Pipeline and Retention of Teachers of Color: Systems and Structures Impeding Growth and Sustainability in the United States



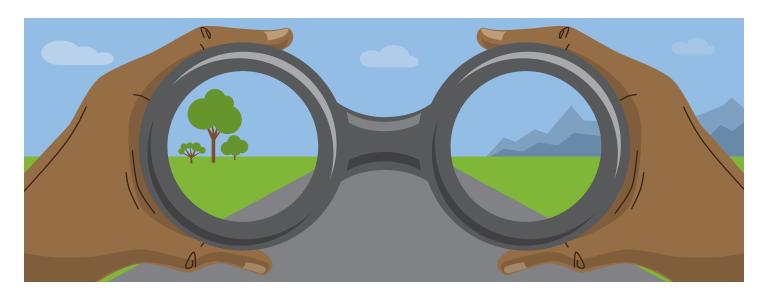




Table of Contents

Overview: The Challenge Ahead
The Current Teacher Workforce Does Not Reflect the Diversity of the Country 4
The "Leaky" Pipeline: Barriers to Becoming a Teacher of Color
The Challenges of Retention: Forces Pushing Teachers of Color Out
Summary: The Urgent Need for More Diversity in the Teacher Workforce
Promising Practices from the Research
References

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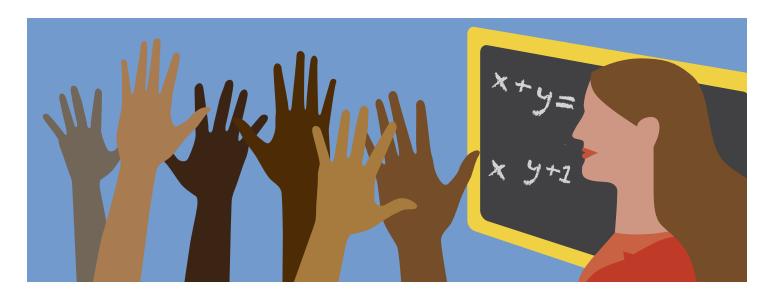
Overview: The Landscape

The composition of America's teaching force has perilously lagged behind the country's increasingly diverse student body. Currently, more than 50 percent of the K-12 student body in public schools in the United States is made up of individuals of color. This change reflects broader demographic shifts that have been taking place in the US over the past several decades. However, looking at the make-up of the teaching force in America's schools, you will see a different picture. Today, only about 18 percent of teachers are individuals who identify as African American, Latinx, Asian, Native American, or other non-white groups. In addition, while we see high numbers of attrition for all teachers across the board, teachers of color (TOC) leave the teaching profession at higher rates. The tenuous state of diversity in America's teaching workforce has implications for the country's education overall, as well as for the growing numbers of students of color.

This paper reviews the current literature that addresses the lack of teacher diversity in U.S. schools, focusing on four areas:

- The overall picture of the state of diversity, or lack thereof, in the country's teacher workforce;
- 2. The key issues contributing to the "leaky" pipeline of individuals of color in the teaching profession;
- **3.** The central challenges around the retention of TOC in their schools and the teaching profession in general; and
- 4. Promising practices in the field that provide hope and impetus for future change.

 $^{^{1}}$ A gateway course is the first credit-bearing college-level course in a discipline or program of study.



The Current Teacher Workforce Does Not Reflect the Diversity of the Country

Since the late 1980s, the number of teachers of color (TOC) as a proportion of all teachers has grown across the United States. In 1987, teachers who identified as African American, Latinx, Asian, Pacific Islander, American Indian, and multiracial made up about 12 percent of the teacher workforce. By 2012, the representation of "minority" teachers had grown to 17 percent (Albert Shanker Institute, 2019). This growth reflects ongoing demographic changes where the proportion of people identifying as African American, Hispanic or Latinx, Asian, Native American, or mixed race mirrors the change in the population nationally. Today, half of all students in the public school system are students of color, a number that is expected to grow to 54 percent by 2024 if current demographic changes progress as expected (Sun, 2018; Huser, 2013).

