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Black Radicals Make for Bad Citizens: Undoing the Myth of the School to Prison Pipeline

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Abstract

Over the past ten years, the analytic formation of the school to prison pipeline has come to dominate the lexicon and general common sense with respect to the relationship between schools and prisons in the United States. The concept and theorization that undergirds its meaning and function do not address the root causes that are central to complex dynamics between public education and prisons. This paper argues that in place of the articulation of the school to prison pipeline, what is needed is a nuanced and historicized understanding of the racialized politics pertaining to the centrality of education to Black liberation struggles. The result of such work indicates that the enclosure of public education foregrounds the expansion of the prison system and consequently, schools are not a training ground for prisons, but are the key site at which technologies of control that govern Black oppression are deemed normal and necessary.

Keywords: school-to-prison pipeline, Black radical tradition, enclosures, Los Angeles, education, Black studies, prison studies

> Racial regimes are subsequently unstable truth systems. Like Ptolemaic astronomy, they may "collapse" under the weight of their own artifices, practices, and apparatuses; they may fragment, desiccated by new realities, which discards from fragments wholly while appropriating others into new regimes. Indeed, the possibilities are the stuff of history (p. xii).

> – Cedric Robinson, *Forgeries of Memory and Meaning*

Over the past 50 years, the invocation and utilization of policy to address fundamental issues of racism has been heralded as a progressive turn within the United States. Yet the result of said strategy has born the spoiled fruit of incarceration, homelessness, unemployment, negative health outcomes, and education calamities for Black people. In this vein, I echo Daniel Martinez HoSang's query pertaining to the role of formal politics and the maintenance of race. HoSang (2010) questions, "[W]hat if the central narratives of postwar liberalism—celebrations of rights, freedom, opportunity, inequality—have ultimately sustained, rather than displaced, patterns of racial domination?" (p. 2). HoSang further points out the façade of the formal policy making

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process with regards to race and details the manner by which legislative and political systems have served to undermine mass mobilizations for substantive change.

It is at this juncture of historic and contemporary tension between Black communities and representatives of the state that educational policy has become wed to multifaceted modalities of anti-Black discipline. As a reactionary strategy in response to Black movements for freedom, discipline practices are best understood as attempts to make Black liberation irrational and Black subjugation, its logical converse, commonsensical. It is incumbent to realize that the current relationship between Black students and education will never occur with reliance upon policy initiatives as the primary organ of change. I posit that we have to take a long, hard look at the formation and utilization of policy and question its overall effect and its implicit intent.

Carol Anderson's (2003) insightful analysis of the underhanded and reactionary manner in which the United States has utilized policy coded in a language of civil rights to enforce Black subjugation and create reformist realities to undermine radical politics is a cautionary tale that casts a foreboding pall upon policy driven models. Specifically, in the case of my paper, this presents a glaring problem for a utilization of the school-to-prison-pipeline (STPP) framework, as the primary site of "change" has been at the policy level. Thus, central to my argument is that the utilization of policy as a means to address issues of Black subjugation has resulted in the converse. That is, policy-based strategies have produced a set of conditions that reinforce anti-Black racism and simultaneously function to discipline Black movements for liberation.

Further, the STPP framework does not provide room to analyze the manner in which the technologies of control and *enclosure* models utilized within the current prison regime were foregrounded by processes set into motion over 50 years ago in the realm of public education. The term enclosure is derived from the work of Clyde Woods (1998) who argues that enclosures are processes enacted by regional blocs during particular historic moments in an attempt to "gain control over resources and over the ideological and distributive institutions governing their allocation" (p. 26). Enacted through various strategies such as forced removal, benign neglect, abandonment, and incapacitation, the goal of enclosures is to blur the social vision of Black communities. That is, rather than a school to prison pipeline, the structure of public education is just as and maybe even more so culpable in the enclosure of Black freedom, which in turn has informed the development of prisons. Herein lies the impact of history that Cedric Robinson implores us to account for in our current conceptualizations of both theory and practical solutions.

The following paper is located in an intersectional framework that draws from several approaches including archival, conceptual, and theoretical methodologies in order to buttress my claims. The information, data, and framework for this paper would have not been possible without the resources made available by the Southern California Library (SCL) located in Los Angeles, California. In addition, the many conversations and extreme generosity of Ayanna Harris, Kristie Hernandez, André Larry, and Seanna Cade Leath from the Claremont Colleges has been invaluable in the course of developing my arguments.

