

SCHOOL CHOICE

ISSUES

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IN DEPTH



FREE TO TEACH:

What America's Teachers Say about Teaching in Public and Private Schools

By Greg Forster, Ph.D. & Christian D'Andrea, M.P.P.

OUR CHALLENGE TO YOU

Our research adheres to the highest standards of scientific rigor. We know that one reason the school choice movement has achieved such great success is because the empirical evidence really does show that school choice works. More and more people are dropping their opposition to school choice as they become familiar with the large body of high-quality scientific studies that supports it. Having racked up a steady record of success through good science, why would we sabotage our credibility with junk science?

This is our answer to those who say we can't produce credible research because we aren't neutral about school choice. Some people think that good science can only be produced by researchers who have no opinions about the things they study. Like robots, these neutral researchers are supposed to carry out their analyses without actually thinking or caring about the subjects they study.

But what's the point of doing science in the first place if we're never allowed to come to any conclusions? Why would we want to stay neutral when some policies are solidly proven to work, and others are proven to fail?

That's why it's foolish to dismiss all the studies showing that school choice works on grounds that they were conducted by researchers who think that school choice works. If we take that approach, we would have to dismiss all the studies showing that smoking causes cancer, because all of them were conducted by researchers who think that smoking causes cancer. We would end up rejecting all science across the board.

The sensible approach is to accept studies that follow sound scientific methods, and reject those that don't. Science produces reliable empirical information, not because scientists are devoid of opinions and motives, but because the rigorous procedural rules of science prevent the researchers' opinions and motives from determining their results. If research adheres to scientific standards, its results can be relied upon no matter who conducted it. If not, then the biases of the researcher do become relevant, because lack of scientific rigor opens the door for those biases to affect the results.

So if you're skeptical about our research on school choice, this is our challenge to you: prove us wrong. Judge our work by scientific standards and see how it measures up. If you can find anything in our work that doesn't follow sound empirical methods, by all means say so. We welcome any and all scientific critique of our work. But if you can't find anything scientifically wrong with it, don't complain that our findings can't be true just because we're not neutral. That may make a good sound bite, but what lurks behind it is a flat rejection of science.

FREE TO TEACH:
WHAT AMERICA'S TEACHERS SAY ABOUT
TEACHING IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS

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THE FRIEDMAN
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FOR
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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Many people claim to speak on behalf of America's teachers, but we rarely get the opportunity to find out what teachers actually have to say about their work – especially when people are debating government control of schooling.

This study presents data from a major national survey of teachers conducted by the U.S. Department of Education; the Schools & Staffing Survey. We break down these observational data for public and private school teachers, in order to compare what teachers have to say about their work in each of the two school sectors.

These are eye-opening data for the teaching profession. They show that public school teachers are currently working in a school system that doesn't provide the best environment for teaching. Teachers are victims of the dysfunctional government school system right alongside their students. Much of the reason government schools produce mediocre results for their students is because the teachers in those schools are hindered from doing their jobs as well as they could and as well as they want to. By listening to teachers in public and private schools, we discover numerous ways in which their working conditions differ—differences that certainly help explain the gap in educational outcomes between public and private schools. Exposing schools to competition, as is the case in the private school sector, is good for learning partly because it's good for teaching.

Key findings include:

- Private school teachers are much more likely to say they will continue teaching as long as they are able (62 percent v. 44 percent), while public school teachers are much more likely to say they'll leave teaching as soon as they are eligible for retirement (33 percent v. 12 percent) and that they would immediately leave teaching if a higher paying job were available (20 percent v. 12 percent).
- Private school teachers are much more likely to have a great deal of control over selection of textbooks and instructional materials (53 percent v. 32 percent) and content, topics, and skills to be taught (60 percent v. 36 percent).
- Private school teachers are much more likely to have a great deal of influence on performance standards for students (40 percent v. 18 percent), curriculum (47 percent v. 22 percent), and discipline policy (25 percent v. 13 percent).
- Public school teachers are much more likely to report that student misbehavior (37 percent v. 21 percent) or tardiness and class cutting (33 percent v. 17 percent) disrupt their classes, and are four times more likely to say student violence is a problem on at least a monthly basis (48 percent v. 12 percent).
- Private school teachers are much more likely to strongly agree that they have all the textbooks and supplies they need (67 percent v. 41 percent).
- Private school teachers are more likely to agree that they get all the support they need to teach special needs students (72 percent v. 64 percent).
- Seven out of ten private school teachers report that student racial tension never happens at their schools, compared to fewer than half of public school teachers (72 percent v. 43 percent).
- Although salaries are higher in public schools, private school teachers are more likely to be satisfied with their salaries (51 percent v. 46 percent).
- Measurements of teacher workload (class sizes, hours worked, and hours teaching) are similar in public and private schools.
- Private school teachers are more likely to teach in urban environments (39 percent v. 29 percent) while public school teachers are more likely to teach in rural environments (22 percent versus 11 percent).

- Public school teachers are twice as likely as private school teachers to agree that the stress and disappointments they experience at their schools are so great that teaching there isn't really worth it (13 percent v. 6 percent).
- Public school teachers are almost twice as likely to agree that they sometimes feel it is a waste of time to try to do their best as a teacher (17 percent v. 9 percent).
- Nearly one in five public school teachers has been physically threatened by a student, compared to only one in twenty private school teachers (18 percent v. 5 percent).
- Nearly one in ten public school teachers has been physically attacked by a student, three times the rate in private schools (9 percent v. 3 percent).
- One in eight public school teachers reports that physical conflicts among students occur everyday; only one in 50 private school teachers says the same (12 percent v. 2 percent).

WHAT AMERICA'S TEACHERS SAY

PRIVATE SCHOOL TEACHERS ARE MORE LIKELY TO SAY:

"I plan to remain in teaching as long as I am able."

62% v. 44%

"I have a great deal of control over selecting textbooks and other instructional materials in my classroom."

53% v. 32%

"I have a great deal of control over selecting content, topics, and skills to be taught in my classroom."

60% v. 36%

"I have a great deal of control over disciplining students in my classroom."

73% v. 60%

"Necessary materials such as textbooks, supplies, and copy machines are available as needed."

(Strongly Agree) 67% v. 41%
(Agree or Strongly Agree) 92% v. 79%

"I am given the support I need to teach students with special needs."

(Strongly Agree) 30% v. 22%
(Agree or Strongly Agree) 72% v. 64%

PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS ARE MORE LIKELY TO SAY:

"I plan to remain in teaching until I am eligible for retirement"

33% v. 12%

"Routine duties and paperwork interfere with my job of teaching."