Overall, the entire U.S. population is expected to be minority white by 2045 (Brookings, 2018). At that time, people identifying as Hispanic will comprise of a quarter of the entire population, with people identifying as African American around 13 percent and Asian around eight percent. From now until 2060, the rate of population growth will be steepest among Latinx and Asians as a result of immigration and birth/death rates (Brookings, 2018).

In the face of these demographic changes, the number of TOCs has not kept pace. As of 2018, individuals of color accounted for only about 18 percent of the total teacher workforce. Although the disparity between the number of teachers of color and students of color is a nationwide phenomenon, regions and groups vary. The lack of teacher diversity is greater in larger school districts, where the populations are more heterogeneous, compared with smaller ones that are more homogenous. For example, in 2011-12 in Los Angeles and Boston, the percentage point gap between "Hispanic" teachers and "Hispanic" students was 40 and 30 percentage points, respectively. However, in some states, like Vermont and Maine, which are racially and ethnically more homogenous (white), the percentage point gap is only around four and five percentage points (Center for American Progress, 2014b). This shortage of teachers of color has further been compounded by a national teacher shortage and an overall decline in the number of high-quality recruits in the teacher pipeline (Sutcher, Darling-Hammond, & Carver-Thomas, 2016).

In addition, taking both race and gender into consideration, the situation appears even more stark. African American men make up only two percent of the entire teacher workforce, even though African Americans make up at least 16 percent of the student population (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). Overall, three-quarters of teachers from elementary to high school are women, with a majority of those identifying as white.

As the research has identified, having a diverse teacher workforce in schools yields multiple benefits. Ingersoll and May (2009) argue that students of color generally perform better in school when they are taught by teachers of color at some point in their academic career. A number of reasons are possible, they argue, including the likelihood that teachers from one's own community have a better and more empathetic understanding of students' perspectives (what the authors refer to as "insider knowledge") due to similar life experiences and cultural backgrounds (Ingersoll and May, 2009). Teachers of color are also much more likely to have higher expectations of students of color compared to white teachers (Carver-Thomas, 2017. See also Fox, 2015; Ouazad, 2014; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007).

Increasing the number of teachers of color could also reduce the problem of implicit bias in schools, which has been cited as a factor in the disproportionate numbers of African American boys referred to special education and getting suspended (Whatley, 2018). African American teachers, particularly men, are also much less likely to perceive the behavior of African American boys as "disruptive" (Mitchell, 1998). A recent study found that pairing African American students with a teacher of the same race led to a decrease in suspension rates for African American males by as much as 15 to 18 percent, depending on the gender of the teacher (Lindsay & Hart, 2017). Finally, "minority" students could also benefit in other ways, such as seeing teachers who look like them as role models and mentors that they can connect with for support and information (Center for American Progress, 2017).

Increasing the pipeline of teachers of color, particularly African American men, could also have positive results on improving academic achievement. One study in North Carolina found that having one African American teacher in elementary school would reduce the dropout rate of low-income black men by nearly 40 percent (Gershenson, et al., 2017). Another study in Boston found that African American students performed better on state math and reading tests if they had an African American teacher compared with African American students with white teachers (Egalite, et al., 2015).

As the research demonstrates, the benefits of diversity in the teacher workforce are considerable for all students, regardless of their race or ethnicity. Schools that are more ethnically and racially diverse produce better academic results, create environments with reduced anxiety levels and help improve students' social and emotional learning (Century Foundation, 2019). Similarly, a diversity of teachers in students' lives builds social trust among people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds and creates a wider sense of community (Ingersoll and May, 2009). White students without teachers from diverse backgrounds also miss out on an opportunity to engage with adults who bring a different

perspective, question assumptions about race, and break down stereotypes (Center for American Progress, 2017). The exposure to diversity better prepares all students for life and work in an increasingly global and diverse world. John King, the last secretary of education under Obama, stated, "It's also important for our White students to see teachers of color in leadership roles in their classrooms and communities. Breaking down negative stereotypes helps all students learn to live and work in a multiracial society."



