

INTEGRATED PROFESSIONAL CULTURE:

EXPLORING NEW TEACHERS' EXPERIENCES IN FOUR STATES

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INTRODUCTION

Within the decade, 2.2 million new teachers will be needed to fill positions created by increased enrollments (Gerald & Hussar, 1998), class-size reductions, retirements, attrition, and teacher migration (Ingersoll, 2001).¹ National estimates indicate that nearly twenty percent of new teachers leave the classroom by the third year (Henke & Zahn, 2001). While aggressive recruitment strategies may attract new teachers, such incentives will not keep them teaching. In order to meet the challenges of teacher shortage, turnover, and migration, we face a need to better understand new teachers' experiences at their school-sites. Indeed, it is in classrooms and in schools—with their students and their colleagues—where new teachers decide whether or not to stay in teaching.

This study focuses on a particular aspect of new teachers' school-site experience—professional culture—which may contribute to the retention aspect of the school staffing problem. This paper briefly presents a conceptualization of the three types of professional cultures new teachers are likely to experience at their schools—veteran-oriented professional culture, novice oriented professional culture, and integrated professional culture—and it examines, in greater depth, the concept of integrated professional culture, where new teachers are most likely to get the support they need.

This research builds directly on a qualitative study that I conducted with the *Project on the Next Generation of Teachers*, in which we developed the conceptual framework (referred to above) for understanding teacher professional culture (Kardos, Johnson, Peske, Kauffman, & Liu, 2001)². For many of the new teachers we interviewed, formal structures for support—mentoring, classroom observations, and formal meetings—were in place within their schools. However, we found that these formal

¹ The need will be greatest in urban and rural schools, and in math, science, technology, foreign language, bilingual and special education.

² This typology of three types of professional culture was developed from the qualitative study of Massachusetts new teachers referred to above and published in the April 2001 issue of *Educational Administration Quarterly*. A summary of the typology, which is presented in the first part of this paper, draws directly from the article published in EAQ. The study was conducted by the *Project on the Next Generation of Teachers*, and the article (as cited above) was co-authored by Kardos, Johnson, Peske, Kauffman, and Liu.

structures for support were most useful to new teachers when the structures were embedded in integrated professional cultures. Integrated professional cultures offer frequent and reciprocal interaction among faculty members across experience levels; novice status for new teachers; and shared responsibility among teachers for the school and its students. This quantitative study both deepens and broadens the qualitative study. It uses survey data from a random sample of new teachers in four states to further describe and explain, in a generalizable way, the concept of integrated professional culture and its main features. Future papers will examine new teachers' experiences of formal structures for support (such as mentoring, classroom observations, and teacher meetings) and will use composite measures of professional culture to explore whether these formal structures for support, in the presence of integrated professional culture, are related to new teachers' job satisfaction and sense of efficacy.

My colleague at *The Project on the Next Generation of Teachers*, Ed Liu, and I worked together on this study. Collaboratively, we designed this 4-state study and the 1-state pilot study on which it is built (Kardos, 2001; Liu & Kardos, 2002); however, our individual studies are each guided by our own research questions. Thus, the survey instrument that we administered contained distinct sections, and we conducted (and will continue to conduct) analyses separately. While I explore professional culture, Ed explores teacher hiring. The work, however, is closely linked, and some of the language describing the design in our respective reports are identical.

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sites

We conducted this research in four states: California, Florida, Massachusetts, and Michigan. We chose these states because they share some key policy features and because they are diverse in terms of size, population, and regional distribution. All four states are experiencing some degree of teacher shortage; all have alternative routes to certification; all have charter school legislation; all have adopted standards in core subjects; all use criterion-referenced assessments aligned to standards; and all are collective bargaining states (See Table 1). Notably, the states vary considerably in size, student population, size of school, student achievement, teacher salaries, per pupil

spending, teacher participation in alternative routes to teaching, number of charter schools, and percent of teachers from accredited teacher education programs.

TABLE 1: SUMMARY OF STATE LEVEL CHARACTERISTICS OF CALIFORNIA, FLORIDA, MASSACHUSETTS, AND MICHIGAN, 2002.

These data come from the state data and state reports of *Education Week's* "Quality Counts 2003: The Teacher Gap" (Editors, 2003).

	CA	FL	MA	MI
Number of Public Schools	8,757	3,231	1,898	3,743
Number of Public School Teachers	305,000	136,000	69,000	97,000
Number of Public School Students (pK-12)	6,248,000	2,500,000	980,000	1,734,000
Percent Minority Students	62.6%	46.5%	24.2%	25.3%
Percent Children in Poverty	22.8%	21.9%	14.3%	16.8%
Percent Students with Disabilities	10.7%	15.0%	16.3%	13.4%
Percent English-language Learners	24.9%	9.9%	4.6%	2.6%
Percent of Students in Elementary Schools with 350 or Fewer Students (2001)	6%	3%	27%	28%
Percent of Students in High Schools with 900 or Fewer Students (2001)	11%	6%	33%	37%
Percent of 8 th Graders Scoring at or above proficient on NAEP math (2000)	18%—TOTAL 27%—White 4%—Black 7%—Hispanic	N/A	32%—TOTAL 37%—White 8%—Black 14%—Hispanic	28%—TOTAL 35%—White 2%—Black 9%—Hispanic
Statewide Graduation Rates	66%	55%	73%	N/A
State Average Education Spending per Student (adjusted for regional cost differences)	\$8,479	\$8,429	\$6,161	\$6,512
Average teacher <i>starting</i> salaries, adjusted for the cost of living (2001)	\$27,177	\$27,387	\$27,198	\$30,188
Average teacher salaries, adjusted for cost of living (2001)	\$43,061	\$40,604	\$41,773	\$51,868
Number of Charter Schools	452	232	47	186
Number of Participants in State Alternative Route Programs	7,098	180	200	N/A
Percent of Graduates from NCATE-accredited Teacher Education Programs (2001)	58%	79%	76%	69%

Sampling Procedures

The sample consists of 486 first-year and second-year full-time, K-12 public school teachers (excluding Arts and Physical Education). To draw the sample we used two-stage stratified cluster sampling (Levy & Lemeshow, 1999; Light, Singer, & Willett, 1990; Rea & Parker, 1997), which we tested in our New Jersey pilot-study (Kardos, 2001; Liu & Kardos, 2002). See Appendix A. In stage 1 of our sampling process, we stratified the

sample by state, school level (elementary, middle, high)³, and school type (charter, non-charter), in order to ensure adequate representation along each stratum. We drew a total of 258 schools: 59 in California, 58 in Florida, 62 in Massachusetts, and 79 in Michigan.

TABLE 2: TOTAL NUMBER OF SCHOOLS AND TEACHERS SAMPLED; NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS ; AND RESPONSE RATES, BY STATE.

