

The Role School Administrators Play in Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

The Journal of Educational Foundations
Vol. 32, No. 1, 2, 3, & 4
2019, pp. 114-141
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Larry J. Walker
Ramon B. Goings
Reginald D. Wilkerson

Abstract

Nationally Black males comprise less than 2% of public school teachers. The startling figure is not sustainable in a diverse society. Increasingly researchers have focused on the experiences of Black male inservice teachers. However, there is scant research that investigates the role school administrators in urban, suburban, and rural districts play in creating supportive environments for Black male preservice teachers. This article fills in a gap in the research by examining the barriers Black male preservice teachers encounter and provides actionable steps school administrators in urban, suburban, and rural districts should take to create healthy ecosystems for Black male preservice teachers.

Introduction

School districts throughout the nation have dedicated resources to

Larry J. Walker is an assistant professor in the Department of Educational Leadership and Higher Education in the College of Community Innovation and Education at the University of Central Florida, Orlando, Florida. Ramon B. Goings is an assistant professor of educational leadership in the School of Education at Loyola University Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland. Reginald D. Wilkerson is an assistant professor in the Department of Educational and Organizational Leadership Development of the College of Education at Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina. Their e-mail addresses are: larry.walker2@ucf.edu, rbgoings@loyola.edu, & rdwilke@clemson.edu

recruit and retain Black male teachers. Various initiatives including Grow Your Own (GYO) programs have become increasingly popular throughout the country (Gist, Bianco, & Lynn, 2019). Supporting innovative programs that identify and encourage Black males to choose teaching as a profession is vital. Unfortunately, during their formative years Black boys encounter a variety of school-based stressors including racism, disproportionate placement in special education, higher suspension and expulsion rates, and limited access to resources among other challenges (Henderson, Walker, Barnes, Lunsford, Edwards, & Clark, *in press*; Goings & Walker, 2018; Walker & Goings, 2017). In comparison to other students, they are not valued and welcomed in school settings (Goings & Bianco, 2016). The aforementioned challenges highlight why so few choose teaching as a profession.

Fortunately, successful initiatives including the Call ME MISTER program have created a template that has been replicated at other post-secondary institutions. Call ME MISTER provides peer to peer, financial, and mentorship to males of color interested in a career in teaching (Jones, Holton, & Joseph, 2019). The program's success highlights the importance of creating student centered programs that encourage males of color, including Black men to become teachers. Ensuring prospective teachers have access to a reliable support system is critical. Far too often, Black male preservice teachers have to navigate challenges that differ from their White counterparts.

Researchers including Scott and Rodriguez (2015) investigated how a variety of factors including stereotype threat impacted the experiences of Black male preservice teachers. The findings illuminate how being Black, and male, contributed to race-based stressors in school settings. For example, participants faced questions regarding their athletic prowess and academic acumen. There were times they felt isolated and did not receive the same support from instructors in comparison to classmates (Scott & Rodriguez, 2015). Responses from participants highlight some of the barriers Black males have overcome to achieve success.

Similarly, Walker (2019) contextualized his challenging experiences as a preservice and in-service teacher. He utilized autoethnographic vignettes to describe scenarios in which his racial and gendered experiences soured his interest in teaching. For instance, educational leaders created unrealistic expectations that continued throughout his student teaching. Unfortunately, the problems Walker (2019) encountered as a preservice teacher foreshadowed a difficult transition from college to his professional career.

Ensuring more Black males choose teaching as a profession is paramount. Currently, they represent less than 2% of public-school teachers (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). In contrast, White

Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

teachers collectively represent more than 80% of teachers nationally. Far too often, the teacher diversity gap exacerbates cultural and racial misunderstandings that contribute to the school to prison pipeline, lowered teacher expectations of Black students, and contentious student-teacher relationships (Allen & White-Smith, 2014; Sealey-Ruiz, 2011). Researchers including Gershenson, Holt, and Papageorge (2015) concluded that White teachers were less likely to believe Black students would graduate from high school. The statistic is consistent with other research that suggests the Black-White, student-teacher relationship can correlate to lower student outcomes (Boykin & Noguera, 2011; Kisida & Winters, 2015). Thus, determining how to recruit and retain Black male educators is imperative. However, administrators, district staff, researchers, and teachers must acknowledge school-based problems to help diverse educators navigate their preservice journey.