The Cracks in the Pipeline: Barriers to Becoming a Teacher of Color

First, to understand the cracks in the pipeline of teachers of color (TOC), one must start with an analysis of the overriding impact that institutionalized racism, pervasive in the U.S. educational system, has on students of color. The challenges created, including everything from implicit bias to overt discrimination, places barriers that have serious implications on individual progress toward school completion, degree attainment, and, eventually, career success.

As alluded to earlier, African American students, particularly young boys, experience much higher rates of school suspensions, a factor that contributes to a pathway to school failure and, at its worse, the school-to-prison pipeline (ACLU, 2020). Research has linked high suspension rates to implicit bias, including a misguided perception that African American children seem older than they really are, creating an environment where they are given less leeway in their behavior than white students (Goff P.A., et al., 2014). African American students are also much more likely to be placed in special needs settings and much less so in gifted and talented programs (Gershenson, S., et al., 2016). As a recent article by Kohli, et al., (2017) argues, despite the progress made since Brown v. Board of Education, "covert and more subtle beliefs and behaviors, reflecting the persistent and pervasive nature of racism," continues to influence education in the U.S. and set up roadblocks that hinder individuals of color from pursuing professional careers, including the teacher workforce.

Second, on average, although students of color (despite the challenges mentioned above) are enrolling in college at higher rates, they are not choosing to study education as their undergraduate major. College enrollment for high school graduates of color has increased considerably over the past few decades. In 2016, the immediate college enrollment rate, or the annual percentage of high school completers who were enrolled in two- or four-year institutions by October immediately following high school completion, was 67 percent for Latinx students, two percentage points below that rate for white students. Asian students went to college at a much higher rate than both whites and Latinx at 87 percent. African American students went to college at a lower rate of 58 percent.

Overall, the pool of people holding bachelor's degrees has become increasingly diverse. The number of bachelor's degrees awarded to Latinx students tripled from 2000 to 2016, while the number of bachelor's degrees for both Asian/Pacific Islanders and African American students increased by 75 percent and white students by 30 percent, during this same period. While white students still held the lion's share of all bachelor's degrees, their growth during this period was considerably less than that of students of color. In fact, the share of all bachelor's degrees earned in 2016 represented a net increase for students of color and a net decrease for white students. The share of all bachelor's degrees earned by white students decreased by 12 percentage points, from 77 percent to 65 percent, while it increased for Latinx students from six to 13 percent, for African American students from nine to 11 percent and for Asian students from seven to eight percent (U.S. Department of Education, 2017).

But, those same students of color earning a bachelor's degree did not choose to study education, which is the primary (but not the only) degree for entry into the teaching profession. In fact, the proportion of college graduates receiving a degree in education were overwhelmingly white. In 2016, the most recent date for which we have data, there was a total of 85,118 students who received a degree in education from a postsecondary institution. Of those, 73 percent identified as white, seven percent as African American, 10 percent as Latinx, and three percent Asian or Pacific Islander (NCES 2018, Table 322.30). In addition, only a quarter of all men receiving a degree in education were men of color. Thus, overall, less than two percent of all individuals receiving a degree in education in 2016 were men of color (NCES 2018, Table 322.40).

"We have to start recruiting our kids, first-generation kids, students of color, to get them from high school to college and then to retain them in college to then come back to teach. And I think once that cycle gets fixed, then we will have more teachers of color who are in our schools representing their students. It's important, and I think it's this whole cyclical problem."

- School District HR Director

A third factor contributing to the leaks in the pipeline of TOC is student debt, which has increased considerably over the past two decades with the growing costs of a college education. Once students complete their postsecondary degree, the pressure to pay back student loans steers them toward more lucrative careers. Students faced with significant debt from their postsecondary education are much less likely to choose teaching or other similarly low-paying professions (Rothstein & Rouse, 2011).

Students of color were, further, much more likely than white students to respond to surveys that educational debt influenced their career choices. According to one study, "black students were more likely to report that they wished they had borrowed less to fund their post-secondary education, that they changed their career plans because of their loans, or that their loan payments were burdensome" (Carver-Thomas, 2017). On average, African American students incur more student debt than white students and Latinx students have a higher debt burden than both African American and white students (Carver-Thomas, 2017).

