramble to fill classroom vacancies, there are legitimate worries about who will staff the nation's schools and whether those hired will be of high quality. Faced with this recruitment challenge and frenzied environment, we must recognize that the next generation of teachers will surely differ from the generation that is about to retire.

Today's prospective teachers find themselves in the midst of a career context that differs strikingly from the conditions experienced by the retiring cohort of teachers when they were hired some 30 years ago. At that time, fewer professional opportunities

were open to everyone, and choosing a lifelong career was the norm. Today, candidates have multiple, attractive career options, and they hold different expectations about career mobility and job security. New conceptions of career are emerging in our society, and many individuals now regard the notion of a single career or loyalty to a single organization as obsolete. In public discourse and imagination, the archetype of the entrepreneur and free agent has replaced that of the company man or woman.

Amidst this change, teaching appears to be one of the few lines of work that has maintained a static conception of career. Prospective teachers are still expected to identify their career interests early, undertake extensive preservice coursework, and, once licensed, take jobs that will remain virtually unchanged throughout their careers. Indeed, Public Agenda's recent report, *A Sense of Calling*, portrays the new teachers they surveyed — who committed early to a teaching career and “consider teaching [to be] a lifelong choice” — as being quite similar to the retiring cohort.² The report characterizes the new teachers as individuals who have “responded to a calling,” who love their work, and who are by and large content with their choice of profession. One might question whether this conception of career will hold in the current career context, and if it does, whether teaching will attract the best possible candidates, many of whom are likely to have other employment options that offer better working conditions, higher pay, and a greater likelihood of success.

In our research, we set out to explore the possibility that the generation of teachers now entering the profession might bring with them new and varied conceptions of career. We assumed that by coming to understand the range of their views better, we might productively inform approaches to recruitment and retention. Therefore, we interviewed 50 first- and second-year Massachusetts teachers to learn how these individuals conceive of a career in teaching. We wanted to know their reasons for entering teaching, the pathways they took to the classroom, their satisfaction with their work and workplace, and their plans for the

future. We sought to learn what drew them to teaching and what it might take to keep them there.

We deliberately selected a sample that would allow insight into the attitudes and choices of a wide range of teachers. Of particular interest were the pathways these teachers took to teaching.³ Thirty-six of our respondents followed well-established routes, having earned their state teaching licenses through college- or university-based teacher preparation programs. We expected that individuals in this group would be most likely to regard teaching as a calling and a lifelong commitment. The remaining 14 respondents decided to forgo conventional teacher preparation by following alternative routes to the classroom. They taught in public charter schools, which do not require teachers to be licensed by the state, or they participated in the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program. (Instituted in 1999, this program recruits individuals who have never taught in public schools by offering them an extra \$20,000 over four years. Participants complete a six-week summer program that leads to a provisional teaching certificate, the same credential held by graduates of teacher education programs.) We expected that respondents in this second group might have nontraditional conceptions of a teaching career and thus could offer insight into a larger pool of prospective teachers who might be attracted to teaching if the conditions were right.

Our findings suggest that, rather than regarding teaching as a calling and a lifelong commitment, many new teachers — both those who completed traditional teacher preparation programs and those who did not — approach teaching tentatively or conditionally. While there were respondents who planned to make teaching a lifelong career, they were surprisingly few in number. These long-term career teachers were in fact greatly outnumbered by respondents who were either uncertain that they would stay in teaching for the long term or relatively sure that they would teach for only a few years before moving on to another line of work. Some were exploring teaching to see if they might choose it as their primary career. Others anticipated having multiple careers over the course of their lives and, as a result, saw teaching as one career among many that they would probably pursue (or, in the case of the midcareer entrants, had already pursued).

Although most of our respondents were not ready to declare teaching a lifelong career, they were not casual about their current commitment to this work. On the contrary, they seemed intent on serving their students well and making a meaningful contribution to

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public education. The following discussion examines these new teachers' conceptions of, and approaches to, career and then considers the implications of these findings for recruitment and retention.