School administrators have significant responsibilities which includes hiring staff, evaluating teachers, improving student outcomes, and developing relationships with the local community. Perhaps their most important role includes supporting and hiring teachers from diverse backgrounds (Goings, Bristol, & Walker, 2018; Goings, Walker, & Cotingola, 2018). Nevertheless, their efforts must include creating healthy environments that use data driven initiatives for preservice teachers. Established or new programs must consider how the experiences between Black males and other aspiring teachers may differ in order to create an environment in which all preservice teachers may flourish.

While there is research that examines the experiences of Black male in-service teachers and the influence of school administrators, there is a gap in the research that deconstructs the relationship between school administrators and Black male preservice teachers. This is an important topic because Black males occasionally encounter behaviors from the school-based staff that could influence their career trajectory. Negative interactions with school leaders and others could precipitate a change in their major and interest in becoming an educator.

Given the significant role school administrators can have on the experiences of preservice Black male teachers, this article will explore the role of school leaders in creating a school environment that is conducive to the success of pre-service teachers in urban, suburban, and rural school districts. To contextualize our discussion, we first explore how stereotypes and misconceptions influence Black male preservice teachers. Secondly, we then turn our attention to the literature investigating the impact of school culture on the trajectory of Black male pre-service teachers. Lastly, we explore the literature and provide recommendations on how school leaders in urban, suburban, and rural schools can create environments to support Black male pre-service teachers.

How Stereotypes and Misconceptions Impact Black Male Educators

Far too often Black male preservice and in-service teachers have to circumvent societal stereotypes and misconceptions (Walker, 2019a). This is particularly accurate as it relates to views related to masculinity. Black males are frequently viewed as purveyors of pop culture and burdened with the responsibility of saving, not mentoring males of color (Bristol & Mentor, 2018; Brockenbrough, 2012). The distinction is critical considering there are so few Black male teachers in education. Black males face pressure to teach, mentor, serve on various committees in addition to other responsibilities that can become taxing. This can lead to teacher burnout. Thus, examining the factors that could affect their career trajectory is paramount.

Woodson and Pabon (2016) explored themes related to heteropatriarchy with two Black preservice teachers and one Black in-service teacher. According to one of the Black male preservice participants he purposefully avoided reinforcing stereotypes rooted in racist beliefs. The challenges associated with his race and gender forced him to reflect on the challenges Black male educators encounter in school settings. Unfortunately, the issues mirror the problems other preservice teachers with similar backgrounds encounter. Considering the dearth of Black male teachers, administrators must be aware of the issues they have to navigate in contrast to their White colleagues.

Race continues to be an issue that confounds the nation. Black male educators similar to other minoritized groups are forced to navigate in school challenges that negatively impact their professional outlook. Walker (2019) highlighted his experiences as a preservice teacher that led to recurring problems, including combating misconceptions. Unfortunately, the literature examining the role school administrators play supporting Black male preservice teachers is limited. Advocates must consider what steps district and school leaders can take to address the current dilemma. The country can no longer expect Black males to consider education as a viable career if they do not feel welcomed and valued.

Why the School Climate Matters

Increasingly school administrators have been given more autonomy to make critical decisions including hiring staff, budgeting, soliciting external funding, and reshaping the culture. The additional responsibilities allow leaders to react to challenges that may arise which require immediate attention. For instance, new and veteran administrators can amend rules and regulations that may improve student and teacher morale. Several

Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

studies (Johnson, Kraft, & Papay, 2012; Loeb & Luczak, 2013) highlight the important role the school climate plays in retaining teachers. This is particularly important for Black male preservice teachers because they frequently feel isolated and misunderstood (Cheruvu, Souto-Manning, Lencl, & Chin-Calubaquib, 2014).

A study conducted by Hancock and Scherff (2010) found that the school climate can be a deterrent for early career teachers and contribute to higher attrition rates. The findings are consistent with national studies which show that teachers do not stay in the public school system long term (Gray & Taie, 2015). While other factors including teacher pay impact teacher retention rates; school culture plays an important role contributing to massive teacher turnover in schools throughout the nation.

Considering that so few Black males choose teaching as a career examining their experiences prior to entering the profession would be informative. A study conducted by Hill-Carter (2013) included interviews with two African American male preservice teachers. The author focused on an array of topics including recruitment and retention. Overall the participants responses highlight what is like to be Black and male in PreK-12 settings.

