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The Segregation of American Teachers

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Foreword by Gary Orfield

December 2006

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The Segregation of American Teachers

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Our teacher survey project was developed in collaboration with the Southern Poverty Law Center. SPLC previously funded the Harvard conference on ways to improve race relations and achievement in America's multiracial schools, leading to the forthcoming book from the University of Virginia Press, *Lessons in Integration: Realizing the Promise of Racial Diversity in American Schools*. These studies showed the great importance of teachers and the limited efforts to prepare teachers for teaching in multiracial schools, and led to conversations between our organizations about the need for a major national survey of teacher's concerning their racial experiences, training and attitudes. This report is the first of four major reports from the Civil Rights Project analyzing the teacher survey data.

We are grateful to the National Educational Association for providing a list of members for us to draw our sample of teachers that we surveyed. Most of all, we would like to recognize the time and insight that each of the teachers contacted for this survey gave to answer our questions. Teachers are already asked to do a great deal and we are appreciative of the answers they gave, which will help us understand more about the promise and challenges of teaching in a multiracial society.

We would like to acknowledge the contributions of Susan Moore Johnson, Christine Sleeter, and Gail Sunderman, who reviewed the report and offered very useful suggestions. Jake Jacobson of Greenwald & Associates managed the development of the survey, collection of the data, and preparation of the dataset. Additionally, we appreciate the work of research assistant Anna Rosefsky, who helped to prepare the data for our analysis. Finally, we would like to thank Jennifer Blatz, Lori Kelley, and Ty Sassaman for assistance with the production of this report.

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Data from a unique new survey of over 1,000 teachers in K-12 public schools across the country show that our teaching force is largely segregated. This is the first report in a series analyzing this new dataset finds that teachers of different races are teaching students of very different racial composition, adding an extra dimension to growing student racial segregation. Future CRP reports analyzing this dataset will examine working conditions, teachers' attitudes and relationships, and training for diverse schools that may well influence their decisions about where to teach and whether they believe they will remain at their schools.

White teachers comprise an overwhelming majority of the nation's teachers. Yet, our data indicate that white teachers were the least likely to have had much experience with racial diversity and remain remarkably isolated. Not only did white teachers, on average, attend schools when they were elementary school students that were over 90% white, they are currently teaching in schools where almost 90% of their faculty colleagues are white and over 70% of students are white.

Additional findings include:

- White teachers teach in schools with fewer poor and English Language Learner students. The typical black teacher teaches in a school where nearly three-fifths of students are from low-income families while the average white teacher has only 35% of low-income students.
- Latino and Asian teachers are in schools that educate more than twice the share of English Language Learners than white teachers.
- The South has the most diverse teaching force of any region in the country, along with the most integrated students. One-quarter of southern teachers are nonwhite, and 19% of southern teachers are African-American. Early concerns about the loss of African American teachers at the beginning of desegregation in the South no longer holds.
- The West is the only region of the country with a sizeable percentage (11%) of Latino teachers. The majority of students in the West are nonwhite, with a large share of Latino students.
- Nonwhite teachers and teachers that teach in schools with high percentages of minority and/or poor students are more likely to report that they are contemplating switching schools or careers.
- The percentage of white teachers and students is lower in schools that did not make AYP, while the percentage of poor students is higher.
- Schools with high concentrations of nonwhite and poor students tend to have less experience and qualified teachers despite NCLB's emphasis that qualified teachers be equally distributed. In other words, nonwhite teachers are often teaching in schools that may be more difficult to teach in.

The report concludes with recommendations for diversifying the teaching force and ensuring that schools serving students of all backgrounds have a racially integrated, highly qualified faculty. Creating schools with integrated faculties will help prepare students for living and working in our racially diverse society, including giving our nation's future teachers early, important experiences with diversity.

FOREWORD

What would white or Asian parents think if almost all of the teachers in their child's school were black or Latino? What would they think if their child attended a school where no one spoke the parents' language or understood the culture and values of their families? What would they think if the teachers in their children's schools were obviously less qualified than teachers in schools with children of another racial group? How would they feel if the teachers assigned to their schools were the youngest and least experienced, some of them without even the credentials required to be in a classroom, and that these teachers were likely to leave these schools as soon as they could? These issues would obviously cause intense concern. This is, of course, the situation too many black and Latino families face.

If we are to understand and resolve the problems and fears and perceptions that arise from issues of segregation and inequality, we have to first understand who the teachers are, whether they are products of segregated schools, what kind of schools they work in, how committed they are to their schools, and how these issues are related both to the race of the school's students and the race of the teacher. There is a great deal of discussion but little systematic national evidence on the racial experiences and attitudes of teachers. This unique national survey offers us a chance to explore many central dimensions of those issues on this and several reports to come. This report is the first of four reports, and examines the context of where teachers are teaching and whether teachers plan to stay in their schools and teaching. Subsequent reports will examine teachers' racial attitudes, training and practices for multiracial schools, and their relationships with community and families.

This report shows that in an increasingly segregated national system of schools, faculty segregation tends to add to—rather than counteract—the separation of students. We see that the white teachers, who continue to dominate the teaching profession, tend to grow up with little racial/ethnic diversity in their own education or experience.

While all kinds of schools studied in this report tend to have majorities of white teachers, very heavily white schools have almost no teachers of color. Since white students are more segregated than any other group in a society undergoing racial transformation, this denies those students the opportunity to learn from teachers who would bring different experiences and perspectives.

Nonwhite teachers, on the other hand, tend to be the minority even in predominantly nonwhite schools, and a very small and isolated minority in all-white schools. Nonwhite teachers only comprise the majority of the faculty in nonwhite schools that are the most segregated. In fact, these data show that the distressingly small share of minority teachers tend to find employment in the most troubled and segregated schools rather than finding their way to schools with the best prepared students and the most adequate resources. Teachers of color tend to be concentrated in schools with more poor children, lower levels of average achievement, and schools having more trouble meeting the requirements of the No Child Left Behind Act and facing sanctions than their white counterparts.

As in other studies of teacher mobility patterns, teachers in this sample are more likely to plan to leave segregated nonwhite schools. This could be interpreted as prejudice, but it is true, in a less dramatic way, for teachers of color as well as for white teachers. The reality may be that the challenges of poor preparation, inadequate resources, student mobility and teacher turnover, sanctions from NCLB, and other factors that make the teacher's work harder in high poverty segregated minority schools are driving teachers away. These data should trigger serious thought among educators and policymakers about how we can work with teachers to improve working conditions and rewards that would deepen their commitment to such schools and how we can recruit and train more of the kind of teachers most likely to seriously commit to the work of reforming those schools. Moreover, we should consider whether it is fair to assign students to schools with conditions that lead teachers to leave them.

Congress recognized the centrality of the role of teachers when it made getting "highly qualified" teachers into the classrooms of poor children a central requirement of the No Child Left Behind Act. For more than three decades, however, Congress and most states have not provided any serious policy initiatives to either reverse the drastic under-representation of teachers of color in our schools, which now have more than 42% students of color, or to prepare the largely white groups of new teachers for teaching effectively across lines of race, culture, and language that are so central in our society. During the civil rights era these necessities were strongly recognized; for example, the *Emergency School Aid Act* passed during the Nixon Administration provided funding to school districts to retrain teachers to deal more effectively with racial change. Desegregation plans included strategies for desegregating the teaching force as well as students and sometimes included efforts to train more nonwhite teachers. In the current era of test-based accountability that began in the early 1980s, these objectives have been largely forgotten though they are more vital than ever given this country's rapidly changing demographics. This first report from our national survey of teachers strongly suggests that we need to carefully examine the consequences of teacher segregation and the failure to recruit, train, and retain nonwhite teachers.

Gary Orfield
December 2006

INTRODUCTION

The Supreme Court's most important decision defining what school desegregation entailed included the requirement that schools, in order to be fully desegregated needed to have desegregated faculties (*Green*, 1968). The racial isolation of students continues more than fifty years after the Supreme Court in *Brown* declared that separate schools were inherently unequal, but less is known about faculty desegregation. Segregated schools where almost all students are from one racial/ethnic background do not allow students the opportunity to build cross-racial understanding, to learn and work with one another. At the same time, social science research confirms the central premise of *Brown* that racially minority segregated schools—which are often unequal to schools with higher percentages of white students in terms of tangible and intangible resources—offer students an inferior education, which is likely to harm their future life opportunities.¹ Teachers are one of the most important influences on the educational outcomes of students. As a result, NCLB requires that each state devise a plan to ensure that poor and minority students have qualified teachers in their classrooms.

The 2000 Census demonstrated that the nation was undergoing vast racial transformation that was changing even many formerly homogeneous communities. These changes are having a profound impact on public school districts, including those that were formerly almost entirely white (Frankenberg and Lee, 2002). As the public school enrollment grows increasingly diverse and multiracial, school segregation has also increased (Orfield and Lee, 2006; Reardon and Yun, 2005). Although there are regional variations, there are currently more Latino students in the nation's public schools than black students; Latino students are also experiencing the highest levels of segregation of any minority group. The segregation of black students has also been increasing since the late 1980s, after two decades of increasing integration with white students, particularly in the South (Orfield and Lee, 2006).

In 2003, there were just over 3 million teachers in our public schools, a figure that is projected to rise to almost 3.5 million in the next decade (Digest of Education Statistics, 2005, table 63). Yet, as the number of teachers grows along with an accelerating growth of nonwhite public school students (Orfield and Lee, 2006), the racial diversity of the teaching force remains low. Analyses of National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) staffing data confirm that teachers of color are a much smaller percentage of the teaching force than students of color are in comparison to the entire student enrollment (see Villegas and Lucas, 2002, p. 17, 21; see also Guarino et al., 2006, p. 180). Researchers report that new teachers are more diverse than their veteran colleagues, the entire teaching force still remains overwhelmingly white (Shen, Wegenke, and Cooley, 2003, p. 114; Kirby, Berends, and Naftel, 1999). The racial composition of undergraduate teacher preparation programs also lag in terms of diversity (Villegas and Lucas, p. 18), and in fact may have declining shares of minority enrollment (Hodgkinson, 2002).

The low percentage of teachers of color is due both to many factors that may limit the number of nonwhite teachers as well as the fact that the Civil Rights Movement resulted in broadening the

¹ For a fuller discussion of the social science evidence regarding the benefits of integrated schools and the harms of racially isolated minority schools, see the “Brief of 553 Social Scientists” filed in the Jefferson County (Louisville) and Seattle voluntary integration cases pending before the Supreme Court as of this writing (available at http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/deseg/amicus_parents_v_seatle.pdf).

access for African-Americans and other minorities to careers that had previously been difficult to enter (see Irvine, 1988). Despite expanding access to educational opportunity, there remains limited minority access to higher education, and as a result, teaching, like other careers, competes to attract a relatively small pool of minority college graduates. According to the 2005 American Community Survey, among Americans 25 or older, almost 50% of Asians and 30% of non-Hispanic whites had a bachelor's degree, which only 17% of African Americans and 12% of Hispanics (of any race) had a bachelor's degree (ACS, 2006). Within teacher education programs at universities, teaching candidates of color often lack emotional, financial, and personal support and feel marginalized in programs that often have a majority of white students and faculty (Miller and Endo, 2005; Branch, 2001).

An additional barrier to a more diverse teaching force is the teacher credentialing process, which, in many states, includes requiring that teachers pass standardized tests. One study found that black candidates had disproportionately low passing rates on a commonly-used test that teaching candidates are required to pass for certification (Gitomer, Latham, and Ziomek, 1999).² Teacher credentialing began to receive more attention after the *Brown* decision as when faculty desegregation as well as student segregation was required of districts in dismantling their prior system of segregated schools and pushed many minority teachers out of jobs in the South as faculties were integrated. This system of certifying teachers, which is established by each state, often includes requiring teachers to take tests to demonstrate competence, and may continue to disproportionately limit the number of minority teachers who are certified. In the 1998 reauthorization of the Higher Education Act, Congress required that schools of education achieve high percentage of passing rates on state exams by their graduates or lose federal funding, leading many to pretest prospective students and exclude many students of color.

There are a number of reasons to believe that having a racially diverse group of teachers is important for both minority and white students. In the *Green* decision, the Supreme Court stated that racial identification of schools was not solely by the composition of the student bodies, but a number of other factors including the faculty and staff. Relying on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Fifth Circuit Court declared, "Faculty integration is essential to student desegregation. To the extent that teacher discrimination jeopardizes the success of desegregation, it is unlawful wholly aside from its effect upon individual teachers...as long as a school has a Negro faculty it will always have a Negro student body" (*United States v. Jefferson County Bd. Of Education*, 1966, p. 883; see also *Bradley v. School Board of the City of Richmond*, 1965). A number of districts have pursued teacher integration policies: many that were once legally required to but subsequently voluntarily believed that it was an important goal to maintain after meeting their legal requirements (Hendrie, 1998).

Teachers of color can serve as role models for nonwhite students, to serve as examples of professionals who are responsible and successful, and are from the same background as them. They may also provide a support system for minority students in the school (Shen, Wegenke, and Cooley, 2003). Further, minority teachers, particularly those who have been in teacher

² In fact, Alabama has been prevented from using a test for new teachers as a result of settling a lawsuit that alleged using a teacher test unfairly discriminated against black teachers (*Allen v. Alabama State Board of Education*). In 2004, 35 states required prospective teachers to pass subject matter tests to gain certification to teach in high schools (Jacobson, 2004).

preparation programs that help them draw on their backgrounds in their teaching, also have understanding of a shared culture with students of color and the experience of being part of a minority group in our society (Villegas and Lucas, 2002). In addition to helping to connect with students, teachers of color may also help to strengthen ties between home and school.