(Strongly Agree) 28% v. 9%
(Agree or Strongly Agree) 71% v. 41%

"The level of student misbehavior in this school interferes with my teaching."

(Strongly Agree) 10% v. 5%
(Agree or Strongly Agree) 37% v. 21%

"The stress and disappointments involved in teaching at this school aren't really worth it."

Strongly Agree 3% v. 1%
Agree or Strongly Agree 13% v. 6%

"A student has threatened to physically injure me."

18% v. 5%

"A student has physically attacked me."

9% v. 3%

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Greg Forster, Ph.D., is a senior fellow at the Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice and the program director for American history, economics and religion at the Kern Family Foundation. He has conducted empirical studies on the impact of school choice programs in Milwaukee, Ohio, Florida and Texas, as well as national empirical studies of participation in school choice programs and the impact of charter schools. He also has conducted empirical studies of other education topics, including accountability testing, graduation rates, student demographics and special education.

His research has appeared in the peer-reviewed publications *Teachers College Record* and *Education Working Paper Archive*, and his articles on education policy have appeared in the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, *Education Next*, the *Chronicle of Higher Education* and numerous other publications. He is co-author of the book *Education Myths: What Special-Interest Groups Want You to Believe about Our Schools – and Why It Isn't So*, from Rowman & Littlefield.

He received a Ph.D. with Distinction in political science from Yale University in 2002 and a B.A. *summa cum laude* from the University of Virginia in 1995. His most recent book, *The Contested Public Square*, was published in 2008 by InterVarsity Academic.

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He received his Master of Public Policy degree from Vanderbilt University in 2008, focusing on education policy and organizational leadership. Prior to this, he graduated with dual B.A.'s in Professional and Creative Writing at Carnegie Mellon University. Previously, he has worked in consulting and communications roles with Alcoa, Inc., Baptist Hospitals, and Vanderbilt University.

ABOUT THE FRIEDMAN FOUNDATION FOR EDUCATIONAL CHOICE



The Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice, dubbed “the nation’s leading voucher advocates” by the *Wall Street Journal*, is a nonprofit organization established in 1996. The origins of the foundation lie in the Friedmans’ long-standing concern about the serious deficiencies in America’s elementary and secondary public schools. The best way to improve the quality of education, they believe, is to give all parents the freedom to choose the schools their children attend. The Friedman Foundation builds upon this vision, clarifies its meaning to the public and amplifies the national call for true education reform through school choice.

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INTRODUCTION

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What if we asked teachers nationwide how things actually worked in their schools, and found out that their testimony tended to confirm what the reformers claimed?

In debates about education policy, people often claim that “teachers” say this or that about a given subject. These claims are almost never backed up by evidence, such as what we can learn from looking at a major national survey of teachers. In fact, virtually all claims about what teachers think come from individuals who simply have set themselves up to speak on behalf of all teachers, without having checked to find out what teacher opinions really are.

As a result, policy debates often fail to include information that could be obtained by actually listening to teachers. Debates are usually cast in terms of reformers who make one set of claims about the way education works, and teachers who make rival claims. But the claims attributed to “teachers” actually come from self-appointed spokesmen, not from a nationally representative sample of teachers. What if we asked teachers nationwide how things actually worked in their schools, and found out that their testimony tended to confirm what the reformers claimed?

This problem is especially relevant to the debate over the government monopoly on education. The majority of empirical evidence shows that private schools produce better academic outcomes than public schools. This is not simply an artifact of differences in the students they serve; a large body of research using the method known as random assignment, the same method used in medical trials, consistently shows that students who win a random lottery to receive private school vouchers outperform students who apply for vouchers but do not receive them.¹

There has been a lot of debate about why private schools consistently produce these better educational results. Listening to the voices of America’s public and private school teachers provides us with crucial context for that debate.

This study presents data from a major national survey of teachers conducted by the U.S. Department of Education. The survey includes numerous questions that help illuminate the working conditions faced by teachers nationwide.

We broke down the observational data from this survey into public and private school samples in order to compare the conditions faced by teachers in these two school sectors.

Method

This study analyzes data from the 2003-04 administration of the Schools and Staffing Survey, a national survey conducted by the U.S. Department of Education. The survey collects data from a nationally representative sample of school districts, schools, principals, teachers, and school library administrators. This study examines only the data from the teacher portion of the survey, looking at data that relate to teachers' working conditions as well as some selected background characteristics to provide context. In the 2003-04 administration, the representative teacher sample included about 52,480 teachers. Confidential questionnaires were administered to teachers in the sample.

It is important to note that the Schools and Staffing Sur-

vey is confidential and scientifically representative at a nationwide level. Some organizations have gathered "survey data" on teachers using very unscientific methods.² Without a representative sample, we would only be hearing from some particular teachers—perhaps chosen in ways that make them especially

unrepresentative. And without confidentiality, we cannot know whether teachers are telling us what they really think or only what they feel comfortable saying.

The data analyzed in this study are observational rather than experimental. This means they allow us to observe what similarities and differences exist between public and private schools, but they do not allow for a causal analysis that would tell us, with statistical certainty, what caused these similarities and differences. However, where information

about the existing facts is lacking, as it is with the subject examined in this study, observational data are extremely valuable. They allow us to dispel myths and provide a more solid foundation for policy discussion.

“The Schools and Staffing Survey is confidential and scientifically representative at a nationwide level. In the 2003-04 administration, the representative teacher sample included about 52,480 teachers. Confidential questionnaires were administered to teachers in the sample.”



RESULTS

RESULTS



Private school teachers are 10 percentage points more likely to teach in an urban location than public school teachers. Conversely, public school teachers are 11 percentage points more likely to work in a rural area.

The data from the Schools and Staffing Survey that cover teacher working conditions are presented in Tables 1-10, broken down into public school and private school sample groups.

Tables 4-10 include the original questions related to working conditions from the teacher questionnaires and report them in the order in which they appeared on the questionnaires. Thus, the tables reflect the original survey instruments for the data related to working conditions. The complete original instruments are available on the web from the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics.³

However, in the text of this report we group all the data related to what teachers think of their schools – including school climate, teachers' influence on schools, and school problems – in one section. As a result, the data on classroom autonomy, reported in Table 7, appear in a different order in the text.

Background Information

Selected background characteristics for schools are reported in Table 1, and selected background characteristics for teachers are reported in Table 2. Information on teacher workloads is reported in Table 3.