The Problems with School to Prison Pipeline

The analytical construction of the STPP provides an easy and accessible narrative pertaining to prisons and public education. In general, the STPP argument states that schools unfairly discipline non-white youth, particularly Black youth, when compared to students of other races. Studies demonstrate that Black students have higher rates of suspensions, detentions, and expulsions than their peers (Wald & Losen, 2003). Further, there is increasing evidence that Black students within the same schools are disproportionally given more severe forms of discipline than their white peers for the exact same offenses (Jackson, 2012). The results of these forms of punishment often lead to Black students either being pushed out of school or arrested on campus. Hence, school discipline policies and legal constructs serve to funnel Black youth through the STPP.

The history of STPP research and its associated campaign is complicated by its development in the midst of anti-prison movements across the United States. While decades-long organizing efforts by the likes of Critical Resistance, A New Way of Life, and the Southern California Library have explicit ties to historic, economic, political, and social projects that aim to radically alter society through the abolishment of prisons, the STPP discourse is not invested in the same goal. Further, the STPP is framed ahistorically, often missing critical racial, class, gendered, and sexed analyses that are needed to understand the root causes, including the development of education malaise and subsequent expansion of prisons within the United States. In this manner, the STPP discourse cannot begin to address a central theme and line of inquiry posed by Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2007) that is key to any analysis of prisons:

> This book is about the phenomenal growth of California's state prison since 1982, it asks how, why, where, and to what effect one of the planet's richest and most diverse political economies has organized and executed a prison-building and filling plan that government analysts have called 'the biggest…in the history of the world.' (p. 5)

While community organizations across the country have been fighting to identify and eradicate the multilayered connections between the nation's schools and prisons, this has not been the articulated aims of the STPP discourse. For example, the central document that laid the groundwork for the discursive framing of the STPP, *Deconstructing the School-to-Prison Pipeline* (Wald & Losen, 2003), details a funneling mechanism that transfers minoritized youth from schools to prisons but neglects to interrogate the coalescence of schools and prisons including the political, economic, racial, gendered, and sexed complexities that undergird both of their foundations. This narrow understanding of the relationship between schools and prisons has become increasingly popularized within the past decade. Philanthropic organizations and national and state government offices have highlighted the pipeline as a reformist attempt to assuage the demands of community and neighborhood organizing.[2] The STPP discourse has not only

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[2] Emblematic of the reformist nature of the STPP and its explicit focus upon discipline were the December, 2012, hearings hosted by the U.S. Senate about the school to prison pipeline in which they focused on the creation of policy to balance racial disparities of zero tolerance policies within education.

been used by government officials to describe the relationship between schools and prisons, it has also been repackaged as a non-threatening, ubiquitous, rhetorical device for community organizers.

This disturbing trend follows in an eerily similar path as the development of the "Schools not Jails" campaign during the late 1990s. As argued by Camille Acey (2000), the Schools not Jails movement undercut the radical and valid critique that students and community members had regarding the function of school in the United States. According to Acey (2000):

> The slogan "education not incarceration" grew out of the link between university student anti-Proposition 209 activism and grass-roots high school student activism. In the mid- to late 1990s, a number of student walkouts and protests were led throughout the state of California. The main emphasis of university students was on increasing access to the university for poor, working-class communities of color and promoting more relevant curricula. High school students from those communities voiced concerns over insufficient educational resources, declining economic opportunity, and the growing criminalization of their generation. Often, many of the organizations came together to develop more comprehensive, radical critiques of these issues and strategies for political education. Though it is often believed that SNJ [Schools not Jails] is a variation on "education not incarceration," I would argue that that it is a corruption. (p. 208)

In recent years, the co-optation of the STPP discourse has shifted the conversation away from key historical issues that constituted the generative core of radical community organizing. Over the past ten years, conferences and workshops have convened non-profit organizations, academic scholars, philanthropic foundations, and legislative bodies to analyze causes and solutions to the STPP. To date, the primary answer to the STPP has been to focus on student behavior and policy transformation; that is, the response has been to focus on the way that discipline policies are levied out based upon racialized conceptualizations of student behavior (Kim, Losen, & Hewitt, 2010). An underlying logic of these solutions is that by altering behaviors and certain policies, students will no longer be pushed out or arrested. Subsequently, these strategies would help to greatly reduce students' chances of being sent to prison.

