

# TEACHER RECRUITMENT AND RETENTION

Prepared for Utah Leading through Effective, Actionable, and Dynamic (ULEAD) Education

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In the following report, Hanover Research and ULEAD provide an overview of different strategies, policies, and incentives that support recruitment and retention of highly-qualified and effective teachers across the PK-12 spectrum and in all subject areas. Findings from this report can assist Utah's districts and schools in examining their own recruitment and retention practices to help ensure that they are maximizing their ability to hire and keep great teachers employed in their classrooms.



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

### INTRODUCTION

Research “consistently demonstrates that nothing within a school has a greater impact on our children’s future than quality teachers,” yet a growing shortage of teachers entering and remaining in the profession has plagued Utah and will remain a challenge for the foreseeable future.<sup>1</sup> State and local leaders recognize the magnitude of this challenge, with individuals such as Governor Herbert urging teachers to persist and former teachers to consider returning to their classrooms.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, the Utah State Board of Education “continue[s] to look at systems for better recruitment and retention of teachers.”<sup>3</sup>

Notably, Utah has experienced shortages in multiple disciplines, shown in Figure A on the next page, over the last decade (i.e., 2009-2010 to 2018-2019). Recurring shortages have been most prominent in mathematics and special education, which have seen shortages in nine of ten school years. Other areas experiencing repeated shortages include foreign language (e.g., Chinese) and science (e.g., chemistry and physics).

In addition to these shortages, **Utah districts and schools encounter other challenging educational and labor force dynamics related to recruiting and retaining effective teachers.** Since the 2013-2014 school year, Utah’s statewide K-12 enrollment has increased by 46,864 students.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, an increasing number of Utah educators are retiring, with about 400 more educators retiring in 2011 versus 2015.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, postsecondary enrollment



#### **TEACHER SUPPLY CONSTRAINTS IN UTAH**

*Nearly four out of every ten beginning teachers exit the profession within five years. The high rate of new teacher attrition combined with an increasing volume of teacher retirements and declining numbers of new teachers entering the profession present significant challenges for districts and schools nationwide and in Utah in staffing effective teachers.*

<sup>1</sup> [1] “The Utah Teacher Initiative.” Envision Utah. <https://www.envisionutah.org/projects/utah-teacher-initiative> [2] Harper, A. “Utah Governor, Other Officials Implore Former Teachers to Return to the Classroom.” Education Dive, September 17, 2018. <https://www.educationdive.com/news/utah-governor-other-officials-implore-former-teachers-to-return-to-the-cla/532461/> [3] Dodson, B. “How High Teacher Turnover Impacts Utah.” Daily Herald, September 2, 2018. [https://www.heraldextra.com/news/local/education/precollegiate/how-high-teacher-turnover-impacts-utah/article\\_493dbee3-1c33-5799-a535-60a69d7d55db.html](https://www.heraldextra.com/news/local/education/precollegiate/how-high-teacher-turnover-impacts-utah/article_493dbee3-1c33-5799-a535-60a69d7d55db.html)

<sup>2</sup> Tanner, C. “‘We Need to Find a Way to Pay Them More’: Utah Governor Pushes for Better Salaries to Retain, Recruit More Teachers During Shortage.” The Salt Lake Tribune, September 12, 2018. <https://www.sltrib.com/news/education/2018/09/12/we-need-find-way-pay-them/>

<sup>3</sup> “Study: More than Half of New Utah Teachers Quit Within Seven Years.” Utah State Board of Education, February 1, 2017. p. 2. <https://www.schools.utah.gov/file/03a66f1d-207a-453d-9b7a-cb335ace71cc>

<sup>4</sup> See “Fall Enrollment by Demographics: October 1, 2018-2019.” “Reports: Enrollment/Membership.” Utah State Board of Education, October 1, 2018. <https://www.schools.utah.gov/data/reports?mid=1424&tid=4>

<sup>5</sup> “At First Glance: Teachers in Utah.” Utah Education Policy Center, University of Utah. p. 3. [https://daqy2hvnfszx3.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/08/24134128/uepc\\_teacher\\_shortages.pdf](https://daqy2hvnfszx3.cloudfront.net/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/2016/08/24134128/uepc_teacher_shortages.pdf)

and labor market projections show that teachers educated in the state of Utah may comprise less than half of the state’s teacher workforce shortly before 2030, a statistic that is especially concerning as enrollments in bachelor’s and master’s degree programs decline nationwide.<sup>6</sup> High teacher attrition in Utah further restricts the teaching labor force, as the percentage of teachers who leave the profession within five years consistently hovers at 40 percent, with Utah’s 2011 to 2008 teaching cohorts having retention rates of between 58 and 61 percent.<sup>7</sup>

**Figure A: Teacher Shortages in Utah, 2009-2010 through 2018-2019**

SUBJECT	2018-2019	2017-2018	2016-2017	2015-2016	2014-2015
Chemistry			✓		✓
Chinese		✓		✓	✓
Foreign Language—Dual Immersion		✓		✓	✓
Mathematics	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Physics			✓	✓	✓
Special Education	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Speech-Language Pathology			✓	✓	

SUBJECT	2013-2014	2012-2013	2011-2012	2010-2011	2009-2010
Chemistry					✓
Chinese	✓	✓	✓		
Foreign Language—Dual Immersion					
Mathematics	✓	✓	✓		✓
Physics					
Special Education	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Speech Language Pathology	✓	✓		✓	✓

Source: U.S. Department of Education<sup>8</sup>

<sup>6</sup> [1] Hale, L. “Most New Teachers in Utah Didn’t Study Teaching in College.” KUER 90.1 | National Public Radio Utah, June 5, 2018. <https://www.kuer.org/post/most-new-teachers-utah-didn-t-study-teaching-college> [2] Will, M. “Enrollment Is Down at Teacher Colleges. So They’re Trying to Change.” Education Week, August 9, 2018. <https://www.edweek.org/ew/articles/2018/08/09/enrollment-is-down-at-teacher-colleges-so.html> [3] “Colleges of Education: A National Portrait, Executive Summary.” American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 2018. pp. 2–3. [https://secure.aacte.org/apps/ri/res\\_get.php?fid=4178&ref=ri](https://secure.aacte.org/apps/ri/res_get.php?fid=4178&ref=ri)