TEACHING AS A LONG-TERM CAREER

Katie, a 22-year-old Connecticut native, teaches a fourth-grade inclusion class in an urban elementary school.⁴ Having developed an interest in working with children through summer camp and volunteer experiences, she knew by her junior year in high school that she wanted to become a teacher. She "felt almost called to it." Katie's choice of college reflected her early decision to teach, for, as she explained, "If you attend school there, you're pretty much making the commitment to go into a human-service profession." At the time of our interview, Katie planned to stay in teaching indefinitely. However, she anticipated wanting some variety in her career, saying that she was "definitely looking to do different things [in education]. Maybe not necessarily a vertical rise [in position], but I know that I will not be doing this for the next 20 years." She thought that at some point she might want to become a literacy teacher working in a resource room.

Lori, a 23-year-old Title I math teacher at an urban elementary school, also decided to teach at an early age. "I just always knew I was going to be a teacher," she explained. Lori currently teaches at a professional development school affiliated with the teacher education program from which she graduated. It is the same school, in fact, where she spent the previous year in a full-time internship. Looking to the future, Lori speculated: "I assume that this will be my career for life. People decide to change careers so many times — or the average person does — but I don't expect to."

In viewing teaching as a lifelong career, respondents like Katie and Lori appeared similar to the teachers portrayed in the Public Agenda report. However, only slightly less than one-third of our respondents anticipated making teaching their primary, if not their only, career. Close analysis of the interviews revealed that even among these teachers, some uncertainty existed about whether they would stay in the classroom for the long term.

When respondents in our study talked about a lifelong career in teaching, what they often meant was a

lifelong career in education. Only five of 50 respondents actually predicted, as Lori did, that they would remain full-time classroom teachers throughout their careers. Another 12 expected to stay in the field of education for the long term — "10, 15, 20 years," "indefinitely," or "forever" — but they anticipated wanting variety, new challenges, and different roles and responsibilities as their careers progressed. They hoped, but were not sure, that classroom teaching would provide them with these opportunities. Like Katie, several were intrigued by other roles that they saw in their schools or districts, such as curriculum developer, subject-matter specialist, or consultant.

TEACHING AS A SHORT-TERM CAREER

In contrast to those new teachers who expected teaching to be a long-term endeavor, many respondents viewed teaching as only one of many careers they might have. Some, particularly those entering teaching as a first job, viewed their current assignment as a short-term exploration, which might lead them to a longer commitment or, if they found teaching unsatisfactory, to a quick exit and shift to another line of work. Others saw teaching as offering a chance to make a short-term contribution to children and society, either at the beginning or toward the end of their careers.

An exploring orientation. Jerry is a former software developer who is now teaching high school. He explained, "I'm a career changer. I figured, Why not explore a new field?" He decided to switch careers and chose teaching because he wanted to "make a difference in kids' lives and fulfill my larger mission in life, which is to bring more choices to people or to help people be more powerful in their own lives. And education is a pretty direct way of doing that. So I decided to take the plunge."

After completing a teacher education program and attaining his state teaching certification in earth science, Jerry was hired as a permanent substitute, teaching high school science for \$85 per day and teaching additional evening courses to "struggling" students. Although he found the work demanding and described some days as "hell," teaching appeared to be a good fit for him. When we interviewed him, Jerry's plan was to teach two more years and then assess how things were going before deciding whether to stay in teaching longer:

My guess is that I'll need to have the sense of success, not unqualified constant success, because I know that's completely unrealistic; but overall, on average, that I'm making a difference for kids, that most of the time I feel some satisfaction. And if I feel that way, then I'll probably stick with it. If two years from now, I still feel like, "Well, I am beating my head against the wall constantly," and most of the kids are not really learning that much from me, then it would probably be time to do something different. And I need to feel like I'm still growing, I'm encountering new challenges and learning new things.

During the summer, Jerry sometimes does freelance software development, not because he misses programming, but rather to make extra income and to keep his "skills up to date" so that if he leaves teaching he can return to a career in software development.

Jerry's expression of social conscience and wanderlust was common among the accounts of the respondents who had an exploring orientation to teaching. They suggested that their decisions about the future depended on whether they found that teaching offered a good fit, accommodating their talents, interests, and needs. However, Jerry was not quite typical of the "explorers" in that he enrolled in a conventional teacher preparation program with preservice coursework and a practicum. Other explorers generally followed unconventional paths in preparing to teach, in acquiring formal credentials, or in gaining access to classrooms. Being eager to teach and wanting to avoid the time and costs of lengthy training programs that they thought might be of limited use, they entered teaching through accelerated routes that some have called the "back door" to teaching.⁵ For many, having access to alternative routes encouraged and enabled them to explore their interests in education.

