The Journal of Negro Education, 80 (3), 197-208

Teachers and Teaching for the New Millennium: The Role of HBCUs

Jacqueline Jordan Irvine **Emory University**
Leslie T. Fenwick **Howard University**

This article presents a framework for a discussion of the role of historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) that focuses on teachers and teaching for the new millennium. HBCUs have the potential to make a significant difference in solving one of the most intractable problems in K-12 education: how to recruit, retain, and develop teachers for high-need schools. HBCUs are uniquely qualified to address the challenge of high-need schools. If HBCUs' colleges of education are to continue their mission of educating teachers for high-need schools, significant financial resources and other support mechanisms should be available to them. The final segment of the article contains policy recommendations.

Keywords: *teachers, teacher education, HBCU, diversity*

The majority of HBCUS were established in the mid to late 1800s as pre-collegiate schools for newly freed slaves and normal schools for training teachers. These institutions continue to provide exceptional higher educational opportunities for African Americans in many disciplines and their success is well documented. According to Baskerville, Berger, and Smith (2008), although HBCUs represent only 4% of all U.S. colleges and universities, they enroll approximately 16% of all African Americans in 4-year institutions, and they graduate nearly 30% of African Americans earning bachelor's degrees, particularly in critical areas like the sciences, mathematics, and engineering. Additionally, according to a 2006 National Science Foundation report, from 1995-1999 almost a third of African American doctoral recipients reported receiving an undergraduate degree from an HBCU (Thurgood, Golladay, & Hill, 2006), and the top eight institutions that produced African American science and engineering doctorates in 1997-2006 were HBCUs (Burrelli & Rapoport, 2008). These data on the accomplishments of HBCUs are even more impressive given that their students are primarily low income—with 98% qualifying for federal need-based aid (Gasman, 2008). Additionally, HBCUs operate with fewer resources with tuition rates usually 50% lower than of White colleges and universities (Gasman, 2009) and endowments that are 91% less than all other institutions (Merisotis & McCarthy, 2005). These financial challenges, according to Merisotis and McCarthy, result in HBCUs' spending only 57% of what other schools spend on instruction, 63% on student services, and 49% on academic support functions.

Consistent with their historic mission, schools of education (SOEs) continue to have a dominant presence on HBCU campuses. SOEs at HBCUs have responded to the challenges of revising their curricula and programs for the new millennium with initiatives that include advanced technology, innovative recruitment strategies (e.g., Troops-to-Teachers Program, Call Me Mister), alternative routes to teaching (e.g., Transition to Teaching), and national certification for experienced teachers of color (e.g., National Board for Professional Teaching Standard's Targeted High Need-Initiative). The Ready to Teach Program at Howard University is the second and current iteration of Transition to Teaching, which is funded by the U. S. Department of Education. The Ready to Teach Program at Howard University may emerge as a model for the recruitment, preparation, and placement of African American male teachers in high-need schools. The program is a collaborative effort led by the Howard University School of Education in partnership with five urban school districts: Chicago, Illinois; Clayton County, Georgia; Houston, Texas; Prince Georges County, Maryland; and Washington, DC. The first cohort of participants

completed an accelerated MAT program in spring 2009.

The impact of SOEs at HBCUs is indisputable. They graduate 50% of African American teachers with bachelor's degrees (National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education, 2008). The United Negro College Fund reported that in 1998 more than half of all African American prospective teachers in Missouri, Maryland, Louisiana, Virginia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Delaware, Alabama, and the District of Columbia were trained at HBCUs (Freeman, 2001). In many urban and rural settings that have HBCUs, these institutions furnish high percentages of teachers to the local school district. Consequently, HBCUs have had a major role in diversifying America's mostly White teaching force.

Although progress has been made, the lack of teacher diversity continues to be a problem in the field. Currently, 43% of students in our nation's schools come from ethnically diverse backgrounds and at least half of the students are African American and Latino in our largest school districts (Orfield & Lee, 2007). However, in the 2003-04 academic year, African American teachers represented only 7.6% of the teaching force. The absence of a critical mass of teachers of color is an important matter. All students benefit from exposure to effective teachers of color who serve as role models and authority figures in the schools. As the Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy asserted decades ago, "We cannot tolerate a future in which both white and minority children are confronted with almost exclusively white authority figures in their schools" (1986, p. 32).