School Characteristics

In Table 1, there are few glaring differences between the public and private school sectors. Similarities include most schools being located in suburbs, school programs, and that roughly half of all schools include only the elementary grades.

The most striking difference between the public and private sectors is the disparity in school size. Public schools have, on average, over twice the number of enrolled students, 804 students per school versus 385 in private schools.

It is difficult to comment on the significance of the very large difference in average school sizes between public and private schools. There is not a substantial body of empirical research establishing the impact of school size on academic outcomes.

Also, more than one in three private schools includes a combination of elementary and secondary grades, while only 5 percent of public schools do so. And while both types of schools have similar percentages located in suburbs and towns, private school teachers are 10 percentage points more likely to teach in an urban location than public school teachers. Conversely, public school teachers are 11 percentage points more likely to work in a rural area.

The difference in school locale provides context for the other analyses in this study. However, the importance of this difference should not be overestimated. It is difficult to measure the real impact of school locale. For example, previous research in public high schools has found that stereotypically “urban” school problems such as drug use and delinquency are actually just as prevalent in suburban public schools as in urban ones.⁴ This may also be the case in private schools, or it may not.

Teacher Characteristics

In Table 2, public and private school teachers are nearly identical in their years of experience, but private school teachers are more likely to have taught in public schools than vice versa (33 percent versus 12 percent). The average salary of a private school teacher is lower than the average salary of a public school teacher by a difference of about one-third. And public school teachers are overwhelmingly unionized, while private school teachers are not.

Even the percentage of public school teachers who report being union members – 78 percent – probably underestimates the total unionization of the profession in public schools. Many teachers who are represented by unions in collective bargaining are not technically “members” of the unions that represent them. Some such teachers will presumably answer “yes” when asked if they are union members, since they are represented by unions, while others will answer “no” because they aren’t members.

The difference in salaries between public and private schools confirms a widely held perception. The size of the dif-

ference observed in these data will partly reflect many underlying differences in teacher characteristics, school characteristics, and local conditions. However, there is little room for doubt that even if these differences were accounted for, some amount of salary difference would remain.

This salary difference sheds a different light on the subsequent findings in this study. As the remaining tables show, working conditions for teachers are superior in private schools across a wide variety of measurements. While these are observational data and we cannot perform a statistical analysis to determine causation, the data lend themselves to the hypothesis that public school salaries are higher partly to compensate for the inferior working conditions teachers endure in public schools.

It is also worth noting that even though they are paid less, private school teachers are more likely to be satisfied with their salaries (see Table 6) and much more likely to say that they would stay at their jobs even if they could make more money in a non-teaching position (see Table 5). This may partly reflect differences in underlying teacher characteristics. It may also partly be a consequence of the better working conditions in private schools, and higher overall career satisfaction (see Table 4). Private school teachers are happier about their overall teaching situation, and this may help explain why they report being happier with their salaries.

Workload

Teacher workloads, reported in Table 3, are very similar in public and private schools. While the class sizes and hours worked are not identical, they are comparable. Public school teachers report working a total of 52 hours per week and teaching for 27 of those hours, while private school teachers report working a total of 48 hours and teaching for 26 of those. In public schools, self-contained classes – such as those in elementary schools – average 20 students, and departmentalized classes – such as those in high schools – average 25. In private schools, self-contained classes average 18 students and departmentalized classes 19.

The observation that average class sizes at the elementary level (where self-contained classes are overwhelmingly found) are very similar in public and private schools has important ramifications. Class-size-reduction advocates have focused almost exclusively on the elementary grades and have generally argued that class sizes must be reduced by a substantial margin before the reductions can be expected to produce better results. Many of the same advocates often claim that private schools produce better results because they have smaller classes. But the data do not appear to allow for that explanation.

This observation also provides important context for the finding that private school teachers are a great deal more satisfied with their class sizes (see Table 6). We will discuss this in more detail in a later section.

What Teachers Say about Their Careers

Plan to keep teaching as long as they're able

PRIVATE 62%, PUBLIC 44%

Plan to keep teaching until they're eligible to retire

PRIVATE 12%, PUBLIC 33%

The survey included two questions on overall career satisfaction, reported in Table 4, and a battery of questions on teacher attitudes, reported in Table 5.

Private school teachers are generally more satisfied with their careers than public school teachers. They report greater appreciation for their work, a greater sense that their work is successful, and they overwhelmingly consider their jobs a lifetime vocation. While a majority of both public and private school teachers disagree with suggestions that their work doesn't matter or that they can't make a difference, private school teachers do so in larger majorities and are much more likely to disagree "strongly."

Overall Career Satisfaction

Among private school teachers, 62 percent consider teaching to be the only profession they'll ever need, planning to continue teaching as long as they are able. Only 44 percent of public school teachers said the same – a remarkable 18 percentage-point difference. One in three public school teachers (33 percent) plan to leave teaching as soon as they are eligible for retirement, compared to only about one in eight private school teachers (12 percent).

The desire of public school teachers to hold out until retirement may be related to the large seniority pay and pension benefits that are typical in the public system. For example, a 2008

survey of over 1,000 public school teachers by Education Sector found that 76 percent agreed that "too many veteran teachers who are burned out stay because they do not want to walk away from the benefits and service time they have accrued."⁵

The survey also asks teachers whether they would choose the same profession if they could go back to their college days and start over again. Responses in both sectors were favorable, but teachers in private schools were 10 percentage points more likely to "certainly" choose teaching again. Public school teachers were twice as likely to respond negatively to this question; 15 percent would "certainly" or "probably" not choose teaching again, compared to only 7 percent of private school teachers.

Teacher Attitudes

This disenchantment with teaching shows up in teacher attitudes. Public school teachers are consistently more likely to report discouragement with their teaching experiences. While the differences here are not as striking as for the question on how long teachers will remain in their careers, they are substantial and the trend is consistent across questions.

Public school teachers are twice as likely as private school teachers to agree that "the stress and disappointments of teaching at this school aren't really worth it." While 13 percent of public school teachers agreed with this statement, only 6 percent of private school teachers did. Similarly, public school teachers were about twice as likely to report that they no longer had the enthusiasm they once did for teaching (31 percent versus 16 percent) and that they would immediately leave teaching if a higher paying job were available (20 percent versus 12 percent). Additionally, 24 percent of public school teachers dislike the way things are run in their schools, compared to 15 percent of private school teachers.