While there is general agreement that Black students are unfairly disciplined within the realm of public education and that predominately Black schools are mired in a labyrinth of policing procedures, I argue that the STPP framework provides an overdetermined, analytic model and an undertheorized solution set to address issues that are both historical in nature and extremely complex. Specifically, the STPP is a concept that is predicated upon an analysis of power that follows an arc whereby the supposed beholders of power have complete control of the "other"—Black youth. Similar to Cedric Robinson's (2007) critique of Foucault's analysis of power, the same argument can be made with respect to the STPP. Specifically, Robinson (2007) states:

> It is as if systems of power never encounter the stranger, or that strangers can be seamlessly abducted into a system of oppression. In our own interrogations this

amounts to the presumption that the exposing of the invention of race subjects is a sufficient method for recognizing and explaining difference. (p. xii)

The glaring problem with the STPP's framework is that it never accounts for the possibility that the structure of public education is responding to the actions taken by Black students that are perceived to threaten the status quo. In this regard, the criminalization of Black youth is not only intentional, but it is in response to direct agitation on the part of Black people. Thus, strategies to address the STPP that focus on shifting behaviors serve to legitimate the idea that disciplining student behavior is necessary, as long as the mechanisms do not push students out of school or entail arrests.

While the STPP framework may challenge the basic tenant that the meting out of discipline is disproportional, it fails to challenge the ethos of anti-Blackness as foundational to the formation and enactment of school discipline. Through a brief cull of the annals of contemporary history, which the STPP framework completely disregards, I will demonstrate that the modes of current school discipline (e.g., policing and expulsions) have developed in an attempt to suppress assertions of Black culture, Black autonomy, and Black liberation movements within schools. Very simply, the attention to reforming student behavior belies the complicity of state officials, private capital, and philanthropic organizations to undermine efforts by Black communities to dictate the parameters of Black education.

Recognizing that historical processes stretching back over two centuries account for the education of Black people in the United States, the basis of support for my argumentation rests on evidence amassed between the 1940s and 1970s in Southern California. This time period was of great significance as it marked a mass influx of Black migrants from the U.S. South to California. Moreover, Los Angeles is important during this moment as the site where intense violence was enacted upon Black communal organizations that advocated for social change (Widener, 2010).[3] It was also during this time period in Los Angeles that education was a hotly contested area in terms of the terrain of ideological governance. That is, while Black communities in Los Angeles conceptualized and used public education as a space to develop alternative models of cultural expression and organizing, city officials, planners, and private capital lobbied for and responded with brute force and policy tactics to undermine liberation movements of Black Angelinos. Looking through two important documents—the Welfare Planning Council's report on "Youth Problems and Needs in the South Central Area" (WPC, 1961) and the "Police in Government" course manual taught by officers within the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974) in predominately Black high schools—we achieve a nuanced understanding of the complex relationship among Black communities, city leaders, and public education.

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[3] In writing about the Los Angeles chapter of the Black Panther Party, Danny Widener (2010) states, "Los Angeles produced one of the country's largest and most influential chapters of the Black Panther Party, in part because the Los Angeles branch faced challenges that made it perhaps even more representative of the national conditions faced by the party than the Oakland headquarters. As Ward Churchill observed, more than half of all Black Panther Party members killed in the United States died in Los Angeles at the hands of the police" (p. 12).

In addition to the influx of Black migrants and the level of violence enacted upon Black communal organizations in Los Angeles during this time period, Southern California (and Los Angeles in particular) is a critical site to examine because over the last 50 years, it has become the region of choice in regards to the testing and development of models that foster enclosure linkages between education and prisons. Ranging from the highly marketed anti-drug "D.A.R.E" program to truancy tickets that mandate arrests and carry exorbitant fines, policy makers in Southern California have been at the cutting edge of creating policy and perfecting extralegal measures to ensure the subjugation of Black education.[4] While these programs have been exported nationwide and lauded as models of public safety and/or crime prevention, it is necessary to understand the social and political context from which they developed. It is only then that we can refine our analysis beyond seductive, rhetorical devices and empty reformist concessions such as the STPP. Moreover, understanding the social and political context enables us to begin the "heavy lifting" of developing concrete strategies that explore the multifaceted nature of education and re-root movements for social change back to Black communities.