STATE	NUMBER SAMPLED (N)	NUMBER RESPONDED	RESPONSE RATE
Stage 1³/₄Schools			
CA	59	38	64%
FL	58	41	71%
MA	62	51	82%
MI	79	56	71%
TOTAL	258	186	72%
Stage 2³/₄ Teachers			
CA	187	112	60%
FL	179	113	63%
MA	215	144	67%
MI	170	117	69%
TOTAL	751	486	65%

We over-sampled in the smaller states and under-sampled in the larger ones to enable us to conduct supplementary analyses within each state. In addition, more schools were drawn in Michigan; since Michigan is experiencing a teacher shortage to a lesser extent than the other 3 states, 60 Michigan schools would not have yielded enough new teachers for our sample. Seventy-two percent of the schools selected agreed to participate (See Table 2): 64% of California schools; 71% of Florida schools; 82% of Massachusetts schools; and 71% of Michigan schools.⁴ Similarly, we over-sampled charter schools to facilitate future subgroup analysis⁵; substantively, because of their distinctive structural differences, charter/non-charter comparisons will be informative. To avoid biased point estimates and standard errors as a result of clustering and stratification effects, we used a

³ Elementary, middle, and high schools differ in ways likely to impact professional culture such as organizational structure (Rowan, 1990). It is, therefore, important to ensure that the sample does not contain a disproportionate number of high schools, which might result from just sampling proportional to size.

⁴ In analyses in which all states are included, we incorporated sampling weights to correct for the over- and under-sampling.

⁵ Again, using sampling weights in our analyses when appropriate.

family of commands in STATA Version 6 that are specifically designed to handle survey data.⁶

In order to improve the ultimate precision of parameter estimates in our analyses, we drew the sample of schools in proportion to the number of students in each school, which served as a proxy for the number of teachers, an unknown quantity (Levy & Lemeshow, 1999). We contacted principals in each of the schools and asked for names of all first-year and second-year academic teachers.

In Stage 2 of our sampling process, all new teachers in each randomly selected school were included in the sample. We were given the names of 751 first-year and second-year teachers, and achieved a response rate of 65% (486 teachers)⁷ using strategies devised in our pilot-study (Dillman, 1991; Kardos, 2001; Keiley, 1996; Liu & Kardos, 2002), where we achieved a 79% response rate. Our individual state response rates for this 4-state study are as follows: 60% in CA; 63% in FL; 67% in MA; and 69% in MI. See Table 2.

Description of the Sample

Our sample consists of 486 first and second year teacher from four states: California, Florida, Massachusetts, and Michigan. See Table 3 for a summary of our full sample counts and percentages, unweighted.

⁶ Since we included all of the new teachers at a school in our sample, each new teacher's probability of being selected was equal to the probability of her or his school being selected at the first stage of our multi-level sampling procedure. Because schools entered the sample in proportion to school size, they (and thus teachers in different schools) had different probabilities of being selected. To correct for this, we applied sampling weights for each teacher equal to the inverse of the probability of her or his school being selected at the first stage.

⁷ Additional details regarding sampling and data collection procedures are available from the author.

TABLE 3: DESCRIPTION OF FULL SAMPLE AND OF SAMPLE BY STATE.

	4-States (n=486)		CA (n=112)		FL (n=113)		MA (n=144)		MI (n=117)	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Teaching Experience										
First Year	252	51.9%	59	52.7%	58	51.3%	83	57.6%	52	44.4%
Second Year	234	48.2%	53	47.3%	55	48.7%	61	42.4%	65	55.6%
Gender										
Female	372	76.5%	84	75.0%	88	77.9%	110	76.4%	90	76.9%
Male	114	23.5%	28	25.0%	25	22.1%	34	23.6%	27	23.1%
Race										
American Indian / Alaskan	3	0.6%	1	0.9%	1	0.9%	0	0.0%	1	0.9%
Asian or Pacific Islander	14	2.9%	9	8.1%	1	0.9%	2	1.4%	2	1.7%
Black / African American	30	6.2%	2	1.8%	18	15.9%	3	2.1%	7	6.0%
Hispanic / Latino	38	7.9%	22	19.8%	14	12.4%	2	1.4%	0	0%
White	385	79.9%	73	65.8%	74	65.5%	132	93.0%	106	91.4%
Biracial/Multiracial	4	0.8%	3	2.7%	1	0.9%	0	0%	0	0%
Other	8	1.7%	1	0.9%	4	3.5%	3	2.1%	0	0%
Career Stage										
First-Career Entrant	284	58.4%	55	49.1%	63	55.8%	75	52.1%	91	77.8%
Mid-Career Entrant	202	41.6%	57	50.9%	50	44.2%	69	47.9%	26	22.2%
Age										
21-29	310	63.8%	61	54.5%	67	59.3%	91	63.2%	91	77.8%
30-39	95	19.6%	28	25.0%	26	23.0%	26	18.1%	15	12.8%
40-49	58	11.9%	17	15.2%	14	12.4%	19	13.2%	8	6.8%
50-57	23	4.7%	6	5.4%	6	5.3%	8	5.6%	3	2.6%
Grade Level										
Elementary	263	54.1%	53	47.3%	71	62.8%	73	50.7%	66	56.4%
Middle School	94	19.3%	11	9.8%	25	22.1%	33	22.9%	25	21.4%
High School	129	26.5%	48	42.9%	17	15.0%	38	26.4%	26	22.2%
School Type										
Conventional	370	76.1%	94	83.9%	83	73.5%	111	77.1%	82	70.1%
Charter	116	23.9%	18	16.1%	30	26.6%	33	22.9%	35	29.9%

Limits of the Sample

Analysis of patterns of response and non-response suggests that we have a reasonably representative sample. To explore possible sources of selection bias, we used data from our survey and public sources to compare the group of responding schools to the group of non-responding schools, and the group of responding teachers to the group of non-responding teachers.

There are no statistically significant differences between responding and non-responding schools in terms of the following measures: average faculty size, average size of student population, percentage of students eligible for free or reduced price lunch, eligibility for Title I funds, and percentage of Black and Hispanic students. This is true

for both the full 4-state sample and the individual state samples. One possible source of bias, however, is school level. In California, the group of responding schools included a much lower proportion of middle schools than the group of non-responding schools. In Florida, the responding schools included a higher proportion of elementary schools and a lower proportion of middle schools than the non-responding schools. However, in Massachusetts and Michigan, there appear to be no significant group differences in school level.

At the level of the individual teacher, there are no (or very minor) differences between responding teachers and non-responding teachers in terms of the following: gender, teaching experience (first year or second year), school type (charter school or conventional), grade level, primary teaching assignment, and school locale (urbanicity). One notable exception is that, in Michigan, non-respondents were more likely to teach in urban schools and schools with higher proportions of Black and Hispanic students than respondents.

Measures and Data Analysis

I created the 110 item professional culture section of the instrument based on a review of the literature, our prior qualitative study (Kardos et al., 2001), and our pilot study (Kardos, 2001; Liu & Kardos, 2002). In addition, I consulted the literature on questionnaire design (Rea & Parker, 1997; Sudman & Bradburn, 1982). We re-tested the revised instrument on a small sample of former teachers and in focus groups (Hess & Singer, 1998; Oksenberg, Cannell, & Kalton, 1991), and other scholars have also critiqued its content and construction.