What Teachers Say about Their Schools

Have all the textbooks and supplies they need

(STRONGLY AGREE) PRIVATE 67%, PUBLIC 41%

Get all the support they need for special needs students

(AGREE OR STRONGLY AGREE) PRIVATE 72%, PUBLIC 64%

The survey asks a series of questions about school climate, reported in Table 6. Later in the survey is a series of questions on how much influence teachers have in their schools; these are reported in Table 8. Data on school problems are reported in Table 9. Data on classroom autonomy, reported in Table 7, are covered in a separate section below.

The data on how teachers relate to their schools help

explain why public school teachers experience so much more discouragement and less career satisfaction. As in the teacher attitude section above, on most questions a majority of teachers in both sectors fall on the positive rather than negative side of the scale, but there is a consistent trend for private school teachers to produce stronger positive majorities and be more likely to agree or disagree “strongly.”

School Climate

The penultimate question of the school climate section produces what may be the most striking finding, echoing the greater discouragement among public school teachers in the attitudes section above. Public school teachers are twice as likely as private school teachers to agree that “I sometimes feel it is a waste of time to try to do my best as a teacher” (17 percent versus 9 percent).

Private school teachers report getting more support in a variety of ways from administrators, including material resources in the classroom, recognition for their work, clear communication, and support for student discipline. For example, private school teachers are much more likely to strongly agree that they have all the textbooks and supplies they need (67 percent versus 41 percent), and that their principals back them up when they need support for disciplining students (68 percent versus 55 percent).

The remarkable observation that private school teachers are 26 percentage points more likely to strongly agree that they have all the textbooks and supplies they need is all the more surprising given that private schools make do with much less spending than public schools. The average private school tuition is \$6,600, compared to over \$10,000 per student spent in public schools.⁶ Yet private schools do a radically better job of equipping their teachers.

Similarly remarkable is the observed difference in satisfaction with special education programs. Private school teachers are more likely to agree that they get all the support they need to teach students with special needs (72 percent versus 64 percent).

Public schools maintain an enormous and highly visible special education bureaucracy, rife with paperwork and rules that are intended to ensure services. Private schools typically do not have any separate bureaucracy for special education, instead meeting the needs of students on a

case-by-case basis. This leads many people to conclude that private schools must not provide good services to disabled students. Yet private school teachers are more likely than public school teachers to report that they have the support they need to teach these students. This supports the findings of earlier research showing that private schools in fact provide better services to disabled students.⁷

In addition to these tangible forms of support from their schools, private school teachers report that their principals communicate better and are more supportive. Two of the largest differences are over principals setting goals and recognizing

those who achieve them; private school teachers are more likely to strongly agree that their principals clearly communicate what kind of school they want (69 percent versus 56 percent) and recognize staff who do a good job (45 percent versus 33 percent).

Private school teachers are also 27 percentage points more likely to strongly agree that they are satisfied with their class sizes (61 percent versus 34 percent). This is doubly remarkable given that class sizes are not much smaller in private schools, especially in elementary schools (see Table 3).

Private school teachers may be less sensitive to class size as an issue than public school teachers. It is also possible that teachers are partly attributing to “class size” the impact of other working conditions such as student discipline – in a school where students can misbehave and get away with it, a class of the same size is likely to be more unruly and difficult to manage, and teachers may attribute this difficulty to the size of the class. These student behavior issues are examined in the section below on school problems.

Thus, the difference in satisfaction with class sizes may exhibit a similar effect to the one that may be at work in the difference in satisfaction with salaries (see Table 3 and discussion preceding). The overall better working environment in private schools may be producing a displaced effect on reported satisfaction with class sizes.

Across a number of measurements, private school teachers are much more likely to report having a better working environment with their peers. Private school teachers are much more likely to strongly agree that there is a great deal of cooperation between staff members (60 percent versus 41 percent), that their colleagues share their values and under-

“Public school teachers are twice as likely as private school teachers to agree that ‘the stress and disappointments of teaching at this school aren’t really worth it.’”

standing of the core mission of the school (63 percent versus 38 percent) and that their fellow teachers consistently enforce school rules (42 percent versus 29 percent).

The stronger support for student discipline among both principals and peers probably helps explain why private school teachers are much less likely to report that discipline problems impact their work. Only 21 percent of private school teachers report that student misbehavior disrupts their classes, while in public schools this number nearly doubles to 37 percent. Similar results are reported on the impact of tardiness and class cutting (17 percent versus 33 percent). Moreover, most of the issues covered in the school problems section below are impacted by school discipline practices.

Influence on Schools

Have a great deal of influence over student performance standards
PRIVATE 40%, PUBLIC 18%

Have a great deal of influence over establishing curriculum
PRIVATE 47%, PUBLIC 22%

In the section covering influence on schools, private school teachers generally report having more influence than public school teachers over the schools in which they teach. Private school teachers are much more likely to say that they have “a great deal of influence” over performance standards for students (40 percent versus 18 percent), establishing curriculum (47 percent versus 22 percent), and setting discipline policy (25 percent versus 13 percent). They were also more likely to report having influence over the evaluation of teachers – 27 percent reported having either “a great deal of influence” or “moderate influence,” compared to 17 percent of public school teachers. The only area in which public school teachers reported having substantially more influence over their schools than private school teachers is over the school budget (22 percent versus 16 percent).

School Problems

Physical conflicts among students happen daily
PRIVATE 2%, PUBLIC 12%

Student racial tension never happens at the school
PRIVATE 72%, PUBLIC 43%

The data in Table 9 show that private schools are less likely than public schools to have the kinds of school prob-

lems that make life difficult for teachers. Across the board, student discipline problems occur on a more frequent basis in public schools. Acts of disorder, disrespect, abuse, vandalism, and violence are all more common in public schools than in private ones.

Nearly half of public school teachers say student violence is a problem on at least a monthly basis, compared to only about one in eight private school teachers (48 percent versus 12 percent). While almost all private school teachers say that physical abuse of teachers “never happens” at their schools, only two-thirds of public school teachers are similarly confident of their safety (95 percent versus 67 percent). Nine out of ten private school teachers say that students bringing weapons to school “never happens,” compared to only about half of public school teachers (91 percent versus 55 percent). Public school teachers also report that problems such as theft, vandalism, bullying, racial tensions, drug use, gang activities, and “widespread disorder in classrooms” happen more often in their schools.

The finding on racial tensions is especially intriguing. Seven out of ten private school teachers report that student racial tension “never happens” at their schools, compared to fewer than half of public school teachers (72 percent versus 43 percent).