One participant asserted, “I really would like someone that I can relate to and they relate to me as being a man” (Hill-Carter, 2013, p. 110). Another participant suggested that ensuring Black men are “getting into the schools, especially rural schools as early as possible. The more we see, men like us, doing and saying teaching is one of the best fields to go into and you can be a teacher too” (p. 110). Their insight is important because it highlights the impact Black men can have on teacher candidates. Unfortunately, with so few Black males, preservice teachers are placed in environments where they do not have access to individuals with similar lived experiences. Considering some school environments can feel unwelcoming, educational leaders must take additional steps to ensure the school climate is inclusive. Moreover, they have to actively engage Black male preservice teachers to ensure they are not encountering hostilities from teachers, students, community, or auxiliary staff.

Additionally, school leaders must account for how Black male students are treated by members of the administrative staff. Walker (2016) chronicled a troubling encounter between an administrator and Black male elementary school student. He witnessed a school leader call the police, which influenced his decision to leave the public-school system. These incidents occur far too frequently. For this reason, ensuring administrators and school staff understand how race and gender intersect is critical. Recently, Goings and Walker (2018) reflected on the responsibilities of school administrations and suggested

“instructional leaders have to utilize culturally relevant frameworks that positively affect student outcomes, particularly for Black males” (p. 112). Administrators must consider whether the school ecosystem values and respects cultural norms, community interests, and sets high expectations. For example, Goings, Smith, Harris, Wilson, and Lancaster (2015) outlined how preservice teachers should shift from a deficit focus as it relates to Black male students and see the brilliance they bring into the classroom setting. The suggestion is critical because administrators may not consider how Black male preservice teachers view the expectations and treatment of students. Ignoring their concerns may cause some to consider occupations outside of education.

The Role of Urban, Suburban, and Rural School Leaders

Supporting Black Male Preservice Teachers

Given the challenges facing Black male preservice teachers it is important to consider the work of school administrators and how they establish positive school cultures. However, we believe it is important to delineate the work of school leaders by district type. Thus, this section contextualizes the role school leaders play supporting Black male preservice teachers in urban, suburban, and rural school districts.

Urban School Leaders

Several researchers including Milner and Lomotey (2013) and Noguera (2012) have highlighted the challenges Black males face in urban schools throughout the nation. The issues are rooted in systemic racism; yet some pundits suggest that Black males are solely responsible for economic, educational, political, and social barriers they encounter. Fortunately, Howard (2013) among others have continued to push against false narratives that encourage deficit centered frameworks. Reframing societal problems that influence the lives of Black males is important (Moore & Lewis, 2012). Researchers including Wright, Counsell, Goings, Freeman, and Peat (2016) have continued to paint accurate portrayals of Black males that suggest the tide is turning. While a new generation of scholars are informing the public. Far too many educational leaders believe that Black males are failing. This can be problematic considering the majority of educational leaders are White.

The news media among other outlets frequently emphasize stories that suggest Black males from urban communities are unruly, hyperactive, violent and not interested in receiving a quality education (Goings & Walker, 2018). Negative depictions of Black males have long term implications particularly in urban schools. As students, and later

Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

in life as teachers, they cannot simply ignore these negative depictions. Thus, investigating how White urban school leaders view Black males, specifically preservice teachers must be considered.

Urban school leaders are tasked with an array of issues including hiring and retaining teachers from diverse backgrounds. Additionally, they frequently welcome student teachers who are completing university requirements before entering the profession. As noted by Bristol and Goings (2019) the experiences of Black male preservice teachers contrast with the experiences of White candidates. For this reason, urban school leaders should consider adopting frameworks that embrace diversity.

Khalifa, Gooden, and Davis (2016) suggest that successful administrators adopt practices that are consistent with the needs of students, teachers, and the local community. This includes utilizing culturally responsive school leadership (CRSL). Specifically, Khalifa, Gooden, and Davis (2016) suggest that “culturally responsive leaders develop and support the school staff and promote a climate that makes the whole school welcoming, inclusive, and accepting of minoritized students” (p. 4). Urban school leaders that follow CRSL tenets should be more likely to recognize the important contributions Black male preservice teachers bring to their schools.

Ideally Black male educators should not face hostile environments that do not recognize and support their needs. However, the problems they must overcome inside and outside school settings are real. This includes environmental stressors including trauma and mental health challenges that have long-term consequences (Walker & Goings, 2017; Walker, 2019b). While the societal issues are real they do not preclude some Black males from graduating from college and becoming teachers.