Policy and Planning to Stop a Movement: Welfare Planning Council and Black Organizing

In order to move beyond the problematic pitfalls implicit within the STPP argumentation, it is vital to change the manner in which public education is framed. It is critical to acknowledge that the first call for public education in the United States was during Reconstruction. DuBois (1998) elucidates in *Black Reconstruction in America* that in addition to the formation of schools, the call for public education was a strategic organizing effort on the part of Blacks to redistribute land, money, and time to the masses of poor Black and whites who were formerly under the thumb of the rigid plantation economy. To the contrary, the plantation owners fought vigorously not only to prevent the formation of public education but also to gain economic redress for their losses during the Civil War. A reformist compromise between the southern plantation economy and the industrial North resulted in the industrial takeover of education. Watkins (2001) provides an in-depth analysis of how northern industrial philanthropy, led by the likes of oil tycoon John D. Rockefeller and the seemingly beneficent Phelps Stokes Fund, muted the educational demands of Blacks in order to establish a new economic order. This history suggests that every facet of education, ranging from curriculum development to pedagogical philosophy to discipline policy, is connected to the struggle between a Black radical democratic, social vision of the educative process and an education model that reproduces the gross consumptive and oppressive desires imbedded within a system of "racial capitalism" (Robinson, 2000).[5]

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[4] D.A.R.E stands for Drug Abuse Resistance Education, which was first piloted in South Central Los Angeles. After implementation in several Black schools, the program was exported throughout the country as a model program. D.A.R.E sent police officers into schools to "teach" about drug usage. A key part of the War on Drugs, the great irony of D.A.R.E. is that with its implementation, drug usage actually increased (Gorman, 1998).

[5] The term racial capitalism, taken from Cedric Robinson's (2000) analysis of the formation of capitalism in his text *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition,* is defined as, "The development,

It is within the aforementioned struggle that the contemporary relationship between prisons and education has to be situated. In order to bring this relationship to bear, I will focus on the "Youth Problems and Needs" report issued by the Los Angeles Region of the Welfare Planning Council (WPC) in 1961. Authored by powerful city leaders, religious organizations, heads of business, and representatives of the criminal justice system, the aim of the report was to counter Black liberation efforts in Los Angeles that were taking place during the 1950s and early 1960s.[6] Given that public education was central to Black communal organizing, schools became a primary site of contestation in the WPC report.

During the latter half of the 1940s through the 1950s, with the mass migration of Black southerners from Texas and Louisiana primarily, Black youth increasingly entered public schools within Los Angeles. Given that housing within Los Angeles was planned strictly around race, the majority of the youth attended school in the Watts and South Central regions of Los Angeles (Davis, 1998; Lipsitz, 2011). In addition to bringing inquisitive minds, they also brought with them a vibrant culture that was fostered by the friends and family who made the long trip from the U.S. South.[7] Gospel choirs, jazz bands, spoken word poetry, and new styles of visual art began to become a part of the official and unofficial curriculum within the schools (Widener, 2010).

While this vibrant culture transformed school environments, it also inspired fear—fear from white students and their parents who detested the fact that these Black youth were now in schools that were formerly all white. Such fear sparked racial violence upon Black youth such as the massive assault upon Black students at John C. Fremont High School in 1947 (Bass, 1947). A perusal of the high school yearbooks from schools such as Fremont reveals the dramatic demographic shifts occurring in these schools. Whereas during the 1950s there were sprinkles of Black youth in a sea of white faces, by 1968 the transformation was complete. Those same schools became predominately Black, though this did not occur without violent resistance from white families.

The anti-Black racial violence enacted upon the Black community during this time period was an open secret within the political structure of Los Angeles. While it was very well understood that Black people were being harassed, beaten, and disenfranchised throughout the 1950s and the early 1960s, the official stance emanating from city and county government officials was that they latently condoned the abuse and were

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organization, and expansion of capitalist society pursued essentially racial directions, so too did social ideology. As a material force, then, it could be expected that racialism would inevitably permeate the social structures emergent from capitalism. I have used the term "racial capitalism" to refer to this development and to the subsequent structure as a historical agency" (p. 2).

[6] It is of note that contributing to the WPC report were members of the established Black business community who were often at odds with the new Black southern migrants who were making their way into Los Angeles. Split along lines of class that were infused with strong moral commendation, the relationship remained tenuous and set the stage for a long history of conflict between the Black working/impoverished class and the Black middle class in Los Angeles.