Popular myth has it that the private school sector is a redoubt of racial privilege, while public schools are the only hope for breaking down racial barriers. In fact, while desegregation efforts have repeatedly failed to reduce actual levels of segregation in public schools, the empirical evidence has consistently shown that private school vouchers succeed in providing a less segregated school environment.⁸ Vouchers are also the education reform that has the best empirical track record at improving educational outcomes for minority students.⁹ The finding that private school teachers are much less likely to have to deal with student racial tensions adds further reassurance for those who fear that voucher programs will transfer minority students into a hostile environment.

Some may object that racial tensions are a by-product of racial integration, and private schools have fewer racial tensions than public schools because they are more racially segregated than public schools. But the evidence does not support the conclusion that private schools are more racially segregated than public schools.

As has already been mentioned, in the context of voucher programs it is clear that private schools are actually less racially segregated than public schools. But vouchers probably have a desegregating effect on schools, meaning that

private schools where there are no vouchers may not have the same desegregation advantage.

Outside of voucher programs, fewer studies have been conducted, and there are greater data limitations on the studies that have been done. But the balance of the evidence does not support the assertion that private schools are more segregated than public schools. Two high-quality studies have found that private school classrooms were less segregated, but those studies were local and may not apply nationally. One national study found that public school classrooms were less segregated, but that study only looked at first grade and it may not apply to other grades. A national analysis of high schools found that students in public and private schools were equally likely to have a best friend of a different race. The most comprehensive analysis to date, the only study to include schools nationwide and at all grade levels, found no difference in segregation levels between public and private schools.¹⁰

What Teachers Say about Their Classroom Autonomy

Have a great deal of control over selecting textbooks and instructional materials

PRIVATE 53%, PUBLIC 32%

Have a great deal of control over selecting content to be taught

PRIVATE 60%, PUBLIC 36%

The survey asked teachers how much control they have over various aspects of their classrooms; results for these questions are reported in Table 7. As in the sections above, while a majority of public school teachers report they have at least “moderate” control over their classrooms in each of the areas covered, private school teachers produce greater majorities and are more likely to say they have “a great deal of control.”

The largest disparities between teachers in the two sectors relate to control over teaching content. Private school teachers are much more likely to have a great deal of control in selecting textbooks and instructional materials (53 percent versus 32 percent) and in selecting content, topics, and skills to be taught (60 percent versus 36 percent). Public school teachers are more than twice as likely to report that they have “no control” over textbooks and instructional materials (13 percent versus 6 percent), and over content, topics, and skills to be taught (10 percent versus 4 percent).

In other areas, the differences were not as large, but were still substantial. Private school teachers are more likely to have a great deal of control over the teaching techniques they use (83 percent versus 71 percent), evaluating and grading students (83 percent versus 74 percent) and disciplining students (73 percent versus 60 percent). Control over homework assignments was the only area in which no differences were visible.

What Teachers Say about Their Safety

Have been physically threatened by a student

PRIVATE 5%, PUBLIC 18%

Have been physically attacked by a student

PRIVATE 3%, PUBLIC 9%

Data on teachers’ physical safety are reported in Table 10. Nearly one in five public school teachers has been physically threatened by a student, compared to only one in twenty private school teachers (18 percent versus 5 percent). Nearly one in ten public school teachers has been physically attacked by a student, three times the rate in private schools (9 percent versus 3 percent).



CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION



The data analyzed in this study may help illuminate why school competition makes such a difference to student outcomes.

Private school teachers consistently report having better working conditions than public school teachers across a wide variety of measurements. Most prominently, private schools provide teachers with more classroom autonomy, a more supportive school climate, and better student discipline. It appears that the dysfunctions of the government school system – long evident in mediocre educational outcomes – are a problem for teachers as well as for students.

Whenever research shows better results in private schools than in public schools, there is always a division in how people react. Some respond by saying “let’s enact school vouchers!” Others respond by saying “no, let’s fix public schools instead!”

In fact, school vouchers are by far the best-proven way to fix public schools. Over thirty years of intensive, extremely expensive efforts to reform the government school system from within have produced no change in academic outcomes.¹¹ By contrast, a large body of empirical evidence consistently shows that public schools improve when exposed to vouchers, because vouchers break the government monopoly and introduce healthy competition. Of the 18 studies conducted on this question, 17 find that vouchers improve public schools. And the one remaining study, which found no discernable difference, examined a program that intentionally insulates public schools from the competitive effects of vouchers.¹²

The data analyzed in this study may help illuminate why school competition makes such a difference to student outcomes. Although these data are observational and do not allow us to conduct statistical tests of causation, they do show us ways in which private schools differ from public schools.

Schools in the private sector, unlike public schools, must provide a good education or else lose students. From the data observed in this study, it appears that they provide that education by freeing teachers to do their jobs rather than attempting to micromanage what goes on in the classroom. They also support their teachers more strongly, such as by ensuring that school resources go to effective uses rather than being squan-

dered. And they consistently enforce student discipline.

We can't do much to improve learning unless we're prepared to do what's necessary to improve teaching. One of the most important factors that shapes teaching is the school environment. Where the predominant pressure on schools comes from political imperatives, which must always be the case in a

government monopoly system, schools will not be focused on helping teachers teach. But where the predominant pressure on schools comes from parental demands for good educational results, which must prevail where schools have to compete for students, schools will do what it takes to ensure that teachers can do their jobs.



TABLES

TABLE 1

SCHOOL CHARACTERISTICS

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
SCHOOL LEVEL		
Primary	49%	47%
Middle	18%	1%
High	27%	16%
Combined	5%	36%
SCHOOL LOCALE		
City	29%	39%
Suburb	39%	43%
Town	10%	7%
Rural	22%	11%
SCHOOL PROGRAM		
Regular	91%	86%
Montessori	0%	2%
Special Emphasis	5%	4%
Special Education	1%	4%
Vocational	1%	0%
Alternative	2%	3%
AVERAGE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT		
	804	385

Note: "City" combines the Census categories "Large City" and "Mid-Size City"; "Suburb" combines the "Urban Fringe" Census categories for large and mid-size cities; "Town" combines the Census categories "Large Town" and "Small Town"; and "Rural" combines the Census categories "Rural (Inside CBSA)" and "Rural (Outside CBSA)."