<sup>7</sup> “At First Glance: Teachers in Utah,” Op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>8</sup> Figure adapted from: [1] See “Teacher Shortage Area Report for Utah, 2018-2019.” “Teacher Shortage Areas.” U.S. Department of Education. <https://tsa.ed.gov/#/reports> [2] Cross, F. “Teacher Shortage Areas Nationwide Listing, 1990–1991 Through 2017–2018.” Office of Postsecondary Education, U.S. Department of Education, June 2017. pp. 168–169. <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ope/pol/bteachershortageareasreport201718.pdf>

To support Utah districts and schools in determining which policies, strategies, and incentives are most effective in recruiting and retaining high-quality teachers, Hanover Research (Hanover) and ULEAD (Utah Learning through Effective, Actionable, and Dynamic) Education have developed this report. Specifically, this report provides an overview of effective and innovative strategies that Utah districts and schools can use to recruit and retain the best teachers possible. The report is organized into two sections:

- **Section I: Recruiting High-Quality Teachers** explores how districts can identify and hire high-quality teacher candidates. Hanover and ULEAD encourage Utah's districts and schools to leverage this information to assess their practices in advertising open positions, conducting outreach to potential applicants, and maximizing their ability to compete with other districts for a limited supply of teachers.
- **Section II: Retaining High-Quality Teachers** explores how districts can retain high-quality teachers through incentives, structural changes to the workplace, and new teacher induction. Hanover and ULEAD encourage Utah's districts and schools to consider their incentive structures, professional culture, and supports for new teachers in light of this information.

## RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on our research, Hanover and ULEAD recommend that Utah districts and schools consider:



**Broadening the strategies they use to advertise open positions to potential teacher candidates.** A number of platforms (e.g., social media, job fairs, online job postings) are available to post openings, and districts and schools can use these to market their unique features, professional culture, and local community to potential candidates to drive effective teachers to apply to their organizations.



**Increasing teacher salaries or providing alternative compensation structures to boost applications and decrease teacher attrition.** While financial incentives are not a panacea to a district's or school's recruitment and retention challenges, the ability to provide teachers with additional compensation can incentivize additional applications for open positions and counteract other workplace concerns that current teachers experience.



**Surveying teachers to determine their level of professional satisfaction and to identify concerns with workplace conditions that may prove challenging or frustrating.** By identifying areas of need, districts and schools can plan and implement targeted action steps to improve these aspects of their organization's professional climate and potentially bolster retention rates.

## KEY FINDINGS

-  **Marketing and outreach efforts designed to recruit teachers should advertise “the best true story” about working in a given school or district, as well as the teaching profession at-large.** In other words, they should truthfully describe unique and important aspects of working as a teacher that may be attractive to some applicants. Likewise, districts and schools should create a “pitch” that communicates their professional culture and describes any unique aspects of their organization. This pitch and any associated materials or advertisements should focus on these elements and may also highlight key attractions, recreational activities, or entertainment options available in their local community.
-  **District and school leaders should review existing marketing initiatives to determine the degree to which they align with platform- and audience-specific best practices.** Recruiters have more platforms than ever to market job openings to teacher candidates, although some existing social networking sites remain unused or underused. Nonetheless, districts and schools should strategically leverage all available platforms to create a multi-channel recruitment campaign that increases their visibility to potential candidates, both new teachers and those working in other districts. Importantly, recruitment efforts should focus on high-yield online applicant sources and teacher job fairs.
-  **Grow-your-own programs help alleviate potential issues in the supply of teachers by allowing districts and schools to encourage the development of a candidate pool within their local community that is formed from individuals that already have an investment in the school district.** In grow-your-own programs, districts and schools support current non-teaching employees, current students, and local residents in obtaining or pursuing teaching certifications through various supports such as high school coursework, dual enrollment programs, summer programs, job shadowing opportunities, and access to traditional teacher preparation programs. While grow-your-own programs are still relatively new and research on their impacts is still in the early stages, they can help address teacher shortages more broadly and in specific subject areas.
-  **Financial incentives are common tools for addressing teacher retention and staffing challenges.** The theory behind financial incentives is that additional compensation may offset or alleviate unattractive aspects of a particular teaching assignment. Comparatively, inadequate compensation is seen as a common cause of teacher attrition, and research indicates that increasing salaries or offering bonuses may help combat this issue. The overwhelming message across platforms and perspectives is that teachers are simply not paid enough for the work they do, with teacher pay gaps relative to comparable workers having hit an all-time high as of 2017. As such, districts and schools should benchmark salaries to be competitive with neighboring and peer districts and other professions requiring similar preparation and consider additional compensation structures for teachers.
-  **Improving working conditions and school culture can have a greater effect on teacher retention compared to financial incentives.** Notably, research finds that

non-financial factors such as school leadership, staff collegiality, availability of resources, and professional learning opportunities can be far more powerful determinants of retention than financial incentives. Thus, to bolster retention rates and promote teachers' job satisfaction, districts and schools should enact tangible actions and policies to promote positive work conditions.



**The most common types of new teacher supports—induction and mentoring programs—can successfully reduce new teacher attrition.** In addition to increasing overall retention, mentorship and induction programs increase new teachers' job satisfaction and commitment and improve their abilities in areas such as classroom and behavior management, lesson plan development, and activity adjustment. Notably, mentoring and induction programs tend to be more effective when novice teachers pair with veteran teachers who teach in the same school, grade level, and subject area. Such arrangements position mentors to share directly applicable knowledge with new teachers and help them plan for and reflect on the curriculum and instruction in their assigned role.

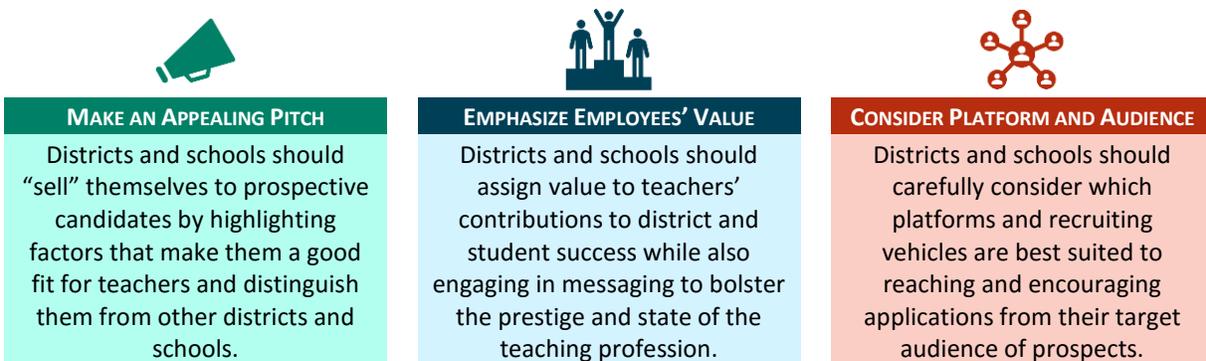
## SECTION I: RECRUITING HIGH-QUALITY TEACHERS