Teachers of color bring knowledge, insights, and perspectives to the school that otherwise would not be there, including raising issues of structural inequality present in schools and society (see Foster, 1997 for discussion of African-American teachers). This not only allows them to connect with students of color, but also to raise awareness among white teachers, and bring insights to white students. As the growth of minority students spreads to districts that were formerly almost all white, the presence of teachers of color in these districts could help their schools equitably integrate and educate their changing student enrollment. Though the presence of teachers of color is often cited as important for students of color, exposure to teachers of color is also important—in a different way—for white students who generally experience high isolation (Orfield & Lee, 2006). Seeing teachers of color can, for example, challenge racial stereotypes. Educational experts agree that an essential component of implementing effective school desegregation is to have a racially diverse faculty (see Hawley et al., 1983). For example, having teachers and administrators from different racial backgrounds allows for interracial contact while demonstrating equal status of all, regardless of race and approval of authorities for interracial contact—two important conditions that can lead to reduced prejudice (Allport, 1954). Schools with higher percentages of minority teachers may help equalize power among teachers of all backgrounds on the faculty (Cohen, 1980).

This report examines the context of where teachers teach. We seek to understand the kinds of schools of teachers in terms of their student and faculty composition:

- Do, and if so, how do, schools that white teachers teach in differ from those that teachers of color are in?
- Have teachers been exposed to racial diversity?
- Do the characteristics of teachers vary by the racial and poverty composition of students?
- Does the distribution of teachers relate to their job satisfaction and plans to remain in teaching and/or at their current school?

Using a unique new dataset of over 1,000 teachers we examine these questions as a means to exploring the important role that teachers can have in creating school environments where students can learn from and with people from a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds as they prepare for their future as citizens in a multiracial nation and world.

METHODOLOGY

In fall 2005, the Civil Rights Project, in collaboration with the Southern Poverty Law Center, Greenwald & Associates,³ and a group of educational experts with expertise in school desegregation and teaching in diverse schools,⁴ designed a survey to investigate teachers' beliefs

³ Greenwald & Associates is a public opinion and market research company.

⁴ The group of educational experts who helped develop the survey instrument included Linda Darling-Hammond, Stanford University; Patricia Gándara, University of California; Willis Hawley, University of Maryland; Christine Sleeter, California State University, Monterrey Bay; and William Trent, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign.

and practices as they relate to race in their schools. The telephone survey consisted of 47 items, including background questions about teachers and the schools they taught in. Questions addressed teachers' training for working in diverse classrooms, school environments, racial attitudes, curricular resources available to address diversity, and teaching practices. Teachers were assured of the confidentiality of their responses in order to minimize any pressure to give what they perceived to be "correct" responses to questions about sensitive topics. Our intent was to gain a more accurate understanding of the racial/ethnic factors that interact with teaching and learning in public schools at the beginning of the 21st century.

The survey was pilot tested by the Civil Rights Project in Cambridge, Massachusetts and by National Research,⁵ and minor modifications to the survey instrument were made for clarity in response to teachers' feedback. National Research then conducted the survey by telephone during November and December 2005 using a sample list of teachers that was generated from the National Education Association (NEA) membership lists. The NEA provided a list of 25,000 teachers that were randomly selected from their membership lists. National Research randomly contacted teachers from the list, and an initial screening question ensured that the respondent was a classroom teacher.⁶ In order to ensure proper sampling methodology, National Research made up to six attempts (at different times on different days, including weekends) by professional interviewers for each sample record. Seventy-seven percent of the NEA members that were contacted agreed to participate in the survey, and 48% were qualified and completed the survey.⁷ Because of the subject of our study, National Research set a target of having 60% of teachers in the sample from diverse schools.

The final sample included responses from 1,002 public school teachers from 48 states.⁸ Teachers' school characteristics (including information about the racial and poverty composition of the student body and total enrollment size) were obtained by merging each teacher's responses to the survey with data about their school as listed on their NEA record from the 2003-04 Public School Universe of NCES Common Core Data (CCD).⁹

Sample Description

In general, the characteristics of teachers in this sample are comparable to those of the entire public school teaching force; in particular, the racial and gender composition of teachers is

Stanley Presser, University of Maryland, with expertise in survey methodology, also participated in our initial survey development meeting along with CRP, SPLC, and Greenwald & Associates staff.

⁵ National Research is affiliated with Greenwald & Associates, and is a data-collection firm with experience in telephone interviewing.

⁶ The first question asked, "In your current job, are you primarily responsible for providing classroom instruction to students?" If respondents answered "No," the call was terminated.

⁷ The lower percentage of people completing the survey could be due to the fact that counselors, administrators, and support staff may also be members of NEA but no longer classroom teachers and therefore would have responded no to the initial screening question. The NEA has over 3 million members, which includes K-12 teachers, support staff, administrators, and higher education faculty.

⁸ There are no teachers from Michigan or Pennsylvania in the dataset.

⁹ Although one of the questions asked teachers to give an estimate of the racial composition in their school, in most tables below, we have relied on NCES data as a measure of the racial composition of the schools' student bodies. Tennessee data was taken from 2000-01, the last year they disaggregated student enrollment data by race/ethnicity and student poverty.

similar to the public teaching population (see Table 1). The teachers in the sample are drawn from urban, suburban, and rural districts, including some of the largest districts in the country. Teachers in the sample had more years of teaching experience, on average, and fewer teachers were new to their schools than the entire teaching force, however. Given the fact that the sample included more experienced teachers, on average, it is not surprising that there were a higher percentage of teachers with education beyond a bachelor’s degree and with certification in the subject they were teaching in the sample than the entire teaching force.¹⁰ Additionally, because the sample was drawn from NEA members, there is virtually no inclusion of charter school teachers since the vast majority of these teachers are not unionized. The racial composition of the teachers in this sample as well as the national teaching force reflects the fact that the teaching profession remains overwhelmingly white.

Table 1: Characteristics of Teachers in Sample and All Public School Teachers

	Sample	National
Years as a teacher (average)	16.9	14
Novice teachers (<3 years)	9.8%	17.8%
New at current school (<3 yrs)	24.9%	42.8%
Race ¹¹ :		
Non-Hispanic White	85.0%	83.1%
Non-Hispanic Black	5.7%	7.9%
Hispanic	4.0%	6.2%
Multiracial	2.3%	N/A
Asian	1.4%	0.7%
Age (average)	45.6	42.5
Female	79.5%	75%
Bachelors or less was highest degree	40.5%	50.8%
Certification in subject taught	96.2%	87%

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey questions 1a, 1b, 3, 45, 46, 47a, 47b, & 48; Provasnik and Dorfman, (2005), Table 2; Zumwalt and Craig, (2005), p. 171

The students taught by teachers in the sample are similar to all public school students. The racial composition of students taught by teachers in this sample is similar to the racial composition of students nationally, with a slightly higher percentage of white students taught by teachers in the sample and lower percentages of black and Hispanic students (Table 2). Although virtually every school in the sample has students receiving free or reduced price lunch,¹² there is a slightly lower percentage of low-income students overall in our sample’s schools than nationally. There is also a higher percentage of schools with English Language Learners.

¹⁰ These differences may be due to the fact that the sample is entirely NEA teachers. The NEA includes more suburban, fewer urban teachers than does AFT, which is the other major teacher union although in several large states the unions have merged. We also requested a list of teachers from the AFT so that our sample could include teachers from both major unions, but they did not grant our request.

¹¹ The racial/ethnic categories in this survey are different from how teachers were categorized by NCES’s Schools & Staffing Survey. There were also 6 teachers that identified as Native American, 2 as other, and 8 refused to identify their race or ethnicity. Due to the small numbers of each, when analyzing responses by teacher race, these categories are not included below.

¹² Free/reduced price lunch is a commonly-used measure of students from low-income families.

Table 2: Characteristics of Students in Schools of Teachers in Sample and All Public School Students¹³

	Our sample (%)	National (%)
Race:		
Non-Hispanic White	61.8	58
Non-Hispanic Black	14.3	17
Hispanic	16.9	19
American Indian/Alaskan native	1.2	1
Asian/Pacific Islander	5.7	4
Schools receiving Title I funds	50.7	54.5
Schools participating in National School Lunch Program	97.0	95.7
Students receiving free or reduced price lunch	37.6	41.6
Schools with Limited English Proficient students	85.9	62.9
Students who are Limited English Proficient	14.6	10.8

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 8; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

One of the pernicious effects of racial segregation continues to be the relationship between schools with high percentages of black and Latino students and schools of concentrated student poverty (Orfield and Lee, 2006), which tend to be schools that concentrate educational disadvantages for the students in them (Phillips and Chin, 2004; Yun and Moreno, 2006). Almost 86% of schools in the sample in which black and Latino students were more than 90% of the enrollment were also schools in which more than half of students came from poor families (see Table 3). By comparison, just 12% of schools with less than 10% black and Latino students were schools where a majority of students were poor (see Figure 1). In other words, racially isolated black and Latino schools were seven times as likely to have impoverished student bodies as the schools with very few (0-10%) black and Latino students.¹⁴

Table 3: Relationship between Segregation by Race and by Poverty of Students Taught by Teachers in Sample

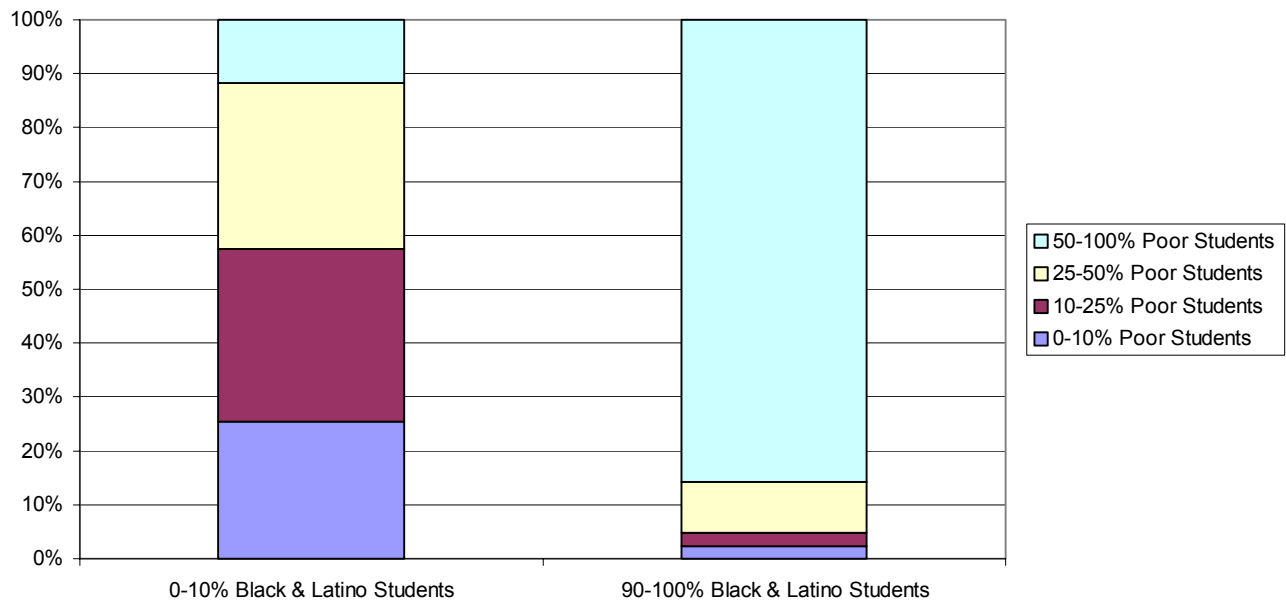
Percent Poor in Schools	Percent Black and Latino Students in Schools in Sample									
	0- 10%	10- 20%	20- 30%	30- 40%	40- 50%	50- 60%	60- 70%	70- 80%	80- 90%	90- 100%
0-10%	25.5	14.5	4.4	1.4	1.8	0	2.4	2.9	0	2.4
10-25%	32.0	34.4	34.1	18.1	7.1	16.4	2.4	0	0	2.4
25-50%	30.7	38.9	46.2	47.2	30.4	32.7	22.0	22.9	21.2	9.5
50-100%	11.7	12.2	15.4	33.3	60.7	50.9	73.2	74.3	78.8	85.7
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Percent of Schools	40.9	13.9	9.7	7.7	6.0	5.9	4.4	3.7	3.5	4.5

Source: NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

¹³ Unless specified otherwise, any discussion of students or teachers in this report refers solely to those in public schools. The demographics of students and teachers in private schools differ, and are subject to different policies.

¹⁴ There are similarly strong relationships between racial and poverty segregation in schools nationally. See Orfield and Lee, 2006, Table 14.

Figure 1: Percent of Poor Students in Sample Schools, by Black & Latino Percentage of Students



Source: *NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.*

Student poverty is also associated with English Language Learner (ELL) status of students in the sample—schools with higher concentrations of poor students also have higher shares of ELL students (see Table 4). In fact, schools with more than half of their students from poor families are also schools in which over a quarter of students are not native English speakers, on average. The share of ELL students in schools with a majority of poor students is three times the share of ELL students in schools with less than 10% poor students.

Table 4: Relationship between Poverty and English Language Learner (ELL) Status of Students Taught by Teachers in Sample

Percent of Poor Students in Schools	Average Percent of ELL students in Schools
0-10%	7.9
10-25%	8.5
25-50%	13.4
50-100%	25.6
Total	15.1

Source: *“Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 8; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.*

Taken together, these data, mirroring national trends, show that students of teachers in this sample are segregated not just by race, but schools with high percentages of nonwhite students are also more likely to have higher percentages of students from poor families and students who are not native English speakers.