TABLE 2

TEACHER CHARACTERISTICS

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
AVERAGE YEARS OF EXPERIENCE		
	14	13
HAS PREVIOUSLY TAUGHT IN:		
Private School	12%	--
Public School	--	33%
AVERAGE YEARLY EARNINGS		
Total	\$47,085	\$32,865
School-Related	\$45,542	\$30,307
UNION MEMBERSHIP		
Yes	78%	7%
No	22%	93%

TABLE 3

WORKLOAD

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
AVERAGE HOURS PER WEEK		
Total Hours in School	52	48
Teaching	27	26
AVERAGE CLASS SIZE		
Teachers in Departmental Classes	25	19
Teachers in Self-Contained Classes	20	18

TABLE 4

OVERALL CAREER SATISFACTION

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
IF YOU COULD GO BACK TO YOUR COLLEGE DAYS AND START OVER AGAIN, WOULD YOU BECOME A TEACHER OR NOT?		
Certainly would become a teacher	42%	52%
Probably would become a teacher	26%	27%
Chances about even for and against	17%	14%
Probably would not become a teacher	11%	6%
Certainly would not become a teacher	4%	1%
HOW LONG DO YOU PLAN TO REMAIN IN TEACHING?		
As long as I am able	44%	62%
Until I am eligible for retirement	33%	12%
Will probably continue unless something better comes along	8%	9%
Definitely plan to leave teaching as soon as I can	2%	1%
Undecided at this time	13%	16%

TABLE 5

ATTITUDES

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
THE STRESS AND DISAPPOINTMENTS INVOLVED IN TEACHING AT THIS SCHOOL AREN'T REALLY WORTH IT.		
Strongly Agree	3%	1%
Agree	10%	5%
Disagree	47%	31%
Strongly Disagree	41%	63%
THE TEACHERS AT THIS SCHOOL LIKE BEING HERE; I WOULD DESCRIBE US AS A SATISFIED GROUP.		
Strongly Agree	27%	49%
Agree	54%	42%
Disagree	16%	7%
Strongly Disagree	4%	2%
I LIKE THE WAY THINGS ARE RUN AT THIS SCHOOL.		
Strongly Agree	24%	36%
Agree	53%	50%
Disagree	19%	12%
Strongly Disagree	5%	3%
IF I COULD GET A HIGHER PAYING JOB I'D LEAVE TEACHING AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.		
Strongly Agree	7%	4%
Agree	13%	8%
Disagree	49%	43%
Strongly Disagree	31%	46%
I THINK ABOUT TRANSFERRING TO ANOTHER SCHOOL.		
Strongly Agree	6%	3%
Agree	19%	17%
Disagree	35%	32%
Strongly Disagree	41%	48%
I DON'T SEEM TO HAVE AS MUCH ENTHUSIASM NOW AS I DID WHEN I BEGAN TEACHING.		
Strongly Agree	9%	3%
Agree	22%	13%
Disagree	38%	38%
Strongly Disagree	31%	47%
I THINK ABOUT STAYING HOME FROM SCHOOL BECAUSE I'M JUST TOO TIRED TO GO.		
Strongly Agree	4%	1%
Agree	14%	8%
Disagree	38%	32%
Strongly Disagree	44%	59%

TABLE 6

SCHOOL CLIMATE

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
THE PRINCIPAL LETS STAFF MEMBERS KNOW WHAT IS EXPECTED OF THEM.		
Strongly Agree	59%	64%
Agree	33%	30%
Disagree	6%	5%
Strongly Disagree	3%	2%
THE SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION'S BEHAVIOR TOWARD THE STAFF IS SUPPORTIVE AND ENCOURAGING.		
Strongly Agree	53%	66%
Agree	33%	25%
Disagree	10%	6%
Strongly Disagree	5%	3%
I AM SATISFIED WITH MY TEACHING SALARY.		
Strongly Agree	12%	17%
Agree	34%	34%
Disagree	26%	25%
Strongly Disagree	28%	24%
THE LEVEL OF STUDENT MISBEHAVIOR IN THIS SCHOOL (SUCH AS NOISE, HORSEPLAY OR FIGHTING IN THE HALLS, CAFETERIA OR STUDENT LOUNGE) INTERFERES WITH MY TEACHING.		
Strongly Agree	10%	5%
Agree	27%	16%
Disagree	26%	23%
Strongly Disagree	37%	57%
I RECEIVE A GREAT DEAL OF SUPPORT FROM PARENTS FOR THE WORK I DO.		
Strongly Agree	16%	42%
Agree	45%	44%
Disagree	26%	10%
Strongly Disagree	13%	4%
NECESSARY MATERIALS SUCH AS TEXTBOOKS, SUPPLIES, AND COPY MACHINES ARE AVAILABLE AS NEEDED BY THE STAFF.		
Strongly Agree	41%	67%
Agree	38%	25%
Disagree	15%	6%
Strongly Disagree	6%	2%
ROUTINE DUTIES AND PAPERWORK INTERFERE WITH MY JOB OF TEACHING.		
Strongly Agree	28%	9%
Agree	43%	32%
Disagree	20%	29%
Strongly Disagree	9%	30%

TABLE 6, *cont'd.*

SCHOOL CLIMATE, *CONT'D.*

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
MY PRINCIPAL ENFORCES SCHOOL RULES FOR STUDENT CONDUCT AND BACKS ME UP WHEN I NEED IT.		
Strongly Agree	55%	68%
Agree	33%	24%
Disagree	9%	5%
Strongly Disagree	4%	3%
RULES FOR STUDENT BEHAVIOR ARE CONSISTENTLY ENFORCED BY TEACHERS IN THIS SCHOOL, EVEN FOR STUDENTS WHO ARE NOT IN THEIR CLASSES.		
Strongly Agree	29%	42%
Agree	42%	39%
Disagree	21%	15%
Strongly Disagree	8%	4%
MOST OF MY COLLEAGUES SHARE MY BELIEFS AND VALUES ABOUT WHAT THE CENTRAL MISSION OF THE SCHOOL SHOULD BE.		
Strongly Agree	38%	63%
Agree	50%	31%
Disagree	10%	5%
Strongly Disagree	2%	1%
THE PRINCIPAL KNOWS WHAT KIND OF SCHOOL HE/SHE WANTS AND HAS COMMUNICATED IT TO THE STAFF.		
Strongly Agree	56%	69%
Agree	31%	23%
Disagree	9%	6%
Strongly Disagree	3%	2%
THERE IS A GREAT DEAL OF COOPERATIVE EFFORT AMONG THE STAFF MEMBERS.		
Strongly Agree	41%	60%
Agree	43%	32%
Disagree	13%	7%
Strongly Disagree	3%	2%
IN THIS SCHOOL, STAFF MEMBERS ARE RECOGNIZED FOR A JOB WELL DONE.		
Strongly Agree	33%	45%
Agree	43%	39%
Disagree	18%	12%
Strongly Disagree	6%	4%
I WORRY ABOUT THE SECURITY OF MY JOB BECAUSE OF THE PERFORMANCE OF MY STUDENTS ON STATE AND/OR LOCAL TESTS.		
Strongly Agree	7%	2%
Agree	24%	6%
Disagree	30%	17%
Strongly Disagree	39%	75%