Fourth, once students do decide to enroll in a teacher preparation program, they encounter additional challenges with the state certification process. Teacher preparation programs are state certified and required to get a teaching license. Students must pass state-approved assessments, such as the Praxis I and II, for either entry into a teacher preparation program or certification or both. Numerous studies have demonstrated racial disparities in the pass rates of these standardized assessments, with African American and Latinx candidates failing in much higher numbers than white students (National Research Council, 2001; Nettles, Scanton, Steinber, & Tyler, 2011; Carver-Thomas, 2017). A study by ETS of the results of the Praxis I, one of their products and a leading exam used nationally for both entry into teacher preparation programs and for licensure, found that between 2005 and 2009, there were considerable differences in pass rates between white and African American candidates: 82 percent compared to 41 percent for reading; 80 percent compared to 44 percent for writing; and 78 percent compared to 37 percent for math (Petchauer, 2012 in Center for American Progress, 2014).

In more recent years, states have begun to institute performance tasks in an effort to assess a broader set of skills for potential teachers. These assessments, such as the edTPA, are offered either as an option or in lieu of the traditional teacher licensure assessments. Studies of the assessment results have demonstrated a much smaller disparity in the pass rates between African American and white candidates (edTPA, 2015).

Overall, the number of students of color entering teacher preparation programs in institutions of higher education has decreased in recent years, reflecting an overall national trend. From 2010 to 2018, the numbers of black and Latinx students decreased by 25 percent, and the numbers for those who identify as Native Hawaiians or Pacific Islanders and American Indian or Alaska Native decreased by 50 percent. The decline for all races and ethnicities combined was 28 percent (Center for American Progress, 2019).

In 2014, the federal government, in an explicit effort to address the shortage of teachers of color in U.S. schools, issued new rules that would allow states to ease the requirements for entry into teacher preparation programs, as long as the programs set a high bar on the way out, i.e., to exit the program as a certified teacher. The new rules were based on the idea that even if a candidate did not meet the GPA or test requirements, they could become a high-quality teacher through a strong program. The U.S. Department of Education argued at the time that the new rules would both increase minority representation in the teacher workforce while also holding programs accountable. According to a spokesperson to address the issue at the time, the proposed rule change:

allows programs to continue serving students of promise that may have come from underserved and low-performing P-12 settings and, due to inequity in access to educational and other opportunity, may not be ready to meet a high bar to entry, but still have potential to be successful classroom teachers. This is particularly important for prospective teachers of color, who disproportionately come from such settings. (Mader, 2016)

The new rules were met with harsh criticism from educators and advocates who argued that the bar for entry into teacher preparation programs was already too low. They further argued that the rules were not only a disservice to the teaching profession but also an insult to teachers of color. When asked at the time about the new rules, Kate Walsh, president of the National Council on Teacher Quality, stated:

It's such a tremendously insulting move to African-Americans and Latinos to say we want you to come into the profession so badly and the only way we can make that happen is if we have no standards. I can't imagine what that does to someone's psyche. (quoted in Mader, 2016)

Research has also largely debunked the notion that initiatives to increase the selectivity of teacher preparation programs are mutually exclusive of efforts to make them more diverse. The Center for American Progress examined nine states that had increased the selectivity of their entrance exams for teacher preparation programs before 2012. They found that the diversity of the students studying education in all nine states actually increased after the institution of the new exams-except for one, Alabama, where diversity decreased by one percent. When conducting a deeper dive into Rhode Island, one of the nine states, they found that the key to its success was a dual effort around accountability and diversity, which was supported by a concerted data collection initiative where the state collects and publishes diversity rates on programs. The state also adopted a version of the new federal rules by allowing for "conditional acceptances" if they are coupled with remediation. Finally, candidates can also get certified if they can show certain "research-based traits" like leadership, resilience, and perseverance that are critical in the educator's role, in addition to the other requirements (Rhode Island Standards for Educator Preparation; Center for American Progress, 2017).