In this section, Hanover and ULEAD explore how districts can identify and hire high-quality teacher candidates.<sup>9</sup>

### MARKETING INITIATIVES

Documents published by school districts indicate that many consider marketing to be an integral part of their hiring strategies. For example, large urban districts such as **New York City Public Schools**, **Denver Public Schools**, **District of Columbia Public Schools**, and the **School District of Philadelphia** host websites dedicated to teacher recruitment.<sup>10</sup> Notably, marketing strategies such as dedicated websites may constitute stand-alone recruiting initiatives or support other recruiting initiatives, such as grow-your-own programs and teacher centers. CalTeach teacher centers in California, for instance, have professional media consultants who direct large media campaigns “to encourage interest in the teaching profession and to better inform individuals about various pathways and requirements to becoming a teacher.”<sup>11</sup> Importantly, three specific best practices for designing and implementing marketing initiatives and recruiting outreach to teacher candidates emerge from available research literature and educational human resources materials, as demonstrated in Figure 1.1 below.

**Figure 1.1: Best Practices in Marketing Initiatives to Boost Recruitment**



Source: Hanover Research

<sup>9</sup> Please note that the literature often views the line between “recruitment” and “retention” efforts as somewhat permeable, in the sense that programs and policies that help *retain* quality teachers can also be marketed to *attract* and *recruit* new teachers to the district. For the purposes of this report, we treat them as separate concepts. Thus, this section on recruitment focuses on marketing initiatives and district and school programs to boost the available supply of teacher candidates.

<sup>10</sup> [1] “Teach NYC.” New York City Public Schools. <http://teachnyc.net/> [2] “Careers.” Denver Public Schools. <https://careers.dpsk12.org/> [3] “Join DC Public Schools.” District of Columbia Public Schools. <http://joindcpublicschools.com/> [4] “Teach | PHL.” School District of Philadelphia. <https://www.teachphl.org/>

<sup>11</sup> Hickey, C., M.V. Sandy, and M. Olebe. “California Center for Teaching Careers (CALTEACH): Program Evaluation.” California Commission on Teacher Credentialing, March 2003. p. 6. <https://www.ctc.ca.gov/docs/default-source/commission/reports/calteach-report-march2003.pdf>



**Marketing and outreach efforts should advertise “the best true story” about working in a given school or district, as well as the teaching profession at-large.**

In other words, they should truthfully describe unique and important aspects of working as a teacher that may be attractive to some applicants. For example, **Davis School District** and **Canyons School District** in Utah both include text-based information and videos marketing positive elements of working in their districts (e.g., teamwork, community support), local entertainment and recreational opportunities, and compensation and incentives.<sup>12</sup>

Similarly, The New Teacher Project writes that districts and schools should create a “pitch” that articulates “what sets a [their organization] apart and what traits [they are] looking for in [their] teachers.”<sup>13</sup> This pitch and any associated materials or media elements should focus on what matters to teachers. AASA, the School Superintendents Association, notes:<sup>14</sup>

“*Sun and fun and bonus pay are low priorities for recruits while a district’s or school’s instructional values and quality professional training rank as the top two factors in candidates’ decisions to take jobs out-of-state. New teachers want to make a difference and view being able to help students succeed as a reason to teach.*”

Research indicates that many hard-to-staff schools do not adequately market the potentially appealing aspects of their culture. For example, a 2012 study examining the websites of geographic shortage districts (GSD) in Arkansas finds that such websites are “woefully inadequate” at addressing both materialistic (e.g., salary, benefits) and non-materialistic incentives (e.g., professional learning, public services, classroom autonomy) in recruiting teachers to their districts. Below, Figure 1.2 displays the percentage of examined websites that displayed information related to the listed materialistic and non-materialistic categories.<sup>15</sup>

**Figure 1.2: Recruitment Incentives Displayed on GSD Websites**

CONTENT AREA	PERCENTAGE OF WEBSITES DISPLAYING INFORMATION
Salary	26%
Benefits	7%
Teamwork	4%
Professional Growth	0%
Public Service	0%
Innovate	0%
Results Driven	0%
Advancement	0%

Source: *Rural Educator*<sup>16</sup>

<sup>12</sup> [1] “Why Davis?” Davis School District. <https://dsdjobs.net/about> [2] “Human Resources.” Canyons School District. <https://www.canyonsdistrict.org/hr>

<sup>13</sup> “Teacher Recruitment Roadmap.” The New Teacher Project, June 2014. p. 1. [ntp.org/assets/tools/Recruitment\\_Roadmap\\_TNTP\\_12JUN2014.docx](http://ntp.org/assets/tools/Recruitment_Roadmap_TNTP_12JUN2014.docx)

<sup>14</sup> Quotation taken verbatim, with minor adaptations, from: Polzin, J.R. “Recruiting Out-of-State Teachers.” AASA | American Association of School Administrators. <http://www.aasa.org/SchoolAdministratorArticle.aspx?id=6712>

<sup>15</sup> Maranto, R. and J.V. Shuls. “How Do We Get Them on the Farm? Efforts to Improve Rural Teacher Recruitment and Retention in Arkansas.” *Rural Educator*, 34:1, 2012. pp. 1, 6–8. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ1000101.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> Data taken directly from: *Ibid.*, p. 6.