[7] George Lispsitz's (2011) account of the migration of famed musician Horace Tapscott's migration from Houston, Texas to Los Angeles is symbolic of this transfer and importance of Black culture. Upon first arriving in Los Angeles and before even having a place to live, Tapscott's mother, Mary, had set up arrangements for trombone lessons for Horace and introduced him to his new teacher (Lipsitz, 2011, p. 135).

complicit in the attacks upon Blacks (Manes, 1963). The silent agreement was revealed through radical Black organizing within public education, which (a) challenged a social order that attempted to keep the Black community within a subservient economic and political position, (b) severely undermined the legitimacy of the political system and county leadership within the Black community, and (c) developed media propaganda based upon the stories of Black Angelinos that destroyed the public façade of Los Angeles as a racial utopia.[8] In order to counter the success of Black organizing, white Angelinos designed a campaign to blame Black people, the broader Black community, and particularly Black organizing for the violence. Schools became a primary target for the city in an attempt to regain its lost legitimacy. Specifically, the WPC report listed the following as "Problems" within the school system:

- Schools at all grade levels experience racial tension and friction when minority-group pupils enter for the first time. This is particularly true of the high schools. Many elementary and junior high schools in the South Central area are, in practical terms, segregated; the pupils they feed into the high schools may for the first time be finding themselves in an inter-racial situation, creating difficulties in adjustment for whites and non-whites alike.
- More than 25 racial incidents, so identified after careful investigation, have occurred in and around schools over the last three years. Overt conflict has developed in some junior and senior high schools.
- Other juvenile gang clashes have in some instances had racial implications.
- A Negro 'hate group' has been recruiting teen-age members in the area. (WPC, 1961, p. 8)

Setting aside for a moment the declaration of "Negro 'hate group(s)'" in the classification of "Problems," what is key about the list is the acknowledgement of racial violence, or "incidents" within schools. What becomes readily apparent, however, is that there is no indication that white youth, family members, teachers, administrators, or city officials have anything to do with said incidents. Rather, the only tangible source of blame is placed upon Black organizing that suddenly takes the form of a "hate group."

Moreover, the condemnation of Black people continues further into the next section of the report entitled "Related Factors" that explicates the causes of the aforementioned "Problems." Included in the WPC report are the following:

- Incidents minor in themselves or misrepresented as racial incidents may be sensationalized in the press, increasing misunderstandings and tensions in the community.
- Many newcomer youths are from states with strictly enforced segregation laws and well-established discriminatory practices. These youths are totally inexperienced in communicating with whites on a non-restrictive level.

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[8] Black newspapers became key within the process of disseminating information pertaining to the daily oppression levied against Black Angelinos. The *California Eagle*, *Los Angeles Sentinel*, and *Los Angeles Herald Dispatch* were critical in documenting the racial atrocities that occurred within the city.

- Students of different races show a tendency to self-segregate outside the classroom.
- Some teachers and school administrators as well as white parents manifest prejudice toward integration.
- The belief is widely held that school standards decline when Negro pupils are admitted in any numbers.
- Human relations programs in the schools are inadequate at all grade levels; pupils may be ill-prepared and lacking in guidance when forced to cope with an unfamiliar inter-racial setting. (WPC, 1961, p. 8)

Thus, what can be gleaned from the city's analysis of the "Problems" is two-fold. First, Black migrants into Los Angeles purportedly did not possess the social skills outside of the realm of subservience to interact with white youth. Given the acknowledged fact that white teachers, administrators, and parents were resistant towards interacting with Blacks, a human relations program would not solve the issue. Foreshadowing the 1990s implementation of multicultural curriculum and ideological structure, the WPC's advocacy for such planning is akin to sending in painters to deal with a burning building. Second, the findings in the WPC report demonstrate the WPC's attempts to change the narrative with respect to race in Los Angeles. That is, counter to what was portrayed in the report, Black migrants were experiencing the same type of racism that they had experienced in the U.S. South. Simply put, segregation and its accompanying violence in the South were no different than segregation in Los Angeles. Similar means of terror that governed state-sanctioned and extralegal violence in the South dominated the landscape of Los Angeles in the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. White terror groups such as the spookhunters and the knight riders attempted to contain Black people in particular neighborhoods throughout the city (Demyanenko & Sloan, 2005). A confluence of urban planners, policy makers, and wealthy moguls devised racially segregated cities such as the infamous Lakewood Plan that forbade Black people from moving into the city (Davis, 1998). Following the mandates of elected and appointed officials, police officers greeted Black migrants with ferocious violence (Manes, 1963).