There is clear evidence that a larger pool of effective teachers of color makes a difference in the lives of students of color as well as White students (Foster, 1997; King, 1993). Teachers of color do more than just teach content. They dispel myths of racial inferiority and incompetence and serve as surrogate parents, guides, and mentors to their students (Dilworth, 1992; Dilworth & Brown, 2007). They also serve as accessible models of intellectual authority. Moreover, diversity among teachers increases teachers' and students' knowledge and understanding of different cultural groups, thereby enhancing the abilities of all involved to interact with each other. It is clear that diversifying the nation's teaching force is essential to the racial and ethnic integration of American society, a goal that the majority of Americans supports.

STAFFING HIGH-NEED SCHOOLS

In this age of increased educational accountability, providing high-quality teachers for all students is critical because the single most important school factor affecting student achievement is teacher quality (Darling-Hammond, 2000). Indeed, the difference between an effective and ineffective teacher can be a full grade level of achievement in the course of a single school year (Hanushek, 1986; Vandevoort, Amerein-Beardsley, & Berliner, 2004). Exposure to a series of ineffective teachers has obvious detrimental consequences for students (National Association of State Boards of Education, 2000).

One of the nation's major educational concerns is the search for qualified and caring teachers for low-income students of color and for immigrant students, who will soon become the majority population in public schools (Gordon, 2000). Using a quantitative measure to define "opportunity to learn," The Schott Foundation (2009) stated in a report that Native American, Black, and Latino students, taken together, have just over half of the opportunity to learn as White, non-Latino students in the nation's best-supported, best-performing schools. A low-income student, of any race or ethnicity, also has just over half of the opportunity to learn as the average White, non-Latino student. The Foundation concluded that "half a chance is substantively no chance at all" (p. 6). Therefore, the availability of qualified, effective, and caring teachers for schools that enroll these types of students is especially acute. When disaggregated by the racial and economic composition of the school, the data disclose alarming trends.

Ingersoll's (2004) analyses revealed that 33% of new teachers leave teaching within the first 3 years, and by 5 years after being hired, nearly half (46 %) of all teachers have left the profession. The annual turnover rates in urban high-poverty schools are nearly 70% higher than are the turnover rates in low-poverty schools.

The severity of this attrition problem is noted by the continuing Black-White test score gap. A 2009 Educational Testing Service (ETS) report updated and expanded its 2003 quantitative analyses of the correlates of achievement and concluded that although the gap narrowed in some areas and widened in others—"overall there is little change" (Barton & Coley, 2009, p. 3). ETS reported that among 8th graders in 2007, 52% of African American students had a teacher who left before the school year ended compared to 28% of White students. Equally disturbing is the finding that 11% of African American students, as compared to 8% of White students, attended a school where 6% or more of the teachers were absent on an average day. Research suggests that the absence rate of teachers is important to track because it is associated with low student achievement (Clotfelter, Ladd, & Vigdor, 2007; Miller, Murnane, & Willett, 2007).

Teacher attrition and absences are not the only concerns in predominantly African American high-poverty schools; students in these schools are also twice as likely as students in other schools to be taught by the most inexperienced teachers. Studies of inexperienced teachers consistently find that they have difficulty with curriculum development, classroom management, student motivation, and teaching strategies (Darling-Hammond & Baratz-Snowden, 2005). A recent *Washington Post* study of 12 metropolitan Washington, DC, school systems reveals that in schools where fewer than 10% of the students received free or reduced lunch, first- or second-year teachers make up only 12% of the staff (de Vise & Chandler, 2009). In high-poverty schools in these districts (75% or more subsidized meals), the percentage of novice teachers rises to 22%. Researchers note that experience alone does not make for an effective teacher and most novice teachers improve their practice over time (Rockoff, 2004). Unfortunately, many students of color in high-need schools are taught by a revolving door of mostly inexperienced teachers, and the financial costs associated with this turnover are tremendous. The cost of teacher turnover in this country is $2.6 billion annually (Alliance for Excellent Education, 2004).

The literature suggests that teachers of color, particularly African American teachers, could reduce the acute shortage and high turnover of teachers in urban schools that enroll mostly low-income African American students. Using data from the Status Survey administered every five years by the National Education Association, Villegas (2006) found that a significantly larger percentage of teachers of color than White teachers taught in urban communities between 1981 and 2001. Specifically, at least half of all teachers of color reported teaching in urban settings, compared to only about one-fifth of all White teachers. The concentration of teachers of color in urban schools has also been reported by Choy (1993); Clewell and Villegas (2001); Clotfelter, Ladd, and Vigdor (2005); Gay, Dingus, and Jackson (2003); Kirby, Berends, and Naftel (1999); and Villegas and Geist (2008).

