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Where Are All the Black Teachers? Discrimination in the Teacher Labor Market

Diane D'Amico

Robert Pawlewicz

University of North Dakota, robert.pawlewicz@UND.edu

Penelope M. Earley

Adam P. McGeehan

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Thank you.

Where are All the Black Teachers?: Discrimination in the Teacher Labor Market

Diana D'Amico, Robert J. Pawlewicz, Penelope M. Earley, and Adam P. McGeehan

Of the nearly 4 million elementary, middle, and high school teachers in the United States, 83% are White and only 8% are Black (“Census 2000 EEO Data Tool,” n.d.), even as more than 15% of the nation’s school-age children are Black (United States Census Bureau, 2010). Echoing the concerns of policymakers and researchers, Secretary of Education Arne Duncan described the lack of racial diversity in the teaching profession as “especially troubling” (Duncan, 2010). For many, the central problem rests on the skewed demographic proportions of the profession. According to the National Education Association (n.d.), “Every child has a basic right to a great public school with a qualified and caring staff, including educators who look like them.”

For the past several decades, policymakers and researchers have defined the paucity of Black teachers as a supply problem that impacts Black children most directly. In this article, we examine the racial composition of one teacher labor market through teacher applicant data and subsequent hiring decisions. We find evidence that even as qualified Black applicants applied to teach in the district, their chances of receiving an offer were significantly lower than White candidates, indicating discrimination in the teacher labor market. *Ceteris paribus*, Blackness was negatively associated with receiving a job offer in this school district; when Black candidates were hired they were disproportionately placed either in schools with large populations of children of color or children in poverty, or they were offered positions by Black principals. Possible explanations for this could be that the Black applicants were either unqualified or expressed a specific preference to teach in certain schools. Contrary to such suppositions, our results show that Black and White candidates were similarly qualified. Further, due to district hiring practices, candidates do not apply to specific schools but instead to the district for general

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position types. We maintain that this labor market discrimination – a manifestation of the low *demand* for Black teachers – matters not just for Black children who lack same-race role models but for all children.

Researchers concur that the racial composition of the teacher workforce is impacted by supply-side economic factors (Madkins, 2011), and they have examined these from a variety of important perspectives. For instance, some scholars have identified critical barriers to entry ranging from certification exams to negative portrayals of Black teachers that deplete the supply of racially diverse candidates (Albers, 2002; Foster, 1991; Milner, 2012; Petchauer, 2012; Santelices & Wilson, 2010; Torres, Santos, Peck, & Cortes, 2004). Examining the same supply dynamics from a different perspective, other researchers have highlighted the forces that pull racially diverse candidates away from the schools (Bianco, Leech, & Mitchell, 2011; Franklin, 1987). Moving beyond individual motivations, scholars have also examined the institutional patterns that negatively impact the supply of racially diverse prospective teachers and called important attention to the prohibitive nature of standardized tests and the extent to which they constrict the racial diversity of the teacher labor market (Albers, 2002; Angrist & Guryan, 2008; Petchauer, 2012). Likewise, scholars have looked to schools of education and the racialized undertones of preparation programs (Dixson & Dingus, 2007; Ladson-Billings, 2000). Arguing that the nature of many preparation programs curtails the supply of racially diverse applicants, scholars have called for the restructuring of college education programs to become more culturally relevant to minority students and more proactive in preparing future educators for teaching African American students (Bridges, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2000; Pabon, Anderson, & Kharem, 2011; Petchauer, 2012; Sleeter, 2001). Extending this work, researchers have also examined alternate routes, questioning the extent to which they ease access into the profession or

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serve as a barrier for prospective teachers of color (Haberman, 1999; Lau, Dandy, & Hoffman, 2007; Pabon, et al., 2011).

Given the evidence that African American students stand to benefit from encountering teachers of the same race in the classroom (Madkins, 2011; Villegas & Irvine, 2010), programs have emerged across the nation that focus on targeted recruitment initiatives and alternate pathways into the profession (Boyd, et al., 2011; Haberman, 1999; Kirby & Hudson, 1993; Lau, et al., 2007). Researchers have also observed that the supply issues transcend the point of initial entry and highlighted the need for retention initiatives (Ingersoll & May, 2011). Even as the number of Black teachers has increased over the past decades (Ingersoll, Merrill, & Stuckey, 2014), they have risen in proportion with the rest of the teaching profession and skewed demographic patterns persist, suggesting that these strategies have been less than effective (Achinstein, Ogawa, & Speigman, 2004; Madkins, 2011; Talbert-Johnson, 2001; Torres et al., 2004).

In large measure, the intractable nature of this phenomenon is historic and stems from the very ways in which the core *problem* has been defined (Colleague & Author, 2015). In the popular imagination and textbooks alike, the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision of 1954 represents a critical turning point in the nation's history, a clear dividing line demarcating a racist past from an equitable present. However, the *Brown* case also represents something much less romantic: the displacement of the nation's African American teachers (Fairclough, 2004; Fultz, 2004; Hudson & Holmes, 1994; Milner & Howard, 2004; Tillman, 2004). Before the ruling, segregation was the law of the land. The systematic exclusion of Black children and families from public schools, particularly in the South but elsewhere, too, was indicative of the racist ideals that structured the nation's economic, political, and social landscape. In the face of

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segregation, Black families resisted and persisted in overt and subtle ways. As historian James Anderson (1988) has detailed, Black families in the South pooled economic and less tangible resources like time to build schoolhouses, discuss curricular matters, and hire teachers. These children learned in vastly unequal settings but, as Vanessa Siddle-Walker (2000) has argued, the presence of Black teachers also gave deep value to their education. With the *Brown* decision, these community-supported schools and the Black teachers who staffed them were wiped away as courts mandated the integration of the nation's school children but said nothing of the teacher labor force, effectively diminishing the *demand* for Black teachers.

Conditions, such as the lack of racial diversity among the nation's teachers, exist and are tangible. The act of defining those conditions as problems, on the other hand, is a social and political byproduct (Baumgartner & Jones, 2009; Kingdon, 1984; Rochefort & Cobb, 1994). The very ways researchers and policymakers define the educational problems of the day determine the lens through which we understand and attempt to solve them. Turning a blind eye to the historic forces surrounding the employment of Black teachers and the ways pre-*Brown* ideals continue to shape the post-*Brown* world, most policymakers have defined endemic diversity problems as a function of *supply* rather than *demand*.

The role of race in teacher hiring practices has received only slight consideration from researchers and policymakers. Many hiring practices are what Liu & Johnson (2006) call *moderately decentralized*. Teachers are technically hired and employed by the district, but the actual selection is made by principals at individual schools (Engel & Cannata, 2015). Black teachers constitute a smaller percentage of the teaching workforce and are more likely to teach minority students in urban schools (Hanushek & Rivkin, 2007; Jacob, 2007; Mertz, 2010). Is this a function of supply or demand, though? In most districts around the nation, principals are the

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gatekeepers of the schools, granting or denying entry via job offers. An examination of the results of the decisions they make is essential to understanding which market forces are at play. When faced with a hiring decision, principals often consider a multitude of factors related to teacher qualities and the context of their schools (Ingle, Rutledge, & Bishop, 2011). And as other researchers have documented, some principals prioritize other candidate characteristics like local connections or experience (Authors, 2015; Boyd, Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2013). Some administrators report placing no considerable value on the ethnicity or race of candidates (Cain-Caston, 1999) or if they can teach students of different races (Dillon, McCaughtry, & Hummel, 2010), whereas others prioritize race (Harris, Rutledge, Ingle, & Thompson, 2010). Meanwhile, studies of other fields have revealed discriminatory practices in hiring and, in particular, a reluctance to hire Black applicants (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004); to what extent, if any, might similar tendencies manifest in the education labor market? The teacher labor market is geographically small and highly localized (Engel & Cannata, 2015). As a result, principals develop definitions of *fit* regarding which candidates are best suited for their individual schools (Hanushek & Rivkin, 2007; Ingle et al., 2011; Mertz, 2010). Districts in some studies have implemented policies to recruit and hire minority teachers (Ingle et al., 2011; Jacob, 2007; Madkins, 2011), but what impact do these district policies have on the hiring decisions of individual principals?

In this article we examine the demographic composition of the teacher labor market from a new perspective. With few exceptions (Author, 2015; Dobbie, 2011; Goldhaber, et al., 2014), researchers have focused their analyses on ex-post data of teachers already hired and working in the system and, as a result, have yet to examine applicant pool data. This study questions the extent to which supply issues alone account for the paucity of Black teachers through an

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examination of teacher applicant data and hiring decisions in a single school district. In spring 2012, 11,980 applicants submitted 27,330 applications for 2,380 open teaching positions. Each year, the district allocates resources to the recruitment of minority candidates in an explicit effort to increase the diversity of its teaching population, identifying *supply* as the root cause of its homogenous teacher corps. Those efforts bore fruit in the applicant pool where Black candidates comprised 13% of prospective teachers, a proportion slightly greater than the percentage of Black students in the district (10%). However, Black teachers represented only 6% of those offered positions in the district.

To be sure, racial diversity is an issue that transcends the Black community. As our data reveal, the percentage of job offers extended to Black, Hispanic, and Asian teachers fell far below the percentage of Black, Hispanic, and Asian students in the district. That said, Hispanic and Asian teachers were hired in similar proportions to which they applied, suggesting that the low numbers for these groups may indeed reflect a supply problem. The patterns surrounding Black teachers, however, were starkly different: the offer rate for these teachers was disproportionately less than the rate at which they applied, suggesting other contributing forces exist.

Discrimination is a powerful word and one that is often avoided because of what it connotes. However, the economic definition of the term is simple and clear: “Discrimination is generally understood to exist when some superficial characteristic (skin pigmentation, for example) is used in an attempt to restrict individuals’ access to the available economic, political, and social opportunities for advancement” (D’Amico, 1987, p. 310). In this district, Black applicants, though similar in many attributes to their White counterparts, encountered a significantly lower likelihood of being offered a job, replicating discriminatory employment

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patterns documented across a range of industries (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). Further, White principals hired disproportionately fewer Black teachers than Black principals did. Finally, we find evidence of workforce segregation. When Black teachers were hired, they were disproportionately placed in schools with large populations of minority students or students living in poverty. This research does not negate the important work on the real and pervasive supply-side problems when it comes to the racial composition of the teacher corps. However, our findings also suggest that even increasing the supply of racially diverse teachers, as this school district has, may not be enough to diversify the nation's corps of public school teachers. Another powerful and historic force is also at work: demand. In this district, the supply of qualified Black teachers outpaced the demand for them.

Background and Context

Overview of the School District

The school district studied in this research ranks among the largest school districts in the nation and serves more than 180,000 students (U.S. Department of Education, 2010). Near a major metropolitan area, the largely suburban district maintains over 180 schools and is sustained by an operating budget in excess of \$2 billion; the average per pupil expenditure is \$13,000. With a funding structure much like that of districts around the nation, the majority of financial resources come from the locality, 15% of the budget comes from the state, and less than 2% comes from federal aid. Teachers represent the largest budget expenditure, and there are over 20,000 full-time positions in the district. Approximately 40% of the student population in the district is White. African American students comprise approximately 10% of the student population; Hispanic and Asian students each represent 20% of the district's student population.

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Over one-quarter of the students who attend school in the district qualify for free and reduced lunch programs; approximately 15% of students garner the ESOL classification, and approximately 15% of students receive special education services. Based on standardized assessments, the district is widely praised as “high performing.”¹

District-Level Hiring Practices and Policies

Each year, representatives from the centralized Human Resources (HR) Department travel within and beyond state limits to diversity fairs, Historically Black Colleges and Universities, and recruitment events with the goal of attracting racially diverse candidates to the district. In addition, the HR Department hosts on-line recruitment events in an endeavor to reach desirable and geographically diverse candidates. To begin the application process, all prospective applicants must submit licensure and certification credentials via an online system. Staff members in the district’s HR Department perform an initial screen to ensure that candidates meet basic state requirements. If they do, the candidate is sent a link to complete the online application and a code to take the TeacherInsight (TI) assessment administered by Gallup.

All candidates must submit their applications via a single, centralized, online system where they upload resumes, cover letters, and enter information pertaining to current residence, educational background, and work experience.² In addition, candidates have the opportunity to submit identifying demographic information pertaining to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC); the EEOC information is not shared with hiring principals. Principals first gain definitive information about a candidate’s race during the in-person interview. However, researchers have found that individuals screening applications also derive information or make

¹ All information is publically available on the district’s website, but identifying information is withheld to maintain anonymity at the request of the district.

² This research is based on application information entered into the online system. The district did not provide the uploaded documents to preserve the anonymity of candidates.

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assumptions about racial backgrounds from candidate names and other information included in the resume (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004). Regardless of when or how a principal learns of the candidate's race, racial background is known before an offer is extended.

Candidates may be aware of openings at particular schools either through personal connections or school webpages, but when submitting materials they do not have an opportunity to specify a school preference. Instead, prospective teachers apply to general position types (i.e., middle school mathematics). After online applications are complete, HR staff members send hiring principals links to relevant applications. Once principals have identified applicants of interest, they personally contact the individual to arrange an interview. Principals do not notify the centralized HR Office about individuals interviewed and as such, no data exists regarding how many or which candidates are interviewed. However, district officials recounted anecdotal information from principals that invitations to interview were rarely declined, replicating patterns documented elsewhere (Goldhaber et al., 2014). Principals notify HR staff of the candidates they wish to hire and HR staff contact successful candidates to extend offers. As a way to ensure that all schools in the district have an opportunity to hire the “best” applicants, district policy gives principals of “priority schools” – schools that receive Title I funding or schools that are not meeting performance benchmarks – the ability to extend offers before the rest of the schools in the district. Scholars have called attention to the role of teacher preferences in school placements (Boyd, et al., 2005; Reininger, 2012). Unlike other districts, candidates in this district may not exert preference by applying only to particular schools. Instead, prospective teachers in this context exercise their preferences at three junctures: 1) when they choose to apply to the district, 2) when they accept or decline an invitation to interview, 3) when they accept or decline a job offer.

Data, Methods, and Statistical Model

This study is based on the population of completed applications for teaching positions in the district for AY 2012-2013, including EEOC data. We obtain information regarding position opening (subject and school level); whether the TI score threshold was met; applicant ZIP code; prior school experience (location and amount); and education (level, subject, location, and school type). In addition to application information, we derive student population and principal data for schools in the district that hired for the 2012-2013 school year including priority school designation and demographic information regarding race, ethnicity, and free and reduced lunch participation published on the district's website. Finally, we have data on hiring decisions and the dates that the offers were extended.

The goal of this research is to examine the role of race in the hiring process for teachers. Prior research has documented that both the qualifications of the candidate and the candidate's ties to the local area play an important role in teacher hiring decisions. Using all of the information contained in the online applications provided by the district, we construct a number of proxies to control for the qualifications and local ties of the candidates in our regression analyses to isolate the role of race in hiring decisions.³ Proxies include whether or not candidates surpassed the suggested TI assessment score,⁴ the type of higher education institution attended, and highest degree earned, among others. As prior research has shown that candidates' local ties may make them more attractive candidates, we create a number of variables that proxy for localism (Author et al. 2015; Boyd et al. 2013), such as prior work experience within the district, receiving a degree from a post-secondary institution located in the district, and whether the

³ Please refer to Table 2, Panel B for the full list of variable definitions.

⁴ We include a variable for passing the suggested TI score because the HR Office does not provide principals in the district (or the authors) with the raw candidate score.

candidate lives in the district, among others. In addition to the variables we create from online applications, we utilize publicly available school demographic information to examine the types of schools that hire Black teachers and create five variables that characterize various school types in the district.⁵ Finally, we use information from the district's website to identify the race of each principal that made job offers using the same EEOC categories as applicants.

To estimate the likelihood of receiving a job offer in the district, we use binary logistic regression of the following form:

$$P(Y_i = 1) = \frac{\exp(\beta X_i)}{1 + \exp(\beta X_i)}$$

In the model, Y_i is a dichotomous variable that takes the value of 1 if the application i received a job offer, and 0 otherwise. The independent variables of interest in our model are the applications with races identified as non-White or left blank.⁶ We also included proxies for the applicants' qualifications and local ties as control variables. All independent variables are included in the vector X_i , and β is the vector of parameters associated with X_i . We base our statistical inferences on standard errors clustered by candidate as each individual may apply for multiple job postings.

Results

Racial Composition of Applications and Offers

As reported in Table 1, Panel A, whereas 40% of the district's students are White, 70% of all applications were submitted by White candidates and over 77% of job offers were given to

⁵ Please refer to Table 4 for a full list of variable definitions related to school and principal demographic information.

⁶ Note that we did not include a variable for applications from White candidates so the marginal effect of Whiteness is captured in the regression model intercept and is the comparison point for all other racial variables.

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White candidates. Conversely, 20% of the student population was Hispanic but less than 5% of offers were given to Hispanic candidates, who comprised a similar proportion of the application pool. Further, Black students comprised 10% of the student population and just less than 13% of the teacher application pool, but Black candidates received only 6% of job offers. Even as Black candidates comprised a similar percentage of the application pool as the student population, disproportionately fewer offers were given to Black candidates. Principals awarded White candidates seven percentage points more in offers than their proportion in the application pool, whereas principals offered Black applicants positions seven percentage points less than their proportion in the application pool. These statistics provide preliminary evidence that Black candidates were hired disproportionately less than their White counterparts.

Table 1, Panel B provides initial statistical evidence of the association between race and the likelihood of being offered a job in the district. Identifying as Black was negatively correlated ($\rho = -0.06$) with receiving a job offer whereas identifying as White was positively correlated ($\rho = 0.05$) with receiving a job offer.⁷ None of the other EEOC racial categorizations exhibits a significant correlation with the likelihood of receiving a job offer.⁸ Before taking other factors into consideration, identifying as Black (White) was negatively (positively) correlated with candidates' likelihood of receiving a job offer.

Are Black Applicants as Qualified as White Applicants? As researchers concur that teachers stand among the most critical determinants of student success (Heck, 2007), one might assume that hiring principals make economically rational decisions and hire the most qualified applicants. Following this logic, one possible explanation for the discrepancy in job offer rates

⁷ Both correlations are significant at the 1% level.

⁸ The district allows applicants the option to self-identify as White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander. We aggregate the remaining groups into a catch-all 'Other' category because of their small numbers. The district created a category labeled 'Multiple' for applications marking more than one race.

between White and Black candidates could be that Black candidates are less qualified than White candidates. We investigate this potential explanation by comparing the application characteristics of Black and White candidates in Table 2, Panel A. The results in this panel provide evidence that Black candidates differed from their White counterparts, but not in ways that would indicate lower quality. On average, Black candidates had more advanced degrees (i.e., 23 percentage points more likely to have a graduate degree), were more likely to have a degree from a university in the closest metropolitan area or from an institution on the district's list of standard universities, had more out-of-district school experience (i.e., almost two years of additional experience), but were more likely to live outside of the district than White candidates. Black candidates were also significantly less likely to pass the suggested TeacherInsight score (i.e., 58% passing rate for Black candidates and 65% passing rate for White) or have a degree from the university located within the district.

In Table 2, Panel B, we compare the application characteristics of Black and White candidates who received offers to identify differences in teachers receiving jobs in the district. Black and White candidates who received job offers from the district are more similar than different with a few notable exceptions. Successful Black candidates held significantly more advanced degrees, had more experience outside the district, but were less likely to live in the district than successful White candidates, echoing differences between Black and White applicants. While Black applicants were slightly less likely than White applicants to have district experience (i.e., 17% of Black applicants and 18% of White candidates listed district experience), Black candidates receiving offers were significantly more likely to have district experience (i.e., 57% of Black and 49% of White candidates hired listed district experience).

Again, differences in application characteristics generally do not indicate substantial lower quality for Black candidates compared to White candidates.

Author et al. (2015) document evidence that the characteristic most predictive of receiving a job offer in this district was prior in-district work experience. To investigate whether our findings of hiring discrimination could be explained by a lack of in-district experience for Black candidates, we execute additional tests. We disaggregate our sample of applications into those that claimed in-district work experience and those that did not, and divide those subsamples by race to examine job offer rates in Table 1, Panel C. We find that 26% of applications from White candidates who listed in-district experience were offered jobs but only 14% of applications from Black candidates who also listed in-district experience were offered jobs, and this difference (12%) is statistically significant at the 1% level. These results indicate that Black candidates received proportionately fewer job offers than their White counterparts, even after considering prior work experience in the district.

Finally, we use logistic regression to hold all of the application characteristics constant while determining the marginal effect of each characteristic on the likelihood of the application receiving a job offer. Table 3 presents the parameter estimates, point estimates and 95% confidence-level bounds of the odds ratios for the variables of interest from the logistic regression.⁹ These results indicate that the race of the applicant is significantly associated with the likelihood of receiving a job offer. *Ceteris paribus*, an application from a Black candidate was 52% less likely ($\hat{\beta} = -0.74$; Odds Ratio point estimate of 48.1%; $p < 0.001$) to receive an

⁹ We leave the information associated with the control variables untabulated to conserve space but parameter estimates for all control variables are similar in sign and significance to Author et al. (2015).

offer than one from a White candidate.¹⁰ Said another way, a Black applicant would be half as likely to receive a job offer as a White candidate with identical qualifications.

Are Black Applicants Applying Where the Jobs Are? Another possible explanation for the discrepancy in job offer rates between White and Black candidates could be that Black candidates are not applying to positions with the most jobs (Lilien, 1982). We investigate this possibility by comparing the application and offer rates of Black and White candidates at different school levels (elementary, middle, high, and other types of schools) and across different positions.

In the district, 55% of job offers are made in elementary schools, while 13% are made at middle schools, 20% are made at high schools, and 12% are made at other types of schools. In untabulated analyses, we find evidence that Black and White candidates apply in statistically similar proportions for positions in middle schools and high schools. Proportionally fewer (more) Black candidates applied for positions at the elementary level (other levels) than White candidates. Despite these differences in application rates, Black candidates were offered positions at significantly ($p < 0.01$) lower rates than White candidates for all school levels. Additionally, we execute the regressions from Table 3 separately by the four school-level types and find that candidates identified as Black experienced a significantly lower likelihood of being offered a job offer at all school types.

We also examine whether Black candidates did not apply for high-demand positions in areas such as STEM and special education. The district hired 206 STEM teachers and 466

¹⁰ In untabulated analyses, we perform the regression analysis using only the Black independent variable, then include the other race variables without the remaining control variables. The coefficient estimate for the Black variable is negatively significant at the 0.1% level in both and the odds ratio point estimate is -57.5% in the uncontrolled regression and -58.9% in the regression with the other race variables. We caution against drawing conclusions from uncontrolled regressions because their model fit is not high (the area under the ROC curve is less than 55% for both) and principals likely do not base hiring decisions solely on the applicant's race.

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special education teachers in the year of study. Black candidates submitted 235 applications for STEM teaching positions (6.9% of total Black applications) but only 11 were hired in the district (a success rate of 4.6%). Similarly, Black candidates submitted 716 applications for special education positions (21% of total Black applications) but received only 39 job offers for these positions (a success rate of 5.4%). White candidates enjoyed success rates greater than Black candidates for both STEM (11.8% for White candidates) and special education (11.3% for White candidates) positions. Finally, we execute the regressions from Table 3 separately for both STEM and special education positions and find that candidates identified as Black experienced a significantly lower likelihood ($p < 0.01$) of being offered either type of position. Given the lower success rate for Black candidates, it is unclear that increasing the supply of Black applications would increase the hiring of Black teachers in the district.

Racial Characteristics of Hiring Principals and School Demographics

Next we investigate whether certain schools and principals were more likely to extend job offers to Black candidates than others. In Table 4, we present evidence that offers made to Black candidates disproportionately came from certain schools. The district's 24 Black principals (13% of principals) extended 12% of their offers to Black candidates, while schools with large populations of Black students and students living in poverty devoted 11% and 10% of their offers, respectively, to Black candidates. Meanwhile, Black candidates were significantly less likely to receive job offers from the district's 157 White principals (83% of principals) or schools with large White student populations, which made 4% and 3% of their job offers to Black candidates.

Schools with large populations of Black students hired 632 teachers during our study, of those 70 were Black (slightly less than half of all Black teachers hired across the entire district). In contrast, schools with very large White student populations hired 480 new teachers (only 14 Black). The district's 157 White principals hired 1,221 new teachers (only 49 Black) while the district's 24 Black principals hired 23 Black teachers. Researchers agree that same-race role models are particularly valuable for Black students (Dee, 2004), perhaps leading some to wonder if the placement of Black teachers in this district only echoes scholars' calls. However, even in schools with large populations of Black students, Black candidates were hired at a rate substantially lower than that of White candidates. In no school context in this district were Black teachers hired in equal proportions to White teachers. Further, the near absence of Black teachers in the district's other schools, particularly in schools with large populations of White students, provides evidence of labor market segregation, another discriminatory hiring practice.

Does the Timing of the Offer Impact the Placement of Black Teachers? Per district policy, principals at priority schools have the ability to extend job offers before others. One possible explanation for the segregation of the district's new Black teachers could revolve around timing (Engel, 2012): do priority schools hire Black teachers before other schools, thus consuming the entire supply of Black teachers? To investigate this possibility we examine the timing of job offers made by principals at priority schools to both Black and White candidates in Figure 1 (Panel A and B). Despite the sizable differences in the numbers of White and Black teachers hired, most offers were made during the summer months (June, July and August), as shown in Panel A. Panel B depicts the timing of the proportion of job offers in the district and, again, most offers were made during the summer.¹¹ If the Black teachers hired were offered

¹¹ Priority schools hired 388 teachers, only 35 were Black, which does not represent the entire population of Black candidates.

positions earlier than their White counterparts, thus depleting the supply of Black candidates, one would expect to see the solid black line shifted to the left in the graph with a peak during the earlier months followed by a subsequent dip. Instead, the graph displays that the timing for hires was similar for candidates regardless of race.¹² We find no evidence to support the alternate explanation regarding the timing of offers to Black candidates. Furthermore, this explanation overlooks the fact that large numbers of qualified Black candidates remained in the applicant pool but were not hired.

Are Black Teachers Declining Offers? Another alternate explanation for our findings that Black teachers hired were segregated into certain schools could stem from teacher preferences (Hornig, 2009): perhaps Black candidates turned down offers from schools with White principals and schools with large populations of White students? The data provided by the district does not identify job offers declined by candidates. However, representatives from the central HR Office confirmed that instances of declined offers were rare, pointing to the district's reputation as a desirable place to work. Furthermore, district officials affirmed that in the few instances of declined offers, candidate race and the racial composition of the hiring school did not play an apparent role.

Limitations and Directions for Future Research We acknowledge that the nature of this research creates limitations for generalizability of the results. As we only obtained data from a single district for a single year, the results that we present may not be generalizable to other districts in other years. Further, the tests performed provide associations, do not identify causality, and may be subject to correlated-omitted variable bias. That said, all of the results presented have been supported by multiple tests with robust controls whenever possible. In the

¹² In untabulated analyses, we also prepared the same graphs for all offers awarded and offers made by non-Priority schools. These graphs follow a similar pattern as the Priority schools.

future, researchers may perform similar analyses in other districts to expand the findings from this study. Future researchers may also attempt to conduct surveys or interviews with hiring principals in order to determine the driving forces behind hiring decisions.

Discussion

The lack of racial diversity in the teaching profession has captured the attention of researchers and policymakers for the past several decades. Agreeing that minority children stand to benefit from same-race role models, the problem has been defined with a blind eye to history as a function of supply-side dynamics: either because of better options elsewhere or barriers to entry, not enough Black adults come to the nation's schools. As a result, treatments have centered squarely on recruitment in the form of greater outreach, alternate pathways into the profession, and retention endeavors. Despite decades of reform, the demographic composition of the teaching population has remained static and skewed, even as raw numbers have increased (National Collaborative on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2004). In this research, we question the fundamental assumption of supply issues by examining teacher applications and subsequent hiring decisions in a single school district.

In the district studied, local policymakers expressed concern over the lack of racial diversity among teachers and identified recruitment as a salve. Our analysis finds that their efforts were partly successful. Black candidates submitted 13% of applications, a proportion greater than the percent of Black students in the district. Racially diverse candidates applied to teach in the district, but their chances of getting hired were low, and only 6% of Black candidates were offered positions. *Ceteris paribus*, identifying as Black was negatively associated with receiving a job offer in the district. That said, *some* Black candidates were offered positions in

the district and those candidates were more likely to be hired by Black principals than White principals. Black teachers were also more likely to be hired in schools with large populations of minority children or children in poverty.

The implications of these findings are important and far-reaching. First, there is no simple pathway to racial diversity. Questions of supply that focus on recruitment initiatives and potential barriers to entry are important and, as our research suggests, may be particularly germane to increasing the Asian and Hispanic teaching population in the district. But, as our findings also suggest, supply alone cannot explain the demographic composition of the teacher labor market. Diversification of the workforce, particularly the professions, has received broad attention and solutions have centered largely on increasing supply. What if racially diverse people are, indeed, applying for these positions but are not getting hired? The persistent focus on supply is the byproduct of a lack of historical engagement. From an institutional and structural perspective, the nation's public schools have proved highly durable (Tyack & Cuban, 1997; Tyack & Tobin, 1994). Even as the historic *Brown* decision stands as a watershed moment, racialized assumptions and ideologies continue to inform the institutional logic of public schooling in both form and function (Author, 2016). To what extent might contemporary hiring practices and the very demographic composition of the teacher corps be an outgrowth of this legacy?

Second, advocates for increased teacher diversity often point to the needs of racially diverse children to legitimate their claims. The fundamental logic motivating these calls centers on the idea that racially diverse teachers are important for similarly racially diverse students, a claim well-supported by scholarly literature. But what is at stake in limiting the importance of diverse teachers, broadly conceived, to demographically similar children? Is there no value of

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racial diversity to White children, for instance? When Black teachers were hired in the district studied, they were separated into to schools with children of color or children in poverty, albeit in numbers far lower than White candidates hired in these schools. The presence of Black teachers in these schools is important and should continue to increase, but their near absence from schools with large populations of White students ought to be questioned. More than six decades removed from the *Brown* decision and the Civil Rights Movement, racial antagonisms continue to erupt across the nation. What role might the lack of racially diverse exemplars for *all* of the nation's children play in these tensions?

Table 1

Ethnicity Composition of Applications and Offers

Panel A. Ethnicity of Applications		
<u>Ethnicity</u>	<u>% of Applications</u>	<u>% Of Offers</u>
White	70.2%	77.5%
Black	12.5%	6.0%
Hispanic	4.5%	4.8%
Other	4.8%	4.4%
Multiple	3.2%	3.1%
Blank	4.6%	3.7%
Number	27,330	2,379

Other includes Asian, American Indian, Alaska Native, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander. *Multiple* is a category created by the district for applications that marked more than one ethnicity.

Panel B. Correlation of Receiving an Offer with Ethnicity						
	<u>Black</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Hispanic</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>Multiple</u>	<u>Blank</u>
Offered	-0.06	0.05	0.01	-0.01	0.00	-0.01

Correlations in bold, italics indicate significance at the 0.01 level.

Offered is an indicator variable that equals one if the application received an offer for employment in the district, and zero otherwise.

Panel C. Offer Rates for Black and White Applications by District Experience					
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No District Experience

<u>Applications</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>T-Stat</u>	<u>Sig.</u>
Offer Rate	6%	2%	-4%	-11.70	***
Number	15,781	2,840			

District Experience

<u>Applications</u>	<u>White</u>	<u>Black</u>	<u>Difference</u>	<u>T-Stat</u>	<u>Sig.</u>
Offer Rate	26%	14%	-12%	-6.94	***
Number	3,478	566			

*** indicates significance at the 0.01 level.

Table 2

Differences in Characteristics of Black Candidates

Panel A. Differences in Application Characteristics					
<u>Variable</u>	<u>White Average</u>	<u>Black Average</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>T-Stat</u>	<u>Sig.</u>
Offered	0.10	0.04	-0.05	-13.38	***
TICut	0.65	0.58	-0.07	-8.44	***
HighestDegree	3.56	3.79	0.23	17.49	***
Local_Ind	0.11	0.09	-0.02	-3.91	***
State_Ind	0.29	0.30	0.01	2.19	**
Metro_Ind	0.03	0.08	0.05	10.05	***
Standard_Ind	0.52	0.55	0.04	3.53	***
Top50	0.09	0.04	-0.04	-10.95	***
BachelorMatch	0.48	0.32	-0.16	-17.92	***
NonDistExp_Ind	0.66	0.71	0.05	6.29	***
NonDistExp_Years	4.07	6.06	1.99	16.68	***
DistExp_Ind	0.18	0.17	-0.01	-2.01	**
DistExp_Years	0.84	0.71	-0.13	-3.05	***
LocalZIP_Ind	0.26	0.20	-0.06	-6.76	***
StateZIP_Ind	0.09	0.14	0.05	8.00	***
Observations	19,192	3,406			

Panel B. Differences in Offer Characteristics					
<u>Variable</u>	<u>White Average</u>	<u>Black Average</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>T-Stat</u>	<u>Sig.</u>
HighestDegree	3.64	3.82	0.18	3.53	***
NonDistExp_Years	3.55	5.20	1.65	3.50	***
DistExp_Ind	0.49	0.57	0.08	1.97	**
LocalZIP_Ind	0.48	0.38	-0.10	-2.16	**
RegionZIP_Ind	0.21	0.29	0.08	2.35	**
StateZIP_Ind	0.05	0.10	0.05	1.93	*
Observations	1,942	143			

***, **, and * indicate significance at the 0.01, 0.05 and 0.10 levels, respectively.

To conserve space, we suppress variables for which Black and White candidates do not significantly different levels of the variables.

TICut is an indicator variable that equals one if the application included a TI score that met the minimum suggested TI score for the position. *HighestDegree* is an ordinal variable that relates to the highest degree that the candidate earned, where 1 = High School Diploma / GED; 2 = Associates Degree; 3 = Bachelor Degree; 4 = Master Degree; 5 = Doctorate. *Local_Ind* is an

indicator variable that equals one if applicant the earned a degree from the nearest university. *State_Ind* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant earned a degree from four-year college or university located in the district's state. *Metro_Ind* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant earned a degree from four-year college or university located in the nearest metropolitan area. *Standard_Ind* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant earned a degree from four-year college or university included in the list of district's "Standard Name" institutions. *Top50* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant earned a degree from four-year college or university ranked 50th or higher in *U.S. News and World Report* Top Colleges and Universities for 2012. *BachelorMatch* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant earned a Bachelor degree in the same content area as the position applied for. *DistrictExp_Ind* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant listed work experience in the district. *DistrictExp_Years* is the sum of the number of years that the applicant listed as work experience with the district. *NonDistrictExp_Ind* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant listed school work experience outside of the district. *NonDistrictExp_Years* is the sum of the number of years that the applicant listed as work experience in schools outside of the district. *LocalZIP_Ind* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant listed a home ZIP code in the district. *RegionZIP_Ind* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant listed a home ZIP code in the region near the district. *StateZIP_Ind* is an indicator variable that equals one if the applicant listed a home ZIP code in the state but outside of the proximal region or district.

Table 3

Logistic Regression with Race

<u>Parameter</u>	<u>$\hat{\beta}$</u>	<u>Wald χ^2</u>	<u>Sig.</u>	<u>Odds Ratio</u>	95% Confidence Interval Odds Ratio	
					<u>Lower</u>	<u>Upper</u>
Intercept	-3.98	652.19	<.0001			
Black	-0.74	17.38	<.0001	-52%	-60%	-43%
Hispanic	0.01	64.65	<.0001	1%	-20%	29%
Other	-0.36	0.01	0.9079	-30%	-46%	-11%
Multiple	-0.40	10.89	0.001	-33%	-49%	-12%
Blank	-0.53	9.54	0.002	-41%	-56%	-21%

The dependent variable is the indicator variable *Offered* and the regression model was run on 27,271 application observations with an 8.71% offer rate. The model includes all control variables from Table 2 and for gender. The model produces an R^2 of 6.57%, 74.6% concordant observations and 75.1% area under ROC.

Table 4

Comparison of Offer Rates to Black Candidates across School Types

<u>Offers</u>	<u>Variable</u>	<u>% to Black Candidates</u>	<u>Diff.</u>	<u>T-Stat</u>	<u>Sig.</u>
1,221	White Principal	4%	-4%	-3.75	***
869	Not White Principal	9%			
194	Black Principal	12%	7%	2.86	***
1,896	Not Black Principal	5%			
388	Priority Schools	9%	3%	2.14	**
1,702	Not Priority Schools	5%			
632	VH Black Pop Schools	11%	7%	5.17	***
1,458	Not VH Black Pop Schools	4%			
568	VH Hispanic Pop Schools	9%	4%	3.17	***
1,522	Not VH Hispanic Pop Schools	5%			
611	VH Free Lunch Pop Schools	10%	6%	4.16	***
1,479	Not VH Free Lunch Pop Schools	4%			
480	VH White Pop Schools	3%	-4%	-4.46	***
1,610	Not VH White Pop Schools	7%			

Priority is an indicator assigned by the district to schools that either receive Title I funding or are failing to meet specified academic benchmarks. Schools with the VH ____ designation have student population of that characteristic in the 75th percentile or higher. For Black students this is 16%, for Hispanic it is 32%, for White it is 57% and free lunch it is 45%.

*** and ** indicate significance at the 0.01 and 0.05 levels, respectively.

Figure 1. Panel A. Number of Offers at Priority Schools – White and Black Candidates

Figure 1. Panel B. Percent of Offers by Month – White and Black Candidates

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