For example, when Camilla, a middle school English teacher, graduated from college with a degree in English and women's studies, she "hadn't really decided what to do." The Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program seemed like a good opportunity to work with adolescents, which was an interest of hers, and she elected to join the program to "get into teaching and see if I like it." Though her classroom is only a corner of the school library and she works long hours, Camilla reported that she "really likes" working with her students.

Brenda, another Signing Bonus recipient, is a middle school Spanish teacher who entered teaching from a career in the field of public health. Like Camilla, she

saw the Signing Bonus Program as a "great opportunity" because it provided access to teaching, something she had considered "years ago." She explained, "In a way I fell into teaching because of this opportunity, but in a way it was something I had been thinking about. It was always a big possibility."⁶

A contributing orientation. While the "explorers" entered teaching uncertain of how long they would stay but open to the possibility that teaching would be a longer-term pursuit, another group of respondents entered teaching in order to make a short-term contribution to society. Within this group, some saw teaching as a prelude to another career ("early-career contributors"), while others saw it as a capstone to a lengthy career in another field ("capstoners").

Early-career contributors. Abe, a recent college graduate who teaches science at a charter school, plans eventually to go to medical school, but first he wants to teach. He said, "I knew I wanted to go to medical school. I knew I did not want to go right after college, and so I decided, 'What can I do that won't pay too badly and that will make me feel like I'm doing something interesting and important?'" Abe pursued two post-collegiate options: management consulting and teaching. He interviewed for consulting positions mainly because "it is sort of like the Ivy League default career." He was never very enthusiastic about consulting and soon switched his attention to finding a teaching position. Abe said that he enjoys teaching and finds it very meaningful. He loves being a teacher at his school. His original career plan, however, is unchanged: "I'm honestly still planning on going to medical school. I'm not going to teach forever. I'm definitely not going to do it for just one year, either."

Carolyn's original career plans do appear to have changed. She is currently a fifth-grade teacher in an urban elementary school. As a senior in college, she "was pretty undecided about what exactly I wanted to do, although I knew I wanted to help underprivileged kids somehow." She considered Teach For America⁷ but decided to apply to the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program. She explained that, when she entered teaching, she had planned to teach for a short while before moving on: "In my mind I was thinking, okay, I'll teach for two to three years and then go into more policy, nonprofit work. And that still interests me, but I'm thinking I really love teaching, so I want to stay here longer."

Early-career contributors like Abe and Carolyn entered teaching intending to make a short-term con-

tribution to public education before moving on to other fields. As a result, they were quite sensitive to the costs of preservice training and licensure, and few relished the prospect of investing considerable time and money in obtaining a credential that they might use for only a couple of years. Many early-career contributors found that alternative pathways to teaching, such as those provided by the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program and the state's charter schools, enabled them to move into teaching quickly.⁸ If such routes had not been available, these teachers might have chosen to enter other careers instead, and their contributions to education would have been lost. As policy makers draft proposals for recruiting large numbers of new teachers, it will be important to take these potential contributors seriously. Although their stays in the classroom may be short (two to five years), these teachers expressed the same intensity of day-to-day involvement that we heard from respondents who expected teaching to be a lifelong venture.

Capstoners. Robert, who had a successful career as a trial lawyer, had thought for a long time that he was not "in quite the right spot." Over the years, he had "almost continuously been sort of carefully thinking about what I would like to do next, and sort of thinking about, evaluating, and continually discarding things." He wanted work that offered him more satisfaction than practicing law did. Three years ago, Robert's daughter entered teaching, and the more he listened to her talk, "the more jealous I got." He decided to switch careers at the age of 55. Fortunately, he was able to take a "very substantial pay cut" and teach while still meeting his financial obligations. Robert earned his M.A.T. degree in history and received his state teaching license. If things work well, he plans to stay in teaching until he retires.

Like Robert, Miriam is a midcareer entrant in her fifties. Currently a middle school teacher of English as a second language, Miriam has been a real estate agent, a commercial artist, and an administrator in a nonprofit agency. She reported jokingly that she has had "20 careers," yet none was satisfying. Before entering teaching, she had an interest in reading and writing and had enjoyed working with children. However, it was only when she took her son to high school that she realized how attractive she found the idea of teaching: "I walked him in, and I just thought, I really like being in school." At the time she was finishing up her bachelor's degree — she had gone back to college after a long absence — and she added education

courses so that she could complete licensure requirements in English. She expects that teaching will be her final career.