Scafidia, Sjoquistb, and Stinebrickner (2007), using quantitative economic risk models, revealed a more complex finding about the tenure of teachers in high-poverty schools. The researchers found that African American teachers in high-poverty schools are more likely to remain in a school as the number of African American students' increases; White teachers are likely to leave. Additionally, Scafidia and colleagues found that the challenge of teaching in a school with a concentration of high-poverty students is not the primary reason the White teachers leave, rather the teachers left a "particular type of poor school—one with a large proportion of minorities" (p. 145). Similar results were found in a Georgia study (Jonsson, 2003). White teachers left schools with large proportions of minorities whether the students were middle-class or low-income African Americans.

Villegas and Irvine's (2010) analyses of the research explain these variations in the attrition rates of Black and White teachers. Their work reveals that teachers of color and White teachers differ in their motivation for entering the profession. Teachers of color report a desire to work with students of color and to improve these students' educational outcomes and personal lives (Belcher, 2001; Kauchak & Burback, 2003; Horng, 2005; Rios & Montecinos, 1999; Su, 1997; Wilder, 1999). Irvine (2002) reported that African American teachers in her study tended to see teaching as a calling, reminiscent of the historic "lifting as we climb" philosophy. Dixson and Dingus (2008) and others (Lynn, 2006; Su, 1997) found that African American teachers in their

investigations purposefully entered teaching to give back to the community by returning to teach in their community of origin. Their reasons for entering the teaching profession could help explain the attraction of teachers of color to schools in urban high-need communities and account for the higher retention rates of teachers of color in those settings. For example, using data from North Carolina and Michigan, Murnane, Singer, Willett, Kemple, and Olsen (1991) found that teachers of color in those states stayed in teaching longer than White teachers, even after controlling for district-level fixed effects like school size and poverty level.

In summary, the evidence suggests that, compared to White teachers, educators of color appear to be more committed to teaching students of color in difficult-to-staff schools and more apt to persist in those settings. Villegas and Irvine's (2010) work suggests that an increase in the numbers of African American teachers could alleviate the severe shortage of teachers for the students and schools with the greatest needs.

THE POTENTIAL OF TEACHERS OF COLOR TO IMPROVE THE ACADEMIC OUTCOMES AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCES OF STUDENTS OF COLOR

A second major justification for increasing the diversity of the teaching force, suggested by Villegas and Irvine (2010) underscores the academic benefits that students of color could derive from teachers who are knowledgeable about their cultural backgrounds. The argument suggests that teachers of color are particularly suited to teaching students of color because they bring to their work a deep understanding of the cultural experiences of these learners.

Villegas and Irvine's (2010) review concluded that, although the literature on the influence of African American teachers on the school achievement of their African American students is only beginning to emerge, several studies suggest some positive effects. In an impressive quantitative study, researchers Meier, Stewart, and England (1989) investigated the relationship between the presence of African American teachers and African American students' access to equal education. Specifically, they investigated the following question: Does having African American educators impact African American students' school success? The researchers' findings highlighted the importance of having African American teachers in desegregated schools. In school districts with large proportions of African American teachers, the researchers found the following:

- fewer African Americans were placed in special education classes;
- fewer African Americans were suspended or expelled;
- more African Americans were placed in gifted and talented programs; and
- more African Americans graduated from high school.

The authors emphatically concluded that "African American teachers are without a doubt the key" to students' academic success (p. 6).

In her study of teachers' perceptions of African American male students, Couch-Maddox (1999) found that African American teachers were more likely than their White peers to describe African American male students as "intellectually capable." The African American teachers also reported that these male students engaged in positive school behaviors, such as completing homework, attending school regularly, and serving in leadership roles (Fenwick, 2001).

Dee (2004) reanalyzed data from Tennessee's Project STAR and concluded that racial pairing of teachers and students significantly increased the reading and math achievement scores of both African American and White students by approximately three to four percentage points. Interestingly, Dee reported that the race effects were especially strong among poor African American children who attended segregated schools. The average African American child attends schools where 67% of students are African American and 75% are poor. This fact underscores the importance of research on race effects (Center for Educational Policy, 2006).

Clewell, Puma, and McKay (2005), using the Prospects database, investigated the question: Does exposure to a same-race teacher increase the reading and mathematics achievement scores of African American and Hispanic students in elementary schools? The researchers found that

Hispanic elementary students with a Hispanic teacher produced higher test score gains in math. In reading, the same effect was noted, but only in the fourth grade. Fourth-grade African American students had significantly higher scores in mathematics when taught by an African American teacher.