The Professional Culture section of the questionnaire contains questions on official and unofficial mentoring, classroom observations, official and informal meetings, teacher interaction, novice status, collective responsibility, and the principal. Data from the teacher interaction, novice status, and collective responsibility sections only are presented and interpreted here. A few of the teacher interaction items were categorical questions; however, most teacher interaction and all novice status and collective responsibility items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale, ranging from “disagree strongly” to “agree strongly.” The questions asked the new teachers about the extent to

which they agreed or disagreed with statements about their interaction with their colleagues, the extent to which they are granted novice status, and their perceptions of the extent to which the teachers in their schools share a sense of collective responsibility for the school and its students.

In order to further develop and explain, in a generalizable way, the concept of integrated professional culture and its main features, I sought to describe new teachers' experiences of the separate features of integrated professional culture: configurations within which teachers work; novice status; and collective responsibility. I conducted descriptive analyses of the questionnaire data and summarized new teachers' experiences in a series of comparative tables, which describe the individual items and differences by state.

ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

In his recent analysis of the National Center for Education Statistics *Schools and Staffing Survey* data from 1990-1991 and the subsequent Teacher Follow-up Survey from 1991-1992, Richard Ingersoll (2001) challenged the conventional wisdom that school staffing problems are primarily due to teacher shortages resulting from large scale, demographic trends. Instead, his analyses revealed that certain organizational phenomena—particularly low salaries, inadequate administrative support, poor student discipline, and low levels of faculty participation in school decision-making—contribute to high rates of teacher turnover and, thus, contribute to school staffing problems. His work is important and unique because it uses a large-scale dataset to focus attention on teacher retention at the school and at the district levels.

This study focuses specifically on new teachers and examines yet another organizational phenomenon, that of professional culture,⁸ and of integrated professional culture, in particular. Professional culture includes the norms of behavior and interaction among teachers, institutional and individual values, and it both is influenced by and

⁸ Professional culture is distinct from organizational culture in that it refers to the workplace culture experienced by the professionals (teachers, administrators, and specialists) at the school, rather than the entire organizational culture (or school culture) which would also include students.

influences formal and informal structures for support. The professional culture of a school, which shapes how teachers approach and conduct their work, profoundly affects their teaching and learning (Little, 1982). Particularly for novice teachers, at a delicate time in their teaching careers, professional cultures have heightened significance (Kardos et al., 2001). Data from our earlier qualitative study of fifty new Massachusetts teachers showed that new teachers' experiences of the professional culture of their schools are related to their feeling supported in their work and may be an important factor in their retention.

Professional Culture

The professional culture within which educators in a school do their work is embedded in the larger school culture. The notion of school culture grew out of the concepts of organizational culture (Martin, 1992; Schein, 1985, 1992; Trice & Beyer, 1993) and corporate culture (Deal & Kennedy, 1982; Peters & Waterman, 1982), which were developed in the business literature and initially grew from traditional anthropological and sociological definitions of culture. According to organizational theorist Edgar Schein (1992), upon whose work many educational reformers draw, the culture of a group is defined as:

A pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptations and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems (p. 12).

This definition is helpful because it highlights, first, the connection between the underlying assumptions of the group and the way in which the group does the work of an organization, and second, the importance of the induction of new members into the culture of an organization.

This study considers the distinct professional culture within which teachers and administrators do their work, rather than the overall culture of a school organization. This is not new, since many educational theorists and analysts have studied professional culture in some form; most prominent has been the recent, large body of work on professional community (Bryk, Camburn, & Louis, 1999; Grossman & Wineburg, 2000; Little

& McLaughlin, 1993; Louis, Kruse, & Marks, 1996; McLaughlin & Talbert, 2001; Newmann & Wehlage, 1995; Talbert & McLaughlin, 1996; Westheimer, 1998). Professional community is normative and refers, for the most part, to the positive and cohesive way in which teachers work together. Professional culture, on the other hand, is a more generic concept and can be either positive or negative. Still, the literature on teachers' work with their colleagues and the literature on professional community greatly influence this research on professional culture.

Despite research in the 1970's and 1980's that described teachers' work as isolated (Goodlad, 1984; Lortie, 1975; Powell, Farrar, & Cohen, 1985; Sizer, 1984), there is evidence that teachers long for professional colleagues (Barth, 1991; Johnson, 1990). Consequently, researchers studied collegiality closely and linked its presence explicitly with outcomes for students and teachers. In the mid-1980s, Goodlad's observations led him to the "proposition that 'everything,' presumably the quality of education provided by a school, depends on the interaction between teachers... ." (p.178). Likewise, Little (1982) found that students performed better in schools where teachers work as colleagues, rather than as independent instructors. And real collegiality, she later explained (1990), called for more than teachers exchanging social pleasantries, offering "aid and assistance," or even sharing ideas and materials. True collegial work, she argued, is "joint work," in which teachers share responsibility for instruction and outcomes.

Subsequent researchers, interested in better understanding this blend of structures, norms, and beliefs within which teachers work, documented the role of positive professional cultures in improving teachers' practice (Talbert & McLaughlin, 1996). Researchers explained that teacher professional community is a necessary component for school improvement (Newmann & Wehlage, 1995); they detected strong professional communities in high-performing schools (Louis et al., 1996); and they found that different ideologies may guide "strong" professional communities (Westheimer, 1998). This work focuses specifically on new teachers and a particular type of professional culture. It also recognizes that professional culture can be schoolwide or it can exist in sub-units of schools such as departments or grade-level teams.

Some research on professional culture has given attention to the experiences or needs of new teachers. Importantly, Bryk, Camburn, and Louis (1999) noted that not only

must professional communities focus on instructional improvement and collective responsibility, but they also must have strategies for sustaining and developing constructive norms and practices over time, attending to “the way in which new members are brought into school faculties” (p. 754). The study presented here focuses specifically on these “new members” and the types of professional cultures they experience.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that a full understanding of the complexity of professional culture must include not only norms of behavior and institutional values but also formal and informal structures for professional practice—that is, the interaction between culture and structures. There is evidence that organizational structures can influence cultural change in a school organization (Fullan, 1991; Hargreaves, Earl, Moore, & Manning, 2001; Johnson, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989; Rowan, 1990), despite the strong arguments that structure alone cannot change school culture (Elmore, Peterson, & McCarthey, 1996; Evans, 1996). Likewise, it is important to acknowledge, though not solve, the cyclical conundrum: are organizational structures derived from institutional values and beliefs or are values and beliefs cultivated within the context of structures? Therefore, for a complete examination of professional culture, it is important to include new teachers’ experiences of formal organizational structures—specifically mentoring, classroom observations and feedback, and meetings—since these structures are designed, presumably, for interaction among teachers, where the professional culture is enacted and transmitted. Here, however, the central focus is not on formal and informal structures present in integrated professional cultures, but rather on the ways in which new and experienced teachers work together, new teachers’ status, and the extent to which teachers share responsibility for their schools’ students and each other.