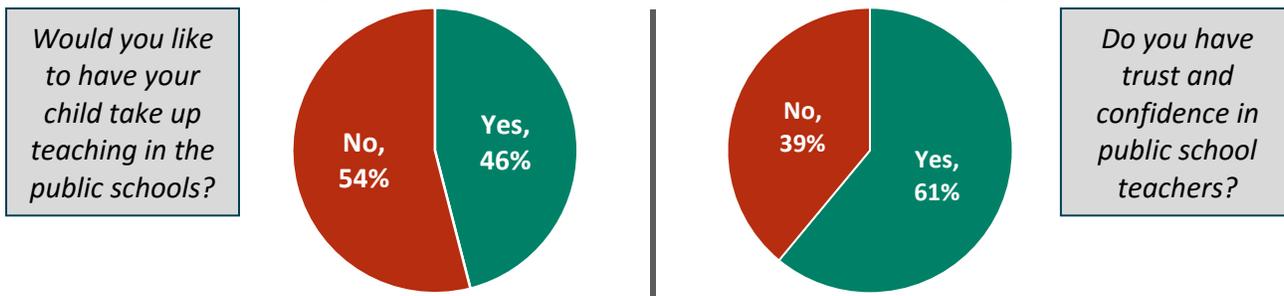
**Districts and schools should also emphasize the value prospective employees have for students and the overall effectiveness of organizational operations.**

Districts and schools can demonstrate teachers’ value through active—rather than passive—recruitment. That means conducting targeted outreach to individuals within the desired talent pool via mechanisms such as internships, career fairs, job boards, and digital campaigns.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, districts and schools should ease barriers to potential hires from different backgrounds and specialties in finding openings with their district by intentionally recruiting in areas of need, prioritizing diversity, and automating and streamlining the application process.<sup>18</sup>



However, districts and schools must also consider the role of outside entities and individuals in determining the perceived value of teachers at the local, state, and national levels. A 2008 *American Journal of Education* article highlights this challenge by explaining, “external agents or institutions are seen as the key influences on the professional status of teaching, with schools, teachers, and students seen as the target of outside influences.”<sup>19</sup> While a majority of Americans express trust and confidence in teachers, more than half of U.S. parents prefer that their child does not enter the teaching profession, as shown in Figure 1.3. This finding is, in part, a result of teachers being viewed as “scapegoats” for the problems with education.<sup>20</sup>

**Figure 1.3: Views of Public School Teachers and Teaching**



Source: *Phi Delta Kappan*, PDK Poll, and Langer Research Associates<sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup> [1] Vidyarthi, L. “A New Recipe for Teacher Recruitment.” The New Teacher Project, January 16, 2014. <https://tntp.org/blog/post/a-new-recipe-for-teacher-recruitment> [2] Herrmann, Z. “Rethinking Teacher Recruitment.” *Educational Leadership*, 75:8, May 2018. <http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational-leadership/may18/vol75/num08/Rethinking-Teacher-Recruitment.aspx>

<sup>18</sup> [1] “Recruiting Strategies to Overcome the Teacher Shortage.” TalentEd, October 5, 2017. <https://www.talentedk12.com/recruiting-strategies-to-overcome-the-teacher-shortage/> [2] Konoske-Graf, A., L. Partelow, and M. Benner. “To Attract Great Teachers, School Districts Must Improve Their Human Capital Systems.” Center for American Progress, December 22, 2016. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/education-k-12/reports/2016/12/22/295574/to-attract-great-teachers-school-districts-must-improve-their-human-capital-systems/> [3] “Recruitment Strategies.” National Coalition on Personnel Shortages in Special Education and Related Services, February 27, 2014. <https://specialedshortages.org/take-action/recruitment-strategies/>

<sup>19</sup> Glazer, J.L. “Educational Professionalism: An Inside-Out View.” *American Journal of Education*, 114:2, February 2008. p. 170. Accessed via EBSCOhost.

<sup>20</sup> Westervelt, E. “Where Have All The Teachers Gone?” National Public Radio, March 3, 2015. <https://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2015/03/03/389282733/where-have-all-the-teachers-gone>

<sup>21</sup> Figure data taken directly from: Heller, R. et al. “Teaching: Respect but Dwindling Appeal - The 50th Annual PDK Poll of the Public’s Attitudes Toward the Public Schools.” *Phi Delta Kappan*, PDK Poll, and Langer Research Associates, September 2018. p. K7. [http://pdkpoll.org/assets/downloads/pdkpoll50\\_2018.pdf](http://pdkpoll.org/assets/downloads/pdkpoll50_2018.pdf)

Therefore, districts’ marketing efforts should focus on communicating respect to individuals they want to hire and finding ways to increase the prestige of teachers within their local community.<sup>22</sup> To accomplish this, district and schools can openly communicate the esteem and status they assign to teachers to attract potential hires.<sup>23</sup> They should also demonstrate by words and actions that they value teachers’ success and students’ education.<sup>24</sup>



Moreover, **district and school leaders should review existing marketing initiatives to determine the degree to which they align with platform- and audience-specific best practices.** Recruiters have more platforms than ever to market job openings to teacher candidates (e.g., job sites), although some existing social networking sites remain unused or underused.<sup>25</sup> Nonetheless, districts and schools should strategically leverage all available platforms to create a multi-channel recruitment campaign that increases their visibility to potential candidates, both new teachers and those working in other districts, and “cast[s] a wide net when fishing for new talent.”<sup>26</sup> For example, a recruitment roadmap published by the New Teacher Project encourages districts to focus their recruiting efforts and resources (e.g., funds, personnel) on high-yield online applicant sources and teacher job fairs (see Figure 1.4).

**Figure 1.4: Choosing Mechanisms for Teacher Recruitment**

STRATEGY	CONSIDERATIONS
 <p><b>Target Online Recruitment Sources</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Online recruitment can yield a high return on investment.</li> <li>Online sources typically reach a larger audience than print sources.</li> <li>Online teacher-specific job sites—such as <b>SchoolSpring</b> and <b>K12JobSpot</b>—typically yield better results than general job sites like <b>Indeed</b> or <b>Monster</b>.</li> </ul>
 <p><b>Attend Regional, Education-Specific Job Fairs</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Regional university education job fairs are worthwhile to attend because they typically yield a target audience interested in teaching in your area.</li> <li>The farther away a job fair is from your district, the less useful it becomes.</li> <li>Unless you have a large budget, do not attend non-education recruitment fairs as candidates at these events are not typically interested in teaching.</li> </ul>

Source: The New Teacher Project<sup>27</sup>

<sup>22</sup> Downey, M. “Keys to Enhancing Teaching Profession: Power, Prestige, and Pay.” 1/18/19. The Atlanta Journal-Constitution. <https://www.ajc.com/blog/get-schooled/keys-enhancing-teaching-profession-power-prestige-and-pay/jJ8Ocb0WGplRq0Yz5BeT3M/>

<sup>23</sup> Hoyle, E. “Teaching: Prestige, Status, and Esteem.” *Educational Management and Administration*, 29:2, April 2001. <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=EJ629333>

<sup>24</sup> Lynch, M. “Respect for Teaching: Why Is Education So Low on the Priority List?” The Edvocate, April 27, 2016. <https://www.theedadvocate.org/respect-for-teaching-why-is-education-so-low-on-the-priority-list/>

<sup>25</sup> Sluder, J.B. and A.K. Andrews. “The Effect of Facebook on Hiring Teachers.” *Journal of Technology Integration in the Classroom*, 2:1, Spring 2010. pp. 75, 80. Accessed via EBSCOhost.