Klopfenstein (2005) reported that the enrollment of African American students in Algebra II increased significantly as the percentage of African American mathematics teachers increased. Other researchers have found that African American teachers, when compared to their White counterparts, are more successful in increasing student scores in vocabulary and reading comprehension (Hanushek, 1992), as well as economic literacy (Evans, 1992). Ehrenberg and Brewer (1995), using an econometric model that accounted for the non-random nature of teacher assignment to schools, found that an increase in the percentage of African American teachers yielded gains in standardized test scores for African American high school students.

Also of note are findings that African American teachers influenced African American students' school attendance (Farkas, Grobe, Sheehan, & Shuan, 1990) and that these teachers had higher expectations for their African American students than their White counterparts (Irvine, 1990). Other empirical works, such as a study by Hess and Leal (1997), suggested a correlation between the number of teachers of color in a district and college matriculation rates among students of color.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations discussed in this section are directed to policymakers and organized by using a professional continuum of teacher development that includes recruitment, preparation, induction/retention, continuing professional development, and national certification. Although the recommendations target how policymakers can support and leverage the resources and strengths of African American higher education institutions, the authors acknowledge that African American students are not less attracted to teaching than Whites. Education is one of the top-10 most popular fields of study pursued by African American college students. Nine percent of African American college students earn a bachelor's degree in education which is slightly more than the percentage (7%) of other students earning a bachelor's degree in education (NCES, 2004). Increasing the number of African American teachers is a pipeline issue.

The Obama Education Agenda promotes early childhood education; highly qualified teachers, college, and career-ready curriculum standards; state-of-the-art assessment and accountability systems; and access to higher education. This agenda could have a positive impact on increasing the number of effective African American teachers for high-need schools if federal, state, and local investment is made in HBCU SOEs and these institutions are recognized by the Obama administration as strong teacher production engines with innovative program models that can inform national efforts.

Recruitment

- *Provide support and incentives to HBCUs to support innovative, research-based teacher education programs and provide funds for new teacher education initiatives.* Funding from philanthropic, federal, and state sources should target SOEs at HBCUs. HBCUs prepare the majority of the nation's African American teachers and have been involved in substantial reform efforts that inform national and regional policy and practice.
- *Invest in teacher recruitment efforts at middle and high schools with significant enrollments of students of color.* The data about the impact of precollegiate programming aimed at sparking high school students' interest in the teaching profession is promising (Darling-Hammond, Dilworth, & Bullmaster, 1996). Middle school students might benefit from early exposure, as well. Funding for such programs should support teacher career exploration modules, formation of future teacher clubs, and future teacher magnet programs at the middle grades level.

- *Assist HBCUs with the recruitment of both traditional and nontraditional students for teacher education.* Recruitment sites for African American teachers include paraprofessionals in K-12 schools, community colleges, civil rights and community organizations, churches, childcare facilities, and other social service organizations. Recruiting New Teachers (2002) identified successful programs at community colleges where numbers of students of color matriculate, graduate, and transfer to teacher education programs at four-year institutions. District-level "grow your own" programs with tuition scholarships is another promising recruitment strategies.
- *Assist HBCUs with the recruitment of African American males and scale up their existing programs that target recruitment and preparation of African American males as classroom teachers.* African American male teachers are underrepresented in K-12 schools. For decades, many HBCUs have operated special programs aimed at recruiting and preparing African American male teachers. The Howard University (HU) SOE has a more than 20-year history of federally funded programming devoted to diversifying the nation's teaching force with a special emphasis on the recruitment and preparation of African American males. The most recent program iteration, *Ready to Teach*, is a 5-year and $2.1 million award from the U.S. Department of Education (DOE) granted in 2007. *Ready to Teach* may emerge as a model for the recruitment, preparation, and placement of African American male teachers in high-need schools. The program is a collaborative effort led by the Howard University School of Education in partnership with five urban school districts: Chicago, Illinois; Clayton County, Georgia; Houston, Texas; Prince Georges County, Maryland; and Washington, DC. During its first year the program had 363 applications for 25 available slots. The first cohort of participants completed an accelerated MAT program in spring 2009. One graduate of the program was named a national 2010 Teacher-of-the-Year.
- *Create more federal scholarships, fellowships, and loan forgiveness programs to encourage African American students to pursue teaching and/or graduate study in education.* Many African American students are the first to attend college in their families. Financial assistance and other support services are rarely available to assist these students. The U.S. DOE should continue to use legislation like the Higher Education Act and state Teacher Quality Enhancement Grants to expand scholarships, fellowships and loan forgiveness programs. Additional incentives for teaching in high-need schools should be implemented for African American teachers who work in critical areas like mathematics, science, ESOL, and special education.