New Teachers and Integrated Professional Culture

Decades of studies document the difficulties new teachers face at the start of their careers (Brown, 2000; Gold, 1996; Grossman, 1990; Kane, 1991; Lortie, 1975; Ryan, 1970; Ryan et al., 1980; Veenman, 1984; Wideen, Mayer-Smith, & Moon, 1998). The self-socialization and the “sink or swim” (Lortie, 1975) mentality that has characterized new teachers’ entry into classroom teaching is cause for great concern, since teachers’ early experiences determine their long-term performance in the classroom (Feiman-Nemser,

1983; McDonald, 1980; McDonald & Elias, 1983; Rust, 1994) and their decisions about whether or not to stay in teaching (Adelman, 1991; Feiman-Nemser, 1983; Gold, 1996).

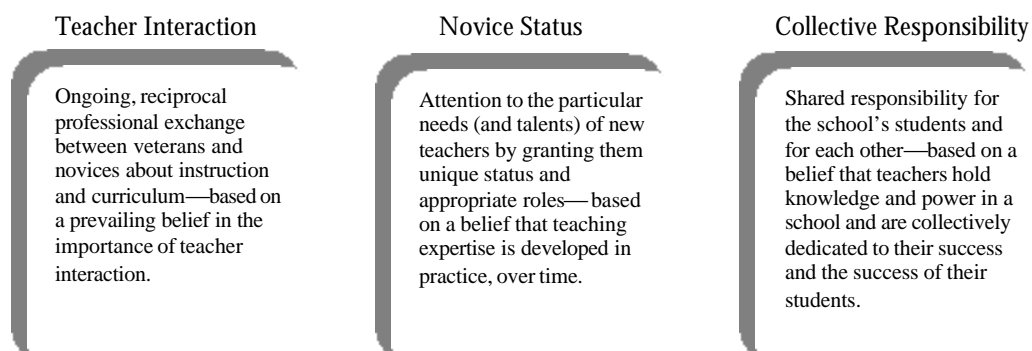
Models for intensive, school-based induction programs for new teachers exist (Berry, Hopkins-Thompson, & Hoke, 2002; Fideler & Haselkorn, 1999; Gold, 1996; Huling-Austin, 1990; Zeichner, 1979); however, we also know that formal structures alone are not enough. In assessing such formal support structures as mentoring, observation, and other “structured collaboratives,” Little (1990) writes, “The prospects for their influence on individuals and organizations rest in part on their congruence with established norms of interactions and interpretations among colleagues, and with the degree to which they fit or conflict with the meaningful reference groups with which teachers align themselves” (p.530). In our qualitative study of fifty new Massachusetts teachers, we found that formal structures for support were most useful to new teachers when they were embedded in a professional culture that recognized their needs as new teachers and valued professional interaction and collective responsibility among teachers across experience levels (Kardos et al., 2001).

We found that new teachers describe their experiences of the professional culture of their schools in three different ways (See Appendix B). Some new teachers described what we called *veteran-oriented professional cultures*, in which the modes of professional practice are determined by the veteran faculty. Veteran teachers may be warm and welcoming, but they generally operate independently, leaving the new teachers feeling alone and unsupported. New teachers struggle on their own, day to day, or band together with a small group of other new teachers, and operate on the margins of the predominant professional culture; there are no special roles for them as novices (or, for that matter, as newly trained teachers with expertise). In veteran-oriented professional cultures, norms of privacy and autonomy prevail; experienced teachers have no particular need or desire to interact with new colleagues or discuss their work in depth. As a result, new teachers lack school-site, professional guidance about what or how to teach.

Some new teachers described what we called *novice-oriented professional cultures*, in which a large group of novice teachers—usually in charter schools or reconstituted urban public schools—dominate the professional culture. The majority

novice teachers may be creative and committed, but they generally operate without the benefit of access to any professional wisdom or expertise. In many cases, experienced professionals simply do not exist in these schools, and if they do, their work is not linked to the work of the novices. Often new teachers in novice-oriented professional cultures are enthusiastic, innovative, and engaged, but they are also often exhausted and frustrated. Though the experience is quite different from that of new teachers' experiences in veteran-oriented professional cultures, the result is the same: new teachers lack school-site, professional guidance about what or how to teach. It is important to note that in both veteran-oriented and novice-oriented professional cultures, formal structures for support such as mentoring, classroom observations, and teacher meetings may exist, but they are rarely viewed as critical opportunities for beginning and experienced teachers to interact and for new teachers to get needed support.

FIGURE 1: THE THREE MAIN ASPECTS OF INTEGRATED PROFESSIONAL CULTURE.



In contrast, some new teachers described what we called *integrated professional cultures* and experienced an environment where there was ongoing, two-way interaction among novices and veterans about teaching and learning. In these cultures, new teachers were granted special status as novices: they were given assistance, encouraged to seek help, and expected to be learning and improving their teaching practice. In addition, new teachers and their colleagues shared responsibility for the school, its students, and each other. These cultures enabled both novice and veteran teachers to be successful in their work, and new teachers felt sustained and supported by their experienced colleagues. Notably, new teachers in the qualitative study of fifty new Massachusetts teachers who

described themselves as experiencing integrated professional cultures did not describe isolated happenings or singular saviors; they described modes of professional practice that permeated their workplace. See Figure 1.

Within integrated professional cultures, formal structures for support existed. Mentoring relationships were meaningful and supportive; classroom observations and feedback were frequent and helpful; and teacher meetings focused on important issues of teaching and learning. What was important was not that these structures were in place, but that they existed within the context of integrated cultures. Through these structures, new teachers learned what was expected of them and how to meet those expectations; they engaged in reciprocal exchange with veteran teachers about curriculum and instruction; and they got the support they needed as new teachers. Linda Darling-Hammond (1999) found that “beginning teachers who have access to intensive mentoring by expert colleagues...become more competent more quickly” (p.20), and are more likely to stay in teaching. Our data from the Massachusetts new teacher study, however, suggested that, in order to be useful to new teachers, mentoring, as well as any other structures for support, must be embedded in a professional culture that is integrated—where there is ongoing interaction of teachers across experience levels; where new teachers are afforded a type of professional status that recognizes both their particular needs and their knowledge; and where teachers share responsibility for the school, its students, and each other.

In addition to our finding that new teachers in integrated professional cultures felt more supported in their work, our data also suggested that new teachers who experience integrated professional cultures may be more likely to continue to teach in public schools and more likely to continue to teach in their particular schools. In our sample of fifty new Massachusetts teachers interviewed during the 1999-2000 school year, 88% of the new teachers in integrated professional cultures remained in public school teaching the following year (compared to 77% in veteran-oriented cultures and 83% in novice-oriented cultures) and 81% remained in their original schools (compared to 59% in veteran-oriented cultures and 67% in novice oriented cultures). While our sample in the qualitative study was not randomly selected, these data compelled us to further develop

the concept, explore it quantitatively, and examine potential links between professional culture and workplace satisfaction (to be presented in a subsequent paper).