Respondents like Robert and Miriam turned to teaching as the final stop on their professional paths. Teaching promised them meaningful work and the opportunity to make a worthwhile contribution to society. Making the transition from their previous careers to teaching, however, was not simple. For instance, although Robert and Miriam completed teacher education programs, other capstoners reported that they had not been, as one said, "in the situation where I could take the time off to do a student teaching gig." Unlike the early-career contributors, who had few financial obligations, capstoners had responsibilities such as mortgages and their children's college educations to consider. Alternative pathways to teaching enabled several of them to make the transition to teaching while still taking care of their financial obligations.

Given this variation in new teachers' conceptions of a career in teaching, recruiting the next generation of teachers will require policy makers to create opportunities and pathways not only for individuals who foresee long-term careers in teaching but also for those who want to make short-term commitments to the profession before moving to other fields. If public education is to recruit high-quality teachers, the pool will include those who are certain and those who are uncertain of their tenure in teaching, those who have completed teacher preparation programs and those who are interested in alternative routes to classrooms. To ensure quality in the next generation of teachers, it would be wise for school officials to cast a wide net in recruiting, thus making it possible to select from a large number of talented, committed candidates.

THE RETENTION CHALLENGE

In the rush to fill teaching positions, so much attention has been focused on entry and access that few policy makers and school officials have thought systematically about how to retain these teachers once they are hired. As John Merrow has observed, "The [teaching] pool keeps losing water because no one is paying attention to the leak. That is, we're misdiagnosing the problem as 'recruitment' when it's really 'retention.'"⁹

Our findings suggest that retaining the next generation of teachers may, in fact, be much more difficult than retaining the previous generation of teachers was.

Just as it is important to think about recruitment in new ways, it is important to think about retention in new ways. We found that there may well be a substantial group of teachers whose contribution to public education will be short (two to five years), but potentially valuable nonetheless. These teachers constitute a rich and worthwhile resource for public education. Historically, teaching has not always been a lifelong commitment, and we may be mistaken in expecting it to be so for all of today's new teachers.¹⁰ Retaining teachers depends a great deal on their conceptions of career, their specific interests, and the day-to-day experiences they have in their schools.

Retaining those who envision long-term careers.

Although 17 teachers in our sample predicted that they would stay in education for the long term, even they had doubts. Some were disappointed with the pay and working conditions and had begun to reconsider whether teaching would, indeed, be a lifelong career. As novices, these teachers hardly had time to speculate about their future — yet, when questioned, they often reported that they anticipated wanting to do “something different” and that they expected more variety, responsibility, and pay than the current career structure promises. Adam, who teaches elementary science, thought he might become an administrator: “I love this job, but I think after four or five years of it, I'd be bored. I wouldn't be challenged.” Theresa, who finds the intense demands of teaching exhausting physically and emotionally, didn't expect that in 10 years she would be in the classroom full time. She would like to see experienced teachers take on new roles, developing curriculum or supervising new teachers. She thinks that this would provide a “much healthier atmosphere” and would allow expert teachers to “share their experience.” Sarah, who works in a charter school where experienced teachers do assume multiple roles, said that she, too, would want “something new to do.” She explained, “You just take on different roles as a teacher in this school. And I like it. I think that will keep me teaching.”

These respondents' ambivalence about full-time classroom responsibilities suggests that a uniform, horizontal career with few opportunities for variety and challenge will not be sufficient, even for this group of teachers who hope to teach for the long term. However, their commitment to education, combined with their enthusiasm for differentiated roles, suggests the promise and possibility of redesigning work and introducing new structures for their careers.

Retaining those who envision short-term careers.

While it may be unrealistic to expect all explorers and contributors to make lifelong commitments to the profession, what should the goals of retention be for these groups?

Among those who envisioned short-term teaching careers, the capstoners, like Robert and Miriam, seemed the most certain that they would spend the remainder of their careers in teaching, and they truly hoped that teaching would work out. For them, whether they stay will depend primarily on whether they find success in their work and support in their workplaces; financial considerations tend to be secondary.