Preparation

- *Support national accreditation and ongoing assessment of teacher education programs at HBCUs.* Policymakers should support ongoing internal and external examinations of teacher education programs at HBCUs to determine if the programs build on the institution's mission and strengths; and are based in the best research on teacher preparation and development, including the areas of content knowledge, pedagogy, and pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987). Currently, there are 84 teacher education programs at HBCUs, and 62 (74%) are accredited by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE; B. C. Williams, personal communication, May 12, 2009). The Teacher Education Accreditation Council (TEAC) currently has one SOE at an HBCU as a candidate for accreditation (TEAC, 2009).

  These numbers will increase when HBCUs are granted the resources necessary to build an assessment infrastructure and maintain a continuous culture of program review and evaluation. These tools will assist HBCU SOEs with meeting accreditation standards and tracking the impact of their training programs. Targeted resources could assist with creating an assessment infrastructure and hiring personnel dedicated to this strategic function.

Furthermore, HBCUs need additional funding for certification examination preparation and student support services (Clewell & Villegas, 2001).

- *Support programs that are based in sound research and positive outcomes for learners that plan, implement, and evaluate alternative routes to teaching.* More context-specific models of alternative programs for teacher education are needed. The current debate over traditional versus alternative programs is mostly directed at structural issues, such as the program's duration, the degree offered, and the sponsoring institution. The extant research that looks at these structural elements is inconclusive and often contradictory. More attention has to be placed on investigating substantive and contextual issues like the quality of the admissions process, curriculum, the fieldwork, and the social and institutional context (Zeichner & Conklin, 2008). HBCUs are excellent sites for investigating this multilayered approach in teacher education.
- *Develop a statewide strategy for eliminating racial disparities in pass rates on teacher licensure exams and advocate for the development of new assessment measures that do not maintain or exacerbate existing racial disparities.* One major barrier to producing more African American teachers is the program entrance requirement to demonstrate proficiency in basic skills by passing a single measure of teacher competence: a standardized test (typically, Praxis I). With teacher shortages in every state and dwindling enrollments in teacher preparation programs, the nation can ill afford to use standardized tests (i.e., Praxis I) to screen out individuals who have expressed an interest in becoming a teacher. This is especially important because African American passage rates on Praxis II, the "exit" licensure examination used by most states—which evaluate the pre-service teacher's content and pedagogical knowledge and communication skills—tend to be high and comparable to other pre-service teacher candidates.

Induction/Retention

- *Support teacher education programs built on university-school district collaborations that focus on the induction and retention of novice teachers.* The data discussed in this article pinpoint the severity of the attrition problem in schools that serve some African American students. Induction and mentoring programs for beginning teachers show promise in rectifying this situation. Evidence from the National Center for Education Statistics' Schools and Staffing Survey (2004) suggests that participation in comprehensive induction programs can cut attrition in half (American Association of State Colleges and Universities, 2006). Strong (2006) conducted studies at the New Teacher Center and found a relationship between induction support and student achievement. These studies suggest that beginning teachers who receive comprehensive induction support for two years are more likely to have classes that achieve reading gains than those who do not receive this support. Additionally, data from the New Teacher Center study found that 88% of teachers were still in education 6 years after participating in a mentoring program.

Continuing Professional Development

- *HBCUs and school districts should provide collaborative school-based professional development programs for novice and experienced teachers that focus on rigorous assessments of student outcomes that improve student learning and teacher performance.* Effective professional development programs are linked to enhanced teacher learning and student achievement. They enhance teachers' content knowledge, are aligned with standards, are school-based, are driven by student leaning data, are based on best evaluation practices, and promote collegiality and collaboration (Guskey, 2006). The American

Educational Research Association's (2005) literature review states that in order to enhance student achievement, professional development should focus on teachers' improvement of knowledge of the subject matter they teach and on students' learning.