Urban school districts should consider providing CRSL training for administrators and other leaders. Frequently, staff members do not receive comprehensive training that recognizes the importance of diversity (Goings & Walker, 2019). The cost to providing additional training will not be prohibitive considering the resources districts expend recruiting and retaining teachers from various subgroups. Refusing to acknowledge that Black male preservice teachers encounter various problems in urban schools could continue a troubling trend.

Suburban School Leaders

To understand the experiences of Black male preservice teachers in suburban school settings researchers must examine the underlying assumptions about suburban neighborhoods. Traditionally suburban communities are viewed as White middle-class enclaves with low crime rates and thriving schools. Furthermore, these narratives position

suburban communities and schools as the pinnacle of the American dream while casting urban settings as subpar (Lewis-McCoy, 2018). Unfortunately, this narrative has been repeated and reinforced via television and news reports, yet recent demographic data tells a different story. Suburban communities are rapidly changing.

The Pew Center (2018) conducted an analysis of factors that unite and divide individuals living in urban, suburban, and rural communities. Their analysis of Census data found that a 16% population growth in suburban locales from 2000 to 2016 outpaced the growth in both urban (13%) and rural communities (3%) over the same time period. This trend coupled with the overall increase in racial/ethnic diversity in the U.S. has created suburban communities that have higher concentrations of Black, Latinx, Asian, Pacific Island, and Indigenous people (Fry, 2009).

The growth of people of color in suburban communities require school districts to take immediate action. Fry (2009) found that from approximately 1994-2007 the rise of Latinx, Black, and Asian students accounted for 99% of the 3.4 million increase in suburban school districts. Furthermore, Holme, Diem, and Welton (2014) suggested that suburban school districts now serve as many low-income students as urban school settings. Despite this demographic shift Lewis-McCoy (2018) argued that researchers have focused their attention on urban areas while neglecting suburban communities. The author further highlighted the importance of studying suburban environments by asserting it can help “improve the condition of Black lives in all spaces they occupy” (p. 146).

While there has been limited research on the experiences of Black male students and teachers in suburban settings (Lewis-McCoy, 2016), there is a growing body of literature focused on how school administrators respond to the changing demographics in suburban schools (Diarrassouba & Johnson, 2014; Diem, Welton, Frankenberg, & Holme, 2016; Evans, 2007; Holme et al. 2014). For instance, Welton, Diem, and Holme (2015) conducted a qualitative study which examined how school administrators responded to shifts in their school districts. The researchers found that when presented with an issue involving race the district often relied on their colorblind culture where they were “largely uncomfortable in talking about, or ‘recognizing’ the issue of race” (p. 703). This finding is critical for Black male preservice teachers who are considering teaching in suburban school settings where potential school leaders are reluctant to discuss racism. It may signal to Black men that the school environment may not be conducive to their professional and personal success. This is important considering many Black male educators experience various forms of racism in schools (Bristol & Goings, 2019; Goings, 2015).

Despite the increase of youth of color in suburban school settings, students have limited access to Black male teachers. While Black men

Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

only comprise 2% of the teaching workforce some recent research on suburban schools points to inequities in the hiring process. For instance, D'Amico, Pawlewicz, Earley, and McGeehan's (2017) quantitative analysis of hiring decisions in one large suburban school district found that racial discrimination was prevalent in the hiring decisions of Black teacher candidates. In the study, when Black candidates were hired, they were more likely to be placed in schools identified as struggling and schools with higher concentrations of students of color (SOC) and students living in poverty.

Moreover, in a qualitative study examining the hiring practices of human resource officers (HROs) in urban and suburban school districts Goings, Walker, & Wade (2019) found that HROs (frequently former school administrators) used intuition in their hiring decisions based on their previous experiences. Participants suggested that filling vacant positions was their first priority and diversifying their teacher workforce became a secondary concern. Given the findings from these two studies, there is a need to further examine the hiring experiences of Black male teachers in suburban school districts. This should include understanding how they are interviewed, selected, and then assigned to schools.

Unfortunately, there has been a pervasive belief that Black male teachers should be recruited into the profession to serve as role models for Black children. As a result, Black men are forced to serve as disciplinarians for Black boys while negating their ability to teach all children (Bristol & Mentor, 2018; Bryan & Ford, 2014). This narrative is problematic particularly in suburban schools given the influx of students of color and the lack of educator diversity. When recruiting Black male preservice teachers to suburban schools, school administrators must disrupt stereotypes that suggest Black male teachers are primarily disciplinarians. For example, when selecting student teachers, school leaders should ensure students see Black men in all academic spaces such as gifted education/Advanced Placement classrooms. Moreover, human resources staff have to take steps to place Black male teacher candidates in all settings and not just in schools that educate a high percentage of students from underserved backgrounds.