Finally, once a student teacher does obtain the necessary degree and training, they face racial discrimination and bias in the recruitment and hiring process. Prior to Brown v. Board of Education (1954), there were many African American teachers (and principals) who taught in segregated schools. After the landmark court decision established the unconstitutionality of Jim Crow and "separate but equal," and districts began the process of racial

integration, teachers of color found themselves the target of mass firings. At that time, over 38,000 teachers lost their jobs in the schools they worked in, mostly in the South and border areas (Lutz, 2017). Shortly after Brown v. Board of Education, the Supreme Court heard the case of Brooks v. Moberly (1959), where nine teachers sued their former school for not renewing their contract after the school had begun the process of integration. The court eventually ruled in favor of the defendant (district) arguing that the Fourteenth Amendment "is not a guarantee of tenure," setting a precedent that would have serious consequences on the teacher workforce (Boone, 2018).

Today, racial decrimination in the school recruitment process continues and is consistent with discriminatory hiring practices against African Americans across economic sectors. A recent meta-study examined more than 24 experiments over a 25-year period that involved tens of thousands of participants applying for over 25,000 positions in different industries. The study found that since 1990, on average, white applicants received 36 percent more callbacks than black applicants and 24 percent more callbacks than Latino applicants with identical résumés (Quillian, et al., 2017). A similar pattern can be seen in the education job market. In their study of a large school district in a U.S. urban center, D'Amico, et al., (2017) found that African American candidates were significantly less likely to receive a job offer than their white counterparts, despite having similar or even more advanced qualifications.

In some cases, the courts have intervened to address blatant racial descrimination against non-white teacher candidates. In their recent white paper, DuBois and Schanzenbach (2017) examine the impact of a decades-old consent decree in a Louisiana school district that was intended originally to address segregated hiring practices in the school district during the 1970s, but had only come into effect in 2010 due to intentional bureaucratic delays. Once in place, the decree led to a considerable increase in the number of African American teachers, a reduction in the "representation gap," and, years after the study, an increase in performance by African American students (Anderson, 2018).



The Challenges of Retention: Forces Pushing Teachers of Color Out

While the research identifies a number of factors that shrink the pipeline of individuals of color into the teacher workforce, retention difficulties further exacerbate the current crisis. Teacher turnover is a major issue throughout the United States for teachers from all backgrounds. Today, about 90 percent of the demand for new candidates is caused by existing teachers leaving the profession as opposed to other factors like urbanization. Only a third of teacher departures are due to retirement, while the other two-thirds do so for reasons ranging from life events to challenging working conditions to inadequate job preparation (Podolosky, et al., 2016; Marinell and Coca, 2013). Teachers of color also leave at a higher rate than white teachers. The turnover rate for teachers of color (TOC) is about 19 percent, compared to white teachers at 15 percent (Carver-Thomas & Darling-Hammond, 2017).

Factors that account for the elevated turnover rates for TOC include placement, expectations, and hostile working conditions. First, teachers of color often work in high poverty schools with a larger proportion of students of color. This is in part due to the choice of teachers with a social justice approach to teaching and a strong interest in giving back to communities from which they've lived. As one Latina teacher wrote in 2013, "To me, racial and social justice was at the core of my work as a teacher. My students' academic progress represented the fate of my racial group, a group I knew had historically been left behind" (Machado, 2013 p. 3). This is also partly due to the teacher pathway, particularly for individuals who received their training in alternative teacher preparation programs, which are often created to address the teacher shortage in low-income areas. Teacher turnover is on average higher in high poverty schools and districts due to many organizational struggles and a lack of resources (U.S. Department of Education, 2016).

In addition, TOC struggle against expectations that run counter to their own professional goals. Specifically, TOC are frequently pigeonholed into roles based on their race. Drawing from interviews with 150 African American educators, the Education Trust found that African American teachers are frequently pressured to work primarily with students of the same race and often in a disciplinary or counselor role, which inhibited them from working on their planning or instruction. Although the educators discussed gratification in their ability to connect and find similarities with African American students, the pressure to make this their primary focus was draining and prevented them from seeking opportunities that would advance their careers (Griffin and Tackie, 2016).

"That's a big barrier, us being viewed as disciplinarians. We're not disciplinarians. We just want to come in and teach just like everybody else."