Given that there was very little difference between segregation in the two locales, a model was placed into effect that drew upon past racial enclosure while simultaneously veering into a new direction that would serve as a guidepost for generations to come. Relying upon a model developed out of the Southern strategy with regards to anti-Black racism, the first plan of attack was to place the blame upon a "sensational" press. The reality of the situation was that outside of the Black press in Los Angeles, highlighted by the *California Eagle* and the *Los Angeles Sentinel*, the big-money press organs of the city like the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Los Angeles Herald* generally did not cover racial violence in schools, understated the degree of violence, or described the violence as emanating from Black communities (Johnson, Sears, & McConahay, 1971).

While drawing upon the Southern strategy of vilifying the press to deflect attention away from anti-Black violence, city officials developed a new model to maintain the normalization of that same violence. Specifically, the WPC's outline of a new human relations campaign established an agenda that sought to ideologically and politically reorganize the increasingly migrant populations of Black Southerners. Key to this

reorganization was the privileging of a white, propertied class that would fulfill the herrenvolkian dream set forth by the confluence of powerful landowners and finance capital (Davis, 1998). Breaking from the traditions of strict southern exclusion, management of the new racial order had to be incorporated within the realm of the state control. Communities could never dictate such matters for themselves for fear that it would result in a complete disruption of the burgeoning welfare-warfare and real estate markets (Davis, 1998; Gilmore, 2007; Halberstam, 2000).

The report included an all-encompassing program designed to control Black youth. The following were calls for services to address the aforementioned problems:

- Expanded human relations programs in the schools, including both intraschool and interschool activities.
- Community-wide human relations programs for parents and others, involving such groups as the PTA and specialized organizations offering intergroup service.
- Intensive in-service human relations training for teachers and administrative personnel.
- Broadened counseling and guidance service for pupils and parents.
- Youth-serving agency programs of intercultural and interracial interpretation, preferably in cooperation with other interested groups to lay the groundwork for mutual acceptance.
- Cooperative school-community program of human relations interpretation and orientation to integrated education.
- Program of objective interpretation to acquaint both youth and the community at large with the true character of "hate groups."
- Development of specialized services for transient and migratory youth. (WPC, 1961, p. 9)

The WPC's call for the formation and incorporation of official human relations programs within schools was an attempt to set forth a new ideological tone. Rather than a focus upon the issues that undergirded housing segregation, including physical violence enacted by police and white terror groups and white disdain for Black education, these programs sought to maintain the racial order through teaching Black students how to effectively become model, subservient citizens. Under this new regime, a model Black student would learn their place within the racial hierarchy of Los Angeles. The first thing that was taught was not to challenge the basic edicts of capitalist expansion that led to Black exploitation. Rather, there was an effort to condemn such analysis by Black organizations and ostracize them as hate groups.

Second, the formation of the human relations program can be understood as a signal to white families that "unruly negroes" would be made to behave. Of particular significance is the recommendation to acquaint youth with the "true character of hate groups" (WPC, 1961, p. 9). The report stated the following in regards to Black organizing, "A group advocating 'Black Supremacy' has been actively recruiting teen-age [sic] members" (WPC, 1961, p. 5). A later iteration of the program objective stated, "A Negro 'hate group' has been recruiting teenage members in the area" (WPC, 1961, p.

8). It is important to note that absent from the report is any reference to white terror groups such as the spookhunters as "hate groups." The labeling of Black organizations as hate groups had four desired consequences: (a) assuaging the fears that formerly all white schools throughout South Central Los Angeles were not in danger of being taken over by an influx of Black southern migrants, (b) coalescing the desires of a burgeoning Black middle class to distance itself from radical Black movements and working class Blacks in the city, (c) providing assurance that the radical, Black movement would be contained and not spread to other parts of the city; and (d) ideologically and legally constructing Black communal organizing not only as non-respectable, but also as illegal.[9]