In contrast, the early-career contributors, though vague about their career plans, expected to teach for only a few years. Given this tendency, it may be more realistic to focus efforts on making any teacher's tenure, however long it may be, as productive as possible, rather than trying to convince every teacher to stay for the long term. A goal might be to ensure that these individuals do not leave earlier than they planned and, perhaps, that they keep open the possibility of staying in teaching longer.

Compared to the two groups of contributors, explorers were more uncertain about their teaching futures. Some found their work satisfying and had decided that they would remain in teaching for several years. Others suggested that they would consider staying in teaching longer, but only if the conditions of their work improved, particularly the balance between intrinsic and extrinsic rewards.



For example, Hannah was ambivalent about her plans, in part because she was surprised by the difficulty of the work. Success with her students did not come as easily as she had hoped: "If I felt like I was making a difference, and my salary was increasing — and if I didn't feel like I work so freaking hard. It's all those things. It's the quality of life, I think." Similarly, Jerry said that if he were paid better and could achieve "a sense of success" in teaching, he would "probably stick with it." Thus the explorers who are deciding whether teaching is right for them will consider whether they feel effective, supported, and fairly compensated for their efforts.

The accounts of these teachers suggest that a one-size-fits-all model for teachers' careers is no longer appropriate. Not only should we not expect a lifelong commitment from all teachers, we should not expect to transform all short-term commitments into long-term ones. However, we can improve the workplace for teachers in order to ensure that contributors and explorers do not leave teaching prematurely and that, while they remain in the profession, they can do their best work and serve students well.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

We have found in this exploratory study that, while the cohort of teachers who are about to retire consists largely of individuals who committed to teaching as a lifelong career, the next generation of teachers includes many individuals who conceive of career and their commitment to teaching in a variety of ways. Some anticipate that teaching will be their only career, while others see teaching as just one of several careers. Although the purposeful selection of our sample does not allow us to generalize our findings, we would predict that the variation we found exists among prospective teachers across the U.S. If public education is to tap the talents and interests of this entire pool and schools are to recruit the best possible candidates into the classroom, policies must not require that all candidates conform to a single career pattern. In the end, a generic career structure is not likely to attract and retain enough good teachers.

Currently, there are two competing views about how best to prepare, license, and hire teachers in the years ahead. One calls for extensive preservice preparation and rigorous, enforced certification requirements.¹¹ The other argues for opening many routes to teaching and deregulating teacher certification.¹² Our re-

search suggests that, while each of these arguments has its strengths, neither is sufficient to meet the demand for large numbers of high-quality teachers. The first discourages candidates who decide to teach late, are uncertain about whether teaching will be right for them, want to teach for only part of their career, or would like to make a career change from another line of work. The second provides no certainty that teachers will be held to high standards of performance and no assurance that only those who demonstrate mastery will keep their jobs. Neither ensures that all new teachers will have sufficient support for improvement on the job.

As districts hire teachers in large numbers, they will probably hire the best teachers they can. When there are not enough qualified and certified candidates — as there surely will not be — many districts are certain to hire minimally prepared, unlicensed teachers, as California has already done.¹³ In such cases, the challenges are to design policies and practices that attract sufficient numbers of strong candidates to teaching and to provide good, sustained support for them in the classroom. We must increase their knowledge and skill as teachers in little time and on-site.

We therefore propose a mixed model for the teaching career, one that would be responsive to the needs of both teachers who envision long-term careers and those who envision short-term stays in teaching. Given the enormous change in staffing that schools will undergo during the next decade, it is essential to have a large core of dedicated, accomplished teachers who can provide continuity in schools and maintain standards in the profession. Over time, this group of well-prepared and accomplished teachers can take on roles as mentors, peer reviewers, professional developers, team leaders, and curriculum writers. They can oversee the effective induction of novices, both those who plan to teach long-term and those who enter teaching as one of several careers. This model would reward and financially compensate long-term teachers for the knowledge and skills they acquire in both preservice training and subsequent professional development, such as certification by the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards. It would provide differentiated roles for them as they master their craft, take on varied assignments, and assume broader responsibilities in their schools.

Simultaneously, there should be well-defined alternative pathways by which shorter-term teachers can enter the classroom. Although critics might contend

that those who are unwilling to invest in formal, multiyear preparation are not sufficiently serious about teaching, our research strongly suggests that these novices are not fly-by-night teachers but rather individuals with a genuine interest in, and serious commitment to, teaching. When the programs they enter provide support and ongoing evaluation of their teaching, schools can better ensure that students will be well served.