— High School CTE Teacher

TOC also face difficult and at times hostile working conditions in schools. Another study by Education Trust reported that TOC often find their ideas undervalued compared with the ideas of their white colleagues:

In my experience, there is some implicit bias when it comes to contributing to ideas. I share ideas and they get shut down, but my white peers share the same idea and it is celebrated and implemented. It discourages me. In the classroom, students also see this bias and tend to respond to white authority. (Education Trust, 2019, p. 9)

At the same time, teachers of color are expected to take on additional responsibilities because of their perceived knowledge of the needs of students of color in the school. Teachers talk about an "invisible tax" related to the extra work they have to do for their students, which is not recognized or monetized in any particular way. Studies have found that teachers of color disproportionately feel pressure to represent the needs of students of color (Simon & Johnson, 2015; Griffin & Tackie, 2016). While their ideas of innovations in curriculum or teaching are dismissed, teachers of color are still expected to address the needs of students of color in school regardless of whether this work is either recognized or paid separately (Education Trust, 2019).

Studies have also demonstrated that teachers of color are judged more harshly than their white colleagues during the evaluation process. A study in Michigan found that from 2012 to 2016, 19 percent of black teachers in the state received a low rating in their yearly evaluations compared to only seven percent of white teachers. Within the same schools, teachers of color—especially black teachers—were 50 percent more likely than white teachers to receive a low rating in their evaluation. In addition, the study found that male

teachers were more likely to get low ratings compared to female teachers. However, black teachers' ratings increase on average with more black teachers in the school. The same situation also occurs with male teachers (Drake et al., 2019).

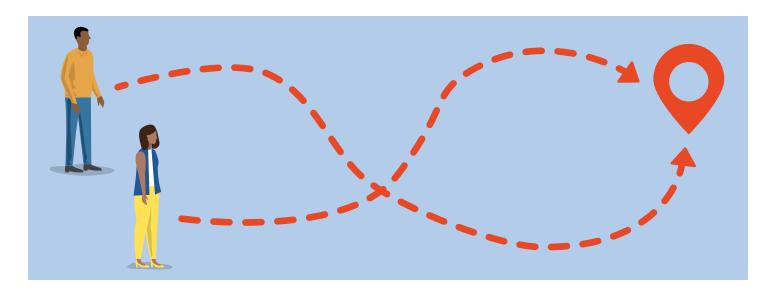


Summary: The Urgent Need for More Diversity in the Teacher Workforce

The research is consistent on the benefits of increasing the diversity of the teacher workforce, as well as the steep challenges that activists, universities, districts and schools face in their efforts to address this need. The growing diversity of the country is proceeding at a rapid pace with the population becoming majority "minority" by 2045. In 2016, the population of students in the country's K-12 schools had already reached this historic mark with students of color in the majority. The lack of diversity of the teacher core has considerable implications for the education of all students. With only 18 percent of teachers identifying as African American, Latinx, Asian, Native American, Pacific Islander, or other nonwhite group, the diversity of the teacher workforce in the country has become a critical issue that needs urgent attention.

The challenges in the pipeline start early, well before college. Even before high school, if students of color do not see, or have, teachers like them, it can impact their perceptions on teaching as a future opportunity. Potential teachers of color (TOC) hit barriers on their way to college if they lack the right preparation and support in high school to get into a good college and persist there until graduation. Moreover, students of color who are well-prepared and enter their senior year of high school are discouraged from pursuing the teaching profession with its low pay and lack of status. As these students (and their parents) start to add up the costs and loan amounts, their career options narrow and their focus turns to more lucrative options in fields like law or medicine. In many ways, the challenges that TOC face in their decision to go into teaching is reflective of a larger societal problem in the U.S. where teachers are not offered the status, level of respect, or salaries found in other advanced, industrialized countries.