National Certification

- *Support collaborative university and school-based programs that produce African American Board-certified teachers.* The National Board for Professional Teaching Standards (NBPTS) and its assessments complement initial teacher preparation, licensing, accreditation, and quality professional development. NBPTS is the greatest distinction for accomplished teachers in the United States, with standards and assessments serving as models for nations worldwide. A congressionally mandated 3-year evaluation found that NBPTS exemplifies the characteristics of effective professional development and promotes student achievement and learning (Hakel, Koenig, & Elliott, 2008). Importantly, the data revealed that Board-certified teachers benefited African American and Hispanic students more than other students (Cavalluzzo, 2004). There are approximately 74,000 Board-certified teachers, of which 7,667 are African American and other teachers of color. More are needed to provide leadership in high-need schools and to contribute culturally with understanding to effective practice.

CONCLUSIONS

Although this article documents the instructional behaviors and attributes of effective African American teachers, it does not ignore the fact that some White teachers are excellent instructors for students of color and that some teachers of color are ineffective with culturally diverse students (Ladson-Billings, 1994). Nevertheless, the literature reveals that the recruitment, retention, and professional development of African American teachers have positive benefits for African American students and the high-need schools that many of them attend.

Unfortunately, African American teachers often work in various contexts and conditions that mitigate and often neutralize their impact. These conditions make their work more difficult, constrain their efforts to teach, and impact their expectations and their students' achievement. Their presence alone cannot compensate or obliterate the effects of decades of neglect and ineffective policies and practices in schools where students of color attend. Additionally, recent data suggest that African American teacher turnover is increasing (Ingersoll & Connor, 2009). During the 2005-06 academic year, African American teacher turnover was 20.7% compared to 19.4% for other teachers of color and 16.4% for White teachers. These new data suggest that the teaching profession may not be able to continue to attract effective African American teachers in high-need schools without significant resources aimed at recruiting and retaining them. This challenge should be a national educational priority. HBCUs have both a historical record of and institutional commitment to producing significant numbers of African American teachers, and with increased financial support, can produce more in the future.

REFERENCES

Alliance for Excellent Education. (2004). *Tapping the potential: Retaining and developing high quality new teachers.* Retrieved from http://www.all4ed.org/publications/TappingThePotential/TappingThePotential.pdf

American Association of State Colleges and Universities. (2006). Teacher induction: Trends and opportunities. *Policy Matters, 3*, 1-4.

American Educational Research Association. (2005). Teaching teachers: Professional development to improve student achievement. *Research Points, 3*, 1-4.

Baskerville, L., Berger, L., & Smith, L. (2008). The role of Historically Black Colleges and Universities in faculty diversity. *American Academic Journal, 4*, 11-31.

Barton, P. E., & Coley, R. J. (2009). *Passing the achievement gap II*. Princeton, NJ: The Educational Testing Service.

Belcher, R. N. (2001, March). *Predictive factors for the enrollment of African American students in special education preservice programs*. Paper presented at the meeting of Partnership for Rural Special Education, San Diego, CA.

Burrelli, J., & Rapoport, A. (2008). *Role of HBCUs as baccalaureate-origin institutions of Black S&E doctorate recipients.* (Rep. No. 08-319). Arlington, VA: National Science Foundation.

Carnegie Forum on Education and the Economy. (1986). *A nation prepared: Teachers for the 21st century. The report of the Task Force on Teaching as a Profession.* Washington, DC: Author.

Cavalluzzo, L. C. (2004, November). *Is national board certification an effective signal of teacher quality?* (IRP No. 11204). Arlington, VA: Center for Naval Analysis. Retrieved from www.cna.org/domestic/education/studies.aspx

Center for Educational Policy. (2006). *A public school primer*. Retrieved from http://www.ctredpol.org/publiceducationprimer

Choy, S. P. (1993). *America's teachers: Profile of a profession.* Darby, PA: Diane.

Clewell, B. C., Puma, M. J, & McKay, S. A. (2005, April). *Does it matter if my teacher looks like me? The impact of teacher race and ethnicity on student academic achievement.* Paper presented at the meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal, Canada.

Clewell, B. C., & Villegas, A. M. (2001). *Absence unexcused: Ending teacher shortages in high-need areas*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.

Clotfelter, C. T., Ladd, H. F., & Vigdor, J. (2005). Who teaches whom? Race and the distribution of novice teachers. *Economics of Education Review, 24*, 377-392.

Clotfelter, C. T., Ladd, H. F., & Vigdor, J. (2007, November). *Are teacher absences worth worrying about in the U.S.?* (Working Paper No. W13848). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Couch-Maddox, S. (1999). *Teachers' perceptions of African American male students in an urban school system.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Clark Atlanta University.