Rural School Leaders

In contrast to their urban and suburban school counterparts, rural schools receive far less attention. This may occur because the majority of students in America attend schools in urban or suburban settings and policymakers (and academics) tend to focus on areas commanding greater influence. However, this underscores the isolated nature of rural education and the need for a more nuisance study. Currently, over half

(53 percent) of the school districts in the United States of America are considered “rural” according to National Center for Education Statistics (NCES, 2013) data. The School Superintendents Association (2017) recently framed diversity trends in rural communities showing “71 percent of students are White, 10 percent are Black, 13 are Hispanic, with 2 percent registering as Asian/Pacific Islander” (p. 2). These figures highlight the fact that more than 1 in 4 students from rural environments are students of color.

Proponents of educational diversity have long noted the benefits of having a diverse educational workforce - seeking an employee population that (at the minimum) mirrors the diversity that reflected in the American population. This notion of diversity frequently centers on issues of race; we contend that diversifying the teaching population must also extend to males and specifically Black males. Some stereotypes based upon archaic beliefs (“teaching is a profession for women) or grounded into harsh truths (“you can’t make money being a teacher”) create barriers to attracting Black males into the teaching profession. School administrators play a critical role in framing a positive perception of teaching; while creating an environment in which Black male preservice teachers can excel.

Accomplishing this goal is a challenge as each year, fewer and fewer students enter teacher preparation programs across the country and this dilemma is only heightened in rural areas which struggle to attract teaching candidates due to their location. These issues emphasize the role rural school administrators play in creating a culture conducive to recruiting and retaining a diverse workforce. This task is critical in the quest to provide students in rural communities with the high-quality educational experience they so richly deserve.

Many rural communities are places of tremendous historical value and cultural wealth. However, they are often places of immense levels of economic distress and are disposed to experience high levels of poverty. These rural locales are likely to experience geographic isolation as they often exist far away from metropolitan centers of commerce, industry, and higher educational institutions which makes it harder to attract preservice teachers. Schools and school systems tend to serve as community hubs while also serving as focal points of pride within the district. Against this backdrop of conflicting notions—of value and pride combined with isolation and distress; schools and school districts are the linchpin(s) to success and sustainability for rural communities. Similar to urban and suburban schools—rural schools are the fulcrum upon which improved life outcomes rest.

Rural schools contend with (and sometimes conquer) numerous maladies capable of derailing their quest to provide improved life outcomes beyond inadequate funding streams based upon local taxation

Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

or grants. Thus, they face challenges competing for talent. Further, the absence of an extensive pool of teaching candidates hinders the prospect of providing students with a high-quality educational experience. Rural areas, by virtue of their geographic isolation, tend to be located a sizeable distance away from many of the colleges and universities which supply student teachers. This issue becomes more challenging when race and gender become factors. The most recent *State of Racial Diversity in the Educator Workforce* (2016) report shows a slight uptick in the number of students of color receiving bachelor's degrees in education; however Black males still only comprise less than two percent of the teaching workforce. This figure only reinforces the notion that attracting and retaining Black male preservice teachers is an important consideration and a task made infinitely more challenging in rural locales that oftentimes do not have a surplus of available teaching candidates. However, more school administrators have to create healthy ecosystems capable of supporting the needs of Black male preservice teachers.

Recommendations

In order to create healthy ecosystems for Black male preservice teachers school administrators can implement several strategies to better prepare these future professionals for long and successful careers in education. Here we detail a few of these actionable activities.

The Need to Be Present for Black Male Preservice Teachers

In order to create a healthy ecosystem for Black male preservice teachers school administrators should be present. Black male preservice teachers are often faced with the challenge of being the “only one” (the only Black male teacher in an educational environment). The pressures of being the “only one” or the “Black male messiah” (“Well send X student to the ‘new’ teacher. He can understand X student. He can get through to X student...they have commonalities.”) can be quite taxing and may serve to deter a preservice teacher from continuing into the profession. These pressures, unlike pressures contended with by White male or female teachers are very draining and detract from the overall goal of honing one's pedagogy or grounding themselves in the educational profession. The “presence” of a positive school administrator, providing a word of encouragement, a kind, gentle, and patient listening ear, or serving as a sounding board to solve problems can help create a healthy ecosystem capable of supporting Black male preservice teachers. A school administrator's ability to be present with and for preservice teachers accelerates the likelihood of a positive introductory experience for Black

male preservice teachers while also serving as a potential recruitment and retention strategy.