OVERLAP BETWEEN FACULTY AND STUDENT SEGREGATION BY RACE, POVERTY, AND ELL STATUS

Civil Rights Project research has consistently demonstrated the deep segregation of students in public schools (Orfield and Lee, 2006), private schools (Reardon and Yun, 2002), and charter schools (Frankenberg and Lee, 2003) at the beginning of the 21st century. Data from this survey indicate that teacher segregation in public schools is an added facet to multidimensional segregation of students by race, poverty, and language. The average white teacher teaches in a school where nearly three-quarters of students are white—a disproportionately higher percentage of white students than in the total enrollment (see Table 5).¹⁵ Less than 10% of students in the average white teacher’s school are black, and only 12% are Latino. In comparison, black teachers, on average, teach in schools where black students comprise a majority of the student population, white students are only one-third, and Latino students are just 10% of the student population. The typical Latino teacher teaches in a school where one-third of the students are also Latino, 40% of students are white, less than 15% of students are black and 9% of students are Asian, which is roughly twice the share of Asian students overall. Over one-fifth of Asian teachers’ students are Asian, just under one-third of students are white, another one-third Latino, and 15% black. Finally, mixed race teachers teach in schools that most closely resembled the national racial composition of students, albeit with fewer white students than the overall student population. As Table 5 and Figure 2 demonstrate, the racial composition of students in a school varies substantially by teacher race. Teachers have a disproportionately higher percentage of students of their own race/ethnicity in their school.

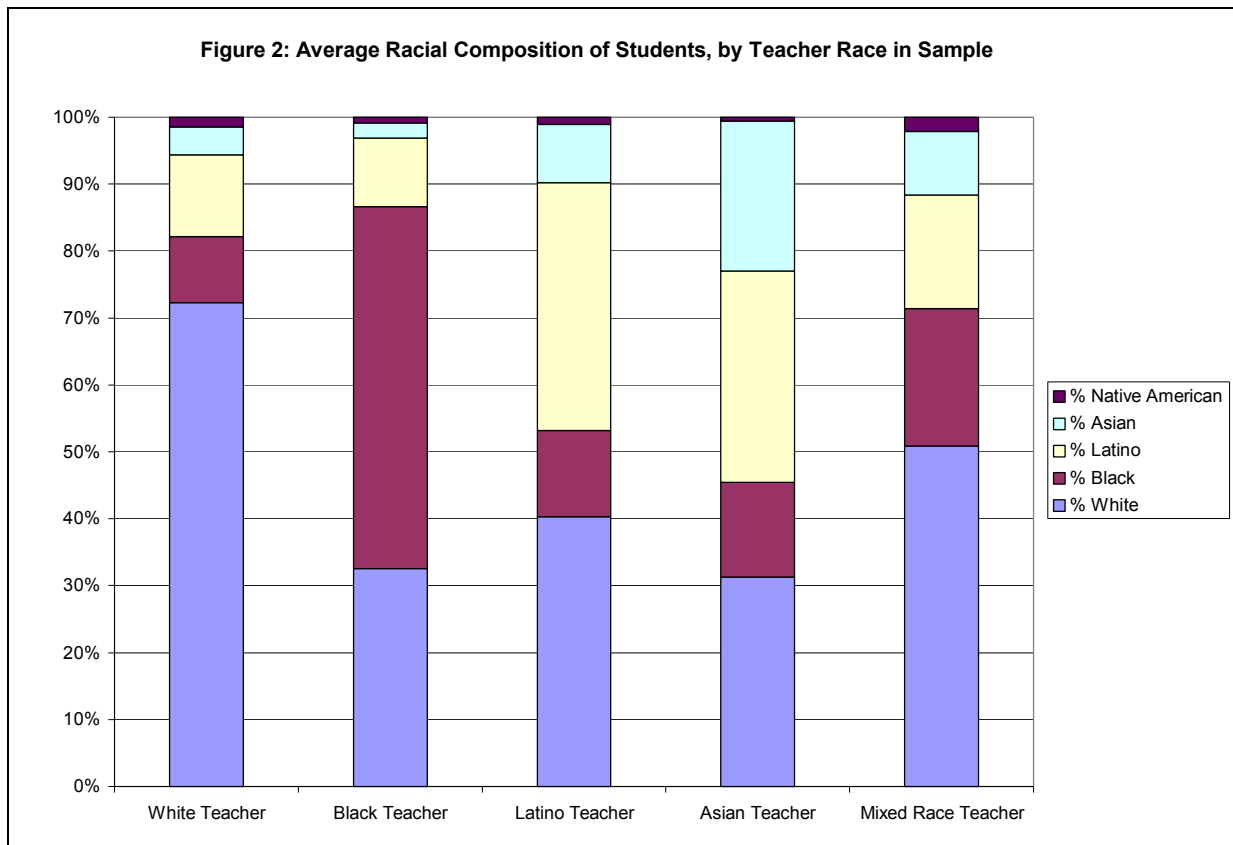
Table 5: Racial Composition of Students in Schools by the Average Teacher of Each Race in Sample

Percent of Students in Each School	Racial Composition of School by Average:				
	White Teacher	Black Teacher	Latino Teacher	Asian Teacher	Mixed Race Teacher
% White	72.2	32.5	40.3	31.3	50.9
% Black	9.9	54.0	12.8	14.2	20.5
% Latino	12.2	10.2	37.0	31.6	17.0
% Asian	4.1	2.2	8.7	22.4	9.5
% Native American	1.5	0.9	1.1	0.6	2.1
Total ¹⁶	99.9	99.8	99.9	100.1	100.0

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 47a & 47b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

¹⁵ For comparative purposes, the racial composition of the students in our sample is 61.8% white, 14.3% black, 16.9% Latino, 5.7% Asian, and 1.2% Native American. This differs slightly from the composition of all public school students, as shown in Table 2 of this report.

¹⁶ Total may not sum to 100% due to rounding.



Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 47a & 47b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

We examined how the percentage of white teachers varies by the percentage of minority students as another way to understand the relationship between the racial distribution of faculty and students. The percentage of white teachers in a school is lower, on average, in schools with higher shares of black and Latino students (see Table 6).¹⁷ Schools where less than 10% of students are black and/or Latino tend to have a virtually all-white faculty (96.3% of teachers are white, on average) while in schools where over 90% of students are black and/or Latino, only 40% of the faculty is white, on average. Further, schools that are predominantly black and Latino have faculties that are usually less than three-quarters white, which is also substantially fewer than schools with few black and Latino students.¹⁸

These data have important implications for both students and teachers. For students in predominantly black and Latino schools, they are less exposed to white teachers than their peers. Students in concentrated white and Asian schools, however, are exposed to few nonwhite teachers (less than 4% of teachers). Although as discussed above, teachers of another race can broaden the perspectives present in a school, these trends suggest that is not occurring in most of the racially isolated white schools in this sample. Further, these trends demonstrate that teachers

¹⁷ In many tables in this report, we use the percentage of black and Latino students instead of all nonwhite students because students from these two racial/ethnic groups are the two groups that have been historically disadvantaged in public schools, albeit in different ways.

¹⁸ Shen et al. (2003) analyzing 1999-2000 national staffing data also found a similar pattern of black and Latino teacher overrepresentation in schools where a majority of the students were minority (Table 5).

of color are less likely to be teaching in overwhelmingly white schools—which are 40% of schools nationally¹⁹—either due to their own choice or structural barriers that might limit their opportunity.

Table 6: Relationship between Student Race and Faculty Race in Sample

	Percent Black and Latino Students in Schools									
	0-10%	10-20%	20-30%	30-40%	40-50%	50-60%	60-70%	70-80%	80-90%	90-100%
Mean Faculty Percent White	96.3	90.8	87.1	83.6	82.6	73.3	74.7	73.3	53.7	40.1
% of Schools	40.9	13.9	9.7	7.7	6.0	5.9	4.4	3.7	3.5	4.5

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 10; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

The percentage of white teachers is also lower in schools in the sample with higher percentages of poor students. White teachers comprise over 90% of the faculty in the two categories of schools with the fewest percentage of poor students, schools where a quarter or less of the students are poor (see Table 7). Only two-thirds of teachers in schools where more than three-quarters of the students are poor, on average, are white. These data demonstrate that faculties with higher percentages of nonwhite teachers are disproportionately teaching in schools that concentrate students of poverty, which often are also schools that have fewer resources and thus more challenging to work in (Oakes, et al., 2004; The Education Trust, 2005).

Table 7: Percent White of Faculty by Student Poverty Composition in Sample

Percent of Poor Students in Schools	Average Percent White of Faculty
0-10%	93.1
10-25%	91.0
25-50%	87.2
50-75%	81.5
75%-100%	65.0
Total	85.8

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 10; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

The characteristics of students in schools with a predominantly nonwhite faculty differ along several dimensions from those in schools with an overwhelmingly white faculty: percentage of white students, percentage of poor students, and percentage of ELL students. Schools with predominantly minority faculties average less than one in five students that are white and nearly two out of three students are poor (see Table 8). Thirty percent of students in these schools, on average, are English language learners. Further, schools where at least 20% of the faculty was nonwhite were schools in which white students were, on average, less than 50% of the student population.

On the other hand, schools with virtually all-white faculties have, on average, nearly 90% white students—over four times as many white students as schools with predominantly minority

¹⁹ See Orfield and Lee, 2006, Table 14.

faculties. Schools with nearly all-white faculties also educate student bodies in which less than 30% of students are poor, or less than half the share of poor students as schools with predominantly minority faculties. Almost all-white faculties also teach, on average, less than 7% of English Language Learner students, which is one-fourth the share these students are in schools where the faculty is predominantly minority. Taken together, these data indicate that schools with virtually all-white faculties teach a different group of students, and do not face the challenges of teaching students that are poor and/or learning English as often as their peers on more diverse faculties.

Table 8: Percent White, Percent Poor, and Percent ELL of Student Enrollment by Racial Composition of Faculty in Sample

	Racial composition of faculty:			
	0-50% white	50-80% white	80-95% white	95-100% white
Average percent of white students	18.2	48.8	65.7	87.6
Average percent of poor students	63.1	43.1	36.7	29.6
Average percent of ELL students	30.1	21.3	16.2	6.6

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 8 & 10; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Another important finding is that differences of the percentage of low income and ELL students by teacher race are pronounced. Thus, not only are teachers on predominantly minority faculties more likely to have higher percentages of poor and ELL students, but minority teachers, regardless of faculty composition, teach in schools that typically have higher shares of these students. White teachers teach in schools that, on average, have the lowest percentages of poor students (35.6%) (see Table 9). Black teachers, on the other hand, teach in schools with the highest percentage of poor students, where over half of students (57%) were from poor families, almost twice the share of poor students in schools of white teachers. Latino, Asian, and mixed race teachers teach in schools which, on average, have more than 40% of students who are poor, but do not typically teach the same high percentage of poor students as black teachers.

Asian and Latino teachers also taught in schools where over 30% of students, on average, were English Language Learners, which may be related to these teachers' own native language and the ability to communicate with non-English speakers. However, Latino and Asian teachers in this sample disproportionately face the challenge of trying to educate students of varying English mastery. White and black teachers typically taught in schools with 13% of ELL students, or less than half that share of their Asian and Latino peers.

Table 9: Poverty and English Language Learner Status of Students in Schools by the Average Teacher of Each Race in Sample

	Composition of School by Average:				
	White Teacher	Black Teacher	Latino Teacher	Asian Teacher	Mixed Race Teacher
Percent poor students	35.6	57.0	44.6	41.5	43.7
Percent ELL students	13.0	13.1	31.0	33.8	21.3

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 47a & 47b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Given the prevalence of second-generation segregation (or segregation of students within a school, between classrooms) that further separates students of different races (Oakes, 2005; Mickelson, 2005; Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor, 2005a) and, evidence suggests, leads to higher percentages of black students being exposed to novice teachers (Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor, 2005b), we also investigated teacher-reported student racial composition in their classrooms.

Perhaps not surprising given the differences in schools' student racial composition by teacher race discussed above (and shown in the right column of Table 10), there are also stark differences among teachers of different races/ethnicities in terms of the percent of white students they report teaching in their classroom. While white teachers report that almost 60% of the students in their classrooms are white, Latino and Asian teachers report that they have less than half that share of white students in their classrooms, 28% and 25% respectively (see Table 10). Only one of every three students in the classrooms of black teachers, on average, was white.

Table 10: Percentage of White Students in a Teacher's Classroom and School, by Teacher Race in Sample

Teacher Race	Avg. percent white students in teacher's class	Avg. percent white students in school ²⁰
White	59.3	69.0
Black	35.2	29.0
Latino	28.0	42.9
Asian	25.3	34.0
Mixed Race	50.4	46.7
Total	54.8	64.4

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 7, 9, 47a, & 47b.

Regional Differences among Faculty and Student Racial Composition

Because regions of the country vary in terms of the racial/ethnic composition of their population, we examined how faculty and students were distributed across the country. We found that faculty diversity in the sample differs by region of the country, as does the racial/ethnic composition of students.