Darling-Hammond, L. (2000). Teacher quality and student achievement: A review of state policy evidence. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 8*, 1-48. Retrieved from epaa.asu.edu/eppa/v8n1

Darling-Hammond, L., & Baratz-Snowden, J. (2005). *A good teacher in every classroom: Preparing the highly qualified teacher our children deserve.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Darling-Hammond, L., Dilworth, M., & Bullmaster, M. (1996). *Educators of color*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement (ERIC Document Reproduction Services No. ED474898)

Dee, T. (2004). Teachers, race, and student achievement in a randomized experiment. *The Review of Economics and Statistics, 86*, 195-210.

de Vise, D., & Chandler, M. A. (2009, April 27). Poor neighborhoods, untested teachers. *The Washington Post*, p. A1, A15.

Dilworth, M. E. (Ed.). (1992). *Diversity in teacher education: New expectations*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Dilworth, M., & Brown, A. L. (2007). *Teachers of color: Quality and effectiveness one way or another*. In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (3rd ed., pp. 424-444). Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

Dixson, A. D., & Dingus, J. E. (2008). In search of our mother's gardens: Black women teachers and professional socialization. *Teachers College Record, 110*, 805-837.

Ehrenberg, R. G., & Brewer, D. J. (1995). Did teacher's verbal ability and race matter in the 1960s? Coleman revisited. *Economics of Education Review, 14*, 1-21.

Evans, M. (1992). An estimate of race and gender role-model effects in teaching high school. *Journal of Economic Education, 23*, 209-217.

Farkas, G., Grobe, R. P., Sheehan, D., & Shuan, Y. (1990). Cultural resources and school success: Gender, ethnicity, and poverty groups within an urban school district. *American Sociological Review, 55,* 127-142.

Fenwick, L. T. (2001). *Patterns of excellence: Policy perspectives on diversity in teaching and school leadership.* Atlanta, GA: Southern Education Foundation.

Foster, M. (1997). *Black teachers on teaching.* New York: New Press.

Freeman, K. E. (2001). *Just the facts: African American teachers for the new millennium.* Fairfax, VA: The Patterson Institute.

Gasman, M. (2008). *Minority-serving institutions: The path to successfully educating students of color.* Indianapolis, IN: Lumina Foundation.

Gasman, M. (2009, April 7). Historically Black colleges and universities in challenging economic times. *Teachers College Record.* Retrieved from http://www.tcrecord.org ID Number: 15607

Gay, G., Dingus, E., & Jackson, C. W. (2003). The presence and performance of teachers of color in the profession. Retrieved from http://www.communityteachers.org/reports/ presPerfTeachersofColoringProfess.pdf

Gordon, J. A. (2000). *The color of teaching.* New York: Routledge-Falmer.

Guskey, T. R. (2006, March). *The characteristics of effective professional development.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Education Research Association, Chicago, IL.

Hakel, M. D., Koenig, J. A., & Elliott, S. W. (2008). *Assessing accomplished teaching: Advanced-level certification programs.* Washington, DC: The National Academies Press.

Hanushek, E. A. (1986). The economics of schooling: Production and efficiency in public schools. *Journal of Economic Literature, 24,* 1141-1177.

Hanushek, E. A. (1992). The trade-off between child quantity and quality. *Journal of Political Economy, 100,* 84-117.

Hess, F. M., & Leal, D. L. (1997). Minority teachers, minority students, and college matriculation. *Policy Studies Journal, 25,* 235-248.

Horng, E. L. (2005, April). *Teacher tradeoffs: Poor working conditions make urban schools hard-to-staff.* Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Montreal, Canada.

Ingersoll, R. M. (2004, November). *Why do high-poverty schools have difficulty staffing their classrooms with qualified teachers?* Washington, DC: Center for American Progress.

Ingersoll, R. M., & Conner, R. (2009, April). *What the national data tell us about minority and Black teacher turnover.* Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Education Research Association, San Diego, CA.

Irvine, J. J. (1990). *Black students and school failure.* Westport, CT: Praeger.

Irvine, J. J. (2002). *In search of wholeness: African American teachers and their culturally specific classroom practices.* New York: Palgrave.

Jonsson, P. (2003, January 21). White teachers flee Black schools: Some see exodus in South as a new form of segregation. *Christian Science Monitor.* Retrieved from www.csmonitor.com/2003/0121/p01s03-usgn.html

Kauchak, D., & Burback, M. D. (2003). Voices in the classroom: Case studies of minority teacher candidates. *Action in Teacher Education, 25,* 63-75.

King, S. H. (1993). The limited presence of African American teachers. *Review of Educational Research, 63,* 115-150.