"But we have heard from our black students specifically and our other minority students that 'here's someone like me that I can connect to, and I can listen to, and they're in the position of leadership.' So that's huge for us." – School District HR Director



Promising Practices from the Research

Despite the gloomy results from the research about the state of the teachers of color pipeline, there are promising practices with the potential to turn things around. First, alternative education programs are actively recruiting and training teachers of color. According to the U.S. Department of Education, in 2011–2012, 42 percent of students enrolled in alternative teacher preparation programs who were not part of an institution of higher education (IHE) were individuals of color. Similarly, 35 percent of students enrolled in alternative programs that are part of IHEs were students of color (US Department of Education, 2016). Teach for America, a leading alternative training program that claims half of its recruits identify as individuals of color, has achieved this recruitment through a robust network, or by "reaching out to and meeting individually with many more potential [teacher] applicants, increasing outreach to professionals from all sectors, and developing additional partnerships with diverse organizations that can help support these efforts in building a strong pipeline of diverse leaders" (Ferlazzo, blog post, 9/20/2015).

Other alternative teacher preparation programs focus specifically on recruiting potential teacher candidates of color. The African-American Teaching Fellows of Charlottesville-Albemarle, Inc., (AATF) has the mission "to recruit, support, develop, and retain a cadre of African American teachers to serve the Charlottesville City and Albemarle County public schools in Virginia" (Ferlazzo, blog post, 9/20/2015). AATF recruits students who are already enrolled in teacher preparation programs at a group of specific universities in the state. Those teacher candidates who pass a rigorous application process are offered financial support, professional development such as mock interviews and other training to help them with their entry into the profession, and a support system of mentors and volunteers (Ferlazzo, 2015).

Second, colleges and universities recognized as Minority Serving Institutions (MSIs) continue to produce a disproportionately higher number of educators of color. Nationally, MSIs educate 20 percent of all college graduates, produce about 14 percent of all educators, and account for 38 percent of all African American teachers in the country. Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), which are a subset of the MSIs, train two percent of the

teachers nationally but 16 percent of African American teaching candidates (Roberts, 2017). MSIs also appear to have a strong impact on their students. Based on an analysis of the Schools and Staffing survey of 2012-2013, the authors of a recent report found that teachers of color coming from MSIs were "more likely to serve as heads of their department than their counterparts trained at predominantly white institutions (PWI)." The study also found that 74 percent of teachers of color who attend an MSI have a bachelor's degree in education, 10 percentage points higher than teachers of color who attend a PWI (Gasman, M. et al., 2016).

Third, there are a host of other initiatives that have emerged over the past decade to encourage individuals of color to enter into the teaching profession, some targeting students as early as high school. The Pathways2Teaching program seeks to encourage high school students by highlighting the social justice aspect of teaching. Specifically, the program "encourages high school students of color to explore the teaching profession as a viable career choice by viewing the work of teachers as an act of social justice" (Ferlazzo, blog post, 9/20/2015). Students in the program, they argue, are empowered with "emancipatory knowledge" as they learn how to disrupt education inequalities. Students are further "constantly reminded that it is precisely because of their experiences and deep understanding of their communities that they are well positioned to become the teachers most needed in our classrooms" (Ferlazzo, blog post, 9/20/2015). The theory behind Pathway2Teaching is to enable high school students of color to reflect on their experience. According to Pathway2Teaching's founder Margarita Bianco:

> When you have a situation where students are disenfranchised and marginalized it's a hard sell to say "come back to the system and work in it." ... I take those inequities and have students study them and understand them better and hopefully motivate them to come back to change them. It's to participate in the system, and in a way participate to disrupt it, not to perpetuate it. (Beuten, 2017, news story)

Finally, urban policy makers are taking the lead in addressing the lack of teacher diversity and have found some success. The city of Boston, where 37 percent of teachers are individuals of color and 25 percent of all new teachers identified as black during the 2015-16 school year, has engaged in a concerted effort to diversify its teaching force. This growth in teachers of color in the city is due largely to a focus by the city's Office of Human Capital, which launched the Boston Public High School to Teacher Program. The program identifies highly qualified students in high schools as potential teachers and then asks them to participate, providing them with supports including a high-level college prep course, mentors, and funding for tuition dollars. Eighty-seven percent of the participants in 2016 were either African American or Latinx students. Successful students completing the program are then offered teaching jobs (U.S. Department of Education, 2016).

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