TABLE 6, *cont'd.***SCHOOL CLIMATE, CONT'D.**

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
STATE OR DISTRICT CONTENT STANDARDS HAVE HAD A POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON MY SATISFACTION WITH TEACHING.		
Strongly Agree	7%	7%
Agree	38%	31%
Disagree	36%	29%
Strongly Disagree	20%	33%
I AM SATISFIED WITH MY CLASS SIZE.		
Strongly Agree	34%	61%
Agree	35%	27%
Disagree	17%	9%
Strongly Disagree	14%	4%
I AM GIVEN THE SUPPORT I NEED TO TEACH STUDENTS WITH SPECIAL NEEDS.		
Strongly Agree	22%	30%
Agree	42%	42%
Disagree	24%	20%
Strongly Disagree	11%	8%
I MAKE A CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO COORDINATE THE CONTENT OF MY COURSES WITH THAT OF OTHER TEACHERS.		
Strongly Agree	39%	40%
Agree	47%	45%
Disagree	11%	11%
Strongly Disagree	3%	5%
THE AMOUNT OF STUDENT TARDINESS AND CLASS CUTTING IN THIS SCHOOL INTERFERES WITH MY TEACHING.		
Strongly Agree	9%	4%
Agree	24%	13%
Disagree	26%	18%
Strongly Disagree	41%	65%
I SOMETIMES FEEL IT IS A WASTE OF TIME TO TRY TO DO MY BEST AS A TEACHER.		
Strongly Agree	3%	2%
Agree	14%	7%
Disagree	16%	10%
Strongly Disagree	68%	81%
I AM GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH BEING A TEACHER AT THIS SCHOOL.		
Strongly Agree	59%	74%
Agree	32%	21%
Disagree	6%	3%
Strongly Disagree	3%	2%

TABLE 7

CLASSROOM AUTONOMY

How much actual control do you have IN YOUR CLASSROOM at this school over the following areas of your planning and teaching?

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
SELECTING TEXTBOOKS AND OTHER INSTRUCTIONAL MATERIALS		
No Control	13%	6%
Minor Control	24%	15%
Moderate Control	32%	27%
A Great Deal of Control	32%	53%
SELECTING CONTENT, TOPICS, AND SKILLS TO BE TAUGHT		
No Control	10%	4%
Minor Control	22%	10%
Moderate Control	32%	26%
A Great Deal of Control	36%	60%
SELECTING TEACHING TECHNIQUES		
No Control	1%	1%
Minor Control	4%	2%
Moderate Control	24%	15%
A Great Deal of Control	71%	83%
EVALUATING AND GRADING STUDENTS		
No Control	1%	1%
Minor Control	4%	2%
Moderate Control	22%	14%
A Great Deal of Control	74%	83%
DISCIPLINING STUDENTS		
No Control	1%	0%
Minor Control	7%	3%
Moderate Control	32%	25%
A Great Deal of Control	60%	73%
DETERMINING THE AMOUNT OF HOMEWORK TO BE ASSIGNED		
No Control	1%	1%
Minor Control	4%	4%
Moderate Control	20%	20%
A Great Deal of Control	75%	75%

TABLE 8

INFLUENCE ON SCHOOLS

How much actual influence do you think teachers have over school policy AT THIS SCHOOL in each of the following areas?

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
SETTING PERFORMANCE STANDARDS FOR STUDENTS AT THIS SCHOOL		
No Influence	16%	6%
Minor Influence	29%	16%
Moderate Influence	37%	38%
A Great Deal of Influence	18%	40%
ESTABLISHING CURRICULUM		
No Influence	14%	6%
Minor Influence	27%	14%
Moderate Influence	38%	33%
A Great Deal of Influence	22%	47%
DETERMINING THE CONTENT OF IN-SERVICE PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS		
No Influence	15%	16%
Minor Influence	36%	33%
Moderate Influence	36%	35%
A Great Deal of Influence	13%	16%
EVALUATING TEACHERS		
No Influence	52%	40%
Minor Influence	32%	33%
Moderate Influence	14%	20%
A Great Deal of Influence	3%	7%
HIRING NEW FULL-TIME TEACHERS		
No Influence	44%	48%
Minor Influence	32%	29%
Moderate Influence	18%	16%
A Great Deal of Influence	5%	7%
SETTING DISCIPLINE POLICY		
No Influence	19%	11%
Minor Influence	35%	24%
Moderate Influence	34%	40%
A Great Deal of Influence	13%	25%
DECIDING HOW THE SCHOOL BUDGET WILL BE SPENT		
No Influence	40%	50%
Minor Influence	38%	34%
Moderate Influence	18%	12%
A Great Deal of Influence	4%	4%

TABLE 9

SCHOOL PROBLEMS

To the best of your knowledge how often do the following types of problems occur with students at this school?

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
PHYSICAL CONFLICTS AMONG STUDENTS		
Happens Daily	12%	2%
Happens at Least Once a Week	22%	5%
Happens at Least Once a Month	14%	5%
Happens on Occasion	48%	61%
Never Happens	5%	27%
ROBBERY OR THEFT		
Happens Daily	4%	0%
Happens at Least Once a Week	11%	2%
Happens at Least Once a Month	13%	4%
Happens on Occasion	60%	53%
Never Happens	12%	41%
VANDALISM		
Happens Daily	4%	1%
Happens at Least Once a Week	8%	1%
Happens at Least Once a Month	12%	3%
Happens on Occasion	60%	49%
Never Happens	17%	46%
USE OF ALCOHOL		
Happens Daily	3%	1%
Happens at Least Once a Week	6%	3%
Happens at Least Once a Month	5%	4%
Happens on Occasion	29%	21%
Never Happens	56%	71%
USE OF ILLEGAL DRUGS		
Happens Daily	5%	1%
Happens at Least Once a Week	6%	3%
Happens at Least Once a Month	6%	3%
Happens on Occasion	31%	21%
Never Happens	52%	72%
POSSESSION OF WEAPONS		
Happens Daily	1%	0%
Happens at Least Once a Week	1%	0%
Happens at Least Once a Month	3%	0%
Happens on Occasion	40%	9%
Never Happens	55%	91%

TABLE 9, *cont'd.***SCHOOL PROBLEMS, CONT'D.**

To the best of your knowledge how often do the following types of problems occur with students at this school?