More than fifty years after *Brown* and forty years after desegregation across the South pushed thousands of black teachers out of their jobs, the South has the most integrated teaching force of any region. Schools in the South and the West—the two regions with the greatest percentages of nonwhite students—also average the lowest percentage of white teachers. The South has the lowest percentage of white teachers, which, with 77% of teachers who are white is substantially lower than the national average of 86% white teachers in the teaching force (see Table 11). In comparison, in the Northeast and Midwest faculties are over 90% white, on average. In every

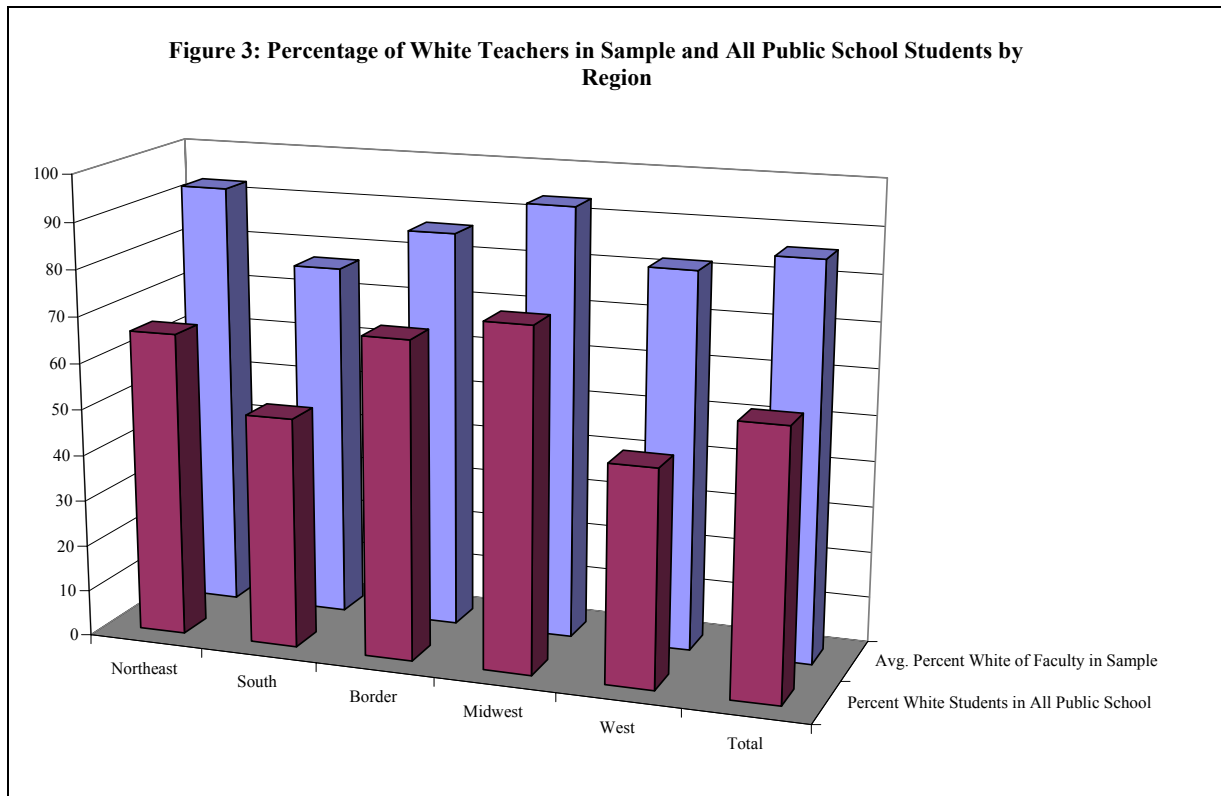
²⁰ The percentages in this column differ slightly from an earlier table, which relied upon CCD data for racial/ethnic counts of students. This table contains self-reported estimates by teachers of the percentage of white students in their classrooms and schools. In calculations not shown here, there was some evidence of differences between teacher's perception of the racial composition of their school and the CCD data for their school. However, using self-reported data for the percentage of white students in both the classroom and the school allows for comparison.

region there is a sizeable gap between the percentage of white teachers and white students, particularly in the West, which has the most racially diverse group of students and where there was a 34-point difference in the white percentage of students and faculty (see Figure 3).

Table 11: White percent of Faculty and Students, by Region²¹

Region	Average Percent White of Faculty of Schools in Sample	Percent White Students in All Public Schools
Northeast	92.7	66
South	76.9	50
Border	86.2	69
Midwest	93.5	74
West	81.9	47
Total	86.0	58

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 10; Orfield and Lee, 2006, Table 1



Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 10; Orfield and Lee, 2006, Table 1

²¹ The region definitions are--**South:** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, & Virginia. **Border:** Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, & West Virginia. **Northeast:** Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, & Vermont. **Midwest:** Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Minnesota, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, & Wisconsin. **West:** Arizona, California, Colorado, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, & Wyoming. Alaska & Hawaii are excluded here because of their unique ethnic compositions and isolation from the regions studied.

Although the percentage of nonwhite students is much higher than the percentage of nonwhite teachers in each region in this sample, higher percentages of black and Latino teachers teach in regions of the country with higher percentages of black and Latino students. The highest percentages of black teachers teach in the South and the Border²² regions, the two regions with the highest percentage of black students (27% and 21%, respectively; see Figure 4). Black teachers make up less than 4% of the average faculty in every other region of the country (see Table 12). Likewise, the West has the highest percentage of Latino teachers and students, although here too there are a higher percentage of Latino students (36%) than teachers (11%) (see Figure 5). The South (20%) and Northeast (14%) also educate large percentages of Latino students, but these regions have very small percentages of Latino teachers (less than 3%).

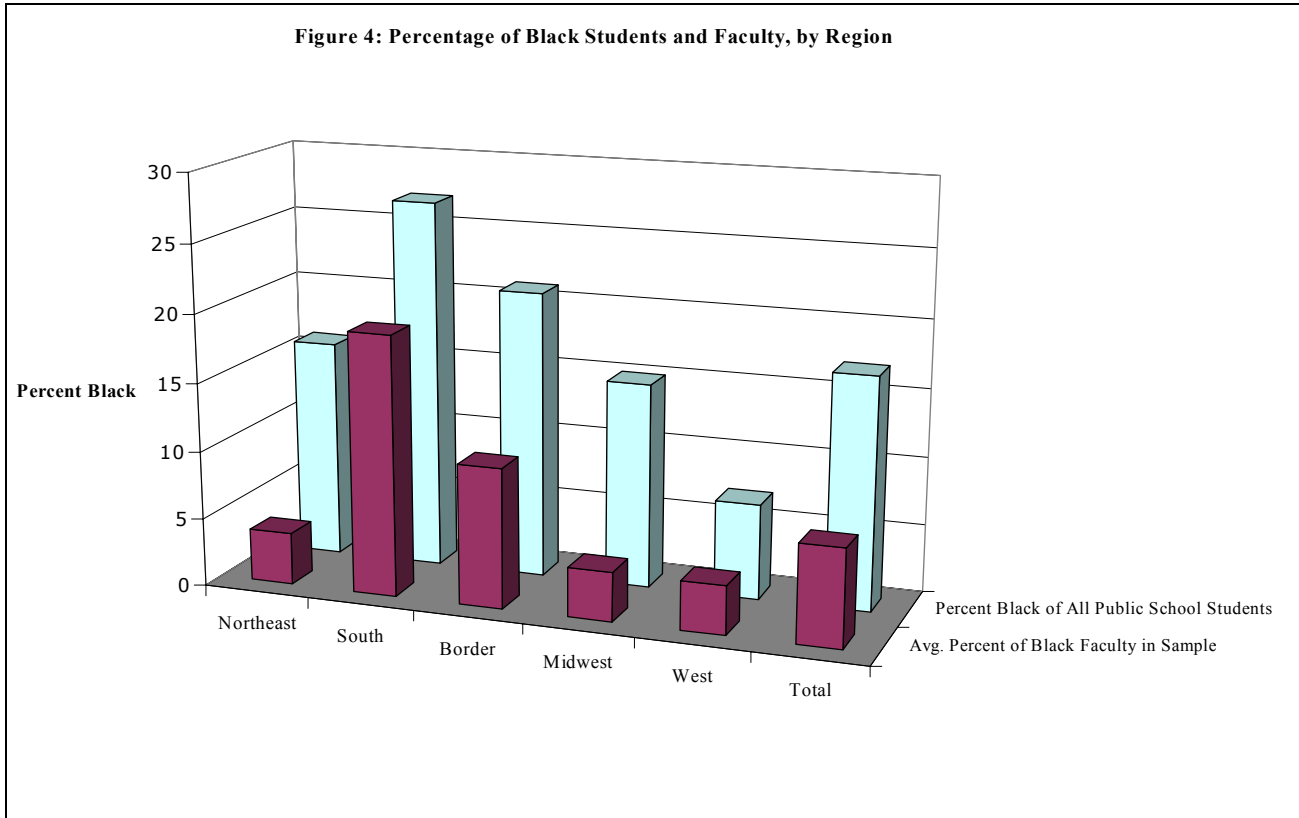
Table 12: Racial Composition of Teaching Force, by Region in Sample

Region	Average Percent of Faculties who are:		
	White	Black	Latino
Northeast	92.7	3.8	2.9
South	76.9	19.1	2.3
Border	86.2	10.3	1.8
Midwest	93.5	3.6	1.9
West	81.9	3.6	11.3
Total	86.0	7.1	4.8

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 10.

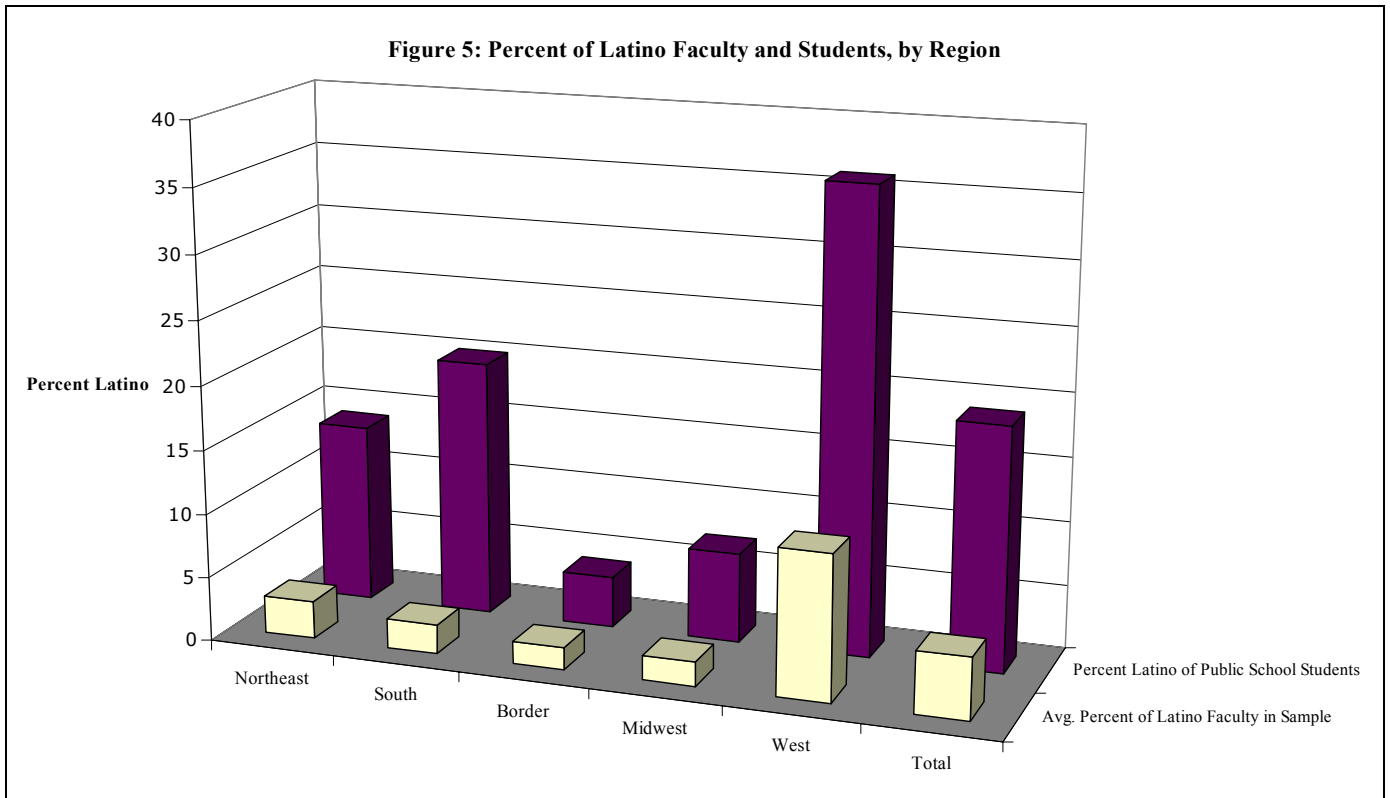
²² The Border region, as defined here, consists of the six states and the District of Columbia that were outside of the former Confederates states (which comprise the South region here) but had laws requiring school segregation prior to the *Brown* decision.

Despite concern about black teachers losing their jobs in the South as desegregation was implemented in order to comply with the faculty desegregation requirement first defined by the Supreme Court in the *Green* decision (*Green v. New Kent County*, 1968), these data demonstrate that the South and Border regions—where the most desegregation plans were implemented—are the two regions with the highest percentage of black teachers. The South, which has the highest share of black students (27%), has the highest percentage of black teachers as well, 19%. The South, in fact, has more than twice the share of black teachers as any region, and five times as high a share as the Northeast and Midwest. The disparity between the percentage of black teachers and students in the Midwest and the Northeast is large (see Figure 4).



Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 10; Orfield and Lee, 2006, Table 1

Although the percentage of Latino students in the South has been rapidly increasing and the South, in fact, has the second highest share of Latino students (20% of students in the South are Latino) of any region, Figure 5 demonstrates that the percentage of Latino teachers (2.3%) in the sample is much lower. The West, with the largest percentage of Latino students, also has the largest share of Latino teachers with over 11% of all teachers who are Latino, which is three times the share of Latino teachers in any other region. Nationally, while 19% of public school students are Latino, less than 5% of teachers on the faculties in the sample are Latino, on average.



Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 10; Orfield and Lee, 2006, Table 1

TEACHER EXPOSURE TO DIVERSITY

One concern for schools with such high concentrations of white faculty, particularly in the Northeast and Midwest, is that prior research has shown that white teachers tend to have attended white, middle-class educational institutions and lived in white communities and as a result of these experiences, may have difficulty understanding or relating to those who do not benefit from the white, middle-class privilege that they have (Gomez, 1993; Villegas and Lucas, 2002; Sleeter, forthcoming). Further, a survey of teachers found that most teachers currently teaching in diverse schools had had few schooling experiences that brought them into contact with students of other racial or socioeconomic groups (Freeman, Brookhart, and Loadman, 1999).

In this sample, among all teachers, white teachers attended elementary schools with the lowest percentage of students who were a different race than they were: white teachers, on average, attended elementary schools that were over 90% white, indicating a very high concentration of white students in their schools (see Table 13).²³ Asian teachers, on the other hand, attended schools in which 70% of students were non-Asian, a statistic that is not surprising given the high levels of Asian student integration (e.g., Orfield and Lee, 2006). Black and Latino teachers each attended schools where approximately 30% of students were of a different race than themselves. The fact that nonwhite teachers had more exposure to diversity suggests that one of the benefits of increasing the percentage of nonwhite teachers could be their ability to draw on their previous diverse experiences in racially diverse schools and classrooms.