Kirby, S. N., Berends, M., & Naftel, S. (1999). Supply and demand of minority teachers in Texas: Problems and prospects. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 21,* 47-66.

Klopfenstein, K. (2005). Beyond test scores: The impact of Black teacher role models on rigorous math taking. *Contemporary Economic Policy, 23,* 416-428.

Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children.* San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Lynn, M. (2006). Education for the community: Exploring the culturally relevant practices of Black male teachers. *Teachers College Record, 108,* 2497-2522.

Meier, K. J., Stewart, J., & England, R. E. (1989). *Race, class, and education: The politics of second generation discrimination*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press.

Merisotis, J. P., & McCarthy, K. (2005). Retention and student success at minority-serving institutions. *New Directions for Institutional Research, 125,* 45-58.

Miller, R., Murnane, R., & Willett, J. (2007, August). *Do teacher absences impact student achievement? Longitudinal evidence from one urban school district* (Working paper No. W13356). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research.

Murnane, R. J., Singer, J. D., Willett, J. B., Kemple, J. J., & Olsen, R. J. (1991). *Who will teach? Policies that matter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

National Association for Equal Opportunity in Higher Education. (2008). *The state of America's Black colleges*. Silver Spring, MD: Beckham.

National Association of State Boards of Education. (2000). *Ensuring quality and quantity in the teaching workforce: Policies that can make it happen*. Alexandria, VA: Author.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2004). *Status and trends in the education of Blacks*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education Institute Of Educational Sciences

Orfield, G., & Lee. C. (2007). *Historic reversals, accelerating, resegregation, and the need for new integration strategies*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.

Recruiting New Teachers. (2002). *Tapping potential: Community colleges and America's teacher recruitment challenge*. Belmont, MA: Author.

Rios, F., & Montecinos, C. (1999). Advocating social justice and cultural affirmation: Ethnically diverse preservice teachers' perspectives on multicultural education. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 32*, 66-76.

Rockoff, J. (2004). The impact of individual teachers on student achievement: Evidence from panel data. *American Economic Review, 94*, 247-252.

Scafidia, B., Sjoquistb, D. L., & Stinebrickner, T. R. (2007). Race, poverty, and teacher mobility. *Economics of Education Review, 26,* 145-159.

Schott Foundation, The. (2009). *Lost opportunity: A 50 state report on the opportunity to learn in America.* Cambridge, MA: Author.

Shulman, L. (1987). Knowledge and teaching: Foundations of the new reform. *Harvard Educational Review, 57*, 1-22.

Strong, M. (2006). *Does new teacher support affect student achievement?* (Issue No. 06-01). Santa Cruz, CA: New Teacher Center at the University of Santa Cruz.

Su, Z. (1997). Teaching as a profession and as a career: Minority candidates' perspectives. *Teaching and Teacher Education, 13*, 325-340.

Teacher Education Accreditation Council. (2009). TEAC. Retrieved from http://www.teac.org/

Thurgood, L., Golladay, M. J., & Hill, S. T. (2006). *U.S. doctorates in the 20th century* (Rep. No. 06-319). Arlington, VA: National Science Foundation.

Vandevoort, L. G., Amerein-Beardsley, A., & Berliner, D. C. (2004). National board certified teachers and their students' achievement. *Education Policy Analysis Archives, 12*(46). Retrieved from epaa.asu.edu/eppa/v12n46

Villegas, A. M. (2006). *Racial/ethnic diversity in the public school teaching force: A look at trends*. Washington, DC: National Education Association.

Villegas, A. M., & Geist, K. (2008, April). *Profile of new teachers of color in public schools: A look at issues of quantity and quality*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Education Research Association, New York, NY.

Villegas, A. M., & Irvine, J. J. (2010). Diversifying the teaching force: An examination of major arguments. *Urban Review, 42*, 175- 192.

Wilder, M. (1999). Re-examining the African American teacher shortage: Building a new professional image of teaching for the 21st century. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 32*, 77-82.

Zeichner, K., & Conklin, H. G. (2008). *Teacher education programs as sites for teacher preparation.* In M. Cochran-Smith, S. Feiman-Nemser, & D. J. McIntyre (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education* (pp. 269-289). New York: Routledge.

AUTHORS
JACQUELINE JORDAN IRVINE is the Charles Howard Candler Professor Emerita of Urban Education in the Division of Educational Studies at Emory University in Atlanta. LESLIE T. FENWICK is Dean, Howard University School of Education in Washington, DC.

All comments and queries about this article should be addressed to lfenwick@howard.edu