Understanding How Resegregation Affects Schools: The Views of Wichita Teachers, Parents, and Students

by Erica Frankenberg

Foreword

by Gary Orfield

Report to the Wichita Public Schools May 2011

Foreword

The Wichita Public Schools decided several years ago to return to neighborhood schools, undoing a desegregation plan in part of the city. The district is to be commended that it has decided to ask outside researchers to look at what has happened. Too often I have found districts tend to ignore the schools after dropping their plans and just to assume that everything is going well.

I have been observing and studying schools and communities dealing with ending legally imposed segregation, dealing with desegregation orders and plans, and, in many cases, experiencing resegregation for more than a third of a century. As I look at the surveys and the statistics on Wichita schools I see familiar patterns. Since the U.S. Supreme Court authorized a return to neighborhood schools in the 1991 Oklahoma City (Dowell) decision, even in cities with a history of segregation, segregation has been increasing year by year for both black and Latino students across the country as the nation's population of young whites has declined, blacks have increased gradually and the numbers of Latino youth have soared. In many cities the growing share of Latino and African American students, groups that have historically experienced the least success in American schools, have been increasingly concentrated in segregated schools of concentrated poverty even as the economy's demands for more educated workers have intensified. Since schools that experience double segregation (race and poverty) or triple segregation (ethnicity, poverty and language) tend to produce far worse results than middle class integrated or white schools, these trends raise serious worries. In my research I have found that virtually every school district going to neighborhood schools expresses confidence that it can make the resegregated schools equal. I think that this often involves a sincere concern and sometimes a well-developed plan. But they never succeed beyond the occasional individual school. Segregation is still profoundly unequal in all of the cases I have seen. But the changes are gradual and usually no one pays much attention for a number of years or until the schools begin doing very badly on state and federal accountability measures. Then the blame is usually placed on the teachers and, sometimes, on the principal.

What I see in the statistics from Wichita is typical and should make local educators and community leaders worry. There is no visible crisis in the schools. The primary grade students (and their parents) still attending them see no significant problem and, in many ways, their views of their schools are similar of those students and parents going to the other surveyed schools. The reality, though, is that these schools are changing rapidly and moving steadily toward becoming segregated African American schools. Since that does not happen from a sudden departure of existing students but from a year by year change in who is enrolling in the school. It is not always visible to the students at any given point in time. Yet the reality is that if the entering classes change each year the school can be transformed dramatically by the end of five years without attracting much attention from outside. The reality in situations like this is that as a school becomes more and more segregated, families with children who are not African American become less and less likely to enroll or to move into the neighborhood. Many white families accept and value diversity but they do not want their children isolated in a resegregated school. As the school becomes more segregated, it also tends to show an increase in poverty and African American middle class families, who are now

rapidly moving to suburbia in many parts of the country, tend to abandon such schools. Very seriously for the future of the schools, teachers in such schools tend to experience increasing demands from less prepared students and are often personally uncomfortable in resegregated schools, particularly white teachers without experience or training in African American schools. As accountability pressures grow, teachers are often tempted to transfer to schools where their work is less difficult and they feel more comfortable. Departure of well-trained and experienced teachers is a severe blow to a school's future.

Segregation is a vicious cycle and it cannot be contained in one area by going to neighborhood schools. As the population grows, it spreads. Desegregated schools tend to produce more housing integration. Segregated schools tend to produce more segregation since it limits the families that will consider moving into an area. Historically segregation of schools and neighborhoods spread school by school, neighborhood by neighborhood. If a community does not want a future of spreading segregation and inequality in its schools it needs to have a plan to avoid it. Neighborhood schools are not such a plan; in fact they create conditions that facilitate the spread of segregation.

The clearest signs of immediate danger to the city schools in the surveys described in Prof. Frankenberg's report are those reported by the teachers. These findings deserve immediate attention. Teachers see less safety and worse race relations in the resegregating schools, conditions very likely to speed resegregation, damage achievement, and foster loss of teachers. They see less positive relations with parents and more tension within the faculty and have less confidence in the ability of administrators to handle the situation. All of these things are very important to the future and success of these schools and the district should address them with urgency, with serious retraining and, in some cases, restaffing and a real commitment from the district to help solve the problems.

Magnet schools can be powerful forces for strengthening the reputation of schools and supporting neighborhoods or they can be failures. Magnet schools that do not draw voluntary transfers from other parts of the city for several years are not magnets in reality and they need to be critically reviewed and redesigned until they are actually magnetic. Prof. Frankenberg's recommendations deserve attention.

Wichita is a small enough city and this is a new enough experiment that the problems can be alleviated with strong leadership. My word of caution is that time is of the essence. These problems will not go away, they will deepen and solutions will become more costly and less successful over time. Now is the time for local leadership.

Gary Orfield May 2011

Executive Summary

Wichita Public Schools is currently a tri-racial district where the growth is largely Latino but the AAA schools have become overwhelmingly black. The seven AAA schools had between 3 and 25% students who were white in Fall 2009, and several had experience a rapid loss of white students in the years since the district ended its busing policy. One school has transitioned from two-thirds white students to just 20% white students in three years time. Each has high shares of low-income students. By contrast, twenty of the 52 non-AAA schools were majority white in Fall 2009, which are schools that are substantially higher than the overall percentage of white elementary students in the district (37%). Further, a number of these schools—particularly those which formerly had AAA students bused to them—have had an increasingly share of white students during this time period, even as the overall percentage of white students declined slightly. Clearly, then, this is a diverse district with a set of schools diverging from the others since busing ended.

This demographic context is important to bear in mind in considering the results of surveying teachers, parents and students about the experiences in these resegregating schools in the AAA area. Resegregation is a dynamic process, and the perception of changes or negative educational options—even those that are relative—can very rapidly trigger choice away from schools by those who have more options and knowledge of educational options. We shouldn't be surprised then that among parents active in their child's education, many of whom have chosen either explicitly or implicitly the school their child attends, to find few differences in their evaluation of the schools and their child's experiences. The district might consider interviews with parents who have left the AAA schools to understand why they have made the choices they did, as a supplement to the opinions reported here.

This report finds most significant differences among teachers in four major categories, and in each case AAA teachers report more negative opinions: school environment, relationships with families and communities, efficacy teaching diverse learners, and student outcomes. Teachers agree on the importance of different factors for students' educational experiences—as does research consensus on these topics—but teachers are less likely in AAA schools to believe that such practices are occurring.

Implications for Wichita

Given the abundant research literature about the benefits of diverse schools for students and communities as well as the results reported here, the district should seriously consider a student assignment plan that will reverse the resegregation that has occurred in the last few year and will create more diverse schools. This is especially important for elementary schools since this is a critical developmental stage for children. In addition to considering student outcomes, the significant differences reported by teachers suggests that they find AAA schools more challenging to teach in, which may make it more difficult for the school district to retain teachers long-term in these schools and/or attract high-quality, experienced teachers.

Regardless of what student assignment plan is in place, these findings suggest the need for professional development to help teachers understand the changes occurring in their enrollment, how to build constructive, supportive relationships with the families and community, and how to work together with one another. The significant differences between teachers in AAA schools and non-AAA schools as well as by teacher within AAA schools illustrates the complex challenges of teaching in resegregating schools and how teachers differentially experience these changes. It also suggests the need for thinking carefully about faculty diversity in addition to student diversity.

Four of the seven AAA schools are magnet schools, and while these schools were not separately analyzed, the demographics alone reveal that these schools are not fully magnetic in that they attract few white students to these schools. The district should consider how to revive the magnets such that they attract students from all groups across the district, and ensure that full recruitment and outreach is being done to make families aware of magnet school options. For example, with the growing share of Latino students in Wichita, the district could consider converting the AAA school with a high share of Latino students into a dual immersion magnet school. Such schools have been very popular across the country, and would likely increase demand from parents of children in other schools. As new magnet schools are developed or re-invigorated, the district should provide transportation for students from any part of the district and create robust transfer rights more generally for any integrative transfers.

Understanding How Resegregation Affects Schools: The Views of Wichita Teachers, Parents, and Students Erica Frankenberg

As court-ordered and voluntary desegregation plans have ended over the last two decades, U.S. public schools have witnessed rising resegregation for black students (Orfield, 2009). With district resegregation, studies have found rising disparities in student outcomes, which may disproportionately affect the long-term opportunities for black & Latino students (Orfield & Eaton, 1996; Godwin et al., 2006; Biegel, 2008). Much of the literature that exists about school resegregation focuses on students' academic outcomes, often measured by standardized test performance. While these outcomes are important, they offer a narrow window into understanding the full impact of resegregation. Significantly, such studies also do not illuminate the processes within the school that may help to understand *why* such outcomes have occurred. This study seeks to contribute to broadening our understanding by examining the social dynamics that happen within resegregating schools in one recently resegregating district, the Wichita Public Schools.

The Wichita school district decided in early 2008, after two years of discussion, to end its nearly four decades long desegregation plan, which had included extensive busing of African-American students from one area of the district in which they were residentially concentrated to comply with the Office of Civil Rights requirements. The plan was altered during the 1990s in recognition of the district's changing demographics. The new post-desegregation assignment plan was implemented in Fall 2008. The district also, at the same time, agreed to hire a staff person to monitor equity and diversity. It also has sought federal funds to support magnet schools to help achieve diversity.

In Fall 2009, the AAA schools ranged from 3% to 25% of students that were white and in all but one school, nearly half or more of the students were African-American. In the other AAA school, 61% of students were Hispanic. In the year preceding the policy shift, three of the six existing AAA schools had at least one-third white students and one was majority white. In a span of just three years, one school had a decline in the percentage of white students that was 45 percentage points; three others declined an average of 3-4 percentage points per year. These changes would likely be greater if viewing only among entering classes. The comparison group of Wichita public elementary schools had a wider demographic range, between 16 and 58% of students were white in each school. In some of the non-AAA schools, the percentage of white students actually increased from 2006-07 to 2009-2010. In all schools in the sample, a majority of students—often, the vast majority—were low-income (see Appendix A).

This report examines this question of what occurs in resegregating elementary schools in the Wichita School District through analysis of three surveys to understand the perspectives of those with everyday experiences in these schools: teachers, parents and students. We examine each of them in turn, but before doing so, briefly survey existing work on this topic.

Theoretical Framework

This report is informed by literature finding important academic and social benefits in integrated schools and harms for students in schools segregated by race and class (Braddock, 2009; Schofield, 1995; Wells & Crain, 1994; Wells, 2001). Importantly, teachers are a critical part of structuring diverse settings in ways that enhance student outcomes (Hawley, 2007). Allport (1954) posited that support of authority for integration norms is one of the essential elements for creating equal status among groups, and subsequently benefits from intergroup contact. In fact, a generation ago, research in desegregated classrooms highlighted the ways in which teachers' racial attitudes related to the success of their students (Gerard and Miller, 1975; St. John, 1981; Hawley, 1981). The relationship between teacher attitudes and student success in these newly racially mixed classrooms may, in part, be explained by the fact that attitudes would influence teachers' every day actions such as using certain teaching methods to reach all students, building relationships with students and families of students of all racial backgrounds, or even how they structure the class.

More recently, groups such as the National Education Association (NEA) have outlined principles that contribute to healthy school environments. In particular, building on the work of scholars (e.g., Moll, et al., 1994; Hidago et al., 2003; Epstein, 2001), the NEA outlined the importance of building constructive relationships between schools and their larger community including students' families. Such support is not only important financially, but can further the school's messages outside of school hours and, through the contribution of families in the classroom, can deepen and broaden the learning experiences of students. It can also be particularly helpful in diverse schools given the demographic mismatch between students and teachers, the latter of whom remain overwhelmingly white and are often prepared in largely white teacher training institutions (Sleeter, 2007; Gomez, 1993).

In schools experiencing demographic transformation, teachers' perception of this change may affect their perceptions of school environment and their students (Morris, 2005; Frankenberg, in press). Amanda Lewis (2003) has written that schools are "race-making institutions...they are the one place where groups who often have little contact come together...where children have an opportunity to learn about and, one hopes, to value difference...But they also play a role in providing excuses and justifications for not making systematic efforts to redress inequalities. As the narrative goes, 'everyone has a chance'" (190). This may become particularly salient for teachers whose schools are undergoing resegregation.

According to a review of studies about teacher efficacy, the effect of student characteristics, at least students' socioeconomic status, on student achievement is reduced when teachers have higher self-efficacy (Tschannen-Moran, et al., 1998). In addition to effects on students, researchers have also examined whether teacher efficacy may affect teacher retention. Teachers' feelings of efficacy both initially and after a few years in schools can have a positive effect on teachers staying in teaching generally and whether they might stay in certain types of schools such as urban schools (Tschannen-Moran, Woolfolk, and Hoy, 1998). Bandura's self-efficacy concept, he posits, is not a measure of whether a teacher's efficacy will actually influence action, but there is a strong

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¹ E.g., see the NEA's "Keys to Excellence for Your Schools" at http://www.keysonline.org/.

correlation with teacher behavior (1997).

Although research is limited, it appears teacher efficacy may differ by student racial context. Research has suggested that there might be certain skills or awareness that teachers of diverse students may need in order to be effective (Gay, 2000), though most of the studies of teacher efficacy ignore teachers' cultural backgrounds and perceptions (Sorrells, et al., 2004) as well as the backgrounds of teachers' students.² Entry-level teachers in at least moderately diverse schools were more likely than teachers in low-diversity schools to report they were dissatisfied with their interactions with students, perceived lower academic motivation from their students, and believed that they had problems with discipline (Freeman, Brookhart, & Loadman, 1999). There were not significant differences between the groups in how they rated their confidence in their abilities, however, despite differences about job attributes that might affect feelings of efficacy.

In addition to changing teacher attitudes, efficacy, and classroom practice, there is a further concern that changing student demographics may cause higher mobility and more instability among faculties. Research on teacher mobility finds that schools undergoing loss of white students tend to be places which teachers, particularly white teachers, seek to leave (Jackson, 2009; Freeman, Scafidi, and Sjoquist, 2005). Teachers' mobility patterns could be influenced by changes in the school environment that teachers perceive to be challenging (see Loeb, Darling-Hammond, & Luczak, 2005).

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² In addition to racial/ethnic background, gender or socioeconomic status of teacher could also cause differences in perception of efficacy.

I. THE TEACHERS' PERSPECTIVE

Part One assesses teachers' perceptions of resegregating schools, specifically examining the following questions:

- How do teachers in schools that are resegregating view their efficacy for teaching diverse students?
- How do teachers' perceptions of school climate and administrative support differ?
- Do, and if so, how, teachers' racial attitudes and awareness differ by school context?
- How, if at all, do teachers' perceptions of students' experiences and outcomes differ in resegregating schools?

A. Methods/Data Source

This study is drawn from a survey of teachers in the Wichita public schools in spring 2010. The district was completing its second year under the new plan at the time of the survey. The survey itself was a slightly modified and shortened version of a survey developed, tested, and used in an earlier national survey of teachers (Frankenberg, 2009). The survey, originally designed to be administered over the phone, was adapted for online surveying, and administered via Surveymonkey. It contained approximately 40 items, both multiple choice and free response, asking teachers about their attitudes, training, and perceptions of school, family, and community practices regarding racial diversity. The responses from the national administration of the survey to teachers for the questions analyzed here from Wichita teachers' responses are reported in Appendix B.

Data analyzed in this paper come from the responses of teachers in this district to a survey administered electronically. Teachers for fourteen elementary schools were targeted for completing the survey (see schools and their demographics in Appendix A). These fourteen schools included the seven schools most directly affected by the district's elimination of busing for school desegregation purposes (referred to here as AAA schools). Seven other schools comprised the comparison group; some of these schools had enrolled students from the AAA area, selected as rough demographically comparable schools (by magnet status and student demographics).

The survey link was emailed by the researcher to 282 teachers (150 in AAA schools and 132 teachers in comparison group schools) in May 2010. Several subsequent emails, a phone call, and a letter from the district went out to teachers to urge completion; they had approximately three weeks to respond. Teachers received complete anonymity in their responses. Of these 282 teachers, 103 completed the survey for a response rate of 36.5%. Of teachers in the AAA schools, 41.3% responded while 31.8% of non-AAA teachers responded. It is possible that this moderately low response rate reflects self-selection among teachers, particularly that those who are more concerned with issues of racial diversity are over-represented in the sample although it is not clear whether or how that would necessarily bias these responses. Additionally, because the data analyzed here

³ In AAA schools, 33.6% of white teachers responded to the survey as did 46.2% of non-white teachers. In the comparison group, 27.9% of white teachers responded while 16.7% of non-white teachers did.

are self-reported, the validity of this study's findings might be affected if teachers gave answers they felt they were expected to give even though teachers were promised that their answers were confidential.

Two-thirds of the teachers in this sample are white. The majority of respondents at both AAA and comparison group schools identified as white. Higher percentages of teachers at AAA schools identified as black and as mixed race than did teachers at the group of non-AAA schools (see Figure 1).

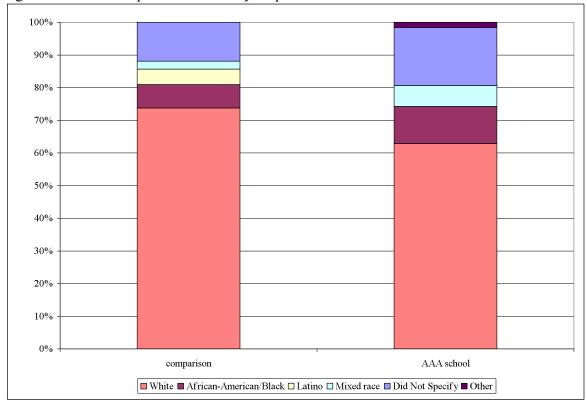


Figure 1: Racial composition of survey respondents

Overall, the teachers averaged more than twelve years of teaching experience, and had been at their current school just under six years. The mean teaching experience of teachers in non-AAA schools was significantly higher than among teachers in AAA schools (see Figure 2). Higher shares of teachers at AAA schools are novices (17.7% vs. 7.3%) and are new to their schools (39.3% vs. 29.3%) than among teachers at the control group of schools; these differences, however, are not statistically significant.

Throughout, this analysis of teacher responses also examines whether white teachers and teachers of color in AAA schools have statistically significant responses.

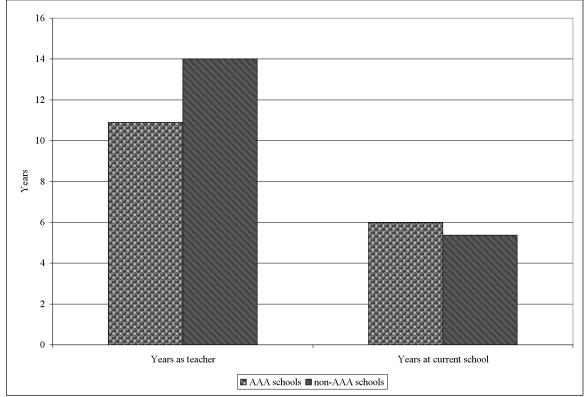


Figure 2: Teaching Experience & Stability Among Survey Respondents

Differences between groups in years as teacher are statistically significant (p<.1)

This part of the report compares the responses of teachers in resegregating elementary schools to those in the comparison group to understand whether the shift in student assignment relates to differences in teacher perceptions. It is a descriptive analysis, using means comparison and cross-tabulations.

B. Results

Analysis of survey results finds differences among teachers in resegregating and control group schools that can be grouped into four categories: school environment, relationships external to the school, efficacy in teaching diverse learners, and student outcomes. Notably, no significant differences were found in teachers' reports of training and preparation for teaching students. We examine teachers' perceptions in each of these categories in turn below.

1. School environment

First, teachers in the resegregating schools-- by large, statistically significant margins--rate their school environment differently than teachers in the comparison group schools. There are several different aspects of "school environment," each of which was rated more negatively by teachers in resegregating schools.

The safety of a school environment affects students in many ways: enhances their ability to concentrate on learning, supports the establishment of relationships among students and between students and teachers, and encourages their engagement and attendance in school. The survey queried teachers on several dimensions of safe school environment. Teachers in AAA schools perceive more hostility between students in terms of physical violence, name calling, and graffiti related to race or racial differences. Similar patterns were seen among teachers regarding name calling (data not shown here).

These differences also persisted in teachers' perceptions of interracial physical confrontations among students. More than one in six teachers in the AAA schools reported that fights between students of different races were at least a significant issue in their school while *no* teacher in the comparison group schools believed that this was as significant an issue (Figure 3). Further, while almost thirty percent of teachers in the non-AAA schools thought this was not at all an issue in their school, only 6.5% of teachers in AAA schools shared this opinion.

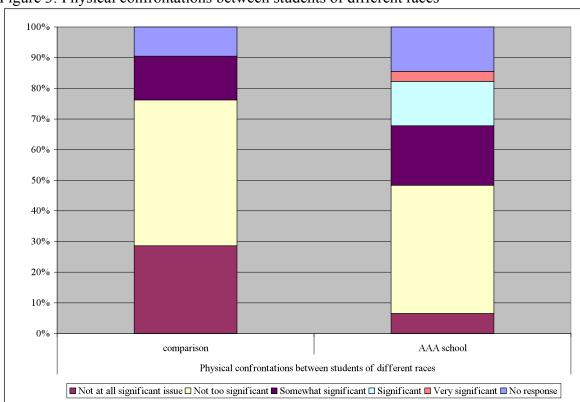


Figure 3: Physical confrontations between students of different races

The next series of questions examined concern teachers' perceptions of school leadership on racial/ethnic issues. Several dimensions of administrative leadership are examined in turn. Leadership in schools is important, as support of authority for intergroup contact is one of the conditions Gordon Allport described as essential to establishing equal-status among groups and is linked to stronger student benefits from intergroup contact in such environments.

First, teachers perceive that the administration is not as likely to apply school rules in ways that guard against racial discrimination. Nearly twice as many teachers in non-AAA schools (71.4%) as did teachers in AAA schools (38.7%) believed that student discipline issues were *always* dealt with in ways that are fair and guard against racial or ethnic discrimination. By contrast, almost twenty percent of teachers in AAA schools believed this happened sometimes or even less frequently (see Figure 4).

These trends are of particular concern given that nationally, most administrators are white; if others in the community share these teachers' perceptions, the school may not seem to be a welcoming place for students of color. Further, since we saw that the AAA schools were more likely to have interracial fights and other types of conflict, ironically, there may be greater need for discipline in interracial incidents.

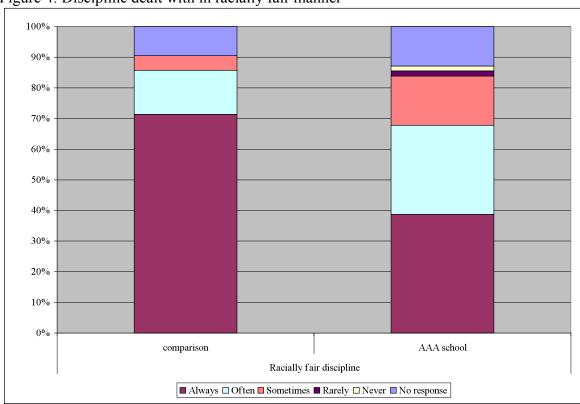


Figure 4: Discipline dealt with in racially fair manner

More broadly than discipline alone, teachers also differed in their perceptions of whether administrators in their schools dealt effectively with diversity issues when they arose. Teachers were asked how often the administration dealt effectively with such issues, and all teachers in non-AAA schools believed they did so with a frequency of at least "sometimes". By contrast, almost ten percent of respondents in AAA schools thought this rarely or never happened in their schools (Figure 5). Higher percentages of teachers in comparison schools (40.5%) believed that the administration always dealt with diversity issues effectively when they arose while less than 30% of teachers in AAA schools did. Unlike all other comparisons reported in this section about school environment, the differences between teachers in AAA and non-AAA schools were not statistically significant.

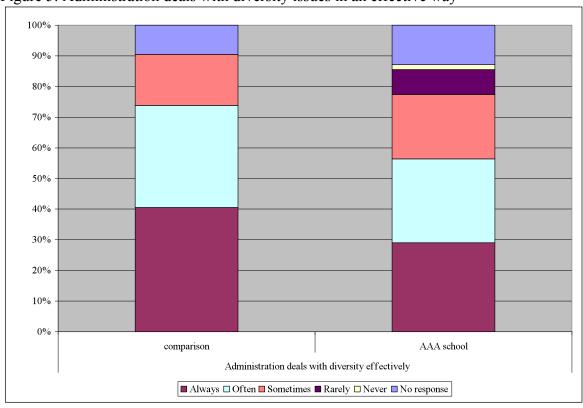


Figure 5: Administration deals with diversity issues in an effective way

In addition to administrative support and welcome for diverse groups of students, teachers can be another important set of role models for students from all racial groups. Yet, similar to patterns elsewhere, perceptions of faculty racial harmony were also more negative in AAA schools than in non-AAA schools.

Teachers in AAA schools were less likely to strongly agree that their faculty was able to work well together across racial/ethnic lines than teachers in non-AAA schools. No teacher in a non-AAA school strongly disagreed with the statement that "In your school, teachers of different racial or ethnic backgrounds work well together." Eight percent of respondents in AAA schools disagreed at least to some extent, which is small but not insignificant (see Figure 6); white teachers in AAA schools were statistically more likely to disagree than non-white teachers. Further, half of teachers in non-AAA schools agreed *strongly* with this statement but less than one-quarter of AAA teachers did so. Particularly if teachers felt that agreeing to some extent was a socially desirable response, the lack of teachers in AAA schools who strongly agreed that teachers worked well across racial lines suggests some hesitance about faculty interracial relationships. As we'll see later, this may inhibit teachers' ability to turn to fellow faculty members as a critical resource to help learn about ways to teach diverse students.

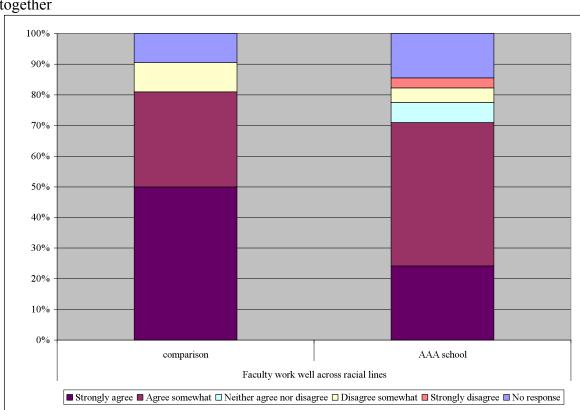
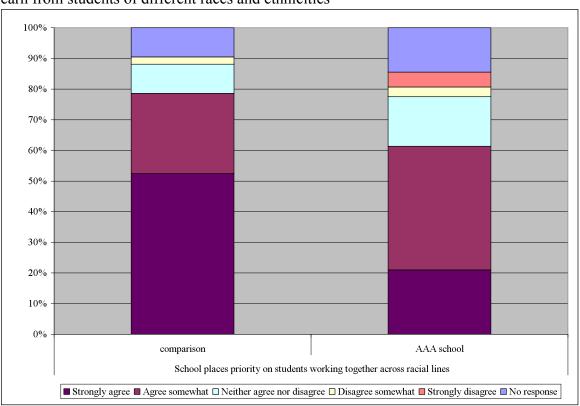


Figure 6: In your school, teachers of different racial or ethnic backgrounds work well together

The administration can also aid diversity efforts by signaling the importance of, or its support for, efforts to help students learn and work with students of different racial/ethnic backgrounds. Majorities of teachers from both AAA and the comparison group schools agreed that their school prioritized helping students learn and work across racial/ethnic lines, though significant differences existed. Higher percentages of teachers in non-AAA schools agreed about the priority the school placed on such diversity efforts (nearly 80%). Further, more than half of non-AAA teachers agreed strongly that this was a priority for their school, compared to just over 20% of AAA teachers (Figure 7). One in four teachers at AAA schools either disagreed with or were neutral about the statement that the school placed a priority on helping students to learn with students of other racial backgrounds. Again, the fact that this relatively high percentage of teachers did not agree with the statement about the perceived importance of helping students work together across racial/ethnic lines suggests, at best, extreme hesitance or ambivalence from the school's leadership as seen by the teachers.

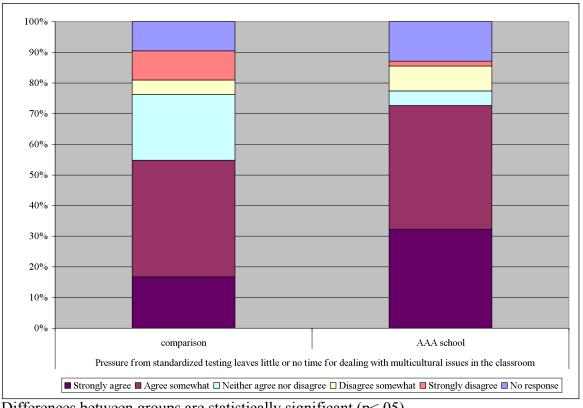
Figure 7: The school places a priority on helping students learn how to work with and learn from students of different races and ethnicities



With the increasing stakes of accountability systems for students and schools, more classroom time is being directed towards preparing students to score well on tests. Research on this topic has suggested that this is particularly true for urban schools, and Civil Rights Project (CRP) research has also found that diverse schools with more demographic subgroups are more likely to be sanctioned than homogeneous schools. This could create an environment that unintentionally de-emphasizes multicultural issues in the schools that may in fact have the most diversity.

The survey asked teachers whether they felt that pressure from testing left them little time for dealing with multicultural issues, and a majority of teachers from both groups of schools agreed with this statement, although teachers in AAA schools were significantly more likely to agree (Figure 8). Nearly a third of teachers in AAA schools agreed strongly that testing left little time in comparison to only one-sixth of teachers in comparison group schools. Another forty percent of AAA teachers agreed "somewhat" with the statement that standardized testing pressure left little or no time for dealing with multicultural issues. On the other end of the spectrum, nearly ten percent of teachers in non-AAA schools "disagreed strongly" with the idea that testing pressure left little time for multicultural issues. Such perceptions, when combined with those described above, may leave teachers in AAA schools sorting through mixed messages about the importance of promoting intergroup learning and teaching about the different cultures and their contributions.

Figure 8: Pressure from standardized testing leaves little or no time for dealing with multicultural issues in the classroom



2. Relationships with families and community

The second area this report explores is the relationship between schools and the larger community, particularly the ability to build and maintain positive relationships with students' families, which research has emphasized is important to the student learning process. Yet, families of color may for many reasons, including those related to perceptions of school environment described above, feel unwelcome in their children's schools. A major finding from this survey of teachers in Wichita is that the relationship between schools and groups external to the school are viewed as more difficult in schools that were resegregating.

First, we examine teachers' perceptions of the support they have from the local community. Teachers were more likely to feel a lack of support from the community for their school in those that were resegregating, even as the policy that produced such resegregation promised the return of "neighborhood schools". Typically, one of the arguments in favor of neighborhood schools is that it will promote more community involvement with schools when they enroll the neighborhood's children.

When we look at teachers surveyed in Wichita, nearly twenty percent of teachers in AAA schools disagreed with the statement "the local community actively supports your school"; only 2.4% of teachers in comparison group schools reported similar lack of support and none disagreed strongly (Figure 9). Additionally, more than 80% of teachers in non-AAA schools believed that they had the active support of the local community, while just over 60% of AAA teachers perceived community support.

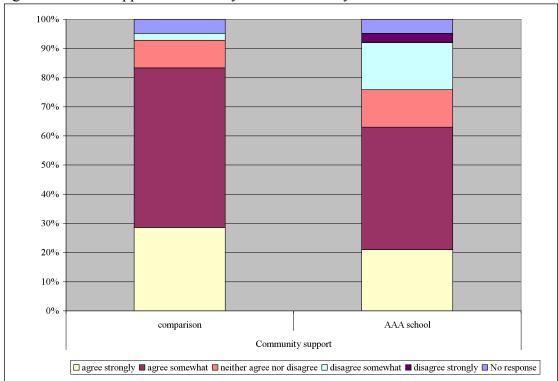


Figure 9: Active support of school by local community

When examining teachers' perceptions of family relationships, it is important to first note that there were similar percentages to a survey question of teachers in AAA and non-AAA schools who believed in the importance of families in helping students to achieve in school. In other words, teachers, regardless of whether they were teaching in AAA schools or not, believed that families were important for students' achievement. Yet, despite the similarities in attitudes about the importance of families, there were distinct differences in their perceptions of relationship with families.

The first aspect of teachers' differences in perceptions of family relationships was evident in their evaluation of whether there were tensions between home values and school values. Presumably, teachers who believed that there were significant tensions would think that families and, more broadly, students' home environments would be working at cross-purposes to the values of achievement and engagement in school.

To a significantly larger extent than in the comparison group schools, teachers in resegregating (e.g., AAA) schools perceived a disconnect between students' families and the school. Nearly half of teachers in AAA schools felt that tensions between home and school values were a significant or very significant issue (Figure 10); interestingly, white teachers were significantly less likely to think that this tension was a significant issue compared to their non-white peers in AAA schools. This percentage was significantly higher than the share of teachers in comparison schools, where less than one in four teachers reported that tensions were as significant. Further, nearly 40% of teachers in non-AAA schools reported that tensions were, at most, "not too significant", whereas less than 10% of teachers in AAA schools shared this relative lack of concern about tensions between family and school values.

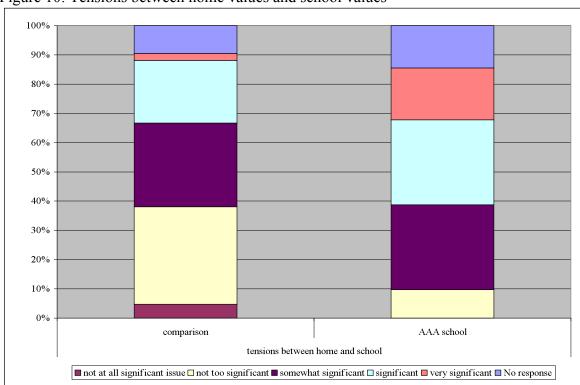


Figure 10: Tensions between home values and school values

Perhaps related, teachers in AAA schools were significantly less likely than teachers in the control group to believe that teachers did a good job working with students' families. Teachers were asked to what extent they agreed with the following statement: "Teachers at your school are comfortable working with families of their students." Nearly 40% of teachers in non-AAA schools agreed strongly with that statement, and another 55% agreed somewhat about the comfort of teachers in their schools working with families. In AAA schools, roughly half the share of teachers (21%) compared to the non-AAA schools agreed strongly that teachers were comfortable working with families. Additionally, 15% of teachers in AAA schools *disagreed* with the proposition that teachers were comfortable working with families, while another 11% neither agreed nor disagreed. White teachers were significantly more likely in AAA schools to agree that teachers were comfortable working with families than were teachers of color in AAA schools.

Any perceptions of hesitance on the part of teachers to work comfortably with families is cause for concern because of the important role families can play in supporting the learning that takes place in the school, and the way in which a strong relationship between teachers and families can help teachers provide proper support for students during the school day. These findings may suggest the need to provide professional development to help provide teachers tools for working with families and that schools could create more opportunities for family-teacher interactions.

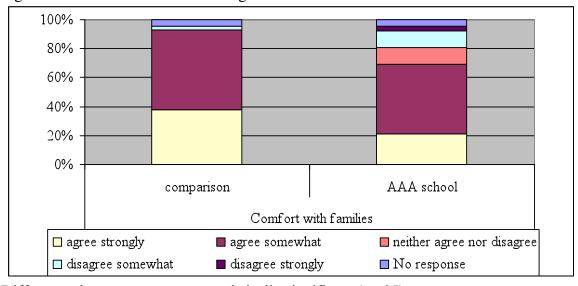


Figure 11: Teachers' comfort working with students' families

A second question related to working with families asked teachers whether they thought teachers in their school worked hard to build trusting relationships with students' families, which helps to assess the *effort* teachers are putting forth to make these connections with families. Here again we see significant differences from teachers in AAA schools and those from comparison group schools in this sample.

Except for the four teachers from comparison group schools who did not respond to this question, all agreed at least somewhat with the statement that teachers worked hard to build relationships with families, including a majority of teachers who "strongly agreed" with this statement. Although a majority of AAA teachers agreed to some extent that teachers work hard to build trusting relationships, just 29% agreed strongly. Moreover, more than 18% did *not* agree with this statement even though, as mentioned above, teachers in all schools believed in the importance of families in promoting students' achievement. Once again, white teachers in AAA schools are significantly more likely to think that teachers are working hard on their relationships with families than are their non-white peers.

Teachers at your school work hard to build trusting relationships with students' families

Strongly agree Agree somewhat Neither agree nor disagree Disagree somewhat Strongly disagree No response

Figure 12: Teachers at your school work hard to build trusting relationships with students' families

Differences between groups are statistically significant (p<.05).

comparison

AAA school

Not surprisingly, given the differences in teachers' actions described above, there are significant differences in teachers' perceptions as to how often families actively participate in their children's education. Nearly one in four teachers in AAA schools responded that families "rarely" or "never" are active participants. Just 2.4% of teachers in non-AAA schools perceived a similar lack of active family participation. Likewise, 36% of teachers in the comparison group of schools thought that families were often or always actively engaged in their child's education whereas just 10% of teachers in AAA schools rated their students' families to be such active participants in their schools.

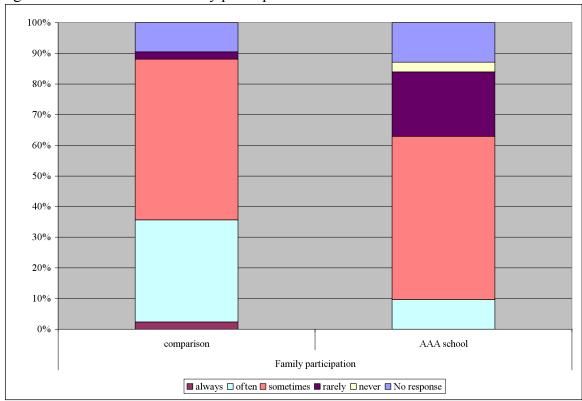


Figure 13: Extent of active family participation

3. Efficacy teaching Diverse Learners

Third, across school contexts, teachers differed significantly in their perceptions of the ability of teachers in their school to effectively teach students of diverse racial and economic backgrounds. Once again, there were similarities among teachers, regardless of whether they taught in AAA schools or not, on attitudinal questions about different influences on student achievement. For example, there were few differences among teachers when asked whether they thought students' race or socio-economic status related to their likelihood of success in school. Nor were there differences when asked about the habits/mindsets African-American and Hispanic students bring that decrease their chances for success. Teachers at AAA schools were a little more likely than teachers at comparison schools to believe that student success was related to their teachers (rather than, for example, societal factors).

As seen above, however, despite similarities about what factors into students' success, there were differences in their evaluation of their efficacy in teaching some groups of students. First, however, vast majorities of all teachers rated themselves as either effective or very effective in helping all students succeed, although a higher percentage of teachers in non-AAA schools (45%) rated themselves as "very effective" than teachers in AAA schools (35%). Further, 5% of teachers in AAA schools responded that they were only "somewhat" effective in helping all students succeed (Figure 14). These differences when considering their ability to teach *all* students, however, were not statistically significant.

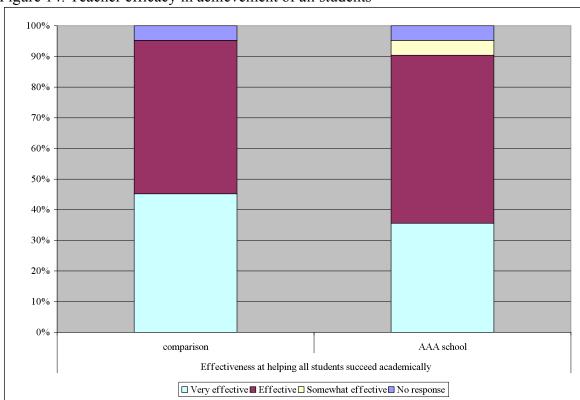


Figure 14: Teacher efficacy in achievement of all students

Answers to subsequent questions, however, revealed that there were significant differences in teachers' perceptions of efficacy in teaching certain subgroups of students. Teachers in resegregating AAA schools were much more pessimistic about the ability of fellow faculty members to address the academic needs of racially diverse students and these differences *were* statistically significant. These trends are particularly meaningful as the percentages of students of color have grown in AAA schools in recent years.

Majorities of teachers in both AAA and non-AAA schools believe that teachers are "often" or "always" able to address the academic needs of racially diverse students, although higher percentages of teachers in non-AAA schools believed in the efficacy of their fellow teachers in helping all racially diverse students succeed. In particular, 36% of teachers in comparison group schools believed that teachers were "always" able to help racially diverse students, whereas only 23% of AAA teachers shared similar confidence in the faculty's abilities. What's more, nearly 30% of teachers in AAA schools believed that their fellow teachers only "sometimes" or "rarely" were able to effectively teach racially diverse schools. Importantly, no teachers believed that their faculty peers were "never" able to help address the academic needs of racially diverse students.

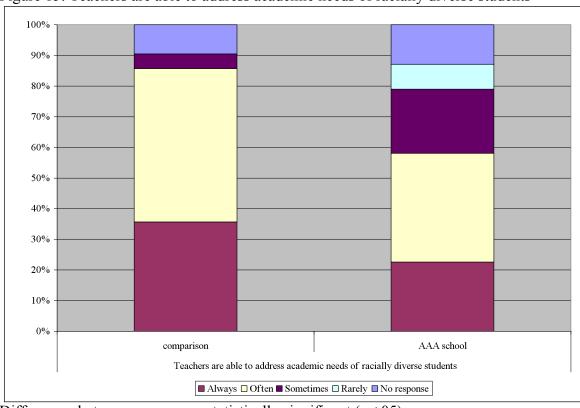


Figure 15: Teachers are able to address academic needs of racially diverse students

Likewise, there was similar skepticism about the ability of faculty peers to help economically disadvantaged students achieve among teachers in AAA schools. (The similarities in teachers' responses are not astonishing, given the generally high correlation between race and class in U.S. public schools.) While large majorities of teachers agree to some extent that teachers at their school are able to help economically disadvantaged students achieve, differences among teachers in AAA and non-AAA schools existed. More than 90% of teachers in non-AAA schools believed that teachers at their school could help economically disadvantaged students succeed, including nearly three-quarters of teachers who "strongly agreed" with the statement that teachers were able to effectively teach economically disadvantaged students. Just 40% of teachers in AAA schools were as convinced about the ability of their peers (e.g., agreed strongly) to help economically disadvantaged students. White teachers in AAA schools were significantly more likely to strongly agree than non-white teachers in these schools.

By contrast, no teacher in the group of control schools disagreed with the premise that faculty members in their school could help students of all SES backgrounds achieve. Eight percent of teachers in AAA schools disagreed and another five percent neither agreed nor disagreed. Thus, nearly one in seven teachers in AAA schools did not think teachers at their school were good at helping economically disadvantaged students.

Figure 16: Teachers do a good job of helping economically disadvantaged students achieve

Ironically, despite the differences seen above in evaluating the ability of their fellow faculty members in teaching diverse or low-income students, there were few differences in teachers' own self-assessments of *their* ability to teach other-race students. In fact, the vast majority of teachers (nearly 75% in each group) agreed strongly with the statement "You can effectively teach students from racial or ethnic backgrounds different than your own" (see Figure 17). Also, more than 20% of teachers in non-AAA schools and more than 15% of teachers in AAA schools agreed somewhat about their ability to teach students from other races. The only lack of confidence in their ability to students of other races was evident in a small percentage of teachers in AAA schools who neither agreed nor disagreed about their own efficacy.

In other words, teachers believed in their own efficacy to reach all students—as well as teaching students across racial lines—but were significantly more likely to doubt the ability of their peers to teach racially and economically diverse students in AAA schools.

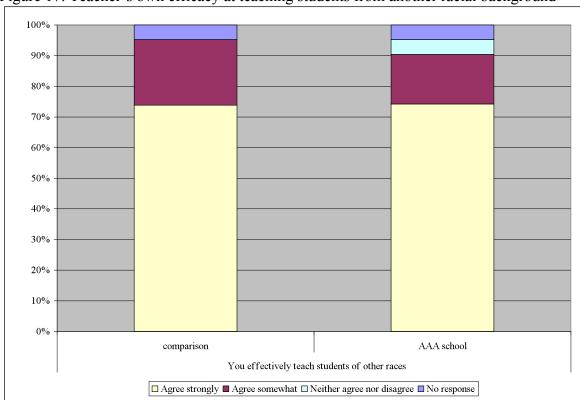


Figure 17: Teacher's own efficacy at teaching students from another racial background

4. Student Outcomes

Fourth, perhaps not surprisingly given patterns described already delineating differences among AAA and non-AAA schools, teachers' perceptions of students' social experiences and academic outcomes differ between teachers in these groups of schools. Though these outcomes are the perceptions of teachers and not an actual examination of students' social or academic experiences, they provide important insight into how these educational specialists evaluate the students' experiences in their schools.

Since the early days of court-ordered desegregation around the country, integrated extra-curricular activities provided one way to have students work collaboratively towards shared goals in more relaxed settings—principles that, according to Gordon Allport, are important conditions to more fully reap the benefits of contact with other groups of students.

Teachers in AAA schools report that students are significantly less likely to socialize or mix in extracurricular activities across racial lines. While nearly 40% of teachers in non-AAA schools believe that students "always" mix together in extracurricular activities across racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic differences, only one-sixth of teachers in AAA schools thought this was as common. Further, just 12% of teachers in non-AAA schools believed that there was only "sometimes" diverse mixing in extracurricular activities compared to 31% of teachers in AAA schools who replied that this mixing happened "sometimes" or even less often (e.g., rarely or never).

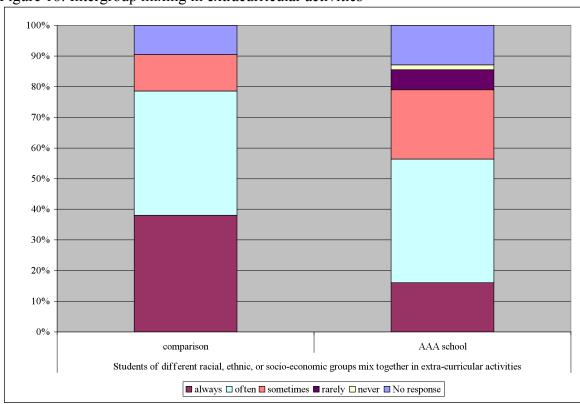


Figure 18: Intergroup mixing in extracurricular activities

More broadly, teachers were asked how often it was the case at their school that "Students choose to socialize primarily with members of their own racial, ethnic, or socio-economic groups". One-third of teachers in non-AAA schools believed that this "always" or "often" happened while more than half of teachers in AAA schools thought that there were similarly high levels of self-segregation among students. While no teachers at either group of schools said that students "never" socialized primarily with members of their own racial or economic group, 12% of teachers in non-AAA schools said this "rarely" happened while just 1.6% of teachers in AAA schools believed this occurred with such a lack of frequency.

Of course, it is possible that teachers may not always be privy to the amount of socializing that happens among students, but these trends are of concern in suggesting more limited opportunities for the formation of cross-racial friendships, which in turn can result in important benefits for students.

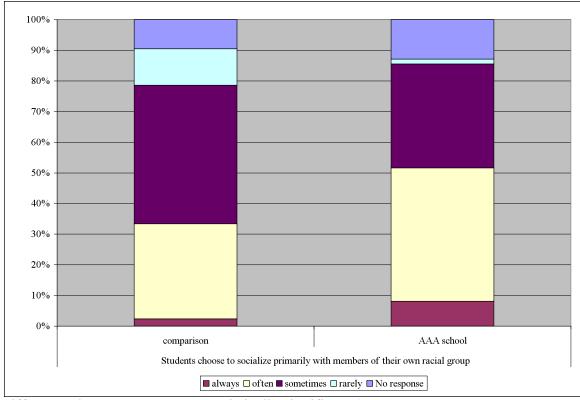


Figure 19: Students socialize with members of own racial group

Finally, one question asked teachers about their perceptions of "disparities in academic achievement between students of different races and cultures". More than twice as many teachers in AAA schools rated academic disparities along racial lines to be "significant" or "very significant" as did teachers in the control group of schools. Just one in five teachers in the group of comparison schools believed that racial differences in academic achievement were significant or very significant while two-fifths of teachers in AAA schools shared similar concern. Further, almost half of teachers in non-AAA schools thought that academic achievement disparities by race were "not too significant" or "not at all significant"—but only 21% of teachers in AAA schools were likewise not as concerned.

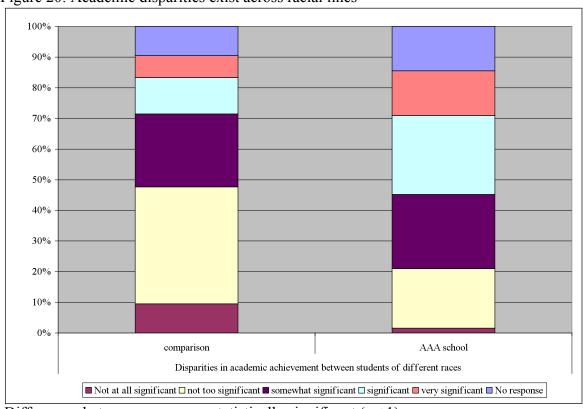


Figure 20: Academic disparities exist across racial lines

Differences between groups are statistically significant (p<.1)

These significant differences between teachers in AAA and non-AAA schools are of concern, particularly if these subjective differences are also reflected in objective measures of academic outcomes such as achievement and promotion.

II. THE PARENTS' PERSPECTIVES

Among the parents actively involved in their child's education—and presumably at least somewhat able to and comfortable going to their child's school— the attitudes of both sets of parents (e.g., those with children in AAA schools and those with children in the comparison group of schools) are highly positive and not significantly different on most issues. Yet, the future of these resegregating schools is especially dependent upon holding teachers who are often disenchanted with the working conditions (as described in the prior section) and continuously drawing more parents of school-aged children of each race into the communities and public schools. This section examines these issues in more depth.

The researchers developed the parent surveys, in consultation with school district officials. The surveys were administered by student volunteers from Wichita State University during parent-teacher conferences in Fall 2010 to selected elementary schools. As parents entered the schools they were asked if they would be willing to participate in a research project and voluntarily take the survey. The survey promised confidentiality to parent respondents. The survey began by describing the survey as follows: "We are asking parents to think about the successes and weaknesses of the Wichita schools and the ways the schools could improve." The parent surveys were compiled into a dataset for analysis. According to district records, there are 1,947 households at the seven AAA schools, so the 297 respondents represent approximately 15% of parents. There are 2,002 households in the seven non-AAA schools selected as a comparison group, and the 415 respondents represented 21% of all households.

A. Description of parent sample

The educational attainment and racial composition of parent respondents was significantly different in AAA schools than in comparison non-AAA schools (see appendix for list of non-AAA schools sample). Less than 20% of parents in non-AAA schools have a four-year college degree or greater in comparison to nearly 30% of non-AAA parents in this sample. Roughly equivalent shares of parents in each type of school had a high school degree or less (about 27%). Over half of the parent respondents in AAA schools identify as black or African-American while just one-sixth of parents in non-AAA schools. By contrast, there are higher shares of white and Latino parents in non-AAA schools also had somewhat higher educational attainment than similar-race parents in AAA schools.

Educational level of parent respondents

| | Non-AAA schools | AAA schools | Total |
|------------------|-----------------|-------------|-------|
| No response | 75 | 42 | 117 |
| | 18.07% | 14.14% | |
| Some high school | 42 | 24 | 66 |
| | 10.12% | 8.08% | |
| High school | 70 | 58 | 128 |
| | | | |

⁴ Thanks to Angel Zheng for her assistance with data compilation of parent and student survey responses.

| | 16.87% | 19.53% | |
|---------------------|--------|--------|-----|
| Some College | 104 | 114 | 218 |
| | 25.06% | 38.38% | |
| 4-yr college degree | 73 | 34 | 107 |
| | 17.59% | 11.45% | |
| Graduate school | 51 | 25 | 76 |
| | 12.29% | 8.42% | |
| total | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | • | | |

P<.01

Racial composition of parent respondents

| | | Non-AAA schools | AAA schools | Total |
|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------------|--------|
| No response | Count | 63 | 42 | 105 |
| | % | 15.2% | 14.1% | 14.7% |
| American | Count | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| American | % | .5% | 1.7% | 1.0% |
| American Indian | Count | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| American mulan | % | .2% | .0% | .1% |
| Asian | Count | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Asiaii | % | .7% | 1.3% | 1.0% |
| Black/African | Count | 72 | 159 | 231 |
| Diack/Allicali | % | 17.3% | 53.5% | 32.4% |
| Latino | Count | 120 | 17 | 137 |
| Latillo | % | 28.9% | 5.7% | 19.2% |
| Mixed race | Count | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Mixed race | % | .5% | .0% | .3% |
| White | Count | 152 | 70 | 222 |
| WIIILE | % | 36.6% | 23.6% | 31.2% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

P<.01

Differences also exist in their child's duration in and reason for attending their elementary school. First, parents in AAA schools were less likely to report the longest time in which one or more of their children have attended their current school. Approximately 21% of families in AAA schools had been in their current school four or more years compared to just under 32% of non-AAA parents in this sample. Children of a quarter of AAA parents had been in their current school one year or less while just 19% of non-AAA children had. White and Latino parents in AAA schools were particularly more likely to report a year or less in their current school. Despite less time with children attending the school, AAA parents were much more likely to report that their children had chosen to attend their school (nearly two-thirds of all parents) compared to parents in non-AAA schools in this sample, although even here more parents said they chose their

school rather than be assigned to it. Nearly three-quarters of both black and white parents reported choosing to send their children to AAA schools compared to approximately 55% of black and white parents in non-AAA schools.

Years child attended this school

| | | Non-AAA schools | AAA schools | Total |
|-------------|----------|-----------------|-------------|--------|
| No Response | Count | 68 | 46 | 114 |
| | % | 16.4% | 15.5% | 16.0% |
| <1 | Count | 38 | 36 | 74 |
| | % | 9.2% | 12.1% | 10.4% |
| 1 | Count | 40 | 38 | 78 |
| | % | 9.6% | 12.8% | 11.0% |
| 2-3 | Count | 137 | 115 | 252 |
| | % | 33.0% | 38.7% | 35.4% |
| 4-6 | Count | 105 | 58 | 163 |
| | % | 25.3% | 19.5% | 22.9% |
| 7+ | Count | 27 | 4 | 30 |
| | % | 6.5% | 1.3% | 4.2% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

P<.05

How did your child come to attend this school?

| | | Non-AAA | | |
|-------------|----------|---------|-------------|--------|
| | | schools | AAA schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 78 | 43 | 119 |
| | % | 18.8% | 14.5% | 16.7% |
| Assigned | Count | 138 | 63 | 201 |
| Assigned | % | 33.3% | 21.2% | 28.2% |
| Chose | Count | 199 | 191 | 390 |
| Chose | % | 48.0% | 64.3% | 54.8% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

P<.01

B. Results

The results from this survey of parents are divided into several themes, and analysis of relevant questions discussed in each section. First, we examine parents' perceptions of the relationship between the school and community/families. Second, we explore how parents view the school's administration. Third, parents respond to questions assessing their child's peers. And finally, we describe parents' beliefs about the school environment more generally.

1. External Relationships

One of the major findings among the teacher respondents was that teachers in AAA schools felt much more pessimistic about the support from families and the community. In this section, we explore parents' evaluation of the external relationships between their child's school and the community and families. Particularly when evaluating responses of parents regarding their relationship to school, it is worth remembering that the parents filling out the survey analyzed here may represented a biased sample due to the survey distribution at parent-teacher conferences.

While parents in AAA schools are also somewhat more pessimistic as to whether the community supports the school, the magnitude of the differences is not great. Just under 5% of AAA parents disagreed that the local community actively supported their child's school, compared to less than 1% of non-AAA parents. A slightly larger share of non-AAA parents were likely to agree, particularly strongly agree, that the community was very supportive of their school. When examining differences by family race, black families were more likely to strongly agree that the school had the local community's support in AAA schools, while Latino and white families were much less likely to think so, particularly in comparison to white and Latino respondents from non-AAA schools.

"The local community actively supports your school"

| The local community act | ivery supports. | your seneor | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------|-------------|---------|--------|
| | | Non-AAA | AAA | |
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 67 | 41 | 108 |
| | % | 16.1% | 13.8% | 15.2% |
| Agree strongly | Count | 205 | 138 | 343 |
| | % | 49.4% | 46.5% | 48.2% |
| Agree somewhat | Count | 96 | 67 | 163 |
| | % | 23.1% | 22.6% | 22.9% |
| Neither agree nor | Count | 44 | 37 | 81 |
| disagree | % | 10.6% | 12.5% | 11.4% |
| Disagree somewhat | Count | 2 | 9 | 11 |
| | % | .5% | 3.0% | 1.5% |
| Disagree strongly | Count | 1 | 5 | 6 |
| | % | .2% | 1.7% | .8% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.0% | 100.0% | 100.0% |

P<.05

Parents were asked about two types of responsiveness of the school: how responsive the school was to their child's needs and to what extent the school was responsive to their concerns. In data not shown here, there were extremely high levels of parents in both categories of schools reporting that the school was responsive: more than 55% of parents reported that the school was "very responsive" and another one-third rated it "responsive". Slightly higher shares of parents in AAA schools reported that their school was not too responsive than parents in comparison schools—which is likely driven by white respondents (5.7% reporting not too responsive)—but these differences were minimal. In the table below, parents in AAA schools are more likely to think that the school is always responsive to their concerns, with nearly two in three parents selecting this option. This seems to be driven in part by responses from African-American families as more than 70% always believed the school was responsive, compared to under 60% of white and Latino parents in AAA schools. (The reverse relationship by family race was seen in non-AAA schools.) Despite these differences, in terms of both student needs and parental concerns, there are high levels of parental perception about the responsiveness of their school.

Is the school responsive to your concerns?

| | • | Non-AAA | AAA | |
|-------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 3 | 2 | 5 |
| | % | 0.70% | 0.70% | 0.70% |
| Not at all | Count | 5 | 0 | 5 |
| | % | 1.20% | 0.00% | 0.70% |
| Never | Count | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| | % | 0.20% | 0.70% | 0.40% |
| Rarely | Count | 1 | 6 | 7 |
| | % | 0.20% | 2.00% | 1.00% |
| Sometimes | Count | 35 | 25 | 60 |
| | % | 8.40% | 8.40% | 8.40% |
| Often | Count | 117 | 66 | 183 |
| | % | 28.20% | 22.20% | 25.70% |
| Always | Count | 253 | 196 | 448 |
| | % | 61.00% | 66.00% | 62.90% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

P<.1

Finally, critical to any effective family-school relationship is a school environment that makes families feel welcome at their child's school. Once again, virtually all parents agree that they feel welcome in this school—with nearly three out of four parents of AAA schools "strongly agreeing". The vast majority of parents from each racial group strongly agreed, as well.

"I feel welcome in this school"

| | | Non-AAA | AAA | |
|-------------|-------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No Response | Count | 65 | 39 | 103 |
| | % | 15.66% | 13.10% | 14.50% |
| Agree | Count | 288 | 221 | 509 |
| strongly | % | 69.40% | 74.40% | 71.50% |
| Agree | Count | 50 | 28 | 78 |
| somewhat | % | 12.00% | 9.40% | 11.00% |
| Neither | Count | 10 | 4 | 14 |
| | % | 2.40% | 1.30% | 2.00% |
| Disagree | Count | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| somewhat | % | 0.20% | 1.00% | 0.60% |
| Disagree | Count | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| strongly | % | 0.20% | 0.70% | 0.40% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

In sum, while parents in AAA schools felt less community support for their school, both groups of parents reported strong relationships and comfort with their child's school. These patterns are noticeably different from those reported by teachers.

2. Administration

Among teachers, there were also sharp differences among perceptions of fairness and effectiveness of the school's administration as it related to diversity. As is the case with external relationships described above, parents in AAA schools do not perceive the striking differences reported by teachers in these schools. In fact, in questions about the school administration, the differences were not statistically significant.

Four-fifths of families believed that the school's leadership treated all students fairly and equally, with slightly higher percentages of parents of children in AAA schools not agreeing with this statement (1% disagreed; 5.7% neither agreed nor disagreed). High shares of parents across all racial groups were supportive of the leadership in AAA schools. There were similar, almost identical, responses by parents to a question about whether they felt like their child's culture was respected by their school. Finally, even higher percentages of parents were satisfied or very satisfied with their child's teachers; slightly higher percentages of non-AAA parents reported their satisfaction. There were few variations by race from respondents to any of these questions.

"This school leadership is fair and treats all children equally."

| | addiship is fair | Non-AAA | AAA | |
|-------------|------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No Response | Count | 64 | 39 | 103 |
| | % | 15.40% | 13.10% | 14.50% |
| Agree | Count | 258 | 184 | 442 |
| strongly | % | 62.20% | 62.00% | 62.10% |
| Agree | Count | 77 | 54 | 131 |
| somewhat | % | 18.55% | 18.20% | 18.40% |
| Neither | Count | 15 | 17 | 32 |
| | % | 3.60% | 5.70% | 4.50% |
| Disagree | Count | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| somewhat | % | 0.20% | 0.30% | 0.30% |
| Disagree | Count | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| strongly | % | 0.00% | 0.70% | 0.30% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

"My child's culture is well-respected in the school."

| | | Non-AAA | AAA | |
|-------------|-------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No Response | Count | 65 | 38 | 103 |
| | % | 15.70% | 12.80% | 14.50% |
| Agree | Count | 272 | 192 | 464 |
| strongly | % | 65.50% | 64.60% | 65.20% |
| Agree | Count | 54 | 49 | 103 |
| somewhat | % | 13.00% | 16.50% | 14.50% |
| Neither | Count | 19 | 12 | 31 |
| | % | 4.60% | 4.00% | 4.40% |
| Disagree | Count | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| somewhat | % | 1.00% | 1.30% | 1.10% |
| Disagree | Count | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| strongly | 0./ | 0.200/ | 0.700/ | 0.4007 |
| | % | 0.20% | 0.70% | 0.40% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

How satisfied have you been with your students' teachers at this school?

| | | Non-AAA | AAA | |
|-------------|-------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| | % | 1.00% | 1.70% | 1.30% |
| Not too | Count | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| satisfied | % | 0.50% | 1.00% | 0.70% |
| Somewhat | Count | 15 | 20 | 35 |
| satisfied | % | 3.60% | 6.70% | 4.90% |
| Satisfied | Count | 110 | 63 | 173 |
| | % | 26.50% | 21.20% | 24.30% |
| Very | Count | 284 | 206 | 490 |
| satisfied | % | 68.40% | 69.40% | 68.80% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

3. Child's Peers in School

While few differences exist among parents regarding the faculty and administrative leadership, some differences do exist when asking parents question about their child's peers. Although a majority of parents in both AAA and non-AAA schools report being very comfortable with the students their child spends time with at school, there is a significantly lower percentage of parents in AAA schools (58.6%) who reported such comfort with their child's peers compared to parents in non-AAA schools (69.6%). Five percent of AAA parents were uncomfortable with their child's peers. Somewhat paradoxically, white parents in AAA schools reported the highest percentage reporting they were "very comfortable" (61.4%) and that they were uncomfortable with their child's peers (7.1%).

Comfort with child's school peers

| | | Non-AAA | AAA | |
|---------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| | % | 0.20% | 1.00% | 0.60% |
| Strongly | Count | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| uncomfortable | % | 0.50% | 0.70% | 0.60% |
| Somewhat | Count | 5 | 12 | 17 |
| uncomfortable | % | 1.20% | 4.00% | 2.40% |
| Not sure | Count | 22 | 24 | 40 |
| | % | 5.30% | 8.10% | 5.60% |
| Somewhat | Count | 96 | 82 | 178 |
| comfortable | % | 23.10% | 27.60% | 25.00% |
| Very | Count | 289 | 174 | 463 |
| comfortable | % | 69.60% | 58.60% | 65.00% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

Parents were also largely likely to agree strongly that students of all backgrounds got along, with majorities of each group reporting such harmony. Parents of students in AAA schools were slightly more likely to *not* agree that students got along, but these differences were minimal. Within the group of AAA parents, black parents were more likely (65%) than white or Latino parents to strongly agree that all students got along. In data not shown here, similar—and higher—shares of parents agreed strongly that their child has learned how to understand and work with students from other backgrounds at this school. This was especially true for white and black parents and less so for Latino parents in AAA schools. Although responses may reflect a parent's bias for their child, it is encouraging to see strong beliefs in students' intergroup understanding in both AAA and non-AAA schools.

Get along with students of all backgrounds

| | i students of an | - 244411 <u>5</u> 1 0 4111415 | | |
|-------------|------------------|-------------------------------|---------|---------|
| | | Non-AAA | AAA | |
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 62 | 40 | 102 |
| | % | 14.90% | 13.50% | 14.30% |
| Agree | Count | 231 | 157 | 388 |
| strongly | % | 55.70% | 52.90% | 54.50% |
| Agree | Count | 91 | 71 | 162 |
| somewhat | % | 21.90% | 23.90% | 22.80% |
| Neither | Count | 24 | 19 | 43 |
| agree nor | % | 5.80% | 6.40% | 6.00% |
| disagree | | | | |
| Disagree | Count | 7 | 9 | 16 |
| somewhat | % | 1.70% | 3.00% | 2.20% |
| Disagree | Count | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| strongly | % | 0.00% | 0.30% | 0.10% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

Finally, we asked parents to assess the extent to which bullying was a significant problem at their child's school. Just over one-fifth of parents thought bullying was significant or very significant while more than half thought it was not too significant or not at all significant. Again, there were few differences between AAA and non-AAA schools' parents. Latino parents in both categories of schools were more likely to rate bullying a significant concern, particularly among those in AAA schools although this was a relatively small number of parents. White parents, particularly in non-AAA schools, were the least likely to think that bullying was a significant concern.

Bullying is significant concern

| Dunying is sig | | 37 4 4 4 | A A A | |
|----------------|------------|----------|---------|---------|
| | | Non-AAA | AAA | |
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 28 | 9 | 37 |
| | % 0 | 6.70% | 3.00% | 5.20% |
| Not at all | Count | 92 | 73 | 165 |
| significant | % 0 | 22.20% | 24.60% | 23.20% |
| Not too | Count | 147 | 107 | 254 |
| significant | % | 35.40% | 36.03% | 35.67% |
| Somewhat | Count | 60 | 48 | 108 |
| significant | % | 14.50% | 16.20% | 15.20% |
| Significant | Count | 39 | 20 | 59 |
| | % | 9.40% | 6.70% | 8.30% |
| Very | Count | 49 | 40 | 89 |
| significant | % | 11.80% | 13.50% | 12.50% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % 0 | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

Parents were also asked to expand on their answers about bullying, and a number of parents reported that problems frequently arose during recess and on the bus. Some parents in both AAA and non-AAA schools attributed this to race. While some parents felt that little had been done to address the issue, others mentioned schedule changes that had improved the situation.

4. Educational environment

Higher percentages of parents of children in AAA schools report that their child is "very excited" about learning on a typical school day as compared to parents in non-AAA schools. Further, fewer AAA parents report the lowest levels of excitement (e.g., not at all excited or not too excited) than do parents in non-AAA schools. Black and white parents in AAA schools report particularly high levels of excitement, while white parents in non-AAA schools are the least likely to report their child is "very excited". It is important to note that parents may have different judgments about what constitutes being "very excited" about learning.

On an average school day, how excited is your child about learning and school?

| | | Non-AAA | AAA | |
|--------------|----------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| | % | 1.00% | 1.30% | 1.10% |
| Not at all | Count | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| excited | % | 0.50% | 0.00% | 0.30% |
| Not too | Count | 23 | 11 | 34 |
| excited | % | 5.50% | 3.70% | 4.80% |
| Somewhat | Count | 76 | 50 | 126 |
| excited | % | 18.30% | 16.80% | 17.70% |
| Excited | Count | 173 | 101 | 274 |
| | % | 41.70% | 34.00% | 38.50% |
| Very excited | Count | 137 | 131 | 268 |
| | % | 33.00% | 44.10% | 37.60% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

Nearly three-quarters of parents—in both AAA and non-AAA schools—report that their child has met other students who are excited about learning and school, with a slightly lower percentage of parents in AAA schools reporting this excitement (73.1%) than in non-AAA schools (75.7%). Latino parents in AAA schools were less likely to report knowing about other children who were excited about learning compared to other AAA parents or Latino parents in non-AAA schools. Among those parents who do report other students that are excited about learning, a higher percentage of AAA parents rated all of their child's peers as excited (nearly one in six parents in AAA schools). Higher shares of black and "other" parents of children in AAA schools reported that most or all of their child's peers were excited about learning. The majority of parents of all races in reported a majority of students who were excited about school and/or learning.

How many other students would you estimate are excited about learning?

| | | Non-AAA schools | AAA schools | Total |
|-------|-------|--------------------|----------------|---------|
| A few | Count | 11 | 6 | 17 |
| | % | 4.04% | 3.57% | 3.86% |
| Some | Count | 73 | 39 | 112 |
| | % | 26.84% | 23.21% | 25.45% |
| Most | Count | 160 | 96 | 256 |
| | % | 58.82% | 57.14% | 58.18% |
| All | Count | 28 | 27 | 55 |
| | % | 10.29% | 16.07% | 12.50% |
| Total | Count | 272 | 168 | 440 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

P<.1; **question only asked of those who reported that their child had met others who were excited about school and learning.

Finally, we asked parents to what extent their child was challenged to learn in their school. More than three-quarters reported often or always, with slightly lower shares of AAA parents reporting this frequency of academic challenge, yet differences here were relatively minor. White parents in both categories of schools were the least likely—by wide margins—to report that their child was always challenged to learn. The differences in AAA schools, however, were not statistically significant.

Child challenged to learn in school

| | seu to learn in s | Non-AAA | AAA | |
|-------------|-------------------|---------|---------|---------|
| | | schools | schools | Total |
| No response | Count | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| | % | 1.70% | 1.70% | 1.70% |
| Never | Count | 4 | 9 | 13 |
| | % | 1.00% | 3.00% | 1.80% |
| Rarely | Count | 23 | 18 | 41 |
| | % | 5.50% | 6.10% | 5.80% |
| Sometimes | Count | 52 | 42 | 94 |
| | % | 12.50% | 14.10% | 13.20% |
| Often | Count | 150 | 104 | 254 |
| | % | 36.10% | 35.00% | 35.70% |
| Always | Count | 179 | 119 | 298 |
| | % | 43.10% | 40.10% | 41.90% |
| Total | Count | 415 | 297 | 712 |
| | % | 100.00% | 100.00% | 100.00% |

Parents' open-ended responses anecdotally reflected some concern among the changing demographics present among the younger children as well as perceptions of increasing behavior problems. Some AAA parents said they might try to transfer and had curricular concerns. There were virtually no complaints from the responses from non-AAA parents, who, unsolicited, often offered comments with superlatives about their positive experiences. AAA parents were more likely to offer that they appreciated the staff working with families and communities.

III. STUDENT SURVEYS

The student surveys were developed by a district team (equity director, pupil accounts supervisor, elementary principal, and two elementary learning coaches). The sample survey was administered to two classes of 5th grade students from a school not participating in the research, which numbered approximately 50 students. This pilot survey was administered for the purpose of determining if survey language and questions were age appropriate. The draft survey was then revised after feedback from report authors.

A district staff member administered the surveys, and each teacher left the room while students completed the survey, which consisted of approximately a dozen multiple-choice questions. All 5th grade classrooms at the selected schools were surveyed with the exception of one class at Price/Harris and one at Mueller; these classes were unavailable the day the staff member was there. The rest of the 5th graders that attended school on the day the staff member visited their school took the survey.

The sample of fifth graders included 356 students in AAA schools and 366 students in non-AAA schools, for a total of 722. Black students comprise the largest share of the sample of students in AAA schools (42%), compared to only 15% in non-AAA schools. White students are the largest group in the non-AAA sample, but they account for just a little over one out of every four students. A substantial share of students in both categories of schools identify as multiracial.

Racial/Ethnic Composition of Students in Sample

| | | | Student's Race/Ethnicity | | | | | |
|-------|-------|-------|--------------------------|-------|-------|--------|-------------|--------|
| | | White | Other | Asian | Black | Latino | Multiracial | Total |
| Non- | Count | 98 | 27 | 11 | 55 | 83 | 92 | 366 |
| AAA | % | 26.8% | 7.4% | 3.0% | 15.0% | 22.7% | 25.1% | 100.0% |
| AAA | Count | 55 | 23 | 6 | 150 | 47 | 75 | 356 |
| | % | 15.4% | 6.5% | 1.7% | 42.1% | 13.2% | 21.1% | 100.0% |
| Total | Count | 2 | 153 | 17 | 205 | 130 | 167 | 32 |
| | % | .3% | 21.2% | 2.4% | 28.4% | 18.0% | 23.1% | 4.5% |

The student survey was relatively short, and the analysis here focuses on two main categories: (1) students' analysis of whether they believe their schools is generally a positive environment and (2) specific questions relating to the inclusiveness for students from diverse racial/ethnic backgrounds.

A. General, positive environment

In general, high shares of students in AAA and non-AAA schools responses to questions about their school environment suggest that they perceive them as positive, supportive learning environments. On most, but not all indicators, students in this sample from AAA schools rate their environment slightly more favorably than their peers in non-AAA schools.

Although there were somewhat mixed perceptions of family-school partnerships, the vast majority of students believe that their family always feels comfortable coming to their school. (It is quite conceivable that if families did *not* feel comfortable doing so, they would not let their child know.) Lower shares of AAA students reported that their families were always comfortable coming to their school than did students in non-AAA schools, yet this is still a high percentage reporting family comfort.

"My family feels comfortable coming to school."

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|----------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 3 | 282 | 13 | 68 | 366 |
| | % | 0.80% | 77.00% | 3.60% | 18.60% | 100.00% |
| AAA | Count | 4 | 251 | 14 | 87 | 356 |
| | % | 1.10% | 70.50% | 3.90% | 24.40% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 7 | 533 | 27 | 155 | 722 |
| | % | 1.00% | 73.80% | 3.70% | 21.50% | 100.00% |

Students are less likely to report their own comfort or happiness at school. Approximately 40% reported that they were always happy at school and felt good about themselves. Slightly higher shares of students in AAA schools reported "always" feeling positive about themselves (43%) than did students in non-AAA schools (38%). Relatively few students responded that they "never" felt happy at school.

"While at this school I am very happy and I feel good about myself."

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|----------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 3 | 140 | 11 | 212 | 366 |
| | % | .8% | 38.3% | 3.0% | 57.9% | 100.00% |
| AAA | Count | 3 | 153 | 9 | 191 | 356 |
| | % | .8% | 43.0% | 2.5% | 53.7% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 6 | 293 | 20 | 403 | 722 |
| | % | .8% | 40.6% | 2.8% | 55.8% | 100.00% |

Likewise, somewhat higher shares of students in AAA schools report support from teachers with their schoolwork. More than half, or nearly 54%, of students in this sample of AAA students report that their teacher always help them. Although small shares of students responded that their teachers never help them, a somewhat higher share of AAA students reported never being helped by teachers.

"My teacher helps me with my school work."

| | | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|-------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 179 | 7 | 180 | 366 |
| | % | 48.9% | 1.9% | 49.2% | 100.00% |
| AAA | Count | 192 | 13 | 151 | 356 |
| | % | 53.9% | 3.7% | 42.4% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 371 | 20 | 331 | 722 |
| | % | 51.4% | 2.8% | 45.8% | 100.00% |

P<.1

A significantly lower share of AAA students (57%), however, reports "always" being treated like other students in their class while a higher share (7%) "never" is treated similar to his or her peers when compared to the responses of students in non-AAA schools (68% and 2.5%, respectively). The differences in responses from students in AAA schools and non-AAA schools are wider on this question than any other. It is hard to know precisely how to interpret these differences, but presumably students in AAA schools in this sample are more likely to interpret preferential treatment for some classmates by their teachers.

"My teacher treats me just like all the other students in my class."

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|----------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 0 | 249 | 9 | 108 | 366 |
| | % | .0% | 68.0% | 2.5% | 29.5% | 100.00% |
| AAA | Count | 6 | 202 | 25 | 123 | 356 |
| | % | 1.7% | 56.7% | 7.0% | 34.6% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 6 | 451 | 34 | 231 | 722 |
| | % | .8% | 62.5% | 4.7% | 32.0% | 100.00% |

There is also a gap between the two categories of schools in analyzing students' responses to a question about whether they treat their teacher with respect. The vast majority of all students say that they "always" treat their teacher with respect, but a lower share of students in AAA schools report respecting their teachers. Encouragingly, minimal shares of students reported that they never treat their teacher with respect.

"I treat my teacher with respect."

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|----------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 1 | 287 | 1 | 77 | 366 |
| | % | .3% | 78.4% | .3% | 21.0% | 100.00% |
| AAA | Count | 1 | 248 | 2 | 105 | 356 |
| | % | .3% | 69.7% | .6% | 29.5% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 2 | 535 | 3 | 182 | 722 |
| | % | .3% | 74.1% | .4% | 25.2% | 100.00% |

P<.1

Finally, there are few differences between students in their enthusiasm for working collaboratively with their classmates. Very few students—though somewhat higher among students in AAA schools—report that they "never" liked working with other class members.

"I like working together with my classmates."

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|-------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 0 | 164 | 8 | 194 | 366 |
| | % | .0% | 44.8% | 2.2% | 53.0% | 100.00% |
| AAA | Count | 1 | 151 | 21 | 183 | 356 |
| | % | .3% | 42.4% | 5.9% | 51.4% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 1 | 315 | 29 | 377 | 722 |
| | % | .1% | 43.6% | 4.0% | 52.2% | 100.00% |

B. Racially inclusive learning environment

Differences in students' responses to questions about their school experience, specifically as it relates to the inclusivity around racial/ethnic issues were more minimal. Generally, students in AAA schools rated their learning environments as slightly more positive except on questions about friendships and race, where their response indicated more self-segregation. Few of these differences were statistically significant, however.

Approximately one-quarter of students report that they always see representations of people from their own racial group in pictures displayed in their school. Students in AAA schools were somewhat more likely to "always" see such representations and less likely to report that they "never" see pictures that include people from their own racial group.

Racial pictures

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|-------|-------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|--------|
| Non- | Count | 2 | 91 | 60 | 213 | 366 |
| AAA | % | .5% | 24.9% | 16.4% | 58.2% | 100.0% |
| AAA | Count | 7 | 98 | 40 | 211 | 356 |
| | % | 2.0% | 27.5% | 11.2% | 59.3% | 100.0% |
| Total | Count | 9 | 189 | 100 | 424 | 722 |
| | % | 1.2% | 26.2% | 13.9% | 58.7% | 100.0% |

Learning about different racial groups is an important way to build intergroup understanding from an early age. This might be particularly important in schools that are resegregating where actual contact with students from other groups may be limited. Students in AAA schools in this sample are more likely to say that they "always" learning about other racial/ethnic groups (27%) and only 4.5% say they never have such learning opportunities. These responses were more encouraging than those among non-AAA schools, and differences were statistically significant.

Learn about races

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|----------|-------------|--------|-------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 3 | 81 | 32 | 250 | 366 |
| | % | 0.80% | 22.10% | 8.70% | 68.30% | 100.00% |
| | Count | 4 | 96 | 16 | 240 | 356 |
| AAA | % | 1.10% | 27.00% | 4.50% | 67.40% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 7 | 177 | 48 | 490 | 722 |
| | % | 1.00% | 24.50% | 6.60% | 67.90% | 100.00% |

By contrast, students in AAA schools are less likely to respond "always" to a question that asks them whether the school's staff encouraged them to have friends of other races or backgrounds. On a positive note, more than 40% of students from both categories of schools reported "always" being encouraged to have other-race friends, while more than one-fifth reported "never" being encouraged. Likewise, approximately twenty percent of students in this sample from AAA schools reported most of their friends were from their same race, a higher share than in non-AAA schools. These differences, while not statistically significant, are important to monitor due to the important psychological benefits that stem from integrated schools, in part due to cross-race friendships.

Friends of other races

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|-------|-------------|--------|--------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 1 | 183 | 81 | 101 | 366 |
| | % | 0.30% | 50.00% | 22.10% | 27.60% | 100.00% |
| | Count | 3 | 158 | 80 | 115 | 356 |
| AAA | % | 0.80% | 44.40% | 22.50% | 32.30% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 4 | 341 | 161 | 216 | 722 |
| | % | 0.60% | 47.20% | 22.30% | 29.90% | 100.00% |

Same-race friends

| | | No Response | Always | Never | Sometimes | Total |
|---------|----------|-------------|--------|--------|-----------|---------|
| Non-AAA | Count | 1 | 58 | 37 | 270 | 366 |
| | % | 0.30% | 15.80% | 10.10% | 73.80% | 100.00% |
| | Count | 4 | 72 | 27 | 253 | 356 |
| AAA | % | 1.10% | 20.20% | 7.60% | 71.10% | 100.00% |
| Total | Count | 5 | 130 | 64 | 523 | 722 |
| | % | 0.70% | 18.00% | 8.90% | 72.40% | 100.00% |

IV. CONCLUSION

As school resegregation grows nationally and in many communities like Wichita (Orfield, 2009), it is important to understand how these policy changes affect the school environment.

Part one of this study investigates how teachers perceive the social context and processes within schools that are experiencing resegregation, and finds in this district there are systematic, significant differences in AAA schools where resegregation is occurring. Not only do teachers perceive their working conditions to be different, they also perceive the experiences of students as being qualitatively different in resegregating schools than those in other district schools. Although this study does not have data from teachers prior to the policy change which prevents us from knowing whether teachers in AAA schools have different attitudes now, the differences reflected in these responses contribute to our understanding of the "lived experience" of resegregation from those who experience it on a daily basis.

Although the teachers are very committed and confident about their ability to work with students there is far less confidence in the ability of the school as a community to work with its students, in the fairness and effectiveness of school leadership in schools that are resegregating, a much more pessimistic view of relationships between the school and parents, and a skeptical view of the involvement and support from parents for the learning process. The teachers also perceive a less positive relationship between students and teachers of different racial and ethnic groups in these schools. Since teachers' attitudes and expectations are crucial and all schools continually have to hold the loyalty and support of their most experienced teachers, these are clear danger signs. It is very important for both these schools and the district that they are strongly addressed on a number of levels to avoid long-term damage.

For the most part, where significant differences between white and non-white teachers in AAA schools exist, they reflect a much rosier view among white teachers, particularly as it relates to questions about school-family relationships. White teachers in AAA schools more positively evaluated their efficacy at helping economically disadvantaged students succeed than did non-white teachers in these schools. Yet, at the same time white teachers were less likely to think that they worked across racial lines among faculty, which suggests some differences of opinion in these schools by teacher race and, in particular, may suggest the need for more diverse teaching staffs and leadership to engage faculty more effectively across racial lines in these resegregating schools.

Vast majorities of teachers in both AAA and non-AAA schools reported turning to others as resources for learning about race and ethnicity. Interestingly, among teachers identifying the most helpful resource for learning about other races and cultures, higher percentages of teachers in non-AAA schools report that they turn to families and teachers of the groups they are trying to learn more about while higher percentages of teachers in AAA schools (than their non-AAA peers) turn to teachers generally (e.g., regardless of race) and their friends and family. Even these differences may be the result of differences described above in cross-racial working relationships among faculty or family-teacher relationships in AAA schools.

Parts two and three of this study, analyzing the perspectives of parents and teachers, respectively, reveal quite different opinions. Analysis of parents' responses finds that parents are quite positive about the schooling experience in AAA and non-AAA schools alike. This may well be due to the sample of parents surveyed—who by virtue of their attendance at a parent-teacher conference, where surveys were administered, are likely already comfortable (at least to some extent) with the school and somewhat active in their child's education. The fact that there were relatively few differences among parents in AAA vs. comparison group schools is encouraging, given the differences in educational background (where it is possible that lesser educated parents might feel less comfortable) and a shorter average experience with students in the given school among the sample of AAA parents. Students were generally positive about their school environment, with students in AAA schools somewhat more favorable about their general school climate and more mixed responses about questions regarding racespecific aspects of their school. One place to study further would be students' responses about friendships with students from different backgrounds and/or consider professional development and other means to encourage such friendships, which might be particularly important in AAA schools.

During the last several decades, case studies of resegregating districts have documented that even in districts where more resources have been provided to resegregated schools, lower student outcomes have resulted (Godwin et al., 2006; Orfield & Eaton, 1996). This study contributes more broadly to our understanding of how teachers, parents, and students in resegregating schools perceive the schooling environment, and the inequality that may exist when resegregation results.

In terms of policy, these results suggest concerning implications about how a policy that permits resegregation to take place may be affecting the school environment. While most research has examined how this affects student academic outcomes, this paper identifies the ways in which school participants—faculty and students who experience it daily—may also be experiencing the effect of changing student demographics. In addition to how this may affect the academic and non-academic outcomes of students, to the extent that lower efficacy may make teachers consider leaving these schools and/or retiring, a policy of *student* resegregation may also make it more challenging for the district to retain a high-quality effective *teaching* force.

Resegregation, of course, is not solely a problem in Wichita. As districts around the country continue to contemplate whether to end desegregation policies—either those implemented because of court orders or those voluntarily adopted—the results of this study should give these leaders pause. These results suggest the need to work closely with teachers in districts that return to neighborhood schools and to provide supportive leadership in schools experiencing such transition. If policies are adopted that resegregate schools, at the very least, faculty and administrators should engage in deliberative study about how to try to put structures and support in place for these schools to ensure that all students have educational environments that provide opportunity to succeed.

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Appendix A: Demographics of Schools Surveyed

AAA schools, 2009-2010

| Name of | Number of | % White | % Black | % | % Low- | % white |
|-------------|-----------|---------|---------|--------|--------|-----------------------------|
| school | students | | | Latino | income | change from |
| | | | | | | $06-07 \text{ to } 09-10^5$ |
| L'Overture* | 375 | 16.0 | 49.1 | 19.5 | 82.4 | -12.0 |
| Adams | 385 | 15.6 | 50.6 | 15.6 | 88.5 | -8.6 |
| Washington | 683 | 13.3 | 11.7 | 60.9 | 95.3 | -1.6 |
| Buckner* | 430 | 25.3 | 50.2 | 8.4 | 59.3 | -9.4 |
| Gordon | 271 | 14.0 | 61.2 | 4.4 | 81.0 | n/a |
| Parks* | | | | | | |
| Mueller | 508 | 20.5 | 62.0 | 5.1 | 77.8 | -45.1 |
| Spaght* | 358 | 3.1 | 83.5 | 5.6 | 94.7 | -3.2 |

^{*} indicates magnet school

Non-AAA schools, 2009-2010

| Name of | Number of | % | % | % | % Low- | % white |
|---------------|-----------|-------|-------|--------|--------|----------------|
| school | students | White | Black | Latino | income | change from |
| | | | | | | 06-07 to 09-10 |
| Woodland* | 234 | 34.6 | 9.4 | 43.2 | 84.2 | -4.0 |
| Clark | 334 | 23.1 | 45.8 | 11.1 | 86.8 | -2.8 |
| PI Valley | 393 | 16.3 | 8.7 | 67.2 | 88.5 | -0.2 |
| Price Harris* | 444 | 39.6 | 15.3 | 28.8 | 56.8 | 9.3 |
| Horace Mann* | 411 | 19.0 | 3.6 | 71.0 | 79.1 | 1.3 |
| College Hill | 414 | 57.5 | 15.7 | 10.4 | 56.0 | 5.8 |
| Jackson | 459 | 20.7 | 59.0 | 7.4 | 71.9 | 1.8 |

^{*} indicates magnet school

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⁵ Negative values indicate that the percentage of white students has declined from 06 to 09.

Appendix B: Response of Teachers in National Sample⁶ to Survey Questions

| Question | National Sample Response |
|---|--|
| Physical confrontations * | 2% very significant, 6% significant, 12% somewhat significant, 47% not too significant, 33% not at all significant |
| discipline dealt with fairly* | 66% always, 24% often, 8% sometimes, 1% rarely |
| diversity dealt with effectively* | 48% always, 34% often, 12% sometimes, 3% rarely |
| Teachers of different races work well together | 82% agree strongly, 14% agree somewhat, 3% neither agree nor disagree, 1% disagree somewhat, 1% disagree strongly |
| The school places a priority on helping students learn how to work with and learn from students of different races and ethnicities* | 47% agree strongly, 36% agree somewhat, 11% neither agree nor disagree, 5% disagree somewhat, 1% disagree strongly |
| Pressure from standardized testing leaves little or no time for dealing with multicultural issues in the classroom | 30% agree strongly, 38% agree somewhat, 11% neither agree nor disagree, 12% disagree somewhat, 9% disagree strongly |
| Active support of school by local community | 53% agree strongly, 35% agree somewhat, 4% neither agree nor disagree, 5% disagree somewhat, 3% disagree strongly |
| Tensions between home values and school values | 11% very significant, 19% significant, 32% somewhat significant, 27% not too significant, 10% not at all significant |
| Teachers' comfort working with students' families | 67% agree strongly, 28% agree somewhat, 3% neither agree nor disagree, 2% disagree somewhat, 1% disagree strongly |
| Teachers at your school work hard to build trusting relationships with students' families | 65% agree strongly, 30% agree somewhat, 2% neither agree nor disagree, 2% disagree somewhat |
| Extent of active family participation | 8% always, 41% often, 38% sometimes, 11% rarely, 1% never |
| Teacher efficacy in achievement of all students | 45% very effective, 45% effective, 9% somewhat effective |
| Teachers are able to address academic needs of racially diverse students | 33% always, 44% often, 17% sometimes, 4% rarely, 1% never |
| Teachers do a good job of helping economically disadvantaged students achieve | 71% agree strongly, 24% agree somewhat, 2% neither agree nor disagree, 1% disagree somewhat, 1% disagree strongly |
| Teachers' own efficacy at teaching students from another | 75% agree strongly, 21% agree somewhat, 3% neither agree nor disagree, 1% disagree somewhat |

⁶ National survey of 1,002 teachers conducted in Fall 2005 (Frankenberg, 2008). Reports from these data available on Civil Rights Project website: www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu.

| racial background | |
|-----------------------------------|--|
| Intergroup mixing in | 52% always, 30% often, 13% sometimes, 2% |
| extracurricular activities* | rarely, 1% never |
| Students socialize with members | 7% always, 40% often, 39% sometimes, 11% |
| of own racial group* | rarely, 2% never |
| Academic disparities exist across | 8% very significant, 16% significant, 38% |
| racial lines* | somewhat significant, 26% not too significant, 12% |
| | not at all significant |

^{*} indicates only asked of teachers diverse schools (e.g., teacher report of between 10 and 90 percent students who are black and Latino)

About the Authors:

Gary Orfield is the Professor of Education, Law, Political Science and Urban Planning at the University of California, Los Angeles. Dr. Orfield's research interests are in the study of civil rights, education policy, urban policy, and minority opportunity. He was co-founder and director of the Harvard Civil Rights Project, and now serves as codirector of the Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA. His central interest has been the development and implementation of social policy, with a central focus on the impact of policy on equal opportunity for success in American society. Recent works include six co-edited books since 2004 and numerous articles and reports. Recent books include, Dropouts in America: Confronting the Graduation Rate Crisis, School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back? (with John Boger), and Higher Education and the Color Line (with Patricia Marin and Catherine Horn). In addition to his scholarly work. Orfield has been involved in the development of governmental policy and has served as an expert witness in several dozen court cases related to his research, including the University of Michigan Supreme Court case which upheld the policy of affirmative action in 2003 and has been called to give testimony in civil rights suits by the United States Department of Justice and many civil rights, legal services, and educational organizations. He was awarded the American Political Science Association's Charles Merriam Award for his "contribution to the art of government through the application of social science research." He has been awarded the 2007 Social Justice in Education Award by the American Educational Research Association for "work which has had a profound impact on demonstrating the critical role of education research in supporting social justice." He is a member of the National Academy of Education. A native Minnesotan, Orfield received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and travels extensively in Latin America.

Erica Frankenberg is an assistant professor in the Department of Education Policy Studies in the College of Education at the Pennsylvania State University. Her research interests focus on racial desegregation and inequality in K-12 schools, and the connections between school segregation and other metropolitan policies. Prior to joining the Penn State faculty, she was the Research and Policy Director for the Initiative on School Integration at the Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA. She received her doctorate in educational policy at the Harvard University Graduate School of Education and her A.B., cum laude, from Dartmouth College. Before graduate school, Ms. Frankenberg worked with a non-profit educational foundation focused on improving the public schools in her hometown of Mobile, Alabama. She is the co-editor of Lessons in Integration: Realizing the Promise of Racial Diversity in America's Schools (with Dr. Gary Orfield), published by the University of Virginia Press (2007). In 2006, Frankenberg helped coordinate and write a social science statement signed by 553 social scientists filed with the Supreme Court regarding the benefits of integrated schools. Some of her CRP work has been cited by the Supreme Court in their recent educational diversity cases, including Grutter v. Bollinger and PICS v. Seattle School District No. 1. Her work has also been published in education policy journals, law reviews, housing journals, and practitioner publications.