When separately analyzing the educational experiences of novice teachers in the sample—teachers who have 1-3 years of experience—they attended substantially more integrated elementary schools than their more veteran colleagues, perhaps because these novice teachers attended elementary schools after widespread desegregation had been implemented in many districts around the country. Novice teachers attended schools where almost 20% of students were of another race/ethnicity than their own, on average, which is 6.6 points higher than all teachers (see Table 13). Although white novice teachers remain the group of teachers attending the most isolated schools, their average exposure to nonwhite students is five percentage points higher than the exposure of all white teachers. The exposure of black teachers to other race students is twice as high for novice teachers (57.1) as for all black teachers (28.2). Latino teachers are the only teachers in which novice teachers have less exposure to other-race students.

If the trends we see among novice teachers in more diverse educational experiences are a sign of generational change, then we may see a gradual shift towards a teaching force that has had more integrated schooling experiences of their own. However, the extent of school desegregation has been declining since the early 1990s, which suggests that the increased exposure to students of other races may be a short-lived trend for novice and younger teachers. Though we see differences between novice teachers as compared to the entire teaching force in terms of exposure to diverse students, the fact that white teachers, regardless of years of experience, have the least diverse exposure and remain the overwhelming majority of the teaching force suggests that teacher preparation programs may need to provide ways in which teachers can have experiences in diverse schools.

²³ For white teachers, this refers to the percentage of nonwhite students in their elementary school, but for black teachers, for example, this question referred to the percentage of non-black students.

Table 13: Teacher’s Exposure to Diverse Students by Teacher Race, All and Novice Teachers in Sample

Teacher Race	% other-race students in elementary school	
	All Teachers	Novice Teachers
White	9.6	14.4
Black	28.2	57.1
Hispanic	30.2	24.2
Asian	70.1	--
Mixed Race	35.4	35.6
Total	13.0	19.6

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 1a, 12, 47a, & 47b.

We see a similar trend by teacher race in exposure to racial diversity when examining the racial composition of teachers’ faculties. Teachers of different races/ethnicities in the sample experience varying levels of diversity among their faculty peers. White teachers teach on faculties that are nearly 90% white, on average (see Table 14). Latino teachers teach with the second highest percentage of white teachers, almost three-quarters. By contrast, black and Asian teachers are in schools with smaller percentages of white teachers. Black teachers have, on average, one of the lowest percentages of white teachers on their faculty: less than two-thirds of their fellow teachers are white, which is substantially lower than their white counterparts. Asian teachers teach, on average, with the fewest percentage of white teachers, only 60%.

Table 14: Exposure to Faculty Diversity by Teacher Race in Sample

Teacher Race	Average Percent White of Faculty
White	89.4
Black	63.2
Latino	73.7
Asian	60.4
Mixed Race	67.4
Total	86.0

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 10, 47a, & 47b.

In sum, Tables 13 and 14 demonstrate that white teachers in this sample, who make up the overwhelming majority of the teaching force nationally, are the least likely to have experience in racially diverse settings, either as students themselves or as part of their faculty. Not only did white teachers, on average, attend schools that were over 90% white, they are currently teaching in schools where almost 90% of their faculty colleagues are white and over 70% of students are white. The repetitive nature of the trends reported in the tables above underscore the comprehensive isolation of white teachers.

IMPLICATIONS OF SEGREGATION FOR TEACHER SATISFACTION AND RETENTION

Particularly as a result of the projected teacher shortage, teacher retention is essential to schools' efficacy and to student achievement. Teacher mobility can be disruptive to schools, when schools are forced to continually replace teachers who leave for other schools. National data show that 17% of a school's faculty, on average, is new to the school every year (Chandler, 2004).²⁴ High turnover leads to having less experienced teachers on staff, and as discussed below, research shows that teachers with at least a few years of teaching experience are more effective than novice teachers. Further, it stands to reason that schools with more openings may find it more difficult to fill each opening with a highly-qualified teacher (Podgursky, Monroe, and Watson, 2004). The costs of replacing teachers who leave the profession or who transfer—not including retirees—is estimated to be just under \$5 billion annually, or approximately \$12,500 per teacher. This financial impact does not include more intangible but significant costs of teacher turnover such as a reduction in teacher quality and subsequent impacts on student achievement (Alliance for Excellent Education Issue Brief, August 2005).

Although research has documented the higher mobility rates from high minority and high poverty schools, it is less clear what the explanation for these patterns is. There are a number of reasons that teachers may choose to leave predominantly minority or poor schools, either for other schools or leave the teaching force altogether, that are related to working conditions that are traditionally associated with high poverty, high minority schools. As discussed above, high minority schools are more likely to have novice teachers, who have high attrition rates. Additionally, they are more likely to face sanctions under NCLB or other accountability systems as well as being branded as failing, which also allows students to transfer out of these schools. In other words, there are disincentives for teachers to remain in such schools because working conditions are more likely to be challenging. A review of research on teacher retention suggests that district policies such as higher salary (particularly in comparison to surrounding districts), mentoring programs, and feeling of administrative support and teacher autonomy were associated with lower teacher turnover (Guarino et al., 2006) although paying higher salaries and mentoring require financial commitments by districts. Research in California confirms that factors such as teacher perceptions of school conditions and resources could lessen their predictive power of student composition (race or poverty) for teacher attrition (Loeb, Darling-Hammond, and Luczak, 2005).

The impact of teacher mobility patterns is significant on schools that teachers leave. Aside from the time and resources invested in searching for, hiring, and training a new teacher, research has suggested that differential rates of teacher leaving might be a proxy for teacher quality. In fact, schools with high teacher turnover may have more low-performing teachers because 1) high turnover leads to less experienced teachers; 2) better teachers are more likely to move; 3) schools with a larger ratio of applicants to openings should theoretically yield better teachers (Freeman, Scafidi, and Sjoquist, 2005; also see Podgursky, Monroe, and Watson, 2004). Relatedly, teacher turnover can also undermine a school's stability and effectiveness (Esch et al., 2005). Given the strain that teacher mobility places on schools and the possible impact on student achievement, we explore whether teachers' career satisfaction and decisions to leave schools or teaching are related to the composition of the students they teach.

²⁴ This includes transferring teachers (9%), teachers returning after a hiatus (4%), and brand-new teachers (5%).

Teacher Satisfaction

Over 60% of teachers that teach in low minority schools report that they are “very satisfied” in the profession (see Table 15).²⁵ In comparison, just 35.6% of teachers in schools with high concentrations of black and Latino students report a similar level of satisfaction. Further, 13.3% of teachers in segregated minority schools are either “not too satisfied” or “not at all satisfied” with teaching, more than three times the percentage (3.3%) of teachers in schools where less than 10% of students are black and Latino express such levels of dissatisfaction.

Black, Latino, and Asian teachers were the least likely to express that they were very satisfied as teachers (see Table 16). A majority of white and mixed race teachers report that they are very satisfied with their career.

Table 15: Student Racial Composition and Teacher Satisfaction in Sample

Percent of Students in school	Satisfaction with Career as Teacher				
	Not at all satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
0-10% black and Latino	0.7	2.4	12.5	23.6	60.5
90-100% black and Latino	2.2	11.1	35.6	15.6	35.6
All teachers	0.8	3.3	16.0	24.7	54.9

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 42; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Table 16: Teacher Satisfaction, by Teacher Race in Sample

Teacher Race	Satisfaction with Career as Teacher				
	Not at all satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
White	0.7	3.2	15.5	23.9	56.6
Black	0	3.5	21.1	26.3	49.1
Latino	5.0	2.5	12.5	37.5	40.0
Asian	0	7.1	21.4	35.7	35.7
Mixed race	0	4.3	13.0	21.7	60.9
All teachers	0.8	3.3	16.0	24.7	54.9

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 42, 47a, & 47b.

Both white and nonwhite teachers report more satisfaction with their teaching career at the schools with the highest percentage of white students (see Table 17).²⁶ Conversely the highest percentages of both white and nonwhite teachers reporting that they were “not at all satisfied”

²⁵ The question asked specifically related to satisfaction with their career as a teacher, not about their satisfaction with teaching at their current school.

²⁶ Because of the small number of nonwhite teachers that teach in schools with a high percentage of white students, we have combined all nonwhite teachers together in order to analyze whether teacher satisfaction in schools of different racial composition differed by teacher’s own race/ethnicity.

were in schools with less than a quarter white students—and, in fact, a higher percentage of nonwhite teachers expressed this dissatisfaction. Further, a lower percentage of nonwhite teachers (38.6%) reported that they were “very satisfied” in schools that were 75-100% nonwhite than white teachers (45.9%).²⁷

Table 17: Teacher Satisfaction, by Student Racial Composition and Teacher Race in Sample

Percentage of White Students		Satisfaction with Career as Teacher				
		Not at all satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
0-25%	White teachers (n=74)	1.4	6.8	24.3	21.6	45.9
	Nonwhite teachers (n=57)	3.5	5.3	26.3	26.3	38.6
25-50%	White teachers (n=112)	0.9	2.7	19.6	24.1	52.7
	Nonwhite teachers (n=36)	0	2.8	16.7	30.6	50
50-75%	White teachers (n=152)	0.7	2.6	17.8	28.3	50.7
	Nonwhite teachers (n=27)	0	0	11.1	37.0	51.9
75-100%	White teachers (n=511)	0.6	2.9	12.7	22.9	60.7
	Nonwhite teachers (n=21)	0	4.8	0	38.1	57.1
All Teachers		0.8%	3.3%	16.0%	24.7%	54.9%

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 42, 47a, & 47b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Another major survey of teachers found that only 15% of teachers in schools where minority students are at least 2/3 of student enrollment rate their satisfaction as excellent compared with 25% of teachers in schools with 1/3 or fewer minority students (MetLife, 2006). An analysis of recent bachelor degree recipients found that the percentage of minority students in the teacher’s school was related to their satisfaction with their teaching job and their perception of the support they received from their school. In virtually every aspect of teaching satisfaction (e.g., learning environment, student behavior, parent support, society’s perception, class size, and administration support) lower percentages of teachers in schools where minority students are 75% or greater of the enrollment report they are “very satisfied” (Henke, Peter, Li, and Geis, 2005). This suggests that factors such as larger class sizes, lower levels of parental involvement, and inferior facilities that are traditionally related to schools with high percentages of minority students—and not minority students themselves—could explain why there are lower percentages of teachers in high minority schools that express satisfaction as a teacher. The testing and sanctions pressure from NCLB may add an added layer of stress for teachers in minority schools.

Teacher Mobility

Our analysis finds that a teacher’s likelihood of leaving his or her current school is higher in schools with higher percentages of minority and poor students (Figure 6). We have already seen above that schools with higher teacher turnover (e.g., teachers’ shorter tenure at their school) are schools with high percentages of black and Latino students. Teachers who were the most likely to leave (responded “very likely”) their current schools teach, on average, in schools where white

²⁷ We also examined whether teacher satisfaction differed by the interaction of teacher’s own race/ethnicity and racial composition of their faculty members. Please see Table A-1 in the Appendix.

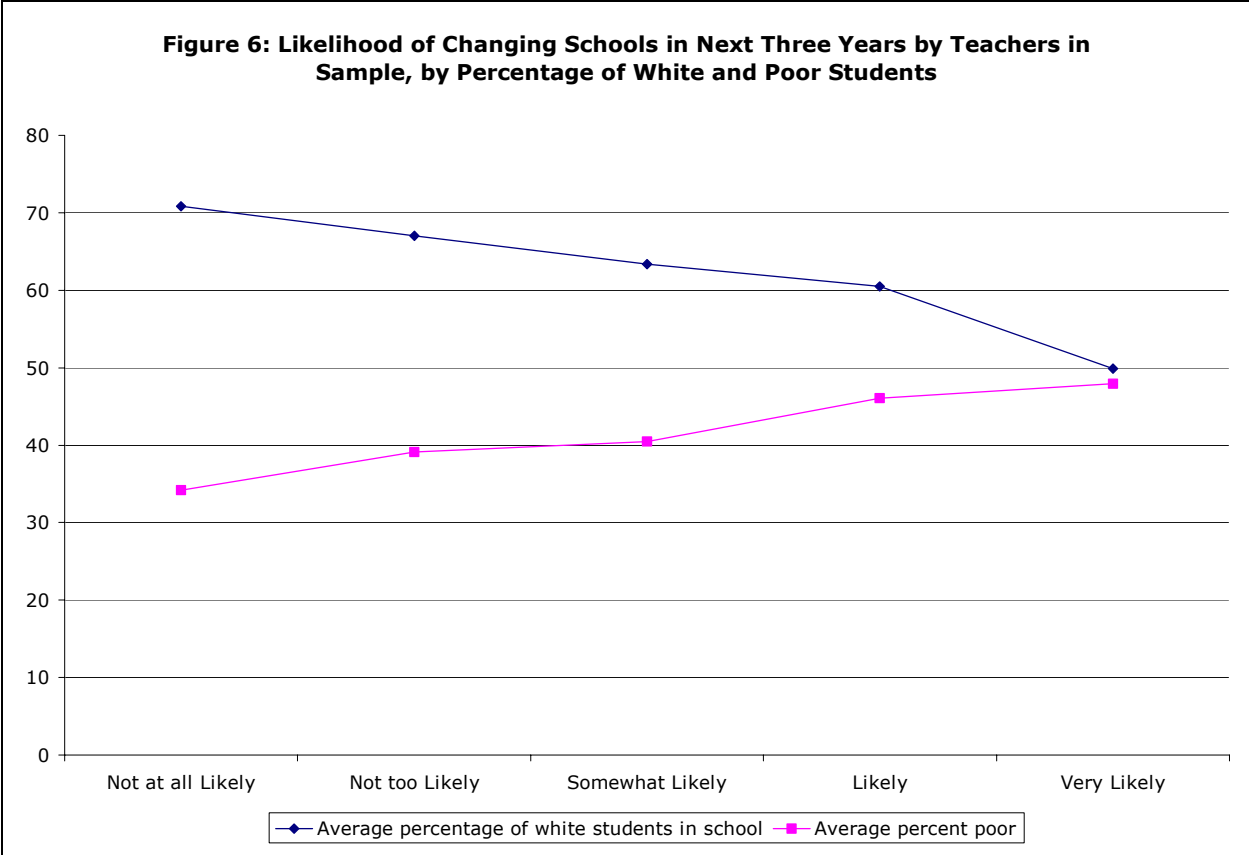
students were a slight minority of the total enrollment (49.9%). Just under half of the students in these teachers' schools were low-income (47.9%), on average. On the other hand, teachers who were "not at all likely" to leave their school in the next three years teach students who are, on average, over 70% white and only 34.2% poor (see Table 18). The difference among those not likely to leave and those very likely to leave in average percentage of white students is 21 percentage points. Although this survey did not ask teachers why they were contemplating changing schools,²⁸ this evidence suggests that teachers might be less satisfied with the working conditions that are often prevalent in high minority, low-income schools and that the prospect of being sanctioned under NCLB may contribute to decisions to change schools (see also Clotfelter et al., 2004). Longitudinal research involving fifty teachers in Massachusetts suggests that teachers who feel successful with their students and believe that the school is organized in a way that supports their teaching are more likely to stay at their school and in teaching (Johnson and Birkeland, 2003).