<sup>26</sup> [1] “Support for Teacher Recruitment and Retention.” Insight Education Group. <https://www.insighteducationgroup.com/teacher-recruitment-retention-supports> [2] Daniel, C. “8 Effective Strategies to Recruit Teachers This Spring (And Is Strategy #5 an Acceptable Strategy)?” K12 HR Solutions, February 25, 2014. <http://www.k12hrsolutions.com/2014/02/25/8-effective-strategies-to-recruit-teachers-this-spring/>

<sup>27</sup> Figure text quoted verbatim, with minor adaptations, from: “Teacher Recruitment Roadmap,” Op. cit., p. 1.



### SPOTLIGHT: GRANITE SCHOOL DISTRICT (UTAH)

Granite School District—which serves over 67,000 students across 63 elementary schools, 15 junior high schools, and nine high schools, in addition to other specialized programs and campuses—engages in a comprehensive approach to teacher recruitment and retention. Specifically, the district conducts on-campus interviews at several postsecondary institutions and attends job fairs across Utah to conduct outreach and screening interviews. The district also commits to treating its recruits and employees with “equality and dignity.”<sup>28</sup>

Notably, the district publishes an annual recruiting magazine to present potential teacher candidates with information about the district (see the 2019-2020 HR Recruiting Magazine [here](#)). The magazine presents key facts and figures for Granite School District (e.g., enrollment, Title I school designations, salary information), and describes available recreation and entertainment options in the surrounding area (i.e., the Salt Lake Valley). Furthermore, the magazine outlines the application and hiring process and reviews the district’s Great Beginnings Program for new teachers.<sup>29</sup>

## GROW-YOUR-OWN PROGRAMS

**Grow-your-own programs help alleviate potential issues in the supply of teachers by allowing districts and schools to encourage the development of a candidate pool within their local community.**<sup>30</sup> In grow-your-own programs, districts and schools support current non-teaching employees, current students, and local residents in obtaining or pursuing teaching certifications through various supports (e.g., dual enrollment programs, summer programs, job shadowing opportunities, access to traditional teacher preparation programs).<sup>31</sup> For example, under pressure to fill teacher positions, Asheville City Schools in North Carolina looked to its teacher assistants for potential candidates to be developed and promoted to full teachers and awarded scholarships for teacher preparation programs.<sup>32</sup>

While grow-your-own programs are still relatively new and research on their impacts is still in the early stages, they can help address teacher shortages broadly and in specific subject areas.<sup>33</sup> As such, districts and schools can develop programs for a variety of populations to

<sup>28</sup> “Human Resources.” Granite School District. <https://www.graniteschools.org/hr/>

<sup>29</sup> “2019-2020 HR Recruiting Magazine.” Granite School District. pp. 1–4, 9–14. <https://cdn-59bd6cf5f911c923e82ee0ee.closte.com/wp-content/uploads/sites/19/2019/02/GSD-Teacher-Recruiting-Magazine-for-2019-2020.pdf>

<sup>30</sup> Zuber, T. and A. Berg-Jacobson. “Diversifying the Teacher Workforce through Grow Your Own: A Snapshot of Three Programs.” Center on Great Teachers and Leaders, American Institutes for Research, March 14, 2017.

<https://gtlcenter.org/blog/diversifying-teacher-workforce-through-grow-your-own-snapshot-three-programs>

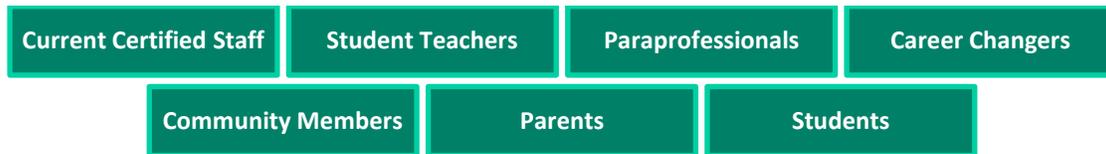
<sup>31</sup> Muniz, J. “Diversifying the Teacher Workforce with ‘Grow Your Own’ Programs.” *New America*, February 28, 2018. <https://www.newamerica.org/education-policy/edcentral/diversifying-teacher-workforce-grow-your-own-pathways/>

<sup>32</sup> Ball, J. “Districts Step Up Efforts to Recruit New Teachers.” *Citizen Times*, March 7, 2016. <https://www.citizen-times.com/story/news/local/2016/03/07/districts-step-up-efforts-recruit-new-teachers/81276388/>

<sup>33</sup> Valenzuela, A. “Grow Your Own Educator Programs: A Review of the Literature with an Emphasis on Equity-Based Approaches.” Intercultural Development Research Association, November 2017. p. 11. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED582731.pdf>

put them on the pathway to the teaching profession (see Figure 1.5). For example, they may provide financial support for postsecondary education to help paraprofessionals earn teaching degrees or encourage current teachers to acquire a supplemental credential.

**Figure 1.5: Candidates for Grow-Your-Own Programs**



Source: Michigan Department of Education and *Educational Leadership*<sup>34</sup>

## GENERAL BEST PRACTICES

Notably, the New Teacher Project provides a cache of resources (available [here](#)) to support districts’ and schools’ recruitment and hiring practices. Specifically, hiring resources model a four-step process that emphasizes the importance of clarifying expectations and needs and tailoring the hiring process to focus on those aspects, as demonstrated in Figure 1.6 below.