Establishing Positive Relationships

Establishing a positive relationship with Black male preservice teachers helps to ease prospective professionals into the field of education. This includes encouraging preservice teachers to grow. In addition, involving them in school operations and activities; professional development offerings, committee meetings; in essence makes the preservice teacher feel like they are a part of the school community. Another way to establish positive relationships with preservice teachers should include a concerted effort to go into the classroom in which the preservice teacher practices. While there school administrators should give the preservice teacher good and honest feedback. A school administrator's presence in a preservice teacher's classroom sends a message that you are valued and I am invested in your future. It also sends a similar message to the students in the preservice teacher's classroom. This sort of investment elevates the two percent of the teaching force that is comprised of Black Males. In addition, while observing and offering good feedback the school administrator has the opportunity to determine if the preservice teacher is a perspective "fit" within the school building. This sort of "on the job training" experience could potentially result in a hire within the building in which the preservice teacher is practicing or a result in a reference for another school. Establishing positive relationships opens doors for Black male preservice teachers in arenas in which they may not have pre-existing social capital. These relationships have the potential of growing and diversifying the teaching profession while enhancing the professional outcomes of Black male preservice teachers.

Creating Intentional Student Teacher Mentor-Mentee Matches

Pairing a Black male preservice teacher with a supportive mentor teacher is essential to ensure they can thrive. Whether the pairing is intra- or extra-curricular (within their content area or external to the preservice teacher's content area) assuring a positive match is made is a key responsibility of the school administrator. It is also important to note here that the framing of "mentor/mentee" matches does not just extend to teacher to preservice teacher. It is equally essential that the school administrator also be seen as a mentor for the preservice teacher. This level of support from the building-level leader is invaluable. For any preservice teacher entering the profession the ability to ask judgement-

Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

free, guilt-free, and repercussion-free questions in a safe, nurturing environment is a tremendous benefit; but for a Black Male preservice teacher it is especially critical. Considering that Black male preservice teachers are most likely “loners” within the profession (Bristol, 2018) the feeling of isolation that is experienced is only compounded when one feels as though they have nowhere to turn for wise counsel. Ensuring that a correct mentor / mentee match is made helps to ground the Black male preservice teacher into the profession and helps to establish a sense of community. This essential task, undertaken by a thoughtful, reflective, and introspective school administrator can help create a healthy ecosystem for Black male preservice teachers.

Provide Positive Experiences for Black Male Preservice Teachers

The old adage of “success breeds success” is true here once again. A school administrator should ensure that Black male preservice teachers experience some modicum of success while interning at their school. Whether it be praise for initiating an innovative classroom lesson or sharing a positive comment from a student, parent, or colleague or even guidance or feedback on a task completed at the school; these elements all help to frame positive school experiences for the preservice teacher. Another example of providing positive experiences for preservice teachers may even extend to allowing the preservice teacher to observe other teacher’s pedagogical style within the building or external to the building as a means of expanding the preservice teacher’s educational experiences.

Conclusion

Ensuring students have access to teachers from similar ethnic and racial backgrounds is critical in a global economy. While Black men represent less than 2% of teachers in public schools they play an integral role educating students from all backgrounds. Unfortunately, Black male preservice teachers encounter a plethora of school-based stressors that contribute to feelings of alienation. Creating a healthy environment that allows Black males to flourish would ensure they commit to teaching after completing their student teaching.

For this reason, a closer examination of the role school administrators in urban, rural, and suburban schools play in mentoring and supporting Black male preservice teachers is paramount. Schools need teachers that have experiences that mirror their students. Several studies suggest that the race of the teacher can have a negative impact on student outcomes. Further, the nation can no longer afford to hire teachers that come from homogeneous backgrounds with limited culturally responsive training.

School administrators are the linchpin that determines whether Black male preservice teachers continue to work in schools long-term. The initial relationship with education leaders has an undeniable impact on teacher candidates. Without proper support post-secondary institutions and schools may lose Black males that seek to turn the tide in education. For this reason, school districts have to train administrators in culturally responsive techniques that empower not undermine the success of Black male preservice teachers.

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Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

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Creating Healthy Ecosystems for Black Male Preservice Teachers

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Larry J. Walker, Ramon B. Goings, & Reginald D. Wilkerson

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