Table 18: Teacher's Likelihood of Changing Schools by Percent White and Percent Poor of Student Enrollment in Sample

Likelihood of Changing Schools in Next Three Years	Average percentage of white students in school	Average percent poor
Not at all Likely	70.8	34.2
Not too Likely	67.0	39.1
Somewhat Likely	63.4	40.5
Likely	60.5	46.1
Very Likely	49.9	47.9
All teachers	61.8	37.6

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 43; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

²⁸ The survey did contain questions about family involvement and how the administration handled diversity issues—which will be analyzed in subsequent CRP reports—but it is unclear whether teachers' perceptions of families and administrators may relate to their plans to change schools.



Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 43; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

This corroborates other research on teacher mobility patterns, which suggests that there is higher teacher turnover in high minority and high poverty schools. A recent literature review about teacher labor markets concluded, “there are higher turnover rates in schools with higher proportions of African-American and Hispanic students” (Loeb and Reininger, 2004, p. 35). Additionally, Hanushek and colleagues (2004) found in their analysis of teacher mobility patterns using a unique Texas dataset that “student racial composition is an important determinant of both the probability of leaving the public schools entirely and the probability of switching districts” (347). Specifically, they found that higher proportions of Latino or black students made it more likely that non-black and non-Hispanic teachers left their schools (see also Lankford, Loeb, and Wyckoff, 2002; Watson, 2001), patterns that exist even when accounting for differences in teacher salary. This research, however, did not account for working conditions at the school, which might explain why teachers made their decisions about where to teach.

Over half of all teachers in this sample report that they are not at all likely to change schools. Teachers at schools with low concentrations of black and Latino students report being quite likely to stay at their current school: nearly 85% of these teachers respond that they are “not at all likely” or “not too likely” to change schools within the next three years (see Table 19), including 60% who say that they are not at all likely to leave. By contrast, only a third of teachers in schools with 90-100% black and Latino students agreed that they were not at all likely to leave. Forty percent of teachers in racially isolated minority schools said that they were at least somewhat likely to leave their current schools, and 20% reported being very likely to leave. Less

than 4% of teachers in schools with few black and Latino students are as likely to leave. These findings are not surprising given the earlier data regarding teacher satisfaction by student racial composition. Another contributing factor to these patterns might be the fact that novice teachers are more likely to transfer schools and, as will be discussed below, novice teachers in this sample are also more likely to teach in high minority schools. Regardless, if teachers follow through on their expressed desire to change schools, their mobility will likely contribute to the trend of shorter tenures of teachers and corresponding instability due to higher teacher turnover rates in higher minority schools discussed above.

Table 19: Teacher Transition, by Student Racial Composition in Sample

Percent of Students in school	Percent of Teachers Reporting Their Likelihood of Changing Schools in Next 3 Years As:				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
0-10% black and Latino	60.8	23.9	7.8	3.5	3.8
90-100% black and Latino	35.6	24.4	13.3	6.7	20.0
All teachers	53.4	24.8	9.9	4.8	6.8

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 43; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Disproportionately fewer teachers (42%) in high-poverty schools (where 50-100% of students are poor) are likely to say that they are “not at all likely” to change schools while over 60% of teachers in low-poverty schools (0-10% of students are poor) believe that they are unlikely to change schools in the next three years. Over 18% of teachers in high-poverty schools, or three times the share of teachers in low-poverty schools, say that they are least likely to leave their current schools in the next three years (see Table 20). As with the trends in high minority schools discussed above, these preferences to leave high-poverty schools at disproportionate rates portend harmful educational consequences for the students who attend such schools if teachers do in fact leave these schools at higher rates. Again, it is important to emphasize that we do not know what about these schools that cause teachers to want to transfer from them given the fact that—as documented elsewhere—that schools with high concentrations of poor and/or black and Latino students tend to be associated with a number of factors that make the working conditions in these schools more challenging for teachers. These conditions may explain teachers’ transfer decisions, *not* the fact that teachers do not want to teach students of color.

Table 20: Teacher Transition, by Categories of Student Poverty in Sample

Percent of Students in school	Likelihood of Changing Schools in Next 3 Years				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
0-10% poor	60.3	23.0	10.3	3.2	3.2
10-25% poor	62.1	22.5	5.7	4.0	5.7
25-50% poor	53.9	24.7	11.0	4.2	5.8
50-100% poor	42.3	26.9	11.8	7.2	11.1
All teachers	53.3	24.6	9.9	4.9	7.0

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 43; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Novice teachers, who teach in disproportionately nonwhite schools, are the least likely to believe that they will stay at their current school. Just over a quarter of novice teachers respond that they are “not at all likely” to change schools in the next three years (see Table 21). By contrast, almost three-quarters of veteran teachers say that they are as unlikely to change schools. Four times as many novice teachers (18.6%) say that they are “likely” or “very likely” to leave their current schools than veteran teachers (4.4%). Thus, teacher mobility is more likely to negatively impact schools with higher percentages of novice teachers.

Table 21: Teacher Transition by Years of Experience in Sample

Years of Experience as a Teacher	Likelihood of Changing Schools in Next 3 Years				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
Less than 3 years	26.5	34.7	20.4	5.1	13.3
4-10 years	38.1	30.5	13.6	7.6	10.2
11-20 years	50.3	25.7	10.2	6.6	6.9
More than 20 years	72.8	17.9	4.4	1.4	3.0
All teachers	53.3	24.9	9.9	4.8	6.9

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 1a & 43.

Teacher turnover is also likely to impact schools with higher percentages of nonwhite teachers. One-quarter of black teachers, for example, say that they are at least “likely” to change schools within three years (see Table 22). Twenty percent of Latino teachers and 35% of mixed race teachers report a similar likelihood that they will transfer schools. By contrast, less than 10% of white teachers say they are as likely to change schools. In fact, more than half of white teachers say that they are not at all likely to change schools.

Table 22: Teacher Transition by Teacher Race in Sample

Teacher Race	Likelihood of Changing Schools in Next 3 Years				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
White	56.0	24.5	9.5	4.0	5.8
Black	40.4	31.6	3.5	12.3	12.3
Latino	35.0	22.5	22.5	7.5	12.5
Asian	35.7	28.6	28.6	0	7.1
Mixed race	39.1	26.1	0	17.4	17.4
All teachers	53.3	24.9	9.9	4.8	6.8

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 43, 47a, & 47b.

As seen above, more teachers in schools with higher percentages of nonwhite students report that they are the most likely to leave their current school. Somewhat surprisingly, among teachers in 0-25% white schools, a higher percentage of nonwhite teachers report that they are very likely to leave than do white teachers (see Table 23).²⁹ However, there is little variability among

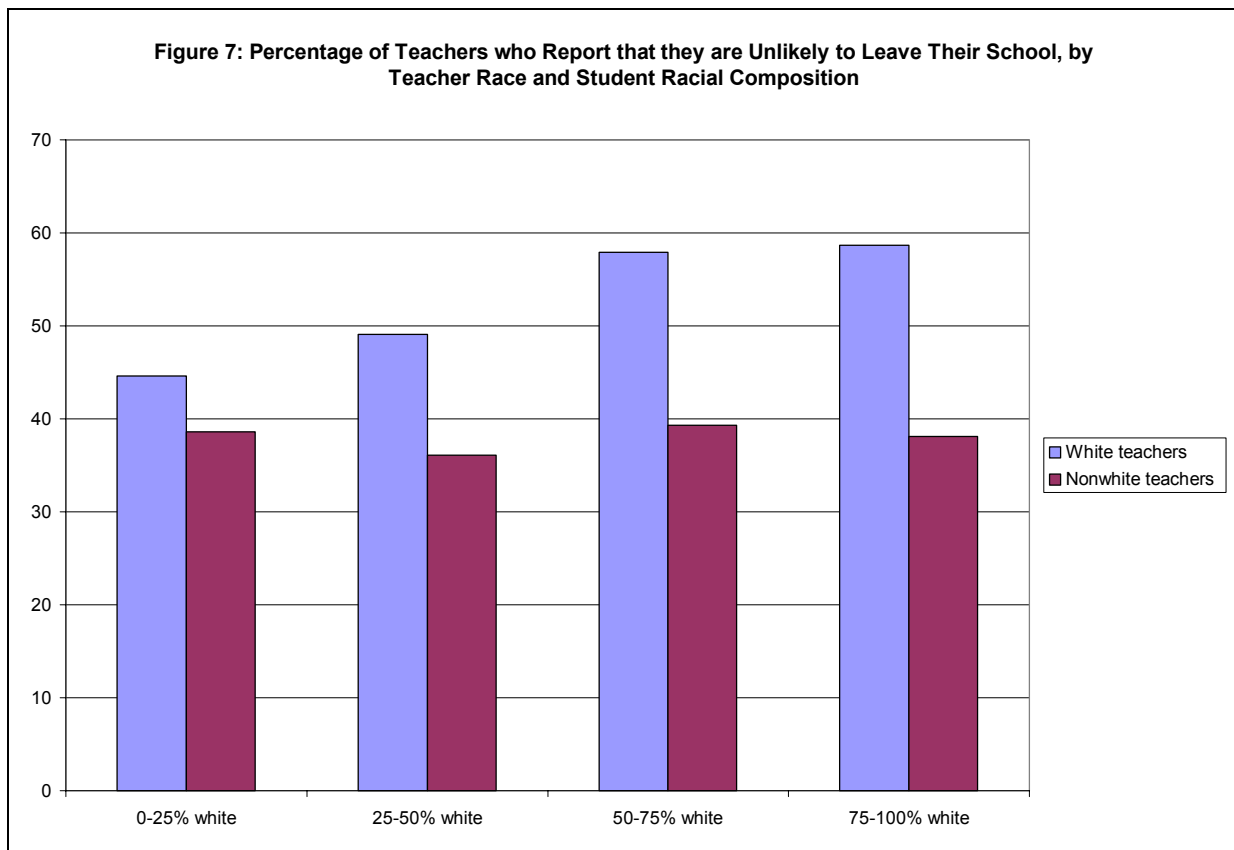
²⁹ For analysis of how faculty racial composition by teacher race affected teachers plans to change schools, please see Table A-2 in the Appendix.

nonwhite teachers in terms of student racial composition of those who report that they are not at all likely to leave (between 36% and 39%) their current school. By contrast, higher percentages of white teachers in each category of schools report that they are unlikely to leave and this share is higher among schools with higher percentages of white students (see Figure 7).

Table 23: Teacher Turnover by Teacher Race and Student Racial Composition in Sample

Percentage of White Students	Likelihood of Changing Schools in Next 3 Years									
	White Teachers					Nonwhite teachers				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
0-25%	44.6	23.0	13.5	6.8	12.5	38.6	26.3	10.5	5.3	19.3
25-50%	49.1	24.1	10.7	6.3	8.9	36.1	33.3	8.3	13.9	8.3
50-75%	57.9	21.7	11.8	3.3	5.3	39.3	28.6	14.3	3.6	14.3
75-100%	58.7	25.6	8.0	3.3	4.1	38.1	19.0	14.3	23.8	4.8

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 43, 47a, & 47b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.



Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 43, 47a, & 47b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Teacher Attrition

Almost two-thirds of teachers in schools with the lowest shares of black and Latino students report that they are not at all likely to leave teaching in the next few years, while less than half (40%) of teachers in high minority schools express similar confidence that they will be teaching in three years (see Table 24). Further, almost one-quarter (24.4%) of teachers in schools with 90-100% black and Latino students say that they are likely or very likely to leave teaching in three years. One-eighth of teachers in schools with less than 10% black and Latino students—or approximately half the share of teachers in 90-100% black and Latino schools who hold similar beliefs—believe that they are as likely to be out of teaching soon.

Table 24: Teacher Attrition by Student Racial Composition in Sample

% of Students in school	Likelihood of Changing Careers in Next 3 Years				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
0-10% black and Latino	63.8	16.8	6.9	1.9	10.6
10-20% black and Latino	67.2	18.2	5.1	1.5	8.0
20-30% black and Latino	57.7	21.6	5.2	2.1	13.4
30-40% black and Latino	58.1	23.0	2.7	4.1	9.5
40-50% black and Latino	50.0	25.0	7.1	1.8	16.1
50-60% black and Latino	53.6	19.6	12.5	0	12.5
60-70% black and Latino	50.0	28.6	7.1	4.8	9.5
70-80% black and Latino	57.1	22.9	8.6	5.7	5.7
80-90% black and Latino	47.1	23.5	11.8	0	17.6
90-100% black and Latino	40.0	20.0	15.6	11.1	13.3
All teachers	59.5	19.6	7.1	2.5	11.0

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 44; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

A majority of teachers at all schools—regardless of poverty concentration—report that they are not at all likely to leave teaching in the next three years (see Table 36). Yet, a lower percentage of teachers in schools of concentrated poverty (53%) say that they are not at all likely to leave teaching than in schools with few low-income students (64.3%). Almost one-quarter (24.3%) of teachers in high poverty schools say that they are at least somewhat likely to leave teaching in three years. When comparing Tables 24 and 25, the differences by student poverty are not as stark as the differences by student racial composition.

