

**The Challenge of Recruiting and Hiring Teachers of Color:
Lessons From Six High-Performing, High-Poverty, Urban Schools**

Nicole S. Simon
Susan Moore Johnson
Stefanie K. Reinhorn

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Abstract

This qualitative analysis of teacher teams is part of a larger, comparative case study, “Developing Human Capital Within Schools,” conducted by the Project on the Next Generation of Teachers. Within one city, we interviewed 142 teachers and administrators in six high-poverty schools (three charter and three district), all of which had achieved the highest ranking in the state’s accountability system. Here, we analyze how each school approached the process of recruiting and hiring Black and Latino teachers. All six schools reported that recruiting Black and Latino teachers was an enormous challenge—one compounded by the rapid rate of turnover among those they hired. Each had strategically adapted its recruitment and hiring processes to address the unique challenges of recruiting and hiring teachers of color. Principals recognized the important role that current teachers of color might play in recruiting more teachers of color, and therefore each school engaged teachers of color in their processes in some way. At two schools, teachers of color were active partners in developing and enacting a strategy. Teachers were clear that this worked because the school was already an inclusive environment where conversations about race were commonplace. At other schools, however, school leaders and talent staff formulated an advertising strategy that depended on current teachers of color to convey the image of a diverse teaching staff. But, they did not formally acknowledge the important role that teachers of color were expected to play in this process. In these schools, teachers often expressed skepticism and sometimes resentment about their school’s approach.

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Introduction

Nearly half of US public school students today are Black or Latino (Aud, Fox, & KewalRamani, 2010). In large urban districts, that proportion is often closer to 90% and most minority children attend schools where most other students are Black or Latino and growing up in poverty (Aud et al., 2010; Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014). In many districts—particularly in the Northeast—the odds of a Black or Latino student attending an integrated school today are only slightly higher than they were in the south before the *Brown vs. Board of Education* ruling (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2014). Yet, unlike the segregated schools of the Jim Crow South where almost all teachers in Black schools were Black (Tyack, 1974), teachers of color¹ are poorly represented in today’s classrooms (Boser, 2014; Dilworth & Coleman, 2014; Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Nationally, 82% of teachers are White, and in Massachusetts—where this study took place—97% of teachers are White (Boser, 2014). In some American cities, the odds that a Black male student will be taught by a Black male teacher are roughly one in fifty-five (Toldson, 2013).

In response to these trends, more than 36 states and the federal government have introduced initiatives to recruit more people of color to teach in public schools (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Although some efforts have been successful, recent evidence shows that nationally, the average rate of attrition among teachers of color continues to outstrip their rate of entry (Ingersoll & May, 2011). Consequently, the overall percentage of non-White teachers has effectively shrunk (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Boser, 2014; Ingersoll & May, 2011) and the

¹ Although non-White teachers of every race are underrepresented in American public schools, in this paper, we use the term “of color” to refer to Black and Latino individuals. This is because the vast majority of the students in the study’s schools identify as Black and Latino, and consequently the schools primarily discuss the challenge of hiring teachers of such racial/ethnic backgrounds.

“demographic divide” (Boser, 2014, p. 2) between teachers and their students in high-poverty schools remains large—and growing.

Numerous explanations exist for the dearth of Black and Latino teachers. First, Black and Latino students are far less likely to graduate from high school, and subsequently from college, than are their White peers (Schott Foundation, 2015; US Department of Education, 2012; US Department of Education, 2013), which means few are eligible to pursue teaching careers. In addition, in spite of efforts to encourage Black and Latino college graduates to enter teaching, few do so, and those who enter frequently struggle to meet the certification requirements (Ahmad & Boser, 2014; Dilworth & Coleman, 2014). Among Blacks and Latinos who do enter teaching, the vast majority teach in schools that enroll large proportions of students of color (Achinstein, Ogawa, Sexton, & Freitas, 2010; Ingersoll & May, 2011; Irvine & Fenwick, 2011). Researchers explain that teachers of color often choose to teach in high-minority schools, due to their “humanistic commitment” to give back to their own community (Achinstein et al., 2010, p. 71; Cochran-Smith et al., 2012; Kraft et al., 2013). However, because the poor working conditions typically present in high-poverty public schools so often impede teachers’ opportunity to teach and their students’ chance to learn (S. M. Johnson, 1990, 2006; S. M. Johnson & Birkeland, 2003; Simon & Johnson, 2015), teachers of all races frequently leave these schools. This well-documented phenomenon of teaching’s “revolving door” (Ingersoll, 2001, p. 501), which is particularly prevalent among minority teachers and in high-poverty schools, has severely undermined efforts to increase the proportion of teachers of color (Achinstein et al., 2010; Ingersoll & May, 2011; Simon & Johnson, 2015). Given these trends, it is not surprising that schools frequently have difficulty recruiting and retaining teachers of color.

Yet, some high-poverty schools are more successful in meeting this challenge than others. Although considerable resources are spent to recruit and retain teachers of color, little is known about how individual schools conceptualize and carry out this work. Even less is known about how teachers of color experience these efforts—both during their own process of being recruited and hired at their school and subsequently as they participate in the process of recruiting and hiring new colleagues. This paper investigates these issues. It draws on data from a larger exploratory study by our research team at the Project on the Next Generation of Teachers that focused on how human capital is managed and developed within schools. The sample includes six high-poverty schools—traditional, turnaround, and charter—located in the same city.

On many fronts, the six schools in our study had found solutions to problems that others in education continue to find intractable. All demonstrated academic success (as measured by state standardized tests) with their students—most of whom were Black or Latino and from low-income families—and several had received significant attention from public officials for their work turning around formerly failing schools. However, without exception, principals at these schools reported that recruiting teachers and other staff members² of color was an enormous challenge—one compounded by the rapid rate of turnover among the educators of color whom they did hire. The schools were implementing targeted strategies for recruiting and hiring more teachers of color and they were experiencing varying degrees of success in their recruitment efforts.

In the following sections, we present the demographics of teachers in American public schools and discuss what research and practicing educators suggest about why students might

² In this paper, the word teacher will be used to discuss all school-based professional staff included in the study, including all teachers, discipline staff, parent coordinators, instructional coaches, etc.

benefit from being taught by teachers of the same race. We then review the literature regarding the experiences of teachers of color in high-poverty schools, and explain how this work relates to recruitment. Next, we present the study methods and findings. We begin by explaining why the teachers and administrators in these schools reported that it was important to recruit teachers of color. Then, we describe how the schools approached this work and how teachers of color experienced those efforts. Finally, we explain how recruiting and hiring teachers of color remained a challenge. We conclude by suggesting the implications that this analysis has for policy, practice, and research.

Literature Review

Background: The Challenge of Recruiting Black and Latino Teachers

There has not always been a dearth of teachers of color in the United States. Before the U.S. Supreme Court ordered public schools to integrate in 1954, schools across the country that served Black students were primarily staffed by Black teachers (Fultz, 1995; Walker, 2000). But, in the years following that ruling, as Black students were assigned to formerly White schools, tens of thousands of Black teachers and principals lost their jobs. In the 1970s and 1980s, states introduced teacher certification exams, which had extraordinarily low pass rates among the small percentage of Black teachers who took them. Simultaneously, Blacks and women—who had long been teaching's guaranteed recruits—had opportunities to pursue a much wider selection of occupations. Fewer chose education. Consequently, the percentage of Black teachers today—7% of teachers overall (Boser, 2014)—is a fraction of what it was prior to *Brown v. Board of Education* (Ahmad & Boser, 2014).

The history of Latino teachers in U.S. public schools is different. Over the last several decades, the population of Latinos in the United States has increased substantially. Currently,

Latinos are the fastest growing minority group entering teaching (Flores, 2011). Nonetheless, the percentage of Latino teachers stands at only 8% of teachers nationally, and the gap between the percentage of Latino teachers and the percentage of Latino students is the largest of any ethnic or racial group (Boser, 2014). For example, in Chelsea, Massachusetts, there is a 76 percentage point gap between the numbers of Latino students and Latino teachers (Boser, 2014).

As the population of public school students has become increasingly diverse and as the population of public school teachers has become increasingly White, considerable attention has been placed on recruiting more persons of color into teaching. Yet, substantial barriers remain. Today, fewer than 40% of Black and Latino 18-24 year olds are enrolled in college, and even fewer of those enrolled are likely to graduate. Of course, just a fraction of college students plan to pursue a career in teaching. In total, only 14% of education majors identify as Black or Latino and in most states, educators must pass teacher certification exams before being hired. Pass rates on these exams remain low for Black test takers—hovering around 40%. This is roughly half the pass rate of their White peers—and Latino test takers only perform slightly better than Blacks. For those who do gain entry into the profession, however, the low salaries offered to all teachers often pose an additional set of disincentives (Ahmad & Boser, 2014).

Why Teachers of Color Benefit Students of Color

Dee (2005) provides the most commonly cited research-based rationale for recruiting more teachers of color. In an analysis of data from the Tennessee Project STAR experiment, which randomly assigned students to teachers in 1985, Dee found that there are “rather large educational benefits” (p. 209) to both math and reading achievement for students who are assigned to a teacher of the same race. These effects were particularly strong among Black students who were from low-income families and attending racially segregated schools. Others

have found similar results for Black students and for Hispanic students (Clewell, Puma, & McKay, 2001; Egalite, Kisida, & Winters, 2015; Villegas & Irvine, 2010).

Based on their review of the literature, Villegas and Irvine (2010) describe a wide variety of positive effects on a range of achievement-related outcomes—including test scores, attendance, high school graduation, and college-going rates—for both Black and Latino students in schools and districts where the teaching force closely approximated the demographics of the student population, on the whole (Ehrenberg & Brewer, 1995; England & Meier, 1985; Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, & Shuan, 1990; Fraga, Meier, & England, 1986; Hess & Leal, 1997; Meier, 1993; Pitts, 2007, as cited in Villegas & Irvine, 2010). England and Meier (1985) found additional positive effects, including that a higher proportion of Black or Latino teachers in a district was associated with lower instances of what the authors dubbed “second generation discrimination” indicators. These included special education placement, suspension and expulsion, higher rates of placement in gifted programs or enrichment classes. The positive effects remained even when students were not assigned to a same-race teacher.

The most common argument for the importance of teachers of color is that they can serve as role models for students of color. Many scholars posit that, for low-income students of color, who frequently do not have enough models of college-educated professionals in their lives, being taught by adults who look like them and better understand their life experiences would help them feel as if school understood their needs and that the adults there cared about them. In turn, students might be inspired to strive for academic and professional success (Dee, 2005; Irvine, 1990; Irvine & Fenwick, 2011; Jordan & Cooper, 2003; Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Some argue that mere exposure to same-race teachers can be powerful (Dee, 2005). Others suggest that teachers of color can strategically draw upon shared knowledge and experiences and model

positive behavior in order to motivate their students to stay resilient, despite the many challenges they might face (Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Irvine, 1990; Jordan & Cooper, 2003; Villegas & Irvine, 2010). Such teachers may also be more likely to both hold and convey high expectations, exhibit caring and trusting relationships with students and their families, and serve as advocates or cultural brokers for their students. In addition, they may be less likely than their White colleagues to attribute achievement gaps to student misbehavior, a lack of effort, poor parenting or problematic home environments. Finally, teachers who share a background with their students may be more likely to employ culturally relevant teaching techniques, which have been correlated with positive student achievement outcomes (Villegas & Irvine, 2010). They may also be more likely to help students make sense of how race and power intersect in their lives and in society (Downey & Pribesh, 2004; Villegas & Irvine, 2010).

Studies of pre-service and in-service teachers of color find that serving as a role model for students of color is a main driver in their decision to teach (Achinstein et al., 2010; L. S. Johnson, 2008; Ochoa, 2007; Villegas & Irvine, 2010). As Johnson (2008) found, new teachers of color often believe that they are “exemplars of possibility” (see Villegas & Irvine, 2010, p. 177) for students of color. However, teachers of color sometimes question why their supervisors and colleagues assume that they will be appropriate role models for students of color simply because of their shared racial and ethnic characteristics. Thus, sometimes teachers of color object to being identified as role models. (Maylor, 2009).

Black and Latino Teachers in the Profession

The career patterns of teachers of color differ from those of White teachers—especially in high poverty schools. Black and Latino teachers are significantly more likely to teach in high-poverty schools that enroll students of their same race. However, in contrast to White teachers

who move to wealthier, Whiter schools when they transfer, Black and Latino teachers who switch schools are more likely to move to other hard-to-staff schools (Boyd, Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2005; Hanushek, Kain, & Rivkin, 2004; R. Ingersoll & May, 2011; Murnane, Singer, Willett, Kemple, & Olsen, 1991). Nevertheless, on the whole, teachers of color are more likely to leave the profession than are their White peers. Research demonstrates that when schools have trouble retaining teachers, they frequently also struggle to fill vacancies as they arise—and this contributes to a cycle of chronic turnover (Simon & Johnson, 2015). Understanding the experiences of teachers of color once they enter the profession is an important part of learning why they are prone to leave.

Teachers of color are, on the whole, less satisfied with their positions than are their peers (AFT, 2012; Grissom & Keiser, 2011). In general, teachers of color are clustered in high-poverty schools, where notoriously problematic working conditions frustrate teachers, whatever their race (Simon & Johnson, 2015). In high-poverty schools, where principals are even more central to teachers' satisfaction than they are in wealthier schools (Grissom, 2011), the prevalence of inexperienced, weaker-than-average principals may substantially influence the work of teachers of color. Ingersoll and May (2011) suggest that certain aspects of the principal's leadership may be especially important for teachers of color. For example, although all teachers report leaving schools to avoid principals who are "arbitrary, abusive, or neglectful" (S. M. Johnson & Birkeland, 2003, p. 594), Grissom and Keiser (2011) suggest that minority teachers may be especially prone to inequitable treatment at their school—especially when their supervisor is White. For example, drawing on data from the 2003-4 Schools and Staffing Survey and the 2004-5 Teacher Follow-Up survey, they found that White principals tend to allocate special benefits—including more opportunities to earn supplemental pay and to work in

specialized positions—to White teachers. Consequently, even at schools with standardized pay scales, Black teachers earned less than their “observationally equivalent” (p. 565) White colleagues at the same school. The survey data that the authors used to determine these patterns do not provide an explanation for them. Nonetheless, these trends suggest why, as minority teachers gain experience, they sort towards schools with principals of the same race—where they are subsequently likely to stay (Grissom & Keiser, 2011). Madsen and Mabokela (2014) provide further explanation for the dissatisfaction of Black teachers. In their study of principals and assistant principals, the authors found that White principals frequently assigned students with disciplinary challenges to teachers of color. In addition, they found that Black assistant principals were often charged with disciplinary duties and reported that they had to work harder than their White colleagues to prove their instructional expertise (2014).

Teachers of color, like all teachers, want colleagues whom they can count on for “social interaction, reassurance, and psychological support” (Johnson, 1990, p. 156). Teachers of color also prize colleagues who possess “multicultural capital” (Achinstein & Ogawa, 2011, p. 74). Yet, Black and Latino teachers frequently report that they lack such colleagues. For example, in a study of 21 teachers of color, Achinstein and Ogawa (2011) found that those teachers cared deeply about whether their colleagues shared their perspective on social justice. When teachers in their study left their school, they frequently cited a “lack of multicultural capital (low expectations for, or negative attitudes about, students of color and lack of support for culturally responsive or socially just teaching)” (p. 74) as a chief reason for doing so.

The negative effects on individuals within organizations where they are “rare and scarce” (Kanter, 1977, p 382) have been documented repeatedly (Bristol, 2014; Flores, 2011; Hoffman, 1985; Kelly, 2007; Spangler, Gordon, & Pipkin, 1978). Researchers in many fields have

employed Kanter’s seminal research on women workers in male-dominated corporations in the 1970s to frame studies regarding the experiences of what Kanter calls “tokens” (p. 382), or those workers who are in the extreme numerical minority—less than 15% of the total. In Kanter’s study, such women became “symbols of how-women-can-do, stand-ins for all women” (p. 382). Like Kanter, researchers have repeatedly found that such numerical tokens are cast into stereotypical roles—often positions that are less profitable or prestigious—and frustrated by unwritten social rules that govern their behavior. They also sometimes struggle to form “supportive alliances” with other tokens within the organization. Because a Black or a Latino teacher is frequently one of very few non-White teachers in their school, researchers who study their experiences often draw on Kanter’s framework to explain their findings. For example, in a study of Black male teachers, Bristol (2014) found that Black men who were the only Black male teacher in their school reported feeling “socially alone and disconnected from the core mission of the school” (p. 127). As one interviewee explained, being the sole Black male teacher “almost feels like I’m in someone else’s house, intruding (p. 136).” Similarly, in a study of Latina teachers in California, Flores (2011) found that Latina teachers working on a White-dominated faculty reported feeling like “racialized tokens” (p. 313) and often self-segregated in an effort to find comfort and psychological safety. Undoubtedly, the experiences of teachers of color in their schools might contribute to their dissatisfaction and, ultimately, to their decision to leave. In turn, this compounds the challenge that schools face in recruiting teachers of color: not only do schools lose the teachers whom they successfully recruited, but would-be recruits are more likely to see such schools as places where it might be difficult for a person of color to work and succeed.

Methods

This paper is based on a qualitative, comparative case study embedded in a larger study conducted at the Project on the Next Generation of Teachers. The larger study, “Developing Human Capital Within Schools,” examines how six high-poverty, urban schools—all of which had received the state’s highest performance rating—attract, develop, and retain teachers.

Research Questions

The research questions guiding this analysis are:

1. How do high poverty schools that are succeeding with their students explain the importance of recruiting and hiring teachers of color?
2. How do these schools approach the challenge of recruiting and hiring teachers of color?
3. How do teachers of color in these schools describe and assess recruitment and hiring processes in their school, based both on their own experiences and on those they have observed since becoming teachers in their school?

Sample of schools

Our sample selection was guided by four principles. First, we sought a sample that included charter and district schools in one city. Second we looked for schools that served high-poverty populations ($\geq 70\%$ of students eligible for free/reduced-price lunch) and also primarily served students of color. Third, we sought schools that were considered high-performing, having achieved the highest rating in the state’s accountability system. Fourth, we sought schools that were employing distinctive approaches to human capital development.

To attend to the first three principles, we examined publicly-available demographic and student performance data. We used the state’s accountability ratings as a proxy for academic success with students. At the time of our study, Massachusetts rated schools on a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 designating the highest performing schools. The school ratings were based on four years of data that documented both the school’s student performance growth and its success in narrowing proficiency gaps among sub-groups of students on state tests.

To attend to the fourth principle, we researched various schools' approaches to human capital development by consulting our professional networks and considering information about specific schools and CMOs. Based on this inquiry, we drew up a sample of six schools—all geographically located within one large urban school district in Massachusetts. The sample included three district schools (one traditional, two former turnaround) and three state-authorized charter schools. All schools were elementary and/or middle schools, which facilitated cross-site comparisons. We contacted six school leaders explaining our study and requesting their participation and all agreed to participate (For school descriptive statistics, see Appendix B).

The purposive nature allowed us to conduct an in-depth, exploratory study of a particular context—high-poverty, high-minority schools that have demonstrated success with their students. By design, this sample is not representative of schools in the region.

Data Collection

Interviews. In Spring 2014, we conducted semi-structured interviews with 142 teachers, administrators and other staff (including talent directors, where applicable) in the six schools. Administrator interviews lasted approximately 90 minutes; teacher interviews lasted approximately 45 minutes. All research team members were present for most interviews with the principals and CMO directors; every team member conducted some interviews with teachers at each school. This approach facilitated cross-site comparisons, improved inter-rater reliability in coding data, and ensured that each research team member understood each school's structures and culture.

Our interview sample within schools also was purposively constructed. At each school, we first interviewed the principal to learn both what processes they used to select, develop, and retain teachers and how those processes were conceived and implemented. Then, we recruited

teachers who varied in personal background, teaching experience, preparation, teaching assignment, and role. We also interviewed additional key staff (e.g. curriculum coaches, discipline deans, family coordinators) when it became apparent that their views would inform our understanding of teachers' experiences. We made special efforts to recruit Black and Latino participants. To build our sample, we relied on staff lists and on recommendations from administrators and teachers. We solicited participation through emails, flyers, and word-of-mouth. Participants were ensured confidentiality—neither the content of their interview nor the fact that they had been interviewed was shared with the principal (although many discussed their participation with their principal).

In each school, the number of teachers we interviewed varied depending on the school's size, its organizational complexity, and the practices used. We interviewed between 33% and 56% of teachers at each school, plus additional staff. At the three charters schools, we also interviewed full-time Teachers in Training (TTs). (For sample demographics see Appendix A).

Interestingly, despite the intense focus on recruiting teachers of color, neither the schools nor the district or state tracked faculty demographics in a way that made it possible to specify the number of Black and Latino teachers in the school. Information available through one source (e.g. The Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE)) was often inconsistent with information available through another source (e.g. the district or CMO). This was due, in part, to discrepancies in defining racial groups and calculating demographic information. In addition, both the state and the district aggregated demographic information: DESE statistics included all persons of color in the school, while at the district level, statistics included "all school employees who assist in the education process, including teachers, paraprofessionals, content coaches, guidance counselors, librarians, and administrators" (District

Document, 2014). It was therefore impossible to isolate the percentage of academic teachers of color from the percentage of non-academic teachers, paraprofessionals, secretaries, discipline and guidance staff, or administrators.

Based on our own estimates gleaned from analyzing staff lists and from asking administrators and teachers, we interviewed approximately 80%-100% of current teachers and administrators of color in each school. In total, 43 interviewees (24% of the sample) identified as Black or Latino or mixed-race Black and Latino. 101 interviewees (71% of the sample) identified as White. An additional 8 interviewees (<1% of the sample) identified as Asian- or Indian-American. Across all six schools, principals and CMO executive directors identified as White and two assistant principals—both in district schools—identified as people of color. Because one of those assistant principals was on leave during our study, we interviewed only one administrator of color across all six schools (For sample demographics see Appendix A).

The interview protocols included several questions that encouraged participants to discuss the school's approach to staffing. Specific questions included topics such as where they recruited, what positions they struggled to fill, and how they decided whom to hire. Teachers were asked to describe the process through which they were recruited and hired at the school and to explain whether and how they currently were involved with recruiting and selecting new colleagues. With all interviewees, we used follow-up questions to further explore each of these topics and to identify particular issues that warranted deeper inquiry. For example, at every school, interviewees discussed the challenge of recruiting, hiring and retaining Black and Latino teachers; we therefore modified our protocol to explore this topic in greater depth. In our visits to the schools, we also observed day-to-day practices, and sought evidence of the school's organizational culture, which we recorded in our notes.

Document Collection. Although interviews are the main data source for this study, we also gathered a range of documents that describe school policies and programs related to recruiting, developing and retaining their teachers. These documents vary by school and include a range of resources, such as professional development calendars, school handbooks, and results of teacher surveys. When possible, we also collected extensive documentation of recruitment and hiring processes, such as protocols for interviewing teachers and watching demonstration lessons and rubrics for assessing candidates. We also collected charter applications, collective bargaining agreements, and applications for contractual waivers, along with other documents which illuminated the state and local policy contexts in which each school operates.

Data Analysis

After each interview, we wrote detailed thematic summaries describing the participant and summarizing his experiences with the school's practices for recruiting, hiring, developing and retaining teachers. First, we identified themes or *etic* codes drawn from the literature on the elements of developing human capital. Then, we used thematic summaries to analyze each site individually and to conduct cross-site comparisons, identifying common themes and differences. We used this preliminary analysis to supplement the *etic* codes with *emic* codes that emerged from the data. For example, in interviews, pay emerged as a challenge for charter teachers, although we had not identified that theme in the literature. We used this preliminary code list to review a small subset of the transcripts, individually and together, in order to calibrate our understanding and use of the codes, as well as to refine the list and definitions. We repeated this process to finalize the code list (Appendix D) and to improve inter-rater reliability. We then coded each transcribed interview using Dedoose software.

After coding interviews, we engaged in an iterative analytic process, using data-analytic

matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1994) to track findings related to school-based staffing. To understand the policy context in which each school operated, we identified the particular policies that affected each school and influenced what they could do. For example, we determined which components of the district's collective bargaining agreement remained binding in turnaround schools and how state-issued charters affected each charter school. We then analyzed the interview data and documents from each school separately. We ultimately completed a data analytic matrix showing the components of recruitment and hiring at each school and the connections among them within schools. We wrote an analytic memo comparing the different staffing strategies across the sample in order to first develop a deep understanding of the process that candidates experienced as they were being recruited to apply, vetted as applicants, and offered positions.

To understand how principals and teachers described and assessed their experiences with these practices, we created school-by-school matrices comparing interviewees' responses to their school's recruitment and hiring processes, by component where appropriate. We again wrote an analytic memo presenting initial hypotheses about how teachers experienced and assessed these processes. We also sorted codes by particular interviewee characteristics. For each transcript, we categorized the interviewee according to relevant characteristics, such as years of teaching experience and age (See Appendix D). We then investigated whether teachers' perceptions of the recruitment and hiring processes varied, within and across schools. We wrote a third analytic memo about emerging trends and hypotheses. Finally, we addressed risks to validity by returning to the data to review coding and check our emerging conclusions and to seek rival explanations or disconfirming data (Miles & Huberman, 1994). We also shared analytic memos, outlines and drafts with our research team and with other colleagues who were familiar with the

topic.

Findings

At the schools in our sample, students of color were in the decided majority; in each building, between 72% and 95% of students identified as Black or Latino (see Appendix A). Yet, across schools, the vast majority of administrators and teachers were White (see Appendix A). At Naylor Charter, for example, just one classroom teacher identified as Black and no teachers identified as Latino. DESE reported that in 2013-14, only 10% of Naylor's entire staff—including administrators, teachers, discipline staff, secretaries, school aids, TTs—were Black or Latino. DESE reported that at Fitzgerald Elementary—the school with the highest proportion of non-White faculty and the only Black administrator in our sample—45% of the staff were Black and 2% were Latino.

Even at schools, such as Fitzgerald, where the faculty and staff demographics more closely mirrored those of the students the school served, most administrators and classroom teachers were White and the few Black or Latino staff members were often assigned to non-academic positions, such as discipline dean, secretary, paraprofessional, physical education teacher, or family coordinator. Furthermore, at schools that had achieved more success in recruiting and hiring teachers of color, administrators and teachers reported that this was the result of enormously time-consuming and, as Fitzgerald Principal Forte said, “aggressive” work. In addition, at all schools, administrators said that turnover rates among teachers of color were high. As one principal explained, “we have to fight harder to keep [Black and Latino teachers].”

In this section, we begin by explaining why administrators and teachers believed it was important to recruit and hire more teachers of color—beliefs that informed the schools' strategies for staffing and influenced teachers' perceptions of such efforts. We then explain how schools

strategically adapted their recruitment and hiring processes to address the unique challenge of recruiting and hiring teachers of color. Because schools generally found that these efforts were insufficient and, they continued to struggle to attract the pool of candidates that they sought. — Several had begun implementing new initiatives aimed at deepening the pool of potential candidates. Ultimately, however, principals were clear that significant challenges remained, and we conclude the findings section by describing those.

The School-Based Perspective: Why are Teachers of Color Important?

Administrator Viewpoints

Administrators offered different explanations for why it was important to recruit teachers of color for their schools. Some said that it was important because, as Rodriguez Executive Director Rowland explained, “it is incumbent upon us to have our kids see role models that look like them.” Having teachers of color was also important to administrators because it mattered greatly to parents and students, who some principals said regularly expressed dissatisfaction about the dearth of teachers of color in their children’s school. As Kincaid Executive Director Kaplan explained, this made it “really hard to build trust within the communities,” particularly during a school turnaround process.

Some administrators’ reasoning was also heavily influenced by a district-wide federal court order mandating that schools hire a minimum of non-White faculty—25% Black and 10% “other.” This quota had been in effect for several decades following desegregation and pertained to the three district schools (Dickinson, Fitzgerald, and Hurston) and to Kincaid, a district-sponsored charter school that was in restart. Principals at these schools reported experiencing a recent surge of pressure from the district to meet the quota requirements. This was especially

true among those who were far from meeting the standard and for those who had reservations about the quota on principle. In the words of one administrator, the quota “doesn’t have to do with performance... It’s a cumbersome topic. It’s icky. We feel that there’s too much of a focus on moving people around and filling slots and filling descriptions and not looking at effectiveness.”

Teachers’ Viewpoints

Across the six schools, teachers discussed two main reasons that they thought recruiting more teachers of color was crucial. First, they believed students should have teachers from their own communities. Most Black and Latino teachers explained that they, themselves, had entered teaching so that they could serve as a role model. They were frustrated when they were the sole example or one of just a few that the students experienced at the school. Second, teachers of color spoke of feeling isolated and, like all teachers, wished for colleagues whom they could depend on.

The Importance of Teachers of Color for Students of Color

Most teachers of color said that they had begun teaching in urban schools because they wanted to improve the schools in communities similar to the one in which they were raised. One Latina teacher—herself a product of WCSD schools—described getting “riled up” in college, when she “realized how cheated I was in my education.” A former English language learner, she wanted to “go back and work with kids that remind me of myself...who are disadvantaged by the system.” Like other non-native English speakers, she expressed a desire to work with a population that “really needs women of color who come from low-income communities [to be] role models for... students that don’t often see [this] image.” Similarly, two teachers at different schools described their own experiences as Black students in schools with few—if any—Black

teachers. One said, “I never ever had a teacher that looked like me until I got to college [at a historically Black college]. There were substitutes, but that was not like my actual... academic teacher.” These experiences drove both teachers to enter teaching, work that a third described as “not just teaching. It’s loving, it’s caring...it’s being a mom... an aunt...a sister. I’m here because of that reason—because I get to make a difference that’s much greater than raising reading levels and [standardized test] scores.”

Teachers who saw themselves as role models for students wished aloud that the school were better at “getting people in the building that are reflective of our community.” For some, being one of few minority staff members meant that they had to bear the burden of being their students’ only example of what it meant to be a teacher who was not White. As one expressed, “it bothers me because I think that our students need more examples, male and female, of the people that look like them, and talk like them and come from similar backgrounds, as in socioeconomically.” Another explained,

I am not only a Black male, but I’m a gay Black male. I just think they need another example [in this school]—a heterosexual—just so that they have two people that they can model off of. They can say ‘[Mr. X] is all of these things, but he just so happens to be Black, but that doesn’t matter, because if I need another example, I would have this person to model myself off of.’

A third thought that it was problematic that students didn’t see leaders of color in his school. To him, their absence perpetuated students’ experiences of the historical dynamics of race: “You have one [group], who’s just in power, and the subordinates.” It was important to him that students be able to point to staff “on every level” and say, “[they] look and represent who I am, come from the similar backgrounds.”

One Black teacher said that if students were not assigned to her class, it was likely that they would never have a Black teacher at her school. She explained why this was unsettling: “I

identify with the kids a lot because I grew up in an environment similar to theirs. I feel like a lot of the teachers don't. They're not from the neighborhood. Culturally, they can't relate." Some teachers of color noted that, as one said, "everyone can be a role model for students, regardless of what your race is... you don't necessarily need to be Black or Latino." Others, however, provided examples of how they were uniquely positioned to be a role model—and how, more generally, the cultural background that they shared with students contributed to their effectiveness as a teacher. For instance, a Cape Verdean teacher explained that she was able to inspire students because, as an immigrant, "you go through this transition like a lot of students. The opportunities are less. You have to work harder." She believed that she was uniquely successful in relating to Cape Verdean students because "It's almost like you don't have to say something. You can just look at them and there's something about it—like the non-verbal communication, because you come from the same background." Another said her perspective as a Black teacher affected the content of what she taught. She was frustrated to be "teaching a room full of Brown children and every single book [in the district curriculum] had a White main character." "Nothing," in her view, "represent[ed] children of color and the struggle they're going through." In partnership with a colleague, who—she pointed out—was White, she had developed an extensive classroom library of books that "connect to [the students], and their history, and where they come from."

Others described how parents were more likely to trust them because, in the words of one, "we have the same culture." A Latina teacher said, "I understand what it's like to be an immigrant, what it's like to be bilingual, what it's like to... not have that much money... And I feel the parents trust me a little more." For some, that trust enabled them to discipline students with the confidence that parents would support them. As one explained, "We can—hugs, hugs,

hugs all day... smiling, laughing... [the kids] look up to us. Then, they do something out of line, we can come down and come down hard, like a parent... it allows us to draw [students] in very close and they feel that love.”

The Importance of Colleagues for Teachers of Color

Although the main reason teachers of color said that they wished there were more teachers of color in the building was because their students needed and deserved them, they also said that they wished they had more colleagues of color. This is not surprising, given that teachers’ views of their colleagues are often a major factor in why they decide to remain in or leave their school or teaching (Allensworth, Ponisciak, & Mazzeo, 2009; Guarino, Santibanez, & Daley, 2006; S. M. Johnson, Berg, & Donaldson, 2005; Rosenholtz, 1989). In addition, decades of research about workers who are in the extreme numerical minority demonstrate that such individuals tend to be dissatisfied (Bristol, 2014; Flores, 2011; Kanter, 1977). Across our sample and in the literature, teachers of all backgrounds report that they join schools, in part, because of who else is on faculty—and that they seriously consider departing when they don’t have the colleagues who they think can support them.

Although teachers of color expressed great admiration for their colleagues regardless of race, they also said that they wanted to work with more teachers of color. Interviewees shared diverse life experiences and therefore had many different reasons for wanting more colleagues of color. For example, one Black teacher explained that, when she was hired, she didn’t know that she would be one of just two Black women in the school. Although she enjoyed her job and school, she acknowledged,, “I would feel more comfortable here if I saw more people like myself.” A Black male at a different school explained that he also had not anticipated being one of so few Black teachers, especially because—like several others in different schools across our

sample—he had been recruited by a Black friend who then left the school unexpectedly. He explained the “stresses and pressures” of “not having an outlet”:

I don't know if my White counterparts know it or not, and I don't think they do, but I would often shy away from [certain] conversations because they would speak about things that were culturally relevant to themselves. I don't think this was an intentional act by them, but rather just an innate experience that they shared with each other. Something as simple as the music, allusions to music that were made or videos that were watched. Those types of things that weren't relevant in my community... not having somebody to connect with and to have that conversation with was incredibly frustrating.

A third Black teacher explained,

It's tough when there's no one else here... I can make friends, and I can talk to whomever I want, but yo! There's no other Black men on faculty... it's not easy for me... even though there are all these teachers of color... their experiences are a lot different than, obviously, a Black man.

Another reason teachers often gave for wishing they had more colleagues who shared background characteristics with them—and with their students—is that they often found themselves asked to explain the realities of their students' lives to their colleagues. For example, one teacher said that she wished her colleagues were “more cognizant of where our kids come from.” Often, she found herself challenging colleagues who held students to unrealistic, unfair standards that “decontextualiz[e] what's real for these kids and what's real for families.” Had they had more colleagues who could personally relate to the experience of their students, the teachers of color would have been able to share that burden.

When teachers did benefit from having even one other colleague with whom they shared a background, they often explained that this person was a critical source of support. For example, one novice Puerto Rican teacher said, “I'm not the only Puerto Rican—thank God! I'm one of two.” She then explained how her more experienced Puerto Rican colleague provided “enormous support” for her. A Black male teacher described a similar, “natural” feeling of being able to “connect” with the one other Black male on faculty “in a way that I can't with many

people here... we immediately have that connection and that click, and there's some times where, in passing, we just very candidly will like, "Did you just—?" [and look at each other, covertly]. We'll have this moment where we click and connect." Of course, however, teachers of color explained that they did not always connect with every person on faculty with whom they shared a racial or ethnic background—and some teachers expressed disappointment that their colleagues and supervisors sometimes expected them to.

It is important to note that not all teachers of color in our sample expressed frustrations when they had few colleagues who shared similar backgrounds. One teacher explained that although she was one of few Black teachers, she was comfortable at her school because her colleagues were diverse in many other ways. Another said that, although it "felt good" when she taught at a school with "a bunch of Black teachers," most of her professional experiences had been among non-Black colleagues, and she was comfortable in that setting, too. A third said that, although he wished he had more Black colleagues, he had been "switching and being able to adapt" for his whole life, and so, he said, "I've gotten used to that." Others echoed this sentiment. Finally, one Latino teacher who said, "I forget I'm Latino sometimes," explained that he had no preference "one way or another. If everyone was Latino here, that would be fine. If no one was, that would be fine, too."

Efforts to Recruit and Hire Teachers of Color

Because schools saw it as imperative to recruit more Black and Latino teachers, all six described efforts to do so, which were embedded in their carefully-developed, active recruitment and hiring processes. In a marked departure from typical public schools, the schools in our study deliberately developed a pool of candidates who were likely to possess the skills and experiences they sought. Subsequently, the schools engaged those candidates in a two-way, information-rich

hiring process (Liu & Johnson, 2006), through which both the school and the applicants had opportunities to exchange information and assess one another before making an offer or signing a contract. Here, we explain how the six schools had strategically adapted their processes to address the unique challenge of recruiting and hiring teachers of color. Because schools had found that these efforts were insufficient and that they continued to struggle to attract the candidates they sought, some had just begun implementing new initiatives aimed at expanding the pool of potential candidates. In fact, during several interviews with our research team, administrators and teachers seemed to be describing their yet-untried ideas for recruiting teachers of color. It is therefore difficult to predict which, if any, strategies might work.

Recruiting Candidates of Color

In contrast to most urban public schools, the schools in our study strategically identified and attracted applicants by actively seeking out teachers who they believed would best serve their students. They did this by first articulating their school's mission and vision, determining the characteristics of educators who would collaboratively contribute to the school's realizing its goals, and then developing a strategy for recruiting such individuals. At all six schools, this strategy involved determining where the candidates whom they sought might be found, developing partnerships with human capital organizations—such as Teach for America or college career centers—and cultivating relationships with what one talent director called “connectors” (Gladwell, 2000)—individuals who had access to these candidates and could help encourage them to apply. Once schools recruited candidates to apply, they continued to court them throughout the selection process so as to ensure that they would accept an offer if extended.

Relationships with Human Capital Pipeline Organizations

The schools recruited teachers of color much as they recruited all teachers.

The Challenge of Recruiting and Hiring Teachers of Color

Administrators explained that they invested in relationships with specific organizations that had been successful in recruiting people of color. For example, two charter administrators described working closely with Teach for America (TFA), which offers alternative teaching certification to “passionate, high-achieving individuals” (TFA, 2015) who want to teach in high-poverty schools. In 2014, 31% of TFA corps members nationally identified as Black or Latino (2015). Some schools in our study had formal partnerships with TFA, which enabled them to begin making job offers as early as December to their choice of TFA’s incoming corps members. Because TFA required these new corps members to accept the first offer they received, these schools were all but guaranteed success in interviewing and hiring TFA candidates of color from this pool. Of course, schools strongly preferred to hire TFA alumni of color who had already completed their service as corps members and thus had at least two years teaching experience. Their partnerships with TFA also ensured priority access to such teachers.

The same two schools also described how they formed relationships with colleges—particularly historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs)—to recruit college seniors for teaching positions at their schools. For example, one CMO executive director explained that one of his network’s full-time recruiters was a Black male who had recently graduated from Morehouse College. According to the executive director, this recruiter had “spent a lot of time at Morehouse just really talking up [the network] and the opportunities.” A talent director at a different charter network explained that she traveled to colleges including Morehouse, Spelman, Clark Atlanta, and Howard “a couple times a year” to conduct information sessions and attend career fairs. During these trips, she assured college students that if they were invited to interview, the school would fund their trip. At the third charter school, whose recruitment budget was substantially less than that of the other two, the talent director explained that the cost of an

HBCU recruitment trip was prohibitive and that the school had focused its efforts locally.

Several schools described recruiting at local universities that enrolled substantial numbers of Black and Latino students, such as urban public colleges. Some did this by hosting a booth at events such as the annual Massachusetts Educational Recruiting Consortium (MERC) fair, which students from dozens of universities across the state attended. Some also pursued potential recruits directly, through less traditional avenues. As one charter school talent director explained, she and her team thought carefully about where high-achieving students of color might be found on college campuses: “Where are the Posse Scholars at each of the schools? Where are the [Urban Teaching] Scholars at [the local colleges]?... Where are—Spanish Club?” Similarly, schools described other places where they hoped to locate promising Black and Latino teachers. One talent director explained, “There are a lot of [military] veterans of color. There are a lot of veterans from completely different circumstances than many of our teachers here.” At the time of this study, she was in the process of designing a strategy for recruiting military veterans.

Relationships with “Connectors”

In addition to developing strategic partnerships with human capital organizations that were likely conduits for talented teachers of color, schools relied heavily on “connectors”—described by Gladwell (2000) as “people who know everyone” (p. 38) and could help school leaders to “gain access” to “worlds to which [they] don’t belong” (p. 54). Principals at the six schools explained a variety of efforts to systematically develop their network of connectors and—as one talent director said—“persistently build relationships” with them by taking them to lunch, inviting them on school tours, and getting them to do the work of publicizing the school and its job opportunities within their networks. Interestingly, interviewees at several schools explained how these informal channels were particularly valuable in their efforts to recruit more

teachers of color—and indeed, most of the teachers of color whom we interviewed reported learning about their school through a friend or colleague who recruited them personally.

Schools were just beginning to develop new strategies for identifying connectors who might have access to significant numbers of potential recruits of color. At one district school, where an administrator described the staff as “very diverse with respect to African Americans” the principal explained how teachers of color were involved in what she called a “one-to-one kind of recruitment.” For example, one staff member had recruited a friend who was a former middle school teacher. The principal explained, “he’s African American, and so is she.”

At a charter school, both administrators and teachers described how teachers of color had recently realized the important role they could play as connectors to other teachers of color—and had thus taken it upon themselves to fulfill that role. In one case, a Black teacher approached administrators about the departure of several Black colleagues and the Black male executive director who had initially recruited them. The new executive director—a White woman with many years of experience at the school—invited the teachers of color to a strategy session in order to better understand their experiences in the school. Specifically, she wished to learn how teachers of color were initially recruited to the school and what they thought the school could do to attract more. As one teacher explained, the executive director made “no bones” about “specifically going to [the teachers of color]” and saying “I would like to hear your voice and your perspective,” about this issue. Teachers were grateful for her candor and for attempting to address such a difficult issue—one that mattered to them so much, personally. One teacher recalled that teachers’ reactions were, “Thank you! Thank you for having this meeting!”

Over the course of several meetings, teachers and administrators jointly examined what the school had already done to recruit and retain teachers of color. They learned that over 80%

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of them had been recruited to the school by another person of color—as one teacher said, usually a “really good teacher that’s a friend.” As a result, he explained, they thought carefully about how the school could “be more proactive” about developing its reputation within local “minority communities... as a shining star.” To do this, the school would need to do more outreach—both at community and job fairs frequented by strong candidates of color, and in less obvious settings, like local churches and community groups. The school would also have to continue hosting community events, such as their women’s empowerment brunches and father/son nights, which teachers of color explained they had been organizing for years as a way of celebrating the cultures of their students and exposing students to role models from communities of color. They also planned to engage parents in spreading the word, as one principal said, “through [their] churches, [their] own networks, [their] own social ties.”

Teachers of color planned to support new efforts by staffing recruitment fairs, serving a role that one self-described “teacher ambassador,” she said she “really enjoy[ed].” Others intended to reach out to their personal networks. For example, one teacher said he had volunteered to invite leaders from an interfaith, multi-racial group of clergy to tour the school. He had also written a letter directed towards Black male students and alumni at his alma mater, which the talent director sent to potential recruits. In addition, he had written a recruitment letter template for others to adapt and send to their college alumni associations, fraternities and sororities, and other organizations with which they were affiliated. Teachers also decided to be, as one said, “more available” for talking with candidates of color during the hiring process. Although teachers acknowledged that, as one explained, “it’s not going to happen overnight to make ourselves more diverse,” most were hopeful that their carefully orchestrated involvement would ultimately yield positive results.

It is important to note that both teachers and administrators at this school felt strongly that their school's history as, in the words of one administrator, "an inclusive environment where people feel comfortable and... represented" enabled them to have these conversations about the challenge of recruiting and retaining Black and Latino teachers—and subsequently, successfully encouraged teachers of color to serve as connectors. For example, teachers of color reported that they had been asked to lead professional development for their colleagues on topics such as "how to address inequality in the lives of young Black and brown boys." Similarly, teachers of all races reported engaging in what Singleton might characterize as "courageous conversations" (2006) about race. As one White teacher explained, "it's ok to talk about race here. We think it's healthy; it's what sets us apart from other schools." Another observed, "Race comes up all the time."

"Color Attracts Color:" An Image Advertising Strategy

At several other schools, current teachers of color played a different role in the recruitment and hiring processes. For example, one charter school employed an image advertising strategy based on what one talent director described as the network's belief that "color attracts color." This approach systematically ensured that candidates of color saw current teachers of color during the course of both recruitment and hiring. The purpose was to help candidates, as she said, "find connections within the organization" that would make their "experience feel good." She explained how this worked when she gave building tours: "Like, the token [Latino] English teacher. I'm not going to show you four White females in a row. I'm going to go to the classrooms that are most effective—but also represent your [cultural] experience." When deciding who would conduct interviews, the school employed similar principles: "If there's more than two people in a room, one of those people has to identify as a

person of color if the candidate is of color.” Although she explained how teachers of color were deliberately included in the recruitment process, neither she nor the principal had directly explained the school’s approach to the teachers involved—and, as teachers discussed it during our interviews, administrators had also not asked them whether they were interested in participating in the effort to recruit more teachers of color.

Across schools, teachers of color supported aspects of this recruitment strategy. As one Black teacher said, “when you bring someone in... to do the hiring process and they come in and they observe and they don’t see anyone that looks like them, then they’re probably less likely to want to work here.” Others stated that they had appreciated the opportunity to talk with current teachers of color at the school during their own interview process. However, several current teachers of color felt that they had been left out of recruitment planning and were frustrated that administrators at their school had not formally acknowledged the important role that they had been expected to play. Those teachers expressed skepticism about their school’s motives to, in the words of one, “diversify.” For example, a few noted that their classroom was a stop on every building tour, which made them feel tokenized. Others discussed being featured on brochures and on the school website. One Latina teacher explained, “When you walk down our hallways, you’ll notice the pictures that are up of teachers teaching. It’s mostly teachers of color...there’s an intentional push, and I don’t want to feel like I’m a tool for marketing—an image that’s not real for parents.” She explained that, although her picture appeared on promotional materials for the school, she had never been asked whether this was okay with her.

Hiring Teachers of Color

“Prioritizing” and Fast-Tracking Applicants

At most schools, administrators explained how they exercised a form of affirmative

action for applicants of color within their pool. At one school, an interviewee explained that they looked for clues on résumés that an applicant might be a person of color: “We’ll be like, ‘oh my God, I think this is a person that—look at her last name! She speaks Spanish! Let’s try to get her in here right away.’” She was careful to note that, although they “immediately” brought in candidates whose résumés suggested that they were Black or Latino, “it’s not that we hire them because they’re Black.” She explained, “we aggressively recruit them through the interview process because they’re people of color.” However, she said, “we would not hire them based on their race, but we would make sure that they were at the front of the interview pack.” She described how they did this:

The day we get their résumé, we call them. I call them again. If they don’t call me back, I call them again. If they don’t call me back, I email them. I look them up. I try and text them. If it’s a white girl, we have plenty of young white girls... I’m not saying [white girls] wouldn’t be a valuable contribution [to the teaching staff]... but I don’t make sure that they get here, whereas the people of color—I make sure they come through the door. And if they do, we hold the same bar for them—but I make sure they get here... Whereas if I get the sense that someone is not a person of color, I’ll send one email. If they don’t write back, I don’t follow up.

In addition, she reported that, on occasion, the school had also fast-tracked especially promising candidates of color. For example, in one instance, they had insider knowledge about an applicant who was friends with the husband of someone who worked in the school. He had a reputation of being, in the words of one, “a good person, a good teacher, and because he’s a Black guy,” they skipped the standard multi-step hiring process and as soon as he expressed interest in the school, said, “okay, we’ll hire you right now. Consider this an offer.”

At another school, a talent director explained a somewhat similar strategy that involved different standards for applicants of color. She said that because their applicant pool is “so competitive,” if a teacher is a “White female, [she would] have to have gone to a really good school, and... have had a really great GPA... their answers need to have been really, really

stellar...We're pretty liberal with our rejections... when it comes to White female teachers.”

However, she said, “an African American who has okay answers... an okay GPA... then we move them” forward in the process and “sort of keep coaching them” by allowing candidates to re-do parts of the process. An administrator expanded on these ideas, explaining that they were beginning to “provid[e] a lot more clarity during our application process for people who might not have the parent coaching that some others have.” They did this by being explicit about what they sought in their candidates: “promptness, professional dress... correct grammar, correct spelling.”

Expanding the Pool

Despite tremendous investment of effort and money, all six schools struggled to find the candidates they sought. In addition, although the schools used different criteria, the pool was so limited that, as one talent director explained, “we are all competing for the same candidates;” this was particularly true concerning candidates of color. Therefore, several schools were developing strategies for building their own pipelines into teaching.

One school, where the principal described the faculty as “very White,” had begun to prioritize hiring new college graduates of color for their in-house Teachers in Training (TT) program. The TT program recruited recent college graduates with no prior teaching experience and, through an intensive, well-developed, paid training year program, prepared them for careers as classroom teachers in their charter network. The TT program allowed the school to, in the words of one interviewee, “cast a much wider net [for] classroom teachers” because TTs did not need to have prior teaching experience.

Administrators reported that the TT strategy had yielded a “huge jump” in the number of people of color employed in the school: for the 2014-15 school year, four of the nine newly hired

TTs—including one alumnus of the school—were either Black or Latino. The school was exploring ways to recruit more TT applicants of color. As the executive director explained, they were discussing launching a summer internship, in collaboration with other local charter networks, aimed at getting college students “hooked on teaching” and interested in applying to the TT program upon graduation.

At two other schools, administrators explained that they were also beginning to think of their TT program as a pipeline into teaching for inexperienced candidates of color. Although these efforts were promising in schools with TT programs, several interviewees expressed concerns about this strategy. As one administrator explained, “a lot of the racial diversity—if you will, people of color—are clustered in our TT program, or as Deans of Students [handling discipline], or as office staff.” Indeed, every school in the sample noted that they had compensated for a dearth of teachers of color by hiring some support staff—family coordinators, discipline deans, social workers—who identified as Black or Latino. In addition, several had hired teachers in non-core subjects, such as physical education or art, who were non-White. A talent director expressed concerns about this practice, which she said caused a “hierarchy triangle,” which developed when “new teachers [and support staff] identify as people of color” and the more veteran teachers—those who are quickly promoted to leadership roles overseeing the newer teachers and staff—“are very White, middle-class.” One Black male interviewee explained why this phenomenon frustrated him: “People of color are cast typed to be dean of students or to be the people who field a lot of the behaviors—disciplinary issues... I think that White people put us in this role because they think that, ‘Oh, you know what [students] are going through. You can deal with it. You’d be better equipped to talk to them.’”

Remaining Challenges

Despite their efforts to recruit and hire Black and Latino teachers, achieving success remained a significant challenge and administrators offered different explanations for why it was so hard. Some believed that their school's will to diversify had little bearing on their success in doing so because, as one said, the fact is that few minorities graduate from college and among those who do, few enter the field of education. She continued to explain that her school was "less interested in trying to poach [teachers of color] from other schools so that we're like 'look at us, we're more diverse.'" Instead, she foresaw the "real change [coming]... in future [generations] when we close the achievement gap" and there are "more African Americans and Latinos graduating from college." In a related point, a talent director at another school explained that it was extra hard to recruit teachers of color to teaching because of the low salaries. This was particularly true at her charter school, where the pay was substantially lower than at other charters and at the district schools. From her informal research, she had learned that if "you come out of college with crushing student debt"—which Black and Latino teachers often do—"and you want a child, or to buy a house... you need to make a lot of money."

Others concurred. Indeed, the pool of teachers of color is small and financial concerns are real. Yet some suggested that their school's culture exacerbated the challenge of recruiting and hiring Black and Latino teachers. One talent director explained that this is why some high-performing, high-poverty schools—even within her small charter network—struggled more with diversity than others.

Interviewees discussed two ways in which school culture was influential; both echoed research from other fields. First, the school-based staff that made hiring decisions tended, according to one network-based staff member, to "hire people who look and sound exactly like them." With very few exceptions, those making hiring decisions at the six schools in our sample

were White, and often reported having come from well-educated, middle-class backgrounds. One suggested that, within her charter network, there had not been “enough coaching on cultural competency—the fact of the matter is there’s a very specific profile that the school looks for to replicate success.” That profile of the ideal candidate—which she and others described as a TFA alumnus with experience teaching at a high-performing, no excuses charter school and a degree from a top university—was, in her words, “not the only profile that’s successful.” Another interviewee described a similar phenomenon: “people tend to hire people who they feel comfortable with or who are a reflection of them in their work ethics... it all boils down to the way that you vibe with the person in an interview.” Second, teachers were more likely to apply to and accept job offers from schools where they shared attributes with other teachers and with school leadership—a principle that guided the image advertising strategy that several schools employed. In other words, schools understood that it was substantially easier to hire Black and Latino teachers when a critical mass of the faculty and school leadership were already people of color.

When the need to recruit more teachers of color and the plan for doing so had not been openly discussed, teachers wondered whether their school’s efforts to hire more teachers of color were aligned with their own reasons for wanting to be part of a more diverse staff—or whether their school was simply trying to fulfill a quota. Interestingly, teachers at several schools explained that the topic about the district-imposed quota had never been formally broached by the administration, which also meant that they had no chance to ask about the quota and understand the pressures it imposed upon their principal. For example, at one school, teachers explained that staff had received an email, in error, naming a particular target for the percentage of teachers of color that the school wished to hire. But, because the administration had never

explained how the quota worked, teachers were left to wonder, as one said, whether administrators were simply “hiring people for the sake of them being people of color,” rather than because they were “talented and just deserving of the position.” At several schools, teachers questioned how their school could succeed in hiring more minority teachers if the topic remained taboo. It is important to note that at several schools, teachers of color reported that the lack of conversation about the quota or the larger issue of the dearth of teachers of color had made them so uncomfortable that they were not sure whether they wanted to help recruit more teachers like themselves to teach at the school. Not surprisingly, this was especially true among teachers who were planning to leave.

Discussion and Conclusion

The six schools in this study shared what several called a “social justice” mission to provide students from historically underserved communities the education that they deserve. In many ways, the schools were making great strides: all were closing persistent achievement gaps and some were offering socioemotional supports and extracurricular opportunities for students. However, at every school, principals and teachers reported that they struggled to recruit and hire teachers of color—which the literature suggests may be very important for children of color, both academically and socioemotionally. In addition, in line with prior research, principals in our study reported that teachers of color left the school more quickly than their White colleagues, and teachers of color who remained frequently confided that their sense of isolation might ultimately prompt them to follow their former colleagues out the door.

The dearth of teachers of color was problematic for many reasons. Some administrators felt an obligation to provide students with role models who looked like them. Others described how concerned parents or community distrust had prompted them to prioritize staff diversity.

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Many were also affected by pressures from the district to meet a court-ordered quota. Teachers of color, in turn, wanted more colleagues of color because they believed that children needed more role models from their own communities. In addition, although a few teachers of color reported being unfazed by the lack of colleagues of color, most said they felt isolated in their school. They desired colleagues with whom they could, as one said, “click and connect.” They wished that they were not solely responsible for helping their white colleagues understand their students’ lives.

All schools reported making a deliberate effort to hire more Black and Latino teachers, which was usually incorporated with the schools’ carefully developed, active recruitment and hiring processes. Each school had strategically adapted its process to address the unique challenges of recruiting and hiring teachers of color. To identify potential recruits, schools first determined where the candidates whom they sought might be found and then developed partnerships with human capital organizations and with “connectors” in an effort to recruit them. Principals recognized the important role that current teachers of color might play in recruiting more teachers of color and therefore each school engaged teachers of color in their recruitment and hiring processes in some way. At two schools, teachers of color were active partners in developing and enacting a strategy; at one school, they even reported initiating a school-wide effort. Teachers were clear that this worked because the school was already an inclusive environment where conversations about race were commonplace. At other schools, however, school leaders and talent staff formulated an image advertising strategy that depended on current teachers of color. But, they did not formally acknowledge the extensive role that teachers of color were expected to fulfill. In these schools, teachers of color often expressed skepticism

about their school's motives and said they felt like tokens whose image was, as one said, being used as "a tool for marketing."

Schools also adapted their hiring processes to ensure that the few teachers of color in the applicant pool were carefully considered—and courted. However, in spite of their extensive recruitment and hiring efforts, the pool of applicants of color was insufficient and schools were beginning to expand their pool by training new teachers through in-house TT programs. Schools also increased the diversity of their staff by hiring support staff and non-core subject teachers who were Black or Latino. Collectively, these initiatives were promising, but some expressed concerns about what one called a "hierarchy triangle" that was developing as new teachers and support staff were people of color and the more veteran teachers and those in leadership positions were White.

Implications for Policy and Practice

Thirty-six states and the federal government have introduced initiatives to recruit people of color to teach in public schools. Although some of these initiatives have been successful in recruiting teachers of color into the profession, they have not ensured that the teachers they recruit have positive experiences within their school—and ultimately, stay in their position. It is important that policymakers recognize that Black and Latino teachers are unlikely to enter a profession where they do not anticipate having colleagues of color who are successful and satisfied with their work.

Policymakers should explore systemic ways of addressing this problem, since it is often beyond the reach of principals or even district officials. In part this is because the goals of recruiting and hiring Black and Latino teachers may depend on making progress in areas that do not seem directly related to recruitment and hiring. Therefore, policymakers might make funds

available to districts and schools to create professional networks for teachers of color and offer forums for teachers of color to gather and reflect on their own pathway into teaching and generate new ideas for recruiting future colleagues. Such a professional network might also engage in other paid work aimed at promoting retention among teachers of color in the district, such as collectively designing professional development sessions for other teachers or designing culturally-relevant curriculum. The network might serve in an advisory capacity for district decision-makers. Districts might also consider offering leadership trainings for teachers who participate in such networks as a strategy for increasing the number of people of color in leadership positions within schools.

Belonging to a professional community of teachers of color might mitigate some teachers' experiences of isolation within their school. It might also help districts to draw upon the perspectives and advice of teachers of color. Although it will be important for districts to acknowledge the well-documented practice of expecting teachers of color to bear sole responsibility for matters related to race, many teachers in our study explained that they want to be engaged in such work. In addition, districts should be sure to compensate teachers who participate in these efforts. Principals might begin to engage teachers of color and others within their building in similar conversations and problem-solving initiatives, and principals might also budget funds to compensate teachers for extra work that they do both in recruiting and hiring and in other areas of school management.

To support principals in developing the culture of trust required to engage in tough dialogue about issues of race and equity, districts might invest in training principals and teachers in how to organize and lead such "courageous conversations" (Singleton, 2006). As part of this work, both the district and schools should do more to ensure that teachers understand court-

mandated quotas when relevant. In addition, districts might simply build greater awareness among school leaders—most of whom are White—regarding what is known about how teachers of color experience working in their schools. Efforts such as these—which are intended to build relational trust, open communication, and multicultural capital—might improve the working conditions for teachers of color and, in turn, increase the likelihood that they would stay in their schools. High retention rates would likely help schools build reputations as good places for teachers of color to work.

The ongoing challenge that the schools in this study face in recruiting teachers of color makes it clear that districts and schools need to create more pathways into teaching for teachers of color. Schools might begin to foster student interest in teaching as a career early by engaging middle and high school students in opportunities to mentor younger students and to be mentored by teachers of color. They might partner with local colleges to offer free summer courses to district high school students, through which students of color can explore the teaching profession and the sociology of education. Schools might provide paid or credit-bearing summer or school-year internships for college students of color who are alumni of the district and in search of meaningful employment. Cities might offer scholarships or loan repayment options to students from the district or to parents who are pursuing a degree in teaching, on the condition that they return home to teach. Residency programs might allow outstanding college seniors of color to begin their training during their last year of college. Highly structured TT programs could support individuals as they gain the skills to become a teacher of record in their school. Districts and schools might consider offering different strands of TT programs. For example, districts could offer a strand for parents, a strand for paraprofessionals, a strand for other school staff (such as parent coordinators or after school program directors), and a strand for recent college

graduates. This would allow TT program leaders to provide differentiated curricula that meet the needs of individual trainees and to appeal to a larger population of people of color.

Simultaneously, policymakers might also consider ways of supporting teacher candidates—especially those of color—as they move through the licensing process, especially providing support as they prepare for the state’s standardized teaching exam.

Implications for Research

This paper contributes to what is known about how high-poverty schools whose students are succeeding academically conceive of and enact the process of recruiting and hiring teachers of color. However, significantly more information is needed to really understand how and how well the different strategies work and how they might be improved. Future research might follow recruits over time and examine how particular strategies used by CMOs, districts, and schools influence candidates' decision-making about where to apply and, ultimately, where to accept a position. A future study might also look at how districts and particular schools interact to create a more effective system for recruiting teachers of color in high-poverty district schools. It might also study whether schools with more complex recruitment processes are better able to recruit, hire, and retain teachers of color over the course of time, and analyze how the teachers they do hire fare in their roles. Of course, given the few studies about teachers of color and their experiences of work on largely White faculties, researchers should continue conducting work aimed at understanding the issues raised here.

As districts and schools try new strategies for increasing the number of Black and Latino teachers in public schools, it is crucial that government agencies more accurately track and make public demographic information about teachers and others who work in schools. Although national percentages of teachers of color are available through large surveys, the exact distribution of teachers of color in local schools is difficult to determine. As discussed here, the number of classroom teachers of core academic subjects in each school was impossible to verify based on data gathered by the district and state. Accurate records about the roles that Black and Latino teachers play in their schools is critical to this work.

In conclusion, the six schools in this study continue to struggle with recruiting teachers who reflect the community of students that they serve. The fact that so many teachers of color are isolated in their schools is one of several factors that contribute to their high rates of turnover—and that make it difficult for schools to recruit more teachers of color. Learning from the strategies employed and suggested here—and from of the ongoing challenges that schools face—is critical if schools are to close the “demographic divide” (Boser, 2014, p. 2) between teachers and students in high-poverty schools.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Sample Descriptive Statistics

Table 1. *Selected Characteristics of Six Sample Schools**

School Name	School Type	Grades	Estimated Enrollment	% Low-income students	% African American or Black Students	% Hispanic or Latino Students	% Other Non-white students	% White Students
Dickinson Elementary	Traditional District	PK-5	370	76	4	85	2	9
Fitzgerald Elementary	District - Former Turnaround	PK-5	390	85	70	25	3	2
Hurston K-8	District - Former Turnaround	PK-8	800	75	41	54	4	1
Kincaid Charter Middle	In-District Charter	6-8	475	88	50	30	10	10
Naylor Charter K-8	Charter	K-8	500	82	70	24	5	1
Rodriguez Charter K1-8	Charter	PK-8	420	72	55	20	7	18

*Percentages are approximated for confidentiality purposes

Table 2. *Number of Interviewees at Each School*

School Name	Administrators*	Non-Teaching Staff **	Teachers in Training	Teachers	% of Total Teachers in the School Interviewed
Dickinson Elementary	1	2	n/a	15	56
Fitzgerald Elementary	2	2	n/a	14	47
Hurston K-8	4	5	n/a	21	31
Kincaid Charter Middle	5	4	2	16	38
Naylor Charter K-8	2	3	2	17	46
Rodriguez Charter K1-8	3	3	3	16	36

* Administrators include directors of CMOs and school based administrators who directly supervise teachers.

** Non-teaching Staff includes instructional coaches, parent coordinators, data leaders, recruitment officers, deans of discipline and other administrators who do not teach students and do not supervise teachers

Table 3. *Total Teachers Interviewed at Each School & Years of Experience*

School	Novice* (1- 3 years)	2nd Stage (4 - 10 years)	Veteran (11+ years)
Dickinson Elementary	3	5	7
Fitzgerald Elementary	1	11	2
Hurston K-8	6	11	4
Kincaid Charter Middle	4	11	1
Naylor Charter K-8	8	7	2
Rodriguez Charter K1-8	1	9	6
Totals	23	54	22

*Does not include Teachers in Training

Table 4. *Race/Ethnicity of Teachers Interviewed*

School Name	Black (Includes Cape Verdean and West Indian)	Latino	Black & Latino	Asian	White
Dickinson Elementary	1 teacher	1 teacher 1 staff	1 teacher	1 teacher	1 administrator 11 teachers 1 staff
Fitzgerald Elementary	5 teachers	2 staff		1 teacher	4 administrators 2 staff 16 teachers
Hurston K-8	1 administrator 5 teachers			1 teacher	1 administrator 1 staff 8 teachers
Rodriguez Charter K1-8	1 teacher 1 TT	2 staff		2 teachers 1 staff	2 admin 13 teachers 2 TTs
Naylor Charter K-8	2 teachers		2 teachers	1 TT	3 admin 13 teachers 2 TTs
Kincaid Charter Middle	3 teachers 1 staff 1 TT	3 teachers		1 teacher	6 admin 2 staff 1 TT 12 teachers
Totals	21	9	3	8	101

Table 5. Race / Ethnicity of FTEs At Each School*

School	Total Number Full-Time Equivalents (FTEs)	African American	Hispanic	Multi-Race, Non-Hispanic	Asian	White
Dickinson Elementary	34	3 FTEs (8% of total)	6 FTEs (17%)	0 FTEs	1 FTEs (2%)	24 FTEs (73%)
Fitzgerald Elementary	44	20 FTEs (45%)	.5 FTEs (2%)	0 FTEs	2 FTE (4%)	21.5 FTEs (50%)
Hurston K-8	97	25 FTEs (26%)	15 FTEs (15%)	0 FTEs	3 FTEs (3%)	54 FTEs (56%)
Kincaid Charter Middle	51	10 FTEs (20%)	0 FTEs	3 FTEs (6%)	3 FTEs (6%)	35 FTEs (69%)
Naylor Charter K-8	61	3 FTEs (5%)	3 FTEs (5%)	0 FTEs	2 FTEs (3%)	53 FTEs (88%)
Rodriguez Charter K1-8	57	8 FTEs (13%)	5 FTEs (8%)	2 FTEs (4%)	2 FTEs (4%)	40 FTEs (71%)

These data were drawn from the Massachusetts DESE School and District Profiles and include information from staff during the 2013-14 school year. Due to rounding, percentages may not equal 100.

Appendix B: Interview Protocols

Teacher Interview Protocol

Intro: Study Explanation emphasizing that we really want to learn about your experience at this school.

1. Background:
 - a. How did you come to be in your current position at this school?
 - b. Starting with college, can you tell us what you've done?
 - i. Probe for: training and employment
2. Current Teaching Assignment:
 - a. What do you teach here?
 - b. How did you wind up in this position?
3. Overall view of school:
 - a. If another teacher would ask you, "What's it like to teach at _____?" How might you respond?
 - b. What are the advantages and disadvantages of being a teacher here?
4. Hiring:
 - a. How were you hired at this school? Step-by-step.
 - b. Do teachers play a role in hiring other teachers? If so, how?
 - c. Has the hiring process changed at this school? If so, how and why?
5. Induction:
 - a. Did you have some kind of induction as a new teacher at this school? What worked and what didn't?
 - b. How are new teachers inducted now? How have things changed since you got here?
6. Support:
 - a. What kinds of supports are available here for teachers to improve their instruction?
 - b. What works well for you? What doesn't? (Probe: PD, Coaching, Collaboration, Evaluation)
7. Evaluation:
 - a. How is your teaching evaluated? Describe the process.
 - b. Was it helpful? How?
8. Administration:
 - a. Who do you go to for support? For what?
9. Social & Psychological Supports:
 - a. What sorts of social and psychological supports does your school offer for students?
 - b. What support do you get for interacting with parents and families?
10. Career goals:
 - a. How long do you expect to stay at this school? In what roles?
 - i. If yes: What keeps you at this school?
 - ii. If no: Why do you think you might leave?
11. Union:
 - a. What role does the union or the contract play in this school?
12. More: Do you have any additional comments?

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Principal Interview Protocol

Overview of Study: 6 Schools, All high-poverty, high-minority. All Level 1.

1. Background:
 - a. How long have you been at this school? Prior experience in education? Anything else we should know about how you got here?
2. School Overview:
 - a. Could you first provide an overview of its structure and programs?
 - b. (Where applicable) What does it mean for your school to be a pilot/turnaround/charter school?
 - c. (Where applicable) How did you go about selecting teachers when ---- was placed in turnaround?
 - d. How would you describe it to a teacher or parent who might be interested in it—both its strengths and weaknesses?
3. Teachers: We'd like to get a sense of who your teachers are.
 - a. Where do they come from?
 - b. What formal or informal preparation do they have?
 - c. What attracts them to the school?
 - d. Approximately, what proportion has fewer than 10 years of experience? 5 years of experience? 0-5 years of experience? (Has that changed or remained steady?)
4. Recruitment and Hiring:
 - a. Could you describe the process you use to recruit and hire teachers? (Applicants per position? Teaching demonstration? Who decides?)
 - b. What challenges do you face in recruiting teachers?
 - c. Are there specific demographics or subject areas that you have trouble finding/attracting? If so, how have you addressed those challenges?
5. Assignment:
 - a. How do you assign teachers to a particular grade or subject?
 - b. Could you describe the teachers' responsibilities, both during school hours and outside of school hours? Scheduled and unscheduled time?
6. Compensation:
 - a. Please tell us about the pay scale for teachers. Are there additional stipends? If so, can you describe these opportunities?
7. Collaboration:
 - a. Are the teachers organized by teams, grade-levels, subjects? If so, what does that mean for how they do their work? What is the work of those teams?
8. Supports:
 - a. What supports can a new teacher count on in getting started? And for more experienced teachers?
9. Role:
 - a. Are there specialized roles for some teachers? (Lead Teach, team leaders, etc.) If so, please describe these roles.
10. Curriculum:
 - a. Does the school provide a curriculum for the teachers? If so, please tell us about it.
11. Professional Learning:

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- a. Do you have formal professional development? Instructional coaches? If so, please tell us about them.
12. Supervision and Evaluation:
 - a. How do you supervise teachers? How do you evaluate teachers? Are these separate processes? Do students' test scores play a role in evaluating teachers?
13. Dismissal:
 - a. How frequently do you dismiss or decide not to rehire a teacher? Reasons?
14. Retention:
 - a. How long do teachers stay? Why do they stay? Why do they leave? Is there a type of teacher who stays or leaves? Is turnover a challenge?
15. Policy Context:
 - a. Does state or local policy play a role in how you approach building your teaching capacity?
16. Union:
 - a. What role if any does a teachers' union play at your school?
17. Have we missed anything?

Recruitment Director Interview Protocol

Overview of Study: 6 Schools, All high-poverty, high-minority. All Level 1

2. Background:
 - a. How did you come to be in your current position at this school?
 - b. Starting with college, can you tell us what you've done?
 - i. Probe for: training and employment
3. Current Role:
 - a. Please describe your role at this school / in this CMO.
 - b. How did you wind up in this position?
4. Overall View of School:
 - a. How do you describe the school to potential candidates?
5. Recruitment and Hiring Process Overview:
 - a. Please describe the process through which you recruit and hire candidates.
 - i. Probe Recruitment: How do you identify candidates? What pools of candidates do you rely on? What are your best sources for teachers?
 - ii. Probe Hiring: Once a candidate has decided to apply, what are the steps he / she must go through?
 1. How is the school principal involved in recruitment / hiring? How do you interact about the process?
 2. How are other teachers involved in recruitment / hiring?
6. Challenges:
 - a. Are there particular positions that are especially difficult to fill? How do you address these challenges?
 - b. (If it doesn't come up): Have you faced challenges related to staff diversity? If yes, please describe the challenges.
 - i. What have you done to address those challenges?
7. Determining Fit:
 - a. What do you look for in a candidate?
8. The Offer:
 - a. How do you approach making an offer?
 - b. Once you've made an offer, how do you ensure that the candidate accepts the position?
 - c. If you lose candidates, where do they go and why?
9. Midyear Hires:
 - a. How often do you replace a teacher mid-year? Does the process differ, and if so, how?
10. More:
 - a. Do you have any additional comments?

Appendix C: List of Codes and Descriptors

Codes	Description
Assignment	Teacher Assignment: What do you teach/ your job at the school, views of your assignment
Background	Background: Past work history, education
WhyTeach	Why teach? Personal sense of purpose can include changes in views over time.
SchoolOverview	Facts about the school (the facts but not mission or culture), might include specific school goals
HistorySchool	History of School
FacultyComposition	Descriptions of the composition of the faculty
Equity	Interactions, policies or dynamics described in relation to race, ethnicity, social class
Hiring	Related to teacher recruitment, hiring, including teacher's experience of being recruited / hired. –timing, demo lessons, debriefs, meetings with current teachers, written applications, Who the school seeks and how they find candidates
WhySchool	Why chose school - why teach at this particular school? May reflect changes over time
Mission	Descriptions of what the school aspires to accomplish (if explicitly talking about mission do not double code with culture)
AdminAdmin	Interactions / relationships among administrators (including non-teaching positions such as coaches and guidance, deans and other non-teaching roles)
AdminLeadership	Descriptions of administrators' style, vision, agenda, priorities, purposes, etc. (includes self-descriptions)
AdminRole	Specific responsibilities and job descriptions of non-teaching faculty
AdminStudent	Relationship between administrators and students (include coaches, guidance, deans and other non-teaching roles)
AdminTeach	Interactions between administrators and teachers (include coaches, guidance, deans and other non-teaching roles in this code)
Demands	Teachers professional responsibilities and expectations, work hours, teachers views on demands
Resources	Material and human resources (money, buildings, positions, --if it is about admin roles will be double coded in Adminroles) - Facilities
Accountability	Related to external accountability (state accountability status and state testing, turnaround status) - what the state does and then what is done as a result
DistrictNetworkState	Formal relationships / governance from State, District or CMO, includes school boards and trustees
Testing	References to standardized tests, state tests, network tests and interim assessments and how used in the school
MonitoringStudents	Teachers' use of assessments and instructional strategies to monitor achievement
Student	Student Characteristics: Descriptions of students and their community
Neighborhood	Descriptions of the local surroundings of the school
Family	Ways of connecting families and community to school, Perceptions of parents/ families + Teacher and admin connections to parents / families
CurriculumPedagogy	What and how you teach - including instructional planning
SpEdELL	Descriptions of programs or approaches for educating students with special needs and /or ELLs
SpecialSubj	Referring to non-core academic classes (art, music, library, dance, etc) and extra-curricular or co-curricular programs or activities
SchoolCulture	Expressions of school-wide norms & values including kids, teachers and parents (not explicit statements of mission), big picture that everyone from school would understand

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Colleagues	Commentary on colleagues and their characteristics (what I think about the people I work with) - big picture impressions of colleagues
ProfCulture	Professional Culture- the norms of being a teacher or admin in this school. Big picture expectations for how we work together as professionals
Eval	Related to teacher supervision and evaluation: observations, feedback, meetings between supervisors and teachers, how work with teachers on instruction
Coaching	Formal instructional coaches, but NOT induction mentoring
Induction	Programs and supports (formal and informal) for new teachers: prior to day 1 and after day 1
FormalCollab	Deliberate, structured groups working together-organized by the school- including whole school sessions – including approach to lesson planning and who is included and who is not - JUST TEACHERS
InformalCollab	Specific work with colleagues that is not organized by the school, informal collegial interactions -JUST TEACHERS
RolesTeach	Formal roles and opportunities for career advancement (Lead Teach etc.) may have double coding when example of influence through a formal role including leadership teams, Teachers in Training, etc.
InfluenceTeach	Teacher opportunities as brokers of influence (teachers generally in their work having influence), including committees where you can voice concerns - Admin change view because of a teacher
CareerGrowth	Individual professional growth for career progression
OrderDiscipline	Safety, systems, expectations and rules for students, and enforcement
StudentSupports	Social and emotional and academic supports for students and behavioral - outside of classroom structure
StudentTeach	Interactions among teachers and students inside and outside the classroom.
Turnover	Why other people stay or leave; both causes and frequencies, personal plans to stay or leave, also about satisfaction and dissatisfaction, might be stuck in job
Pay	Payscale, stipends and other things related to compensation
Partners	Partners including City Year, Lead Teach, Ed Schools, etc.
Union	Related to the union and the contract
Gem Quote	This is a great quote.

Descriptor Categories for Characterizing Interviewees

Descriptor	Definition	Response options
School	School Name	
Grade Level	Grade Level Presently Taught	Non-teacher, pre-k, k, 1, 2, 2 or more grades, all grades, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8
Gender	Gender	Male, female
Position	Position in the school or system	Recruitment officer, CMO administrator, principal, non-teaching faculty or administrator, teacher, assistant teacher / resident teacher, split role: teacher and other non teaching job
# years at this school	# of years working at this school counting this year	
# years at charter	# of years working at charter schools in total	
# years at district schools	# of years working at district schools in total	
# years at private schools	# of years working at private schools in total	
# years teaching	total of charter, district, private years	
Race / Ethnicity	Self-identified race / ethnicity	Black, White, Caribbean, Cape Verdean, Latino/a, multi-racial, other, Asian
Classroom type	Type of classroom in which interviewee teaches	Self-contained elementary multi subjects, departmentalized core subject, specific subject non-core, ELL/ Special Ed only