**Figure 1.6: Hiring Process in K12 Teaching**

STEP	COMPONENTS
<b>Match School Needs</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Develop a selection model based on the organization’s definition of effective teaching</li> <li>Craft a rigorous hiring process that incorporates 2-3 high-value selection activities</li> <li>Use interview questions which assess candidates’ strengths relative to hiring criteria</li> <li>Use a sample lesson evaluation rubric aligned to your desired hiring criteria</li> </ul>
<b>Hire Early</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Identify potential vacancies early and start recruiting by March 1</li> <li>Set hiring goals and measure progress toward goals</li> <li>Screen for the specific skills required for each position</li> <li>Prepare marketing message to describe why the district or school is unique</li> <li>Recruit teachers by maintaining positive, consistent contact with strong candidates</li> </ul>
<b>Orient and Onboard</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Take ownership of the hiring process</li> <li>Begin onboarding new teachers from the offer letter through the first day of school</li> </ul>
<b>Revise the Process</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Track hiring data, including new hire performance, and use it to improve hiring practices</li> </ul>

Source: The New Teacher Project<sup>35</sup>

<sup>34</sup> Figure adapted from: [1] “Grow-Your-Own: Addressing Vacancies and Shortages.” Michigan Department of Education. pp. 1–3. [https://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/Grow\\_Your\\_Own\\_Addressing\\_Vacancies\\_and\\_Shortages\\_620643\\_7.PDF](https://www.michigan.gov/documents/mde/Grow_Your_Own_Addressing_Vacancies_and_Shortages_620643_7.PDF) [2] Brown, D. “The Grow-Your-Own Game Plan.” *Educational Leadership*, 75:8, May 2018. [http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational\\_leadership/may18/vol75/num08/The\\_Grow-Your-Own\\_Game\\_Plan.aspx](http://www.ascd.org/publications/educational_leadership/may18/vol75/num08/The_Grow-Your-Own_Game_Plan.aspx)

<sup>35</sup> Figure text quoted verbatim, with minor adaptations, from: “Resources.” The New Teacher Project. <https://tntp.org/teacher-talent-toolbox/explore/hiring>

These recommendations generally reflect those in other sources. For example, the Georgia Association of Educational Leaders emphasizes recruiting and hiring teachers early to maximize the available pool of candidates.<sup>36</sup> Likewise, a Harvard University Education Policy Group puts forth four basic recommendations toward improved teacher recruitment:<sup>37</sup>

- Communicate accurate information about teacher salaries;
- Address concerns about classroom management;
- Sell potential teachers on student impact; and
- Begin recruitment early.



### SPOTLIGHT: FRANKLIN CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS (VIRGINIA)

Franklin City Public Schools is a small school district in Virginia located near the North Carolina border. The district educates approximately 1,100 students across one elementary school, one middle school, and one high school.<sup>38</sup> Notably, the district publishes a Recruitment and Retention Plan (available [here](#)) that helps it “to not only hire highly qualified staff who are an excellent match for the school division, but to also develop staff in an effort to promote employee retention.”<sup>39</sup>

This plan emphasizes several core facets to Franklin City Public Schools’ recruiting and hiring practices. For example, the plan highlights a commitment to equity in identifying teacher candidates, as the district possesses a majority-minority student population. Likewise, the Recruitment and Retention Plan describes how positions are advertised by the district (e.g., district website, online job boards, newspapers) and outlines procedures for attending job fairs and conducting recruitment trips.<sup>40</sup>

The Recruitment and Retention Plan also lists a number of targeted retention strategies that Franklin City Public Schools deploys to reduce turnover and attrition. These include recognizing teachers’ contributions and accomplishments, maintaining a safe and supportive work environment, and providing relevant professional development opportunities. Importantly, the district also collects data from exiting teachers to determine the reasons that caused their departure in order to inform future district practices and improve the quality of their professional culture.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>36</sup> “Best Hiring Practices.” Georgia Association of Educational Leaders. p. 1.

<http://www.gael.org/pdfs/AP%20Program/Best%20Hiring%20Practices%20Overview%20Final.pdf>

<sup>37</sup> Bulleted text quoted verbatim, with minor adaptations, from: Curtin, Jr., J. et al. “Rethinking Teacher Recruitment at Harvard.” Education Policy Group, Harvard University, 2013. p. 1.

<sup>38</sup> “About Us.” Franklin City Public Schools. [https://www.fcpsva.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC\\_ID=274865&type=d](https://www.fcpsva.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=274865&type=d)

<sup>39</sup> “Recruitment and Retention Plan, 2015-2016.” Franklin City Public Schools, March 1, 2016. p. 1.

[http://www.fcpsva.org/pdf/FCPS\\_Recruitment\\_Retention\\_Plan\\_15-16.pdf](http://www.fcpsva.org/pdf/FCPS_Recruitment_Retention_Plan_15-16.pdf)

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., pp. 1–3, 16.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., pp. 4–5, 18–19.

## SECTION II: RETAINING HIGH-QUALITY TEACHERS

In this section, Hanover and ULEAD discuss how districts and schools can retain high-quality teachers through incentives, structural changes to the workplace, and new teacher induction.

### FINANCIAL INCENTIVES

**Financial incentives are common tools for addressing teacher retention and staffing challenges.** According to an *Educational Administration Quarterly* article, financial incentives are defined as “differentiate[d] teacher compensation in an effort to attract qualified individuals to the teaching profession, recruit and retain teachers, and strategically allocate teachers to classrooms where they are most needed.”<sup>42</sup> The theory behind financial incentives is that additional compensation may offset or alleviate unattractive aspects of a particular teaching assignment.<sup>43</sup>

**Conversely, inadequate compensation is seen as a common cause of teacher attrition, and research indicates that increasing salaries or offering bonuses may help combat this issue.** The overwhelming message across platforms and perspectives is that teachers are simply not paid enough for the work they do, with teacher pay gaps relative to comparable workers having hit an all-time high as of 2017.<sup>44</sup> Notably, the New Teacher Project considers making early-career salaries more competitive with other professions and increasing salaries for effective teachers as highly important in recruiting and retaining high-quality educators. In particular, districts and schools should complete the following actions to ensure their salaries remain attractive to teachers:<sup>45</sup>

- Benchmark salaries to be competitive with neighboring and peer districts and other professions requiring similar preparation;
- Increase teachers’ salaries quickly during the first five years as long as they meet or exceed performance expectations; and
- Vest recruitment bonuses for new teachers over five years.

Figure 2.1, on the following page, highlights the different types of financial incentive policies that districts and schools can employ to increase teacher retention. These incentive categories include salary schedule modifications, signing bonuses, and loan forgiveness.