Table 25: Teacher Attrition by Student Poverty Composition in Sample

% of Students in school	Likelihood of Changing Careers in Next 3 Years				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
0-10% poor	64.3	19.8	6.3	2.4	7.1
10-25% poor	62.1	18.9	4.0	2.2	12.3
25-50% poor	61.4	17.9	7.8	1.3	11.4
50-100% poor	53.0	22.2	9.3	3.9	11.1
All teachers	59.5	19.7	7.1	2.4	11.0

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 44; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Over twenty percent of black and mixed race teachers report that they are either likely or very likely to leave teaching within the next three years. Additionally, less than half of black teachers say that they are “not at all likely” to leave teaching, which is the lowest percentage of teachers of any racial/ethnic group (see Table 26). Only one-eighth of white teachers are likely or very likely to leave teaching in three years and more than sixty percent of white teachers say that they are not at all likely to change careers. Given the under-representation of minority teachers, these patterns of attrition suggest that further diversifying the teaching force will require efforts to try to retain minority teachers, who in this sample are more likely to leave.

Table 26: Teacher Attrition, by Teacher Race in Sample

Teacher Race	Likelihood of Changing Careers in Next 3 Years				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
White	61.0%	19.4%	6.8%	1.9%	10.6%
Black	49.1%	21.1%	7.0%	11.1%	13.3%
Latino	55.0%	22.5%	12.5%	0%	10.0%
Asian	57.1%	28.6%	0%	7.1%	7.1%
Mixed race	52.2%	13.0%	13.0%	0%	21.7%
All teachers	59.5%	19.6%	7.1%	2.5%	11.0%

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, question 44, 47a, & 47b.

Similar to teachers’ reported plans to switch schools, a higher percentage of nonwhite teachers in heavily nonwhite schools report that they are likely to leave teaching than do white teachers (see Table 27). The percentage of nonwhite teachers who believe that they are likely to switch careers within three years is lower in schools with higher percentages of white students. In general, there are no consistent patterns of teacher attrition suggesting that differential rates of teacher attrition from minority schools is not driven by white teachers (at least in this sample) leaving schools with high percentages of students of color.³⁰ Although some research has found that African-American teachers tend to prefer schools with higher percentages of African-American students, nonwhite teachers in this sample—like white teachers—were most likely to remain in teaching in schools with the highest percentage of white students. This may lend support to the belief that teachers leave heavily nonwhite and/or poor schools because of the working conditions, which are often more difficult in such schools.

Table 27: Teacher Attrition, by Teacher Race and Student Racial Composition in Sample

Percentage of White Students	Likelihood of Changing Careers in Next 3 Years									
	White Teachers					Nonwhite teachers				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
0-25%	47.3	25.7	10.8	6.8	9.5	50.9	12.3	12.3	5.3	15.8
25-50%	59.8	20.5	8.0	0	11.6	47.2	30.6	8.3	2.8	11.1
50-75%	56.6	23.0	5.3	1.3	12.5	46.4	32.1	0	10.7	10.7
75-100%	64.6	17.0	6.5	2.0	10.0	71.4	4.8	9.5	4.8	9.5

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 44, 47a, & 47b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

³⁰ There are similarly mixed patterns of teachers’ plans to change careers when analyzing responses by teacher race and faculty racial composition (see Table A-3 in the Appendix).

DIMENSIONS OF SEGREGATION

Faculty segregation is deeply related to educational inequality. For example, teachers in segregated minority schools are more likely to be facing sanctions and be publicly branded as a “failing” school. Federal and state policy is putting more pressure on schools to improve student performance and have targeted teachers as central to improving this. The No Child Left Behind (NCLB) Act includes a requirement that will soon take effect is that every class is taught by a highly qualified teacher. To be highly qualified under the law, a teacher must have a bachelor’s degree, be certified according to state requirements, and demonstrate subject matter knowledge. Although there are various metrics by which researchers, educators, and policy makers define teachers as “qualified”, educational literature concurs that regardless of definition, schools with higher percentages of black and Latino students tend to have less qualified teachers.³¹ For example, authors of one review concluded, “there is a systematic sorting of the least qualified teachers into schools with the highest minority enrollments” (Loeb and Reininger, 2004, p. 27).³² This section will analyze a number of factors affecting the educational environment in schools by teacher and student race: AYP status, teacher certification, teacher education, years of teacher experience, and years teachers have been at current school.

Adequate Yearly Progress Status

Under NCLB, schools are identified for improvement and subject to sanctions outlined in the law if they do not meet a state’s adequate yearly progress (AYP) targets for two consecutive years. Each subgroup of students—including all racial groups, economically disadvantaged, students with disabilities, and English language learners—in a school is required to post yearly increases on standardized testing according to the No Child Left Behind Act. This means that even if a teacher’s classroom of students scores very well, if all subgroups in the school do not score highly enough, individual teachers will share in the school’s sanctions. CRP studies have documented that racially diverse schools—because they have more subgroups of students—are more likely to eventually face sanctions for not making AYP (Kim and Sunderman, 2005).³³

When we examined how teachers in the sample were distributed between schools that made AYP and those that did not, we found differences based on the teacher’s race. Higher percentages of white and Asian teachers than black, Latino and mixed race teachers in this sample teach in schools that made AYP. Over a quarter of black teachers teach in schools that did not make AYP—twice the percentage of white teachers in non-AYP schools. Over one-fifth of Latino teachers were in schools that also did not make AYP (see Table 28).

³¹ Researchers also find similar trends of lower quality teachers more often teaching in schools with higher numbers of poor students.

³² Although not a focus here, research examining the distribution of teachers in North Carolina finds that there may be sorting within schools in addition to sorting between schools based on the percentage of black students. Their research found that as a result of both sorting trends, black students were disproportionately exposed to less experienced and unqualified teachers (see Clotfelter et al., 2005b).

³³ For more information on the NCLB Act and the sanctions relating to AYP status, see Sunderman, Kim, and Orfield, 2005.

Table 28: Teacher Race by School's AYP Status in Sample

Teacher Race	Percent in schools making AYP	Percent in schools not making AYP	Percent that don't know AYP status
White	84.0	13.0	2.7
Black	71.9	26.3	1.8
Latino	75.0	22.5	2.5
Asian	85.7	7.1	7.1
Mixed Race	78.3	21.7	0

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 11, 47a, & 47b.

Schools that made AYP educate, on average, much higher percentages of white students (70%) and lower percentages of low-income students (see Table 30). Schools that did not make AYP, on the other hand, educate slightly less than 50% of white students, on average, and over half of their students come from low-income families.³⁴ Kim and Sunderman (2005) found similar results that schools making AYP differed systematically from those that did not or were identified for improvement. The data in Table 29 also indicate that, on average, faculties in schools not making AYP have a lower percentage of white teachers (77% white). Thus, the white isolation of teachers in low-poverty and more heavily white schools means that minority teachers are more likely to be in schools facing pressures due to the threat of sanctions.³⁵

Teachers in schools not making AYP, which may mean their school faces sanctions, allow students to transfer out of their schools, and to be labeled as a failing school, may be more likely to leave their schools, which in this sample are schools with greater percentages of minority and/or poor students. Ironically, the turnover of teachers in such schools may only further disrupt the school's educational environment for teachers and students who remain there. An unintended consequence of NCLB's AYP requirement may be that it makes the teaching context for minority teachers more difficult at the same time that minority teachers continue to be underrepresented in the teaching force.

Table 29: Percent White of Faculty by School's AYP Status in Sample

School Made AYP	Average Percent White of Faculty
Yes	87.5
No	76.9
Don't Know	88.9

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 10 & 11.

Table 30: Percent White and Percent Poor of Student Enrollment by AYP Status of Teacher's School in Sample

School Made AYP	Average percentage of white students in school	Average percent poor
Yes	70.0	35.6
No	49.5	50.7
Don't Know	76.7	30.9

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 11; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

³⁴ See also Owens & Sunderman, October 2006

³⁵ See Chapter 5 in Sunderman, Kim, and Orfield, 2005, for analysis from a survey of teachers in schools facing NCLB sanctions.

Teacher Certification

An overwhelming majority (96%) of teachers in this sample report being certified in the subject they teach. Among those teachers who are not certified, however, they were in schools with a lower percentage of white students on average (see Table 31). That said, due to the small number of non-certified teachers, it is difficult to draw conclusions from this sample of teachers.

Table 31: Teacher Certification Status by Percent White of Student Enrollment in Sample

Certification	Average percentage of white students in school
Certified in subject	67.5
Not certified, but some formal training	59.9

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 3; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Teacher Level of Education

Notably, when examining the student racial and poverty composition of schools in which teachers with advanced degrees compared with teachers with bachelors degrees teach, there were only slight differences.³⁶ As seen in Table 1, just over half of the teachers in the sample had obtained a masters degree, which is higher than the national percentage among all public school teachers.

Teachers with master's degrees and more than ten years of teaching experience teach in schools that are more than 70% white, on average (see Table 32). In comparison, novice teachers with master's degrees have only 50% white students, on average, which is less than veteran teachers and 16 percentage points less than novice teachers without graduate experience.

We see contrasting trends in the percentage of poor students in schools taught by teachers with master's degrees when compared with bachelor's degree recipients. For teachers with only an undergraduate degree, the percentage of poor students is higher in schools of teachers with more years of experience (see Table 33). The reverse trend is seen among teachers with a graduate degree. Novice teachers with a master's degree teach in schools, on average, with almost 45% poor students. By contrast, veteran teachers with master's degrees are in schools with only 34% poor students, on average, which is 7 percentage points lower than their peers with similar experience but no graduate degree.

Ironically teachers with no graduate degree and little experience teach in schools with fewer poor students and more white students than average. However, at the aggregate level the differences are not large between those who have a master's degree and those who do not. Our survey did not explore differences in where teachers went to undergraduate or graduate school, but the selectivity of these institutions may result in larger differences than whether a teacher has a graduate degree.

³⁶ There were three teachers who had less than a bachelor's degree and nine who had a doctorate. Because of the small sample sizes, we have not included them in this table.

Table 32: Average Percent White of Student Enrollment by Highest Level of Teacher’s Education and Years of Experience in Sample

Highest Education	1-3 years	4-10 years	11-20 years	More than 20 years	All teachers
Bachelor degree	66.5	61.9	60.9	70.4	64.7
Master degree	50.5	64.7	71.4	71.8	68.9

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 1a & 46; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Table 33: Average Percent Poor of Student Enrollment by Highest Level of Teacher’s Education and Years of Experience in Sample

Highest Education	1-3 years	4-10 years	11-20 years	More than 20 years	All teachers
Bachelor degree	36.9	36.5	41.1	41.2	40.1
Master degree	44.5	38.7	35.7	34.0	36.2

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 1a & 46; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Teacher Experience and Stability

Empirical research suggests that new teachers (and research varies as to whether this is during teachers’ first year only, first five years, etc.) do not produce the same achievement gains in their students as more experienced teachers do (Rivkin, Hanushek, and Kain, 2005; Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor, 2005b; Loeb and Reininger, 2004). As such, inexperienced teachers can negatively affect a student’s educational experience (Freeman, Scafidi, and Sjoquist, 2005). Further, schools with high concentrations of minority students disproportionately have more inexperienced teachers. One review of teacher staffing patterns concluded, “schools with minority enrollments over 80 percent have higher proportions of teachers in their first three years of teaching” (Loeb and Reininger, 2004, p. 29). The authors suggest that these differences might be even more pronounced within large urban districts.

Novice teachers, or teachers with less than 3 years of experience, on average, teach in schools with fewer white students and have fewer white students in their classrooms in this sample (see Table 34).³⁷ Veteran teachers, or teachers with more than 20 years of teaching experience, on the other hand, teach in schools that are over 70% white, on average, which is ten percentage points higher than novice teachers. Further, they have a higher percentage of white students in their classrooms, on average, though teachers of all experience levels report a lower percentage of white students in their classrooms than in the entire school.

Teachers regardless of years of experience are on faculties where on average at least four out of every five teachers are white. Novice teachers teach in schools with faculties that are slightly more racially diverse—almost 20% of their faculty colleagues are nonwhite compared to less than 13% of teachers with 11 or more years of experience (see also Mayer, Mullens, and Moore, 2000 for national examination of these trends). Veteran teachers also are on faculties that

³⁷ Differences in percentage of poor students in teachers’ schools by years of experience were examined, but there was little variation among the four categories of teacher experience and are not shown here.

average a higher percentage of white teachers (88%) than their less experienced colleagues (see Table 35).

Table 34: Percent White of Student Enrollment and in Teacher’s Classroom, by Teacher’s Years of Experience in Sample

Years of experience	Average percentage of white students in school	Avg. percent white students in teacher’s class
1-3 years	61.1	49.1
4-10 years	63.5	54.9
11-20 years	67.0	52.5
More than 20 years	71.3	58.8
Total	67.6	54.8

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 1a & 9; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Table 35: Percent White of Faculty, by Teacher’s Years of Experience in Sample

Years of experience	Average Percent White of Faculty
1-3 years	80.7
4-10 years	84.4
11-20 years	86.9
More than 20 years	87.7
Total	86.0

Source: “Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools” survey, questions 1a & 10.