Key to the re-framing and labeling of Black organizing and culture as dangerous was the reification of one of the original intents of racism in the United States—to discipline white labor. As expounded upon by W. E. B. DuBois (1935/1998) in *Black Reconstruction in America*, the utilization of racist doctrine by the planter class within the U.S. south was necessary to ensure that the vast swaths of poor, white laborers remained tied to the land. Specifically, as DuBois (1935/1998) eloquently pointed out, poor white laborers in the plantation South believed freedom was comprised of the aspiration to own land, slaves, and all of the excesses that came with such privilege (p. 12). Similar to the racial regime of the plantation South, northern industrialists, notably Henry Ford, utilized the logic of anti-Black racism to maintain a stratified labor base. Through his propaganda machine, *The Dearborn Independent*, Henry Ford stoked self-constructed white fears of a Black menace, spurring on white terror groups to unleash an undeterred anger that led to attacks on Black housing developments and resistance to neighborhood integration. As with the economic motivations of the plantation bloc, Ford's major rationale was to prevent the coalescence of labor across racial and class lines.[10]

Building upon the racial logic firmly ensconced within the U.S. psyche, the WPC configured the communal organizing of Black families as violent in order to further solidify the economic agenda of the burgeoning warfare economy. Given that Los Angeles was an open-shop city with a notorious history of attacking labor organizing, it should come as no surprise that the city planners attempted to squash Black organizations that primarily critiqued the normalized economic and racialized inequalities within capitalism (Halberstam, 2000; Widener, 2010). While the WPC laid out plans to address the concerns of Black radicalism, the Police in Government program placed such plans into action.

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[9] This notion of respectability is conceptualized in comparison to accepted forms of organizing promoted by groups such as the Urban League, which had formed alliances with city officials, effectively making them junior partners in furthered exploitation of Black working class communities.

[10] Ford's disdain for Jews was connected in part to his utter contempt for Jewish union organizers who sought to form multiracial labor collectives. Writing about Ford, Logsdon (1999) comments, "Ford's chief investigator, Harry Bennett, had emerged as a major influence on company policy. Bennett created a Gestapo-like agency of thugs and spies to crack down on potential threats to Ford, such as union men. 'To those who have never lived under a dictatorship,' reflected one employee, 'it is difficult to convey the sense of fear which is part of the Ford system'" (para. 61).

The Enclosure of Black Radicalism: Police as Teachers and Ideological Imposition

The STPP framework argues that schools funnel students out of classrooms and into prison cells. According to this simplified logic, a confluence of police officers and criminal justice personnel, as dictated by policy, place overwhelming Black and Brown students into the clutches of the prison system. Yet history tells a different story. That is, prior to the expansion of the prison system, schools attended primarily by Black students were already inundated by police officers as not only traditional, disciplinary figures but more importantly, as instructors of education. Such history undermines the smooth flow of the STPP rhetoric and reveals a much more complicated, insidious plan to undo Black organizing through the enclosure of Black educative spaces, particularly schools.

Following the similar reactionary route of action that gave birth to the WPC's report, the City of Los Angeles ushered in a plan that would come to define public education of Black youth in Southern California. In the aftermath of the 1965 Watts Rebellion and the uprisings and student strike that took place at Jefferson High School in 1969, the city decided to circumvent the demands made by the Black community. In a program initiated in 1969 at David Starr Jordan High School (located in the predominately Black neighborhood of Watts), the city embarked upon a journey that officially marked the union between the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) and the Los Angeles public school system. Specifically, LAPD officers were brought in to teach classes in Black high schools in Los Angeles under the program entitled *Police Role in Government* (1974). The official objectives of the program were:

- To promote a better understanding between the students and faculty as to the role of the police.
- To prevent crime and disorder particularly that related to the schools and juvenile delinquency.
- To teach the students their rights, responsibility and legal restrictions imposed by the law.
- To reduce tensions and conflicts between the youth and police and to create a cooperative relationship with the police officers working in the community.
- To be a resource for promoting other Department sponsored youth programs such as the Explorer Scouts, Summer Camp, Daps, Athletic Team, Student Worker Program, etc.
- To provide the Police Department and school administration with information and insights to the mutual problem areas confronting the schools. (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 13-15)

Reflecting the city's fears of Black revolt, the program could be best described as an attitude adjustment, pedagogical tool. Located within the section, "Attitude Survey," the program sought to assess and then change Black youth's purveying wisdom of the LAPD and their general apprehension and disdain for the rule of law. The guidelines for teacher instruction read as follows:

- Unit: Attitude Survey
- Objective: To assist the officer in getting a mental picture of the student's feelings toward the police. Secondly, to find certain information from the student in regards to what he knows about the Police and related fields of Law Enforcement.
- Motivations: To instill in the student's mind a thinking process concerning their relationship toward the police
- Law Enforcement Assignment Attitude Survey #1
- Have students take out a piece of paper and have them write on the front side, "What they think of the police." On the backside have the students draw a picture of, "What they feel a policeman looks like?" Thirdly, on the backside have them write five major areas they would like to discuss and cover during the semester. (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 17-18)

What followed was a multi-questioned, crude survey that was highly invasive, providing the groundwork for legal entrapment based upon a given response. Questions included "Do you feel like policemen 'pick' on juveniles in general?"; "Has either [SIC] of your parents been divorced, widowed, or separated?"; "Have you smoked marijuana?" (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 21-22) The survey also contained questions that addressed the major concern of city officials—the sentiment of rebellion located within the Black community. This was evident by the following questions:

- Does a citizen have any legal recourse to get law [SIC] changed without rioting?
- Do you think that knowledge of the laws of the land and the functions of the judicial process should be taught in the school?
- Do you feel that laws are enforced too rigidly?
- Should law officers have the right to be on school property, even if there is a disturbance? (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 21-22)

Key to the general framework of these questions was the attempt to develop a proper negro citizen.

Just as northern industrialists of the 19th and early 20th centuries attempted to shape ideological conversations pertaining to Black education in response to Black demands for freedom, the city and state planners crafted a plan to address Black rebellion (Watkins, 2001).[11] Specifically, the plan moved to construct normative understandings of freedom in a racialized context of U.S. governance. During this period, there was a major push afloat, spurred on by the acquiescence of major Black organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) to the federal

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[11] In the counter-development to the Black demand for public education, Watkins (2001) writes in detail about the manner in which northern industrialists such as Rockefeller coupled with prominent 19th century racial theorists "articulated a national political agenda and demonstrated how Negro education fit into it. The broad objectives call for a thoroughly re-annexed and orderly south, the expansion of public schooling for all, the maintenance of cheap black labor, and the continuation of black subservience" (p. 134).

government, to move away from an internationalist perspective of human rights to a reformist-based, civil rights agenda (Anderson, 2003). The shift had three dire consequences: (a) the minimization of Black radical positions to a singular ethos of anti-American and anti-integration sentiment, and thus, was interpolated as detrimental to Black freedom; (b) the legal determination of Black freedom and its very limited scope and enforcement under the guise of the civil rights legislation; and (c) the placement of Black organizing squarely within the crosshairs of legal strategies to further marginalize Black communities.

While varied in scope, one of the primary goals of the Police Role in Government educational program can be understood as a strict form of ideological imposition whereby Black students were to understand their political, social, and economic positionality within the parameters of a civil rights ethos while it further marginalized Black youth by instructing them to adhere to draconian terms of an already limiting set of possibilities. This process was exemplified by the teaching instructions given in the section entitled "Bill of Rights." Within this section, officers went through all of the statutes within the Bill of Rights and then interpreted the meaning of each. In the conversation pertaining to the first amendment, the teaching manual stated the following:

> I. First Amendment: Restrictions on Powers of Congress
>   A. Congress shall not abridge or deny:
>   1. Freedom of religion
>   2. Freedom of speech
>   3. Freedom of the press
>   4. Right of people to <u>peaceably</u> assemble and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.
>   a. <u>Emphasize peaceably.</u>
>   b. State has the right under the police powers to control these activities.
>   c. Police powers have to do with laws regulating the health, welfare, and morals of the community. (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 60).

Following this discussion, officers were instructed to interpret the statute in the following manner:

> 1. This is a balancing issue, that is, what is the greatest social activity to be preserved, protecting the constitutional rights of a person who is protesting or demonstrating, or preserving the welfare of the community in general.
> 2. <u>Each situation is determined by the individual issues of that particular case.</u> <u>Example</u>: A person may have a right to march in a protest demonstration as guaranteed by the first amendment [SIC]. <u>However</u>, the police may curtail his activity when his actions, such as throwing objects or inciting a riot, threaten the welfare