By endorsing a model that provides alternative access to teaching, we are by no means suggesting that schools should abandon standards for teachers' performance. Rather, we are proposing that more of the effort to prepare and assess the quality of new teachers be moved to the schools. Connecticut offers a useful model of one program that couples alternative routes with rigorous assessment. The state's Alternative Certification Program was established in 1986 to "raise professional standards" and to "create an external catalyst for change in Connecticut's teacher education programs."¹⁴ The model relies on structured mentoring to train the new teachers, linking experienced teachers with the novices. It also requires that all new teachers, whatever their route to teaching, pass an external, portfolio-based assessment in order to move beyond a provisional license.¹⁵

The task of recruiting and retaining strong teachers in the next decade is daunting but vital to the future of public education. The schools of 2010 can be well staffed and effective only if today's policy makers and school officials recognize and respond to the challenge. By recruiting prospective teachers broadly, providing high-quality induction and professional development, improving working conditions, paying well, and developing career ladders that engage expert teachers in sharing their craft wisdom and extending their influence, officials can ensure that students will be well served. If, however, they staff their schools haphazardly, disregard teachers' complaints about pay and working conditions, or exhaust and expend teachers, they will find that constant turnover leaves students in jeopardy and the future of public education in doubt.

1. Debra E. Gerald and William J. Hussar, *Projections of Education Statistics to 2008* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1998).

2. Steve Farkas et al., *A Sense of Calling: Who Teaches and Why* (New York: Public Agenda, 2000), p. 9.

3. We purposefully selected four sources of respondents: undergraduate teacher education programs, graduate schools of education, charter schools, and the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program. Our sample of

50 teachers was not proportionally representative of all new teachers in the state but enabled us to consider the experiences of particular groups. In an attempt to solicit the full range of responses, we oversampled certain segments of the teaching population. Almost half of the new teachers in our sample (24) had entered teaching after working in another field. Just over one-third (17) were men, and nearly one-third (15) were teachers of color.

4. All names in this article are pseudonyms.

5. Jeff Archer, "Earning Their Stripes," *Quality Counts 2000* (Bethesda, Md.: Editorial Projects in Education, 13 January 2000), pp. 38-43.

6. These teachers' testimonies about the importance of alternative routes are consistent with responses from a subgroup identified as "leaners" in the Public Agenda study. These college graduates under 30 had chosen not to teach but said that they might be enticed into teaching if the conditions were right. More than half of the "leaners" (55%) reported that, if they were changing careers, they would "very seriously consider" becoming a teacher, as long as they did not have to attain further education, a finding that underscores the importance of alternative routes in attracting midcareer candidates to teaching (Farkas et al., p. 17).

7. Teach For America is a nonprofit organization that recruits recent college graduates to teach in under-resourced urban and rural public schools throughout the U.S. Like the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program, Teach For America offers an accelerated route to the classroom.

8. Although the Massachusetts Signing Bonus Program provided access to classrooms, respondents reported that it did not, during its first year, provide sufficient in-school support.

9. John Merrow, "The Teacher Shortage: Wrong Diagnosis, Phony Cures," *Education Week*, 6 October 1999, pp. 38, 64.

10. John L. Rury, "Who Became Teachers? The Social Characteristics of Teachers in American History," in Donald R. Warren, ed., *American Teachers: Histories of a Profession at Work* (New York: Macmillan, 1989), pp. 7-48.

11. *Assuring Teacher Quality: It's Union Work* (Washington, D.C.: American Federation of Teachers, 1998); and Linda Darling-Hammond, "Reforming Teacher Preparation and Licensing: Debating the Evidence," *Teachers College Record*, vol. 102, 2000, pp. 28-56.

12. Dale Ballou and Michael Podgursky, "Reforming Teacher Preparation and Licensing: What Is the Evidence?," *Teachers College Record*, vol. 102, 2000, pp. 5-27.

13. Patrick M. Shields et al., *The Status of the Teaching Profession: Research Findings and Policy Recommendations. A Report to the Teaching and California's Future Task Force* (Santa Cruz, Calif.: Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning, 1999).

14. Traci Bliss, "Alternative Certification in Connecticut: Reshaping the Profession," *Peabody Journal of Education*, Spring 1990, p. 36.

15. Archer, op. cit.