<sup>42</sup> Kolbe, T. and K.O. Strunk. “Economic Incentives as a Strategy for Responding to Teacher Staffing Problems: A Typology of Policies and Practices.” *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 20:10, 2012. p. 2. [http://www.uscrossier.org/ceg/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/Kolbe\\_Strunk\\_Economic-Incentives\\_EAQ\\_2012.pdf](http://www.uscrossier.org/ceg/wp-content/uploads/2011/08/Kolbe_Strunk_Economic-Incentives_EAQ_2012.pdf)

<sup>43</sup> Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>44</sup> [1] Allegretto, S. and L. Mishel. “The Teacher Pay Penalty Has Hit a New High: Trends in the Teacher Wage and Compensation Gaps Through 2017.” Economic Policy Institute, September 5, 2018. <https://www.epi.org/publication/teacher-pay-gap-2018/> [2] Walker, T. “Teacher Pay Gap Reaches a Record High.” National Education Association, September 6, 2018. <http://neatoday.org/2018/09/06/teacher-pay-gap-reaches-record-high/>

<sup>45</sup> Preceding and bulleted text adapted from: “Shortchanged: The Hidden Costs of Lockstep Teacher Pay.” The New Teacher Project, 2014. p. 11. [https://tntp.org/assets/documents/TNTP\\_Shortchanged\\_2014.pdf](https://tntp.org/assets/documents/TNTP_Shortchanged_2014.pdf)

**Figure 2.1: Types of Economic Incentive Policies for Teachers**

INCENTIVE CATEGORY	EXAMPLE POLICY TYPES	
 <b>Salary Schedule</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Minimum salary levels</li> <li>▪ Across-the-board salary increases</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Alternative salary schedules</li> <li>▪ “Frontloading” or “backloading”</li> </ul>
 <b>Salary Enhancements</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Salary credits</li> <li>▪ Shortage area bonuses</li> <li>▪ Additional pay for credentials</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Additional pay for responsibilities</li> <li>▪ Tax waivers and credits</li> <li>▪ Transportation subsidies</li> </ul>
 <b>Limited Duration Incentives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Signing bonuses</li> <li>▪ Relocation incentives</li> <li>▪ Credential bonuses</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Performance-based rewards</li> <li>▪ Loan forgiveness</li> <li>▪ Homeownership assistance</li> </ul>
 <b>Education Incentives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Tuition subsidies and remission</li> <li>▪ Scholarships and stipends</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Alternative routes to certification</li> <li>▪ Tuition tax credits</li> </ul>
 <b>In-Kind Incentives</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Housing assistance</li> <li>▪ Subsidized meals</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Access to local amenities</li> </ul>
 <b>Retirement Waivers</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Return-to-work policies</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Deferred retirement</li> </ul>

Source: *Educational Administration Quarterly*<sup>46</sup>



**SPOTLIGHT: DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS (COLORADO)**

Denver Public School operates over 200 schools and serves over 90,000 students.<sup>47</sup> Notably, the district has crafted a unique teacher compensation structure (i.e., ProComp) that incentivizes various aspects of teacher performance and provides additional income to teachers who fill hard-to-staff roles.<sup>48</sup>

Denver Public Schools touts higher starting teacher salaries than neighboring districts and provides numerous incentive pay categories. For example, teachers earn additional pay for working in Title I schools or teaching in hard-to-staff subjects such as secondary mathematics or foreign language. In addition, teachers can earn base salary increases by acquiring additional or advanced teaching licenses and certifications. Student loan reimbursement is also available to Denver Public Schools teachers. Specific details and policies governing ProComp are available [here](https://careers.dpsk12.org/teach/teachercomp/procomp-policy-and-management/).<sup>49</sup>

<sup>46</sup> Figure text quoted verbatim, with minor adaptations, from: Kolbe and Strunk, Op. cit., p. 9.

<sup>47</sup> “Facts and Figures.” Denver Public Schools. <https://www.dpsk12.org/about-dps/facts-figures/>

<sup>48</sup> “ProComp: Policy and Management.” Denver Public Schools. <https://careers.dpsk12.org/teach/teachercomp/procomp-policy-and-management/>

<sup>49</sup> “Teach – Compensation and Benefits.” Denver Public Schools. <https://careers.dpsk12.org/teach/teachercomp/>

## IMPROVING WORKPLACE CONDITIONS

Financial strategies alone may not be enough to improve teacher retention. Many teachers leave the profession because of school conditions affecting autonomy, accountability, and support.<sup>50</sup> Below, Figure 2.2 describes the elements that contribute to school working conditions—including physical features, organizational structures, and a variety of social-emotional and cultural features—and influence teacher retention rates.

**Figure 2.2: Elements of School Working Conditions for Teachers**

- **Physical features** of buildings, equipment, and resources, which act as a platform for teachers' work
- **Organizational structures** that define teachers' formal positions and relationships with others in the school, such as lines of authority, workload, autonomy, and supervisory arrangements
- **Sociological features** that shape how teachers experience their work, including their roles, status, and the characteristics of their students and peers
- **Political features** of their organization, such as whether teachers have opportunities to participate in important decisions
- **Cultural features** of the school as a workplace that influence teachers' interpretation of what they do and their commitment, such as values, traditions, and norms
- **Psychological features** of the environment that may sustain or deplete them personally, such as the meaningfulness of what they do or the opportunities they find for learning and growth
- **Educational features**, such as curriculum and testing policies, that may enhance or constrain what teachers can teach

Source: National Education Association<sup>51</sup>

**Improving working conditions and school culture can have a greater effect on teacher retention compared to financial incentives.** One survey of National Board-certified teachers found that “factors such as strong principal leadership, a collegial staff with a shared teaching philosophy, adequate resources necessary to teach, and a supportive and active parent community were far more powerful determinants” of retention than financial incentives.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, a 2010 McKinsey survey of teachers who graduated in the top third of their class found that an improved working environment was more important for attracting teachers to high-needs schools than a salary increase. Responding teachers “valued excellent school leadership slightly” more than doubling their maximum salary from \$70,000 to \$150,000, and more than double the number of teachers “would teach in a high-needs school with a good working environment than would do so for double the salary.”<sup>53</sup>

<sup>50</sup> [1] “Why Do Teachers Leave?” Learning Policy Institute, 2016. p. 1.

[https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/sites/default/files/Teacher\\_Exodus\\_Infographic.pdf](https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/sites/default/files/Teacher_Exodus_Infographic.pdf) [2] Guarino, C.M., L. Santibañez, and G.A. Daley. “Teacher Recruitment and Retention: A Review of the Recent Empirical Literature.” *Review of Educational Research*, 76:2, Summer 2006. p. 197. Accessed via ProQuest.

<sup>51</sup> Figure text quoted verbatim, with minor adaptations, from: Johnson, S.M. “The Workplace Matters Teacher Quality, Retention, and Effectiveness.” National Education Association, July 2006. p. 2. <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED495822.pdf>

<sup>52</sup> Berry, B., M. Rasberry, and A. Williams. “Recruiting and Retaining Quality Teachers for High-Needs Schools: Insights from NBCT Summits and Other Policy Initiatives.” Center for Teaching Quality and National Education Association, [http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/HE/mf\\_nationalstrategyforumreport.pdf](http://www.nea.org/assets/docs/HE/mf_nationalstrategyforumreport.pdf). p. 55.