Examining schools by their percentage of black and Latino students, we see substantial differences in the percentage of novice teachers in overwhelming black and Latino schools compared to schools with few black and Latino students. Novice teachers are disproportionately more likely to teach in schools with high percentages of black and Latino students. Less than 10 percent of teachers in this sample are novice teachers, but almost twice that share (17.8%, see Table 36) of all teachers in 90-100% black and Latino schools are novice teachers. By contrast, only 7.1% of teachers are novice in schools with 0-10% of students who are black and Latino. When analyzing the distribution of veteran teachers (those who have taught 20 or more years), the reverse pattern is found. Over forty percent of teachers in 0-10% black and Latino schools are veteran teachers, which is higher than the share of veteran teachers in the sample. Just over one-quarter of teachers in high minority schools are veteran. Given the relationship between teacher experience and student achievement, these findings suggest that black and Latino students in this sample are systematically disadvantaged by the overrepresentation of inexperienced teachers in their schools. Further, since novice teachers are the most likely to leave their schools these trends could also contribute to higher teacher turnover in predominantly minority schools.

Table 36: Student Racial Composition and Teacher Experience in Sample

Percentage of black and Latino students in school	Percentage of teachers by years of teaching experience in schools of varying racial composition:			
	1-3 years	4-10 years	11-20 years	More than 20 years
0-10% black and Latino	7.1	21.3	30.5	41.1
10-20% black and Latino	11.7	22.6	28.5	37.2
20-30% black and Latino	10.3	22.7	33.0	34.0
30-40% black and Latino	8.1	21.6	39.2	31.1
40-50% black and Latino	10.7	23.2	25.0	41.1
50-60% black and Latino	8.9	35.7	30.4	25.0
60-70% black and Latino	16.7	23.8	25.7	23.8
70-80% black and Latino	14.3	25.7	22.9	37.1
80-90% black and Latino	11.8	32.4	26.5	29.4
90-100% black and Latino	17.8	31.1	24.4	26.7
Total	9.7	23.6	30.3	36.3

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 1a; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Another measure of the relationship of student racial composition and teacher experience/teacher turnover is shown in the table below (see Table 37). Teachers at schools with few black and Latino students have, on average, four more years of experience teaching than do teachers that teach at schools with very high percentages of black and Latino students. There is a similar disparity in the average number of years that teachers have taught at their current school. Teachers at low minority schools have worked at their respective schools, on average, for nearly 12 years while teachers in intensely segregated black and Latino schools have taught at their schools for 8 years, on average. The four-year gap indicates that students in intensely segregated minority schools have teachers with fewer years of experience in the teaching profession and at their current school, and that teacher turnover is more of a factor at these schools.

Table 37: Relationship between Student Racial Composition and Years of Teacher Experience and Teacher Stability in Sample

Percentage of Students in school	Avg. Years as a Teacher	Avg. Years at Current School
0-10% black and Latino	18.0	11.7
90-100% black and Latino	13.9	8.0
Total	16.9	10.2

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 1a & 1b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Similar to patterns of teaching experience, schools with the fewest black and Latino students have the fewest percentage of teachers who are new to their school (1-3 years at current school) while schools that are at least 90-100% black and Latino have 40% of teachers who are new to their school (see Table 38). Further, over 45% of teachers in schools with few black and Latino students have been at the school at least 11 years, which is the highest percentage among schools of any racial composition and a substantially higher percentage than teachers in predominantly minority schools.

Table 38: Student Racial Composition and Teacher Tenure at Current School in Sample

Percentage of black and Latino students in school	Percentage of teachers by years at current school of varying racial composition:			
	1-3 years	4-10 years	11-20 years	More than 20 years
0-10% black and Latino	19.6	35.0	27.9	17.5
10-20% black and Latino	22.8	41.2	22.1	14.0
20-30% black and Latino	24.0	36.5	25.0	14.6
30-40% black and Latino	29.7	45.9	18.9	5.4
40-50% black and Latino	26.8	37.5	25.0	10.7
50-60% black and Latino	26.8	42.9	23.2	7.1
60-70% black and Latino	54.8	21.4	16.7	7.1
70-80% black and Latino	20.0	48.6	22.9	8.6
80-90% black and Latino	26.5	52.9	17.6	2.9
90-100% black and Latino	40.0	31.1	20.0	8.9
Total	24.7	37.7	24.4	13.2

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, question 1b; NCES Common Core of Data, 2003-04.

Teaching experience and tenure at their school also varies by teachers' racial background in this sample. At more than 17 years, white teachers average the greatest number of years of teaching experience, while all other teachers have less than 15 years experience (see Table 39). Black, Latino, and Asian teachers all average 2.5-3 years less experience than white teachers. The average white teacher has also taught at his/her current school for over 10 years (see Table 40), which is also the highest for any group. Asian teachers, who average the second highest number of years of teaching experience, also had the second-longest tenure at their current school, 8.7 years. Although black teachers also had almost 15 years of experience, on average, they were at their current schools less than 7 years, on average, the lowest of any racial group.

Table 39: Years of Teaching Experience, by Teacher Race in Sample

Teacher Race	Avg. Years as a Teacher
White	17.3
Black	14.7
Latino	14.2
Asian	14.8
Mixed Race	13.0
Total	16.9

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 1a, 47a, & 47b.

Table 40: Years at Current School, by Teacher Race in Sample

Teacher Race	Avg. Years at Current School
White	10.7
Black	7.0
Latino	7.9
Asian	8.7
Mixed Race	7.2
Total	10.2

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 1b, 47a, & 47b.

CONCLUSION

Data from a survey of teachers across the country show considerable segregation, which is related to harmful consequences for teachers and students. This initial report describes the context of where teachers are teaching and finds substantial differences, and though we cannot be sure what the explanation is for the trends reported above, they demonstrate that teachers add an extra layer of segregation to the increasing segregation of public school students. Future CRP reports will examine working conditions, teachers' attitudes and relationships, and training for diverse schools that may well influence their decisions about where to teach and whether they believe they will remain at their schools.

We do not mean to imply that white teachers cannot be good teachers for students of color—there are many examples of exemplary teachers—or that they cannot learn to be sensitive to race, class, and language dynamics that arise in diverse schools. In fact, since whites—under virtually any scenario—will remain a majority of teachers for the foreseeable future, we will examine their preparation for teaching in multiracial schools. Our findings here, however, highlight the need to prepare more minority teachers and to diversify faculties with our existing teaching force.

Minority and low-income students are educated by less qualified, less experienced teachers, who are more likely to leave the school and/or the teaching profession. Given the increasing body of research that associates high quality teaching with student achievement (e.g., Rivkin, Hanushek, and Kain, 2005; Rockoff, 2004; Sanders and Rivers, 1996), teacher distribution trends may disproportionately harm students in segregated minority and/or concentrated poor schools. The isolation of white students is exacerbated by overwhelming white faculties that teach them, and teachers who have had few diverse experiences of their own.

It is critical to ensure access for children from all backgrounds to a qualified, experienced teacher. Although racial segregation continues to be strongly related to inequality along a number of dimensions, the concentration of students from high poverty, ELL, or racial minority backgrounds should not be a determining factor in the quality of teachers in a given school. School districts can play an important role in how they recruit, assign, and try to retain teachers. If districts' hiring or teacher assignment policies result in the assignment of teachers of color to schools where working conditions are more challenging, we should not be surprised as we see above that nonwhite teachers are more likely to be planning to leave the teaching profession. Administrators should make it a priority to try to hire a diverse teaching force for each school. Districts should, for example, examine whether policies that give teachers with seniority preference in transferring schools contribute to faculty segregation or an unequal distribution of qualified, experienced teachers. Additionally, school leaders must ensure that the school is a welcome working environment for teachers from every background and put in place policies that are equitable. The stability of school leaders, with experience in diverse school environments and who will establish a hospitable working environment, is instrumental in recruiting and keeping a talented faculty.

Devising student assignment policies to eliminate schools of minority student isolation will eliminate schools with working conditions that cause teachers to leave at disproportionately high

rates, and continue to be staffed by less experienced and qualified teachers that offer these students an inferior education. These policies should also target diversifying schools that have overwhelmingly white student bodies and faculties. Creating integrated schools is a policy that may not only provide important educational benefits for public school students but will help establish stable, thriving schools that attract and retain a diverse, qualified teaching force.

White teachers still comprise the vast majority of the teaching force despite the rapidly changing student enrollment, and these white teachers—like many other whites who are highly isolated—have few diverse experiences of their own or among their school’s faculty. The under-representation of people of color in the teaching professions combines with the patterns of teacher segregation to leave schools where a majority of students are white virtually bereft of teachers of color. While it is possible that these schools may be able to hire paraprofessionals or other staff members from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds, the lack of a diverse faculty reinforces the isolation of white students in their schools and neighborhoods.

School districts, school desegregation experts, and federal legislation for decades have also recognized the importance of an integrated faculty: to provide role models from different racial backgrounds for students, help white students understand diversity, bring a richer knowledge base and commitment to social justice, and ensure that there are high expectations for all students. In addition to the isolation of white teachers, we also see that black teachers and Latino teachers are also teaching in contexts that differ from whites but also from each other. Thus, the issue of creating a diverse faculty must also be one in which the focus is on the creation of a multiracial faculty and may require different strategies for schools depending on the students they educate.

Although the under-representation of teachers of color has been a persistent trend, a comprehensive approach to trying to diversify the teaching force could include:

- 1) Increasing the number of college graduates among African-Americans and Latinos. The graduation rate of African Americans is only about half of whites and Latinos are one-third of whites;
- 2) Targeted recruitment of students of color to teacher preparation programs;
- 3) Re-evaluating the necessity of admissions requirements (e.g., entrance tests that some teacher preparation programs require³⁸) that may limit the number of teaching candidates of color and/or giving preference to prospective students who will commit to teaching in diverse schools;
- 4) Restructuring teacher preparation programs to provide supportive environments for teaching candidates of color, hiring faculty of color, and a sustained commitment to preparing white and nonwhite teachers to teach in racially and economically diverse schools; and
- 5) Clarifying the definition of a “highly qualified teacher” and state certification requirements to require teacher training for working in racially diverse schools.

³⁸ The Higher Education Act has increased pressure on teacher training institutions, including threats of withholding federal funding depending on the passing rates of their graduates on state credentialing tests, and as a result, some programs have begun requiring passing tests as a requirement to entering the program, which may disproportionately exclude prospective teaching candidates of color.

Diversifying teacher preparation programs will accomplish two goals: helping to train a new racially diverse generation of teachers and providing valuable learning experience for white teachers that will help prepare them for and perhaps make them seek out teaching positions in racially diverse schools.

Alternative certification programs have shown some success in training a higher percentage of teachers of color who show a higher tendency to remain as teachers (Guarino et al., 2006) although the quality of these programs is mixed. Local partnerships between school districts and colleges of education could collaborate to plan comprehensive teacher training programs specifically designed to help teaching candidates to educate the school district's student population, and can provide ongoing mentoring and support as teaching candidates move into their own classrooms. Providing training for paraprofessionals in high minority, low income schools to become certified teachers in exchange for a commitment to remaining as a teacher in their schools could be one way to ensure a stable, qualified teaching force.

Ignoring issues of race and segregation among students and faculty will not solve the stratification and inequality. The inequality that is stubbornly linked to schools with high percentages of poor students, English Language Learners, and students of color make these schools more challenging for teachers to work in despite educators' deep commitment to their students. NCLB, its sanctions and branding of schools as failing, may intensify the challenges of teaching in many schools that need the best teachers. We cannot afford to ignore how significant these issues are in how they affect the classroom and must provide ways—either in teacher preparation programs, as professional development, or preferably both—for teachers to think about how to teach in racially diverse schools or to teach students from different racial/ethnic backgrounds than their own.

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APPENDIX

Table A-1: Teacher Career Satisfaction by Teacher Race and Faculty Racial Composition in Sample

Percentage of White Teachers on Faculty	Satisfaction with Career as a Teacher:									
	White Teachers					Nonwhite teachers				
	Not at all Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied	Not at all Satisfied	Not too Satisfied	Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied	Very Satisfied
0-50%	2.3	9.3	20.9	23.3	44.2	4.1	4.1	24.5	32.7	34.7
50-80%	0.7	2.7	16.7	23.3	56.7	0	5.0	17.5	42.5	35.0
80-95%	0.4	1.9	18.5	30.1	49.0	0	2.5	20.0	12.5	62.5
95-100%	0.8	3.5	12.4	20.0	63.0	0	4.8	4.8	28.6	57.1

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 10, 42, 47a, & 47b.

Table A-2: Teacher Transition by Teacher Race and Faculty Racial Composition in Sample

Percentage of White Teachers on Faculty	Likelihood of Changing Schools in Next 3 Years									
	White Teachers					Nonwhite teachers				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
0-50%	44.2	16.3	14.0	7.0	18.6	36.7	26.5	12.2	4.1	20.4
50-80%	48.0	28.7	10.0	7.3	6.0	35.0	27.5	15.0	15.0	7.5
80-95%	56.4	23.6	10.8	3.5	5.8	40.0	30.0	10.0	10.0	7.5
95-100%	60.0	24.8	8.1	2.8	3.8	42.9	19.0	9.5	9.5	19.0

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 10, 43, 47a, & 47b.

Table A-3: Teacher Attrition by Teacher Race and Faculty Racial Composition in Sample

Percentage of White Teachers on Faculty	Likelihood of Changing Careers in Next 3 Years									
	White Teachers					Nonwhite teachers				
	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely	Not at all Likely	Not too Likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Very Likely
0-50%	46.5	30.2	9.3	4.7	9.3	51.0	12.2	10.2	12.2	14.3
50-80%	54.7	22.7	6.7	2.7	12.7	42.5	32.5	12.5	2.5	10.0
80-95%	63.3	19.3	6.9	1.9	8.1	47.5	27.5	5.0	2.5	15.0
95-100%	63.8	16.7	6.3	1.5	11.6	71.4	9.5	4.8	0	14.3

Source: "Teaching in Multi-Racial Schools" survey, questions 10, 44, 47a, & 47b.