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
PHYSICAL ABUSE OF TEACHERS		
Happens Daily	1%	0%
Happens at Least Once a Week	1%	0%
Happens at Least Once a Month	2%	1%
Happens on Occasion	30%	4%
Never Happens	67%	95%
STUDENT RACIAL TENSIONS		
Happens Daily	2%	0%
Happens at Least Once a Week	4%	1%
Happens at Least Once a Month	8%	2%
Happens on Occasion	44%	25%
Never Happens	43%	72%
STUDENT BULLYING		
Happens Daily	18%	5%
Happens at Least Once a Week	19%	10%
Happens at Least Once a Month	19%	14%
Happens on Occasion	40%	53%
Never Happens	4%	18%
STUDENT VERBAL ABUSE OF TEACHERS		
Happens Daily	12%	2%
Happens at Least Once a Week	13%	3%
Happens at Least Once a Month	13%	4%
Happens on Occasion	44%	36%
Never Happens	18%	54%
WIDESPREAD DISORDER IN CLASSROOMS		
Happens Daily	5%	1%
Happens at Least Once a Week	7%	2%
Happens at Least Once a Month	7%	3%
Happens on Occasion	40%	31%
Never Happens	40%	63%
STUDENT ACTS OF DISRESPECT FOR TEACHERS		
Happens Daily	22%	5%
Happens at Least Once a Week	16%	7%
Happens at Least Once a Month	12%	8%
Happens on Occasion	43%	57%
Never Happens	7%	23%

TABLE 9, *cont'd.*

SCHOOL PROBLEMS, *CONT'D*

To the best of your knowledge how often do the following types of problems occur with students at this school?

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
GANG ACTIVITIES		
Happens Daily	2%	0%
Happens at Least Once a Week	3%	0%
Happens at Least Once a Month	4%	0%
Happens on Occasion	25%	3%
Never Happens	66%	96%

To what extent is each of the following a problem in this school?

STUDENT TARDINESS		
Serious Problem	14%	3%
Moderate Problem	32%	17%
Minor Problem	43%	54%
Not a Problem	11%	26%

STUDENT ABSENTEEISM		
Serious Problem	13%	2%
Moderate Problem	32%	12%
Minor Problem	44%	47%
Not a Problem	12%	40%

STUDENT CLASS CUTTING		
Serious Problem	6%	1%
Moderate Problem	12%	2%
Minor Problem	29%	17%
Not a Problem	53%	80%

TEACHER ABSENTEEISM		
Serious Problem	1%	0%
Moderate Problem	8%	2%
Minor Problem	34%	17%
Not a Problem	58%	81%

STUDENT PREGNANCY		
Serious Problem	2%	0%
Moderate Problem	6%	0%
Minor Problem	22%	5%
Not a Problem	70%	95%

STUDENTS DROPPING OUT		
Serious Problem	3%	0%
Moderate Problem	8%	1%
Minor Problem	21%	7%
Not a Problem	67%	92%

TABLE 9, *cont'd.***SCHOOL PROBLEMS, CONT'D.**

To what extent is each of the following a problem in this school?	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
STUDENT APATHY		
Serious Problem	17%	3%
Moderate Problem	23%	9%
Minor Problem	33%	37%
Not a Problem	27%	51%
LACK OF PARENTAL INVOLVEMENT		
Serious Problem	22%	3%
Moderate Problem	33%	7%
Minor Problem	32%	34%
Not a Problem	14%	56%
POVERTY		
Serious Problem	21%	2%
Moderate Problem	30%	5%
Minor Problem	36%	23%
Not a Problem	13%	70%
STUDENTS COME TO SCHOOL UNPREPARED TO LEARN		
Serious Problem	27%	4%
Moderate Problem	35%	12%
Minor Problem	31%	45%
Not a Problem	8%	40%
POOR STUDENT HEALTH		
Serious Problem	4%	1%
Moderate Problem	19%	3%
Minor Problem	50%	23%
Not a Problem	27%	74%

TABLE 10

SAFETY

	PUBLIC	PRIVATE
HAS A STUDENT FROM THIS SCHOOL EVER THREATENED TO INJURE YOU?		
Yes	18%	5%
No	82%	95%
HAS A STUDENT FROM THIS SCHOOL EVER PHYSICALLY ATTACKED YOU?		
Yes	9%	3%
No	91%	97%

ENDNOTES

- ¹ For an overview of these studies see the Friedman Foundation's Erasing the Myths of School Choice publication on the myth that "Private Schools Aren't Really Better than Public Schools," http://www.friedmanfoundation.org/friedman/schoolchoice/myths/detailed_myth2.pdf.
- ² See for example the reports reviewed in Greg Forster, "Check the Facts: Donkey in Disguise," *Education Next*, Summer 2006.
- ³ See <http://nces.ed.gov/surveys/sass/question0304.asp>.
- ⁴ See Jay Greene and Greg Forster, "Sex, Drugs, and Delinquency in Urban and Suburban Public Schools," Manhattan Institute, January 2004.
- ⁵ Ann Duffett, Steve Farkas, Andrew Rotherham and Elena Silva, "Waiting to Be Won Over: Teachers Speak on the Profession, Unions, and Reform," *Education Sector*, May 2008, p. 2.
- ⁶ *Digest of Education Statistics 2007*, National Center for Education Statistics, Tables 56 and 172.
- ⁷ See Jay Greene and Greg Forster, "Vouchers for Special Education Students: An Evaluation of Florida's McKay Scholarship Program," Manhattan Institute, June 2003.
- ⁸ See Greg Forster, "Freedom From Racial Barriers: The Empirical Evidence on Vouchers and Segregation," Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice, September 2006.
- ⁹ See Greg Forster, "Monopoly versus Markets: The Empirical Evidence on Private Schools and School Choice," Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice, October 2007.
- ¹⁰ See the discussion of this evidence in Forster, "Monopoly versus Markets," p. 26-28.
- ¹¹ See Jay Greene, Greg Forster and Marcus Winters, *Education Myths*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, esp. chapter 1.
- ¹² See Greg Forster, "A Win-Win Solution: The Empirical Evidence on How Vouchers Affect Public Schools," Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice, January 2009. This report reviews 17 studies. After the report's publication, an 18th study was released; see Jay Greene and Ryan Marsh, "The Effect of Milwaukee's Parental Choice Program on Student Achievement in Milwaukee Public Schools," School Choice Demonstration Project, University of Arkansas, March 2009.



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