<sup>53</sup> Auguste, B., P. Kihn, and Miller Matt. “Closing the Teaching Talent Gap.” McKinsey and Company, September 2010. p. 33.

Workplace conditions that impact teacher retention include the school’s culture, physical resources, and leadership. To bolster retention and promote teacher job satisfaction, districts and schools should enact best practices to promote a positive workplace (see Figure 2.3).

**Figure 2.3: Working Conditions to Support Teacher Retention**

WORKING CONDITION	CAUSE FOR ATTRITION	BEST PRACTICES
Teaching Assignments	Out-of-field or split assignments; excessive teaching loads or class sizes	Appropriate teaching assignments; fair and manageable teaching loads and class sizes
Teacher Collaboration	Working in isolation from colleagues	Working collaboratively with colleagues
New Teacher Support	Sink-or-swim induction	Mentoring and coaching
Support for Students	Little assistance for students or teachers; inadequate family and community support	Comprehensive student support services; school-family-community partnerships
Curricular Support	Under- or over-prescribed curricula often not aligned with standards	Complete, aligned curricula that can be used flexibly
Resources and Materials	Routine shortages of supplies; teachers spend their own money for essentials	Sufficient resources and materials; teacher stipends for extras
Assessment	Excessive focus on standardized testing	Comprehensive assessment strategies
Professional Development	A miscellaneous selection of one-shot workshops	Coherent, job-embedded professional learning programs
Professional Influence and Career Growth	Static influence and opportunities throughout one’s career	Progressively expanding influence and increasing opportunities for career growth
Facilities	Inadequate, unsafe, decrepit buildings	Safe, maintained, well-equipped buildings
Principal’s Leadership	Insufficient attention to workplace conditions and teachers’ work	Active brokering of workplace conditions; encouraging teacher practice

Source: National Education Association<sup>54</sup>

## NEW TEACHER INDUCTION AND MENTORING

**The most common types of new teacher supports—induction and mentoring programs—can successfully reduce new teacher attrition.**<sup>55</sup> For example, a U.S. Department of Education study on teacher attrition in the first five years finds that “[i]n each follow-up year, the percentage of beginning teachers who were currently teaching was larger among those who were assigned a first-year mentor than among those not assigned a first-year mentor.”<sup>56</sup> In addition to increasing overall retention, mentorship and induction programs increase new teachers’ job satisfaction and commitment. They also improve teachers’ abilities in areas such as classroom and behavior management, lesson plan development, and activity adjustment.<sup>57</sup>

<https://www.mckinsey.com/~media/mckinsey/industries/social%20sector/our%20insights/closing%20the%20teaching%20talent%20gap/closing-the-teaching-talent-gap.ashx>

<sup>54</sup> Figure text quoted verbatim, with minor adaptations, from: Johnson, Op. cit., p. 4.

<sup>55</sup> Guarino, Santibañez, and Daley, Op. cit., p. 201.

<sup>56</sup> Gray, L., S. Taie, and I. O’Rear. “Public School Teacher Attrition and Mobility in the First Five Years: Results from the First Through Fifth Waves of the 2007–08 Beginning Teacher Longitudinal Study.” National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, April 2015. p. 3. <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2015/2015337.pdf>

<sup>57</sup> [1] Callahan, J. “Encouraging Retention of New Teachers Through Mentoring Strategies.” *Delta Kappa Gamma Bulletin*, 83:1, 2016. p. 9. Accessed via EBSCOhost. [2] Ingersoll, R.M. and M. Strong. “The Impact of Induction and Mentoring Programs for Beginning Teachers: A Critical Review of the Research.” *Review of Education Research*, 81:2, 2011. p. 38. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.3102/0034654311403323>

Notably, mentoring and induction programs tend to be more effective when novice teachers pair with veteran teachers who teach in the same school, grade level, and subject area. Such arrangements position mentors to share directly applicable knowledge with new teachers and help new them plan and reflect on the particularities of curriculum and instruction in their assigned role.<sup>58</sup> Other characteristics of effective mentoring programs include:<sup>59</sup>

- Mentor teachers who are highly qualified and effective leaders and advocates;
- Clear goals for what information mentors should share with new teachers;
- Professional development for mentors in the field of educational leadership; and
- Mentors helping new teachers develop long-term professional goals.

### SPOTLIGHT: CANYONS SCHOOL DISTRICT (UTAH)



Canyons School District educates approximately 35,000 students across 50 schools.<sup>60</sup> To support new teachers, the district operates a dedicated new teacher induction program called PEAKS (i.e., Providing Educators Access to Knowledge and Support), as presented [here](#). Notably, in describing the impetus for PEAKS, Canyons School District emphasizes that “a quality mentoring experience has been shown to increase retention rates and teacher skills.”<sup>61</sup>

During the program, new teachers receive coaching from mentor teachers for three years. The mentor teachers must meet several criteria to act as coaches, including:<sup>62</sup>

- Holding a current professional license, level two or higher;
- Having the recommendation of their principal;
- Showing evidence of continuous personal and professional development;
- Demonstrating that they work collaboratively with their colleagues; and
- Having expertise in evidence-based practices, as demonstrated in meeting and/or exceeding state performance-based standards.

At the end of the PEAKS program, new teachers will be equipped to implement Canyons School District’s RtI Framework and use best instructional practices in their daily work with students (e.g., evidence-based instruction, formative and summative assessment).<sup>63</sup>

<sup>58</sup> “Keeping Quality Teachers: The Art of Retaining General and Special Education Teachers.” *University of the State of New York*, November 2004. pp. 4.8-4.9. [http://www.crossref.org/deleted\\_DOI.html](http://www.crossref.org/deleted_DOI.html)

<sup>59</sup> Bulleted text adapted from: Callahan, Op. cit., pp. 7–8.

<sup>60</sup> “ELSI - Elementary and Secondary Information System.” National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education. <https://nces.ed.gov/ccd/elsi/>

<sup>61</sup> “PEAKS - New Teacher Induction.” Canyons School District. <https://isd.canyonsdistrict.org/index.php/component/content/article/56-peaks-list/359-peaks?showall=1&limitstart=>

<sup>62</sup> Preceding text adapted and bulleted text quoted verbatim, with minor adaptations, from: Ibid.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid.