



# How are schools responding to board politics and political polarization?

Perspectives from district leaders and teachers



### An explosion of culture war laws is changing schools. Here's how.

POLITICS . THE D.C. BRIEF

Most Parents Don't Like School Culture Wars, New Polling Shows

EDUCATION

Orange School District Suspends Digital Library Over Book Concerns From Some Parents

Are book bans discrimination? Biden administration to test new legal theory.

The federal government is investigating a Texas school district over its alleged removal of books featuring LGBTQ characters

POLITICS & POLICY CHARTERS & CHOICE

Why is partisan education conflict on the rise? Blame 'political sorting.'

Democrats and Republicans are parting ways on education.

Fight over gender identity and schools hits small Maine towns

When Students Change Gender Identity, and Parents Don't Know

Educators are facing wrenching new tensions over whether they should tell parents when students socially transition at school.

SCHOOL & DISTRICT MANAGEMENT

### Top Superintendents Detail the Toll of Divisive Politics—And How They've Responded

Florida schools directed to cover or remove classroom books that are not vetted

The state said its "Stop WOKE" act applies to books displayed in classrooms.

**EQUITY & DIVERSITY EXPLAINER** 

#### What Is Critical Race Theory, and Why Is It Under Attack?

WORLD & NATION

School librarians vilified as the 'arm of Satan' in book-banning wars

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#### Data sources

	District Leaders	Teachers
Surveys	<ul> <li>Nationally representative</li> <li>Administered Oct-Dec 2022</li> <li>300 leaders participated</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Nationally representative</li> <li>Administered Apr-May 2022</li> <li>8,063 teachers participated</li> </ul>
Qualitative data	<ul> <li>22 interviews</li> <li>7 superintendents</li> <li>Four waves between January 2021 and November 2022</li> </ul>	<ul> <li>Open-ended responses</li> <li>1,452 teachers participated</li> </ul>

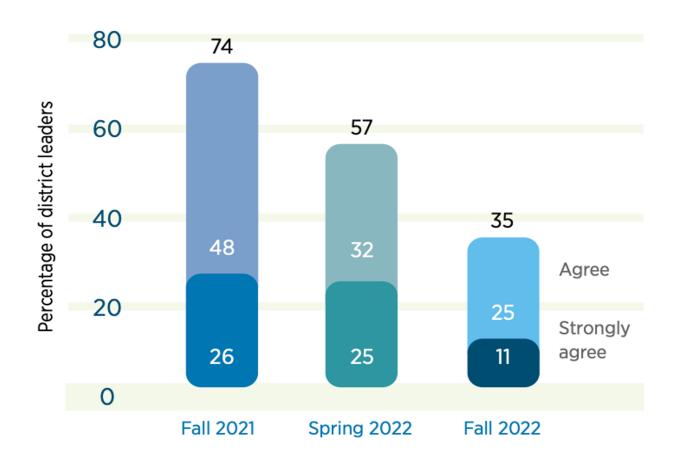
How is political conflict impacting schools and districts?



### Districts leaders say political disagreements are interfering with schooling

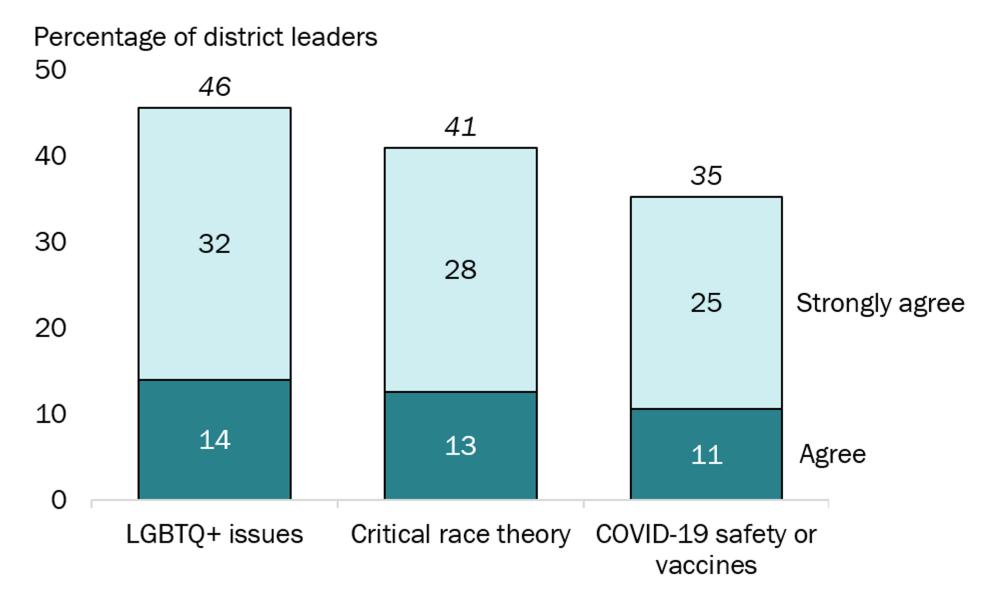
Politics showed up closer to the boardroom than they [have] since the late sixties.

-superintendent

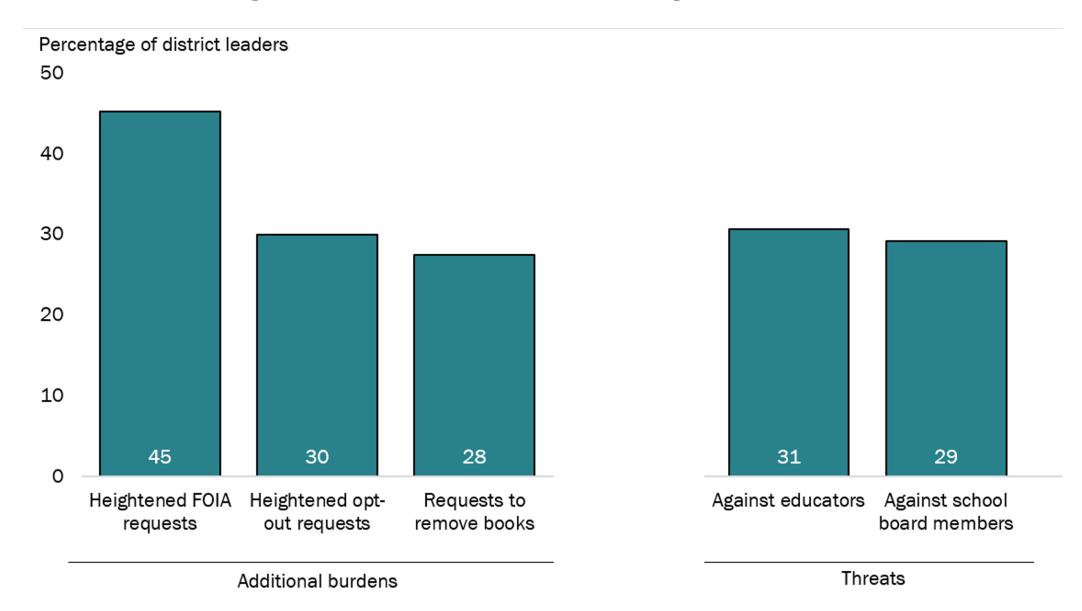


Polarization about covid-19 safety and vaccines over time

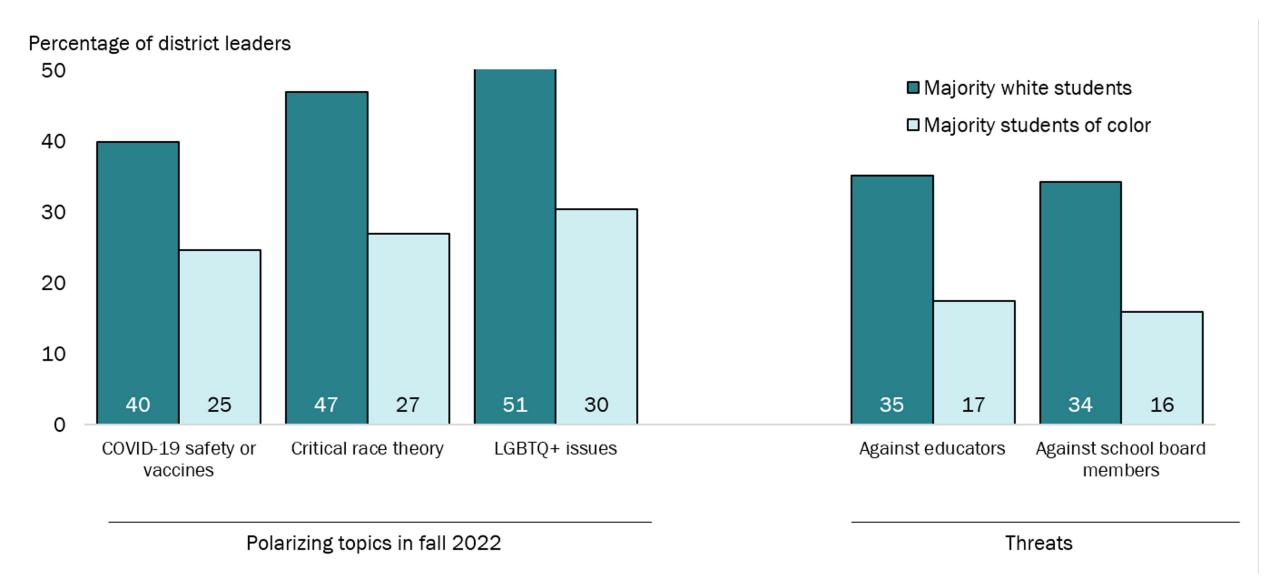
#### New issues have recently replaced health and safety (Fall 2022)



#### The disruptions have material impacts on schools



#### Problems are concentrated in historically advantaged districts



### Superintendents emphasized that policymakers could amplify or dampen the impact of politics on schools

School Board Members	State Officials
School board members motivated by "culture war" concerns may not understand the role of the board and their broader responsibilities as a governance team	State mandates could amplify conflicts with the community when they were out of step with community values and undermine productive collaboration between districts and states
Board members are operating as independent actors and not functioning as a governance teamIt's creating chaosand leaves learning to chance.	For the first time in my career, I'm just gonna hunker down and do what I can do here and continue to find ways to make it work in a poor policy environment.

Why should we care about the impacts of political conflict?



### Political conflict contributes to difficult working conditions for both teachers and district leaders

**Superintendents** said political conflict could consume valuable **time** and **attention**, distract from other **district priorities**, and require added **organizational capacity** to manage.

**Teachers** experienced increased **fear** and **anxiety** and said politics made the work of teaching **more difficult**.

We've had to be far more nimble and creative than I think we ever had to be before, and we've had to do it under even more intense pressure and criticism in a job that was already subject to a lot of pressure and criticism. - Superintendent



And may exacerbate existing workforce challenges 50

District leaders cite political divisions and board relations as reasons they'd consider leaving their job.

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Excessive work hours	36
Insufficient autonomy to make the changes I think are important for our schools	13
Insufficient funding to offer the quality of schooling our students deserve	23
Job-related stress	54
Lack of opportunities for professional growth	3
Less pay or benefits than I could earn as asuperintendent in another district	21
Less pay or benefits than I could earn at another non-superintendent job	11
Lack of respect	19
Lack of status	3
Political divisions in the community about COVID-19 vaccination or safety practices in schools	32
Political divisions in the community about	17
Political divisions in the community about anotheraspect of schooling	10
School board relations	23
State accountability requirements for schools —	16
Teachers' union relations	10
Other —	3
N/A—I don't consider leaving my position or no particular problem makes me consider leaving	29

100

## Where do we go from here?



### Districts said they <u>are</u> taking action to quell controversies and manage their boards



I do a lot of very deep relationship building, beyond the boardroom and outside the formal structures of meetings in order to be accessible and help people see our policies and processes are ... the alternative to the political extremes. - Superintendent

46% of district leaders report taking action to address community concerns

Strong superintendents do not impulsively respond to independent interests. - Superintendent

### Insulating students, families and educators from the negative impacts of political conflict will be critical

Political conflict will not go away. Districts may be able to reduce its impacts by:

Preparing superintendent to manage board and community politics Creating mechanisms to promote more effective board governance

- Training for prospective board members on their responsibilities and the consequences of increasing polarization, e.g. North Dakota.
- Creating rules that limit or channel the scope of authority that school boards have. uch rules could reduce opportunities for single-issue candidates to dominate absent broader, collective concerns.

**Investing in more evidence-building board politics** 

#### Want to learn more?





Research Report

ASHLEY WOO, SABRINA LEE, ANDREA PRADO TUMA, JULIA H. KAUFMAN, REBECCA ANN LAWRENCE, NASTASSIA REED

Walking on Eggshells— Teachers' Responses to Classroom Limitations on Race- or Gender-Related Topics

Findings from the 2022 American Instructional Resources Survey

y spring 2022, 17 states had passed policies restricting how teachers can address topics related to race, gender, and "divisive concepts" in the classroom (Schwartz, 2021). Advocates of these policies purport that they prevent the indoctrination of students, allow families to have greater transparency into and control over the educational content to which their students are exposed, and reshift educators' focus to core academic content like reading and math (Aldrich, 2021; Butcher and Burke, 2022; Leaguirre and Gomez Licon, 2022). Conversely, opponents of these policies are concerned that they deprive students of the opportunity to develop critical thinking skills and both learn about and interrogate our nation's complex history (Wolfe-Rocca and Nold, 2022; Waxman, 2021).

One in three public school teachers across the nation—that is, more than 1 million teachers—are working in one of the 17 states where restrictions on how teachers can address race or gender have been enacted (National Center for Education Statistics, 2021). Goe the "How State Policies Limit Teachers' Instruction" text boxy PEN America, a nonprofit organization, found not only that state legislators have accelerated the introduction of these restrictions over the past year but also that the bills proposed during the 2022 legislative session were even more punitive and expansive in nature than the bills introduced in the 2021 session. For example, they extended restrictions to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgendered, queer, questioning, and more (LGBTQ+) topics and beyond just classroom conversa-









### DISCUSSION & QUESTIONS

THANK YOU