FINDINGS

What follows is a broad view of the particular ways new teachers experience the three aspects that comprise integrated professional culture. Most dramatic is the finding that more than one-half of the new teachers in the four states usually plan and teach alone, an important statistic given the fact that these novices have little or no teaching experience and are hoping to do an extremely complex job with at least some success (Johnson & Birkeland, forthcoming). It seems that the new teachers, in general, are not granted novice status: depending on the state, only about one-third to under one half of the new teachers report that extra assistance is available to them, and less than one-fourth report having fewer official responsibilities than experienced teachers. Finally, new teachers are in schools where, for the most part, it appears that teachers do not share collective responsibility for the school and its students. Only about one-third to under one-half of the new teachers (depending on the state) report that teachers in their schools act as if they share responsibility for the students. Taken together, the results of these individual items forecast the likelihood that fewer than half of the new teachers in these four states are experiencing the professional cultures of their schools as integrated professional cultures. Their experiences of the professional culture of their schools have serious implications for their perceptions of the support they get, their sense of efficacy, their job satisfaction, and ultimately, their retention.

Configurations within which new teachers work. We sought to examine the ways in which new teachers describe how they work or do not work with other teachers. In particular, we sought to examine the extent to which new teachers interact with their experienced colleagues, and to consider their interactions in light of our understanding of integrated professional cultures. In integrated professional cultures, new teachers interact with their experienced colleagues in an ongoing, reciprocal, and open way.

In general, the experiences of new teachers in the four states surveyed mirror the general experiences of teachers described over and over again by analysts and observers:

teachers plan their lessons and teach their classes alone.⁹ Approximately one-half of the new teachers in California and Michigan and approximately two-thirds of the new teachers in Florida and Massachusetts reported that they usually plan and teach alone (See Table 4). While this may not surprise teachers or others who know well the way work is done in most schools, it is noteworthy when we consider the cohort of new teachers in Massachusetts, for example. Two out of three Massachusetts new teachers say that they usually plan and teach alone. These Massachusetts new teachers are new to a very difficult job (55% of whom are brand new to the work world), and some of them are working under extremely difficult conditions and in tested grades. They are expected to “sink or swim” on their own.

TABLE 4: PERCENTAGES OF NEW TEACHERS WHO AGREE OR AGREE STRONGLY WITH THE STATEMENT, “I USUALLY PLAN AND TEACH ALONE,” BY STATE.

	CA n=112	FL n=113	MA n=144	MI n=117	4 States n=486
	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly
I usually plan and teach alone.	48% (5.38)	63% (8.89)	67% (5.71)	50% (6.69)	49% (4.82)

Items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale. All estimates are population estimates with standard errors presented in parentheses.

While the percentages of new teachers who describe their work as solo demand our attention, new teachers do not necessarily describe themselves as “isolated” in their work (See Table 5). The percentages in Massachusetts and Michigan who describe themselves as isolated in their work are 11% and 10%, respectively; in California, 14% of new teachers feel isolated; and 33% in Florida feel isolated. It is interesting to consider what might account for these percentages, which are actually relatively low (with the exception of Florida), compared to the high percentages of teachers who report that they usually plan and teach alone.

One possibility is that, despite the fact that new teachers generally work alone, they may have found one buddy in the building who contributes to their experience (by

⁹ Because of the sample weights, the 4-State statistics are heavily weighted toward California and thus obscure interesting state differences. Therefore, most of the findings presented below are state by state statistics. The 4-State percentages are also presented in the final column in the comparative tables.

helping them occasionally or by having lunch with them, for example), such that they do not feel “isolated” per se. Alternately, they may be participating in some sort of program for new teachers that alleviates their sense of isolation, but does not provide them with actual colleagues with whom to work. For example, Massachusetts, which had a very high percentage (67%) of new teachers reporting that they usually plan and teach alone, had a relatively low percentage (11%) of new teachers reporting that they feel isolated. New teachers in Massachusetts might be benefiting from the fact that Massachusetts has a required and funded state induction program for new teachers, and it requires and funds one year of mentoring for new teachers (Editors, 2003). A third possibility is that their expectations for cooperative or collaborative work are so soon shattered, that they do not perceive themselves as isolated, despite their recognition that they work alone. However, in Florida’s case, new teachers may feel significantly more isolated than those in California, Massachusetts, and Michigan because Florida is the only of the four states without a state induction program for new teachers; Florida does not have required or state funded programs at the district level; and Florida has no state required mentoring program for new teachers (Editors, 2003). These percentages also bring to light the subtleties and complexity of the phenomena of collegiality, teacher collaboration, and teacher isolation. These, along with the state by state differences, will be further explored in future analyses.

TABLE 5: PERCENTAGES OF NEW TEACHERS WHO REPORT THAT THEY FEEL ISOLATED IN THEIR WORK AS TEACHERS, BY STATE.

	CA n=112	FL n=113	MA n=144	MI n=117	4 States n=486
Yes, I feel isolated in my work as a teacher.*	14% (3.98)	33% (9.48)	11% (3.56)	10% (3.18)	15% (3.53)

Items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale. All estimates are population estimates with standard errors presented in parentheses.
*State by state differences are statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

Indeed a closer look at new teachers’ responses about their work with their colleagues reveals that higher proportions of new teachers *discuss* teaching strategies with their colleagues and lower proportions actually *plan* or *teach* with a colleague. See Table 6. Again, Massachusetts serves as a good example. Forty percent of new teachers in Massachusetts say they usually discuss teaching strategies with a colleague or

colleagues, while only 16% say they usually plan for classes with a colleague or colleagues and 20% say they co-teach or partner. It makes sense that new teachers would report “discussing” teaching at higher rates than actually “co-planning” (as they did in all four states), since “discussing” might entail anything from structured meetings about pedagogy to quick and informal conversations about a lesson. However, it is less clear what might account for the higher proportions of new teachers who say they co-teach or partner. It is possible that partnering with specialists, aides, or paraprofessionals, or even a loose definition of what it means to partner, might account for these high numbers. In contrast, lower proportions of new teachers report that they actually *plan* or *teach* with their colleagues (from 16% in Massachusetts to 36% in Michigan). Notably, over half of the new teachers in both Massachusetts and Florida *disagreed* or *disagreed strongly* with the statements, “I usually plan for classes with another teacher or teachers” and “I frequently co-teach or partner with another teacher.” See Table 7. These are interesting because they are relatively high proportions of negative answers on the extreme end of the Likert scale.

TABLE 6: PROPORTIONS OF NEW TEACHERS WHO REPORT THAT THEY COMMUNICATE AND COLLABORATE WITH THEIR COLLEAGUES, BY STATE.

	CA n=112	FL n=113	MA n=144	MI n=117	4 States n=486
	Agree / Agree Strongly	Agree / Agree Strongly	Agree / Agree Strongly	Agree / Agree Strongly	Agree / Agree Strongly
I usually discuss teaching strategies with another teacher or teachers.	50% (7.64)	40% (9.12)	40% (6.88)	61% (8.70)	50% (6.76)
I usually plan for classes with another teacher or teachers.	27% (5.19)	25% (8.38)	16% (5.18)	37% (7.68)	27% (4.63)
I frequently co-teach or partner with another teacher.*	49% (7.07)	19% (5.43)	20% (5.67)	40% (7.7)	46% (6.18)

Items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale. All estimates are population estimates with standard errors presented in parentheses.
*State by state differences are statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

TABLE 7: PROPORTIONS OF NEW TEACHERS WHO DISAGREE OR DISAGREE STRONGLY THAT THEY COMMUNICATE AND COLLABORATE WITH THEIR COLLEAGUES, BY STATE.

	CA n=112	FL n=113	MA n=144	MI n=117	4 States n=486
	Disagree / Disagree Strongly	Disagree / Disagree Strongly	Disagree / Disagree Strongly	Disagree / Disagree Strongly	Disagree / Disagree Strongly
I usually plan for classes with another teacher or teachers.	43% (6.76)	54% (8.47)	58% (6.17)	36% (7.77)	44% (6.01)
I frequently co-teach or partner with another teacher.*	40% (7.07)	60% (9.57)	53% (6.92)	43% (7.21)	41% (4.66)

Items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale. All estimates are population estimates with standard errors presented in parentheses.
*State by state differences are statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

Finally, barely half of the new teachers in all four states report that, in their schools, new teachers and experienced teachers work together. See Table 8. In Massachusetts, 51% of the new teachers report working with experienced teachers, a percentage that is consistent across the four states. Again, a measure such as this is somewhat limited by the broad possible definitions for “work together” in that we do not know the extent to which these new teachers can even imagine Little’s conception of “joint work” (Little, 1990); furthermore, the item asks new teachers to report on what they perceive to be the case school-wide.

TABLE 8: NEW TEACHERS’ PERCEPTIONS OF THEIR WORK WITH EXPERIENCED COLLEAGUES, BY STATE.

	CA n=112	FL n=113	MA n=144	MI n=117	4 States n=486
	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly
The new teachers and the experienced teachers work together.	52% (5.54)	49% (9.54)	51% (6.75)	50% (9.66)	52% (4.91)
I have very few professional interactions with experienced teachers.	12% (3.56)	11% (3.77)	11% (3.68)	10% (5.12)	12% (3.15)

Items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale. All estimates are population estimates with standard errors presented in parentheses.

Finally, we asked new teachers the extent to which they themselves have interactions with experienced teachers. Consistent again with the other three states, 11% of

Massachusetts new teachers reported that as individuals, they have very few professional interactions with their experienced colleagues. The contradiction here is that only 51% of new teachers report that new and experienced teachers work together, yet only 11% report that they have very few professional interactions with their experienced colleagues. These data will be further explored in future analyses.

Novice Status. When new teachers are granted “novice status,” they are granted unique standing in the school as novice teachers because of their inexperience. Novice status is not any sort of official designation, necessarily; instead it is a set of formal practices or prevailing attitudes and beliefs about new teachers which recognize and try to tend to their particular needs as beginners. Novice status rejects the “sink or swim” mentality; instead, new teachers are offered sustained support toward improving their teaching and curriculum development. They are expected and encouraged to seek help; they are provided with extra assistance; and they are given roles appropriate to their experience and expertise. They are not expected to necessarily assume the full responsibilities that are shouldered by their much more experienced colleagues.

New teachers experience their status in the school (whether they are granted “novice status” or “expert status”) in terms of cultural aspects such as expectations and attitudes, and also in terms of actual structural mechanisms, such as reduced course loads, teacher assistance teams, or special new teacher seminars. Let us consider first, the cultural aspects (See Table 9). It is interesting to examine the responses of the new teachers in California, where 65% percent report that they are encouraged too seek help from other teachers; 44% believe that new teachers are expected to be as effective as experienced teachers; 47% believe that it is understood that new teachers will learn to teach gradually, over time; and 45% report that as new teachers, extra assistance is available to them. In contrast, only 55% of Florida new teachers are expected and encouraged to see help; 52% believe that new teachers are expected to be as effective as experienced teachers; only 34% believe that it is understood that they’ll learn to teach gradually, over time, and only 35% report that extra assistance is available to them.

While it is impossible to comment on the state to state differences definitively, we know that California is at least attempting to take its new teachers seriously by requiring and funding induction programs for all new teachers and by requiring mentoring. This

may account for the fact that nearly 2/3 of the new teachers report that they are encouraged to seek help from other teachers. Despite that, however, less than half report that extra assistance is available to them. In contrast to the policy context in California, Florida has no induction or mentoring requirements for new teachers (Editors, 2003). Just over half of the new teachers in Florida report that they are encouraged to seek help from other teachers, and only 1/3 report that extra assistance is available to them.

Individual schools in California also may well be responding to the growing number of new teachers in their classrooms, and, in fact, those new teachers may be driving changes in their schools to meet their needs. According to state data, about 42,000 California teachers were uncertified in the 2000-2001 school year, and according to the Center for the Future of Teaching and Learning in Santa Cruz, in one quarter of the state’s public schools, more than one in five teachers was not fully prepared to teach (Editors, 2003). According to Joetta L. Sack of *Quality Counts 2003*, California’s responses to its massive influx of new teachers is worth paying attention to since the situation in that state may forecast what is to come in many other states: “Faced with such challenges as rising living costs, blighted urban schools, and booming enrollments, California has been the ‘poster state’ for a host of problems that hinder the recruitment, training, and retention of teachers” (Editors, 2003).

TABLE 9: PROPORTIONS OF NEW TEACHERS WHO AGREE OR AGREE STRONGLY ON CERTAIN CULTURAL ASPECTS OF THEIR STATUS, BY STATE.

	CA n=112	FL n=113	MA n=144	MI n=117	4 States n=486
	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly
I am expected and encouraged to seek help from other teachers.	65% (6.09)	55% (10.01)	54% (6.71)	63% (5.66)	64% (5.40)
New teachers are expected to be as effective as experienced teachers.	44% (6.81)	52% (8.61)	46% (7.77)	48% (7.25)	44% (6.04)
It is expected/understood that new teachers will learn to teach gradually, over time.	47% (5.83)	34% (6.91)	47% (7.31)	41% (6.08)	46% (5.16)
As a new teacher, extra assistance is available to me.	45% (6.73)	35% (6.77)	34% (6.47)	28% (4.82)	44% (5.94)

Items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale. All estimates are population estimates with standard errors presented in parentheses.

In terms of the more structural aspects of their status (e.g. new teachers’ teaching load or their official responsibilities), new teachers report mixed perceptions, and positive responses to questions about structural aspects of novice status seem to lag behind those that measure the more cultural aspects. See Table 10. It is important to point out that although the discussion of novice status has been divided into cultural and structural aspects, in fact, there are blurry lines between the two. For example, the final item in Table 9 above, “As a new teacher, extra assistance is available to me” may be present as a norm, belief, or expectation of a community of teachers at a school, and it may be programmed into organizational structures, such as new teacher programs and mentoring policies. Although it is not the only item that has both structural and cultural elements, it is perhaps the most obvious and is, therefore, also included in Table 10.

TABLE 10: PROPORTIONS OF NEW TEACHERS WHO AGREE OR AGREE STRONGLY ON CERTAIN STRUCTURAL ASPECTS OF THEIR STATUS, BY STATE.

	CA n=112	FL n=113	MA n=144	MI n=117	4 States n=486
	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly
Typically, there is not enough time available to me for planning and preparation.	53% (7.28)	59% (5.73)	49% (6.97)	28% (7.02)	52% (6.45)
For a new teacher, my teaching workload is too heavy.	37% (6.68)	37% (4.83)	26% (6.92)	15% (5.62)	36% (5.94)
I have fewer official responsibilities than an experienced teacher.*	24% (8.39)	17% (3.98)	9% (2.48)	14% (5.46)	23% (7.44)
As a new teacher, extra assistance is available to me.	45% (6.73)	35% (6.77)	34% (6.47)	28% (4.82)	44% (5.94)

Items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale. All estimates are population estimates with standard errors presented in parentheses.
*State by state differences are statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

In general, new teachers report that there is not enough time for them to plan and prepare for their classes; the proportion of new teachers who agree or agree strongly with this ranges from nearly 30% in Michigan (a strong union state) to nearly 60% in Florida. New teachers clearly feel pressed for time; however, it is quite possible that experienced teachers feel equal time pressure. Therefore, it is important to examine the proportion of

new teachers who believe that, *for new teachers*, their workload is too heavy. These proportions are considerably high, and they vary by state, although not significantly. Michigan new teachers believe their workload is too heavy in the smallest proportion, at 15%; 25% of Massachusetts new teachers believe that their workload is too heavy; and 37% of new teachers in both California and Florida believe the load is too heavy. Most interesting, perhaps, is that small proportions of new teachers report that they have fewer official responsibilities than experienced teachers, ranging from less than 10% in Massachusetts to less than 25% in California. These data, and other data that may contribute to their interpretation, will be further explored in future analyses.

Collective Responsibility. In integrated professional cultures, teachers—both new and experienced—share a sense of responsibility for the school and its students. This orientation stands in opposition to the image of the “egg crate” model of schools, where teachers lock themselves and their students in their classrooms, with the hope of being able to do their jobs free from the distractions that lie outside their rooms. Struggling teachers may isolate themselves so as not to be discovered, and excellent teachers may isolate themselves because it is the isolation that gives them the autonomy and liberty to focus all of their attention on their students and the curriculum. However, where teachers share responsibility for the school and its students, new teachers are inducted into a professional culture which values cooperation and a unified disposition toward success. In this type of culture, new teachers are moved not to hide their successes and failures behind the closed doors of their classrooms, but instead to integrate themselves into the greater life of the school—both to contribute their talents and energies in a broader context and also to seek help.

The items that contribute to the notion of collective responsibility are summarized in Table 11, below. The first item attempts to capture new teachers’ perceptions of teachers’ sense of responsibility to overall student learning: “Teachers act as if they are responsible for students’ learning, even for those who are not in their classes.” The second item attempts to capture new teachers’ perceptions of teachers’ sense of responsibility for each other: “My colleagues think it is important for teachers to work together.” The third attempts to capture new teachers’ perceptions of teachers’ sense of responsibility for the school, in general: “Rules for student behavior are enforced by

teachers, even for students who are not in their classes.” And the final item attempts to capture new teachers’ perceptions of overall teacher engagement in the school community: “My colleagues participate in school activities outside the primary responsibilities of their classes.”

Strikingly, less than half of the new teachers in California and Michigan and just over 1/3 of the new teachers in Florida and Massachusetts report that teachers in their schools *act* as if they are collectively responsible for student learning. Approximately 3/5 of the new teachers in California and Michigan (59% and 62% respectively) and under 1/2 of the new teachers in Florida and Massachusetts (48% and 46% respectively) report that their colleagues *think* it is important for teachers to work together. These proportions are low, considering that the item measures merely what teachers think, as opposed to what they actually do. Higher proportions of new teachers in all four states report that rules for student behavior are enforced by teachers school-wide, and the proportions of new teachers who report that teachers participate in school activities was mixed.

TABLE 11: PROPORTIONS OF NEW TEACHERS WHO AGREE OR AGREE STRONGLY THAT THE TEACHERS IN THEIR SCHOOLS HAVE A SENSE OF COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ALL STUDENTS, BY STATE.

	CA n=112	FL n=113	MA n=144	MI n=117	4 States n=486
	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly	Agree or Agree Strongly
Teachers act as if they are responsible for students’ learning, even for those who are not in their classes.	45% (5.46)	38% (6.16)	34% (6.36)	45% (8.17)	44% (4.85)
My colleagues think it is important for teachers to work together.*	59% (6.56)	48% (9.63)	46% (6.65)	62% (9.94)	59% (5.84)
Rules for student behavior are enforced by teachers, even for students who are not in their classes.	66% (5.52)	61% (7.01)	56% (6.63)	69% (8.22)	66% (5.15)
My colleagues participate in school activities outside the primary responsibilities of their classes.**	58% (5.77)	50% (8.78)	52% (5.98)	45% (7.65)	57% (5.12)

Items were measured on a 6-point Likert scale. All estimates are population estimates with standard errors presented in parentheses.

*State by state differences are statistically significant at the 0.05 level.

**State by state differences are statistically significant at the 0.01 level.

IMPLICATIONS

Despite the fact that there is more data in this study to explore and there are complicated relationships to examine, these early findings forecast the likelihood that most new teachers do not find themselves in integrated professional cultures. I hypothesize that future findings will confirm what we found in the qualitative study of Massachusetts new teachers: that it is not enough to have formal structures for support in place for new teachers; indeed, in order for formal structures for support to be most useful to new teachers, and in order for new teachers to feel a strong sense of efficacy and job satisfaction, formal structures for support need to be embedded in integrated professional cultures.

This presents a leadership challenge for principals, administrators, experienced teachers, and even new teachers, themselves. Schools need to not only create and implement structures to support new teachers, but they need to also cultivate professional cultures that make those structures meaningful. Furthermore, while it is important that states and districts sponsor and fund policies and programs that support new teachers—such as mentoring and induction programs—it is important to realize that merely funding these programs will not be enough. If new teachers cannot attain meaningful support at their school-sites, they will find their schools, and perhaps teaching in general, unsatisfying. It is likely, then, that they will make their professional commitments elsewhere.

PLANS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Drawing on the conceptual framework for new teachers' experiences of professional culture developed in the qualitative study of fifty new Massachusetts teachers (Kardos et al., 2001), this paper attempted to use descriptive statistics to further explain and develop the concept of integrated professional culture and its main features: configurations within which teachers work, novice status, and collective responsibility.

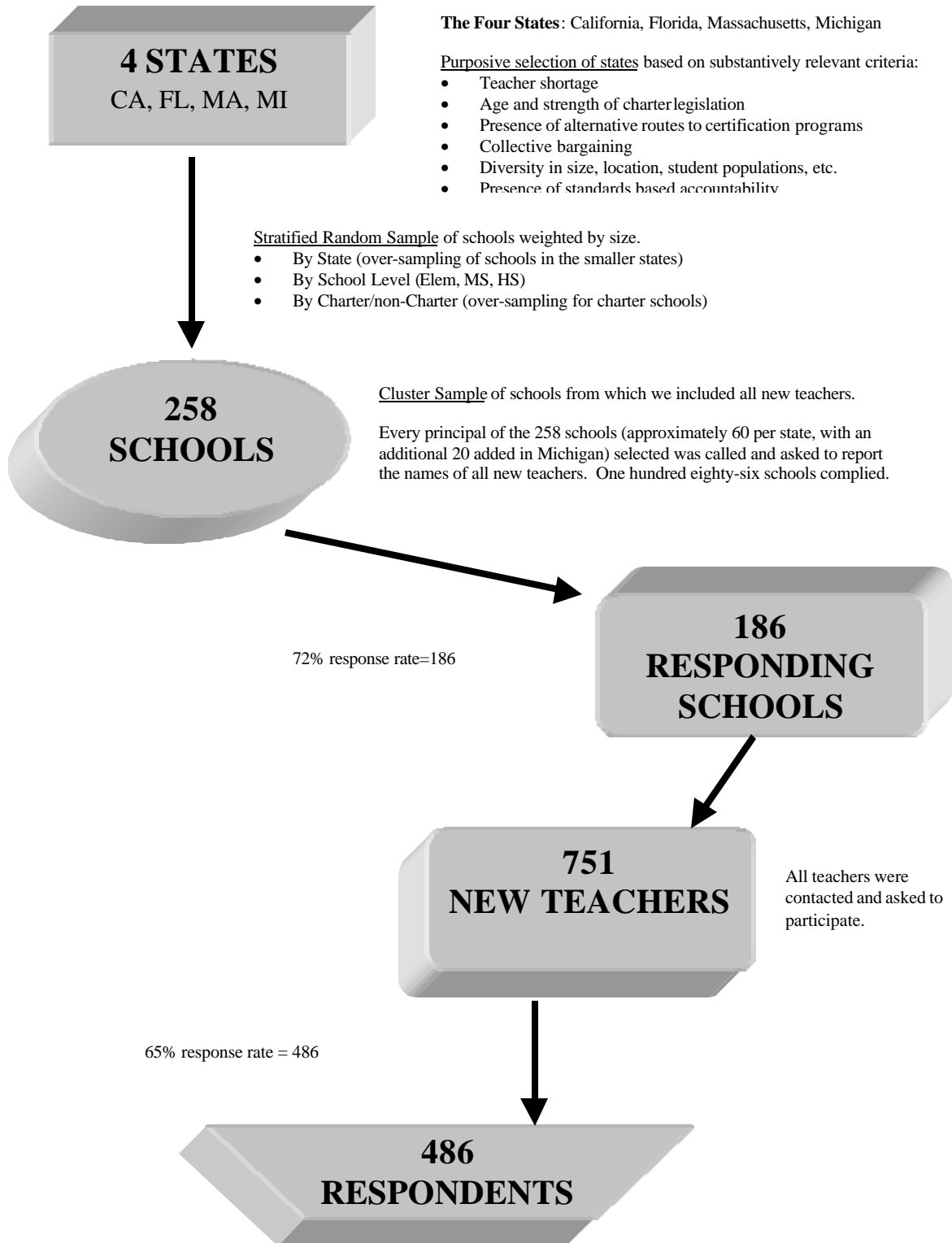
In the next paper, I will use descriptive statistics to further explain new teachers' experience of particular formal structures for support: mentoring, classroom observations, and teacher meetings. In future papers I will use regression analysis to explore important relationships between integrated professional culture (predictor), formal structures for support (predictor) and job satisfaction (outcome), and integrated professional culture

(predictor), formal structures for support (predictor) and sense of efficacy (outcome). I hope to answer the following research questions:

- Do new teachers who experience formal structures for support in the presence of integrated professional cultures have a greater sense of efficacy than those who do not?
- Do new teachers who experience formal structures for support in the presence of integrated professional cultures have greater job satisfaction than those who do not?

These findings could advance our conceptualization of professional culture, enhance the understanding of new teachers' school-site experiences, provide a theoretical framework for future studies, and guide practitioners and policy-makers in their support of new teachers.

**APPENDIX A:
FLOWCHART OF MULTI-STAGE SAMPLING PLAN FOR FOUR-STATE STUDY**



APPENDIX B: SUMMARY OF VETERAN-ORIENTED, NOVICE-ORIENTED AND INTEGRATED PROFESSIONAL CULTURES

	VETERAN-ORIENTED	NOVICE-ORIENTED	*INTEGRATED*
SUMMARY	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Concerns and habits of veterans determine professional interactions. Minimal focused or organized support for novices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Novices dominate professional culture. Minimal focused or organized support for novices. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Faculty wide belief—across all experience levels—in the importance of teacher interaction around issues of curriculum and teaching.
INTERACTION AMONG TEACHERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Experienced teachers operate independently with little consequence for each other's or for new teachers' teaching. New teachers are isolated from the predominant professional culture. No special roles or status for novices. Formal structures such as orientations, mentoring, classroom observations, and teacher meetings, are perceived as procedural and administrative. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New teachers work together feverishly or they function alone; their work is not informed by the experience or expertise of veterans. Either experienced professionals do not exist or they work in isolation without links to novice teachers. No special status for novices. Formal structures such as orientations, mentoring, classroom observations, and teacher meetings, are perceived as procedural or meaningless. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Frequent open and reciprocal exchange between novices and veterans. School grants special status and provides appropriate roles for novice teachers. Teachers share collective responsibility for the school and for the education of all students. Formal structures enable new teachers to learn codes and norms of professional behavior; engage in reciprocal exchange about teaching and curriculum with experienced colleagues; influence established practices; and communicate and cooperate in the service of improving instruction and curriculum.
RESULTS FOR NEW TEACHERS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No guarantee that new teachers' responsibilities will be manageable. School not organized to meet novices' learning needs. New teachers get little professional guidance about what or how to teach. New teachers feel left-behind, ignored, unassisted, and forced to figure out much on their own. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No guarantee that new teachers' responsibilities will be manageable. School not organized to meet novices' learning needs. New teachers get little professional guidance about what or how to teach. New teachers feel a sense of community, and enjoy their age alike peers, but they are frenzied and forced to figure out much on their own. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Culture attentive to what novice teachers know and need to know. School organized to enable both novice and veteran teachers to be successful in their work. New teachers feel sustained and supported by experienced colleagues. New teachers experience ongoing exchange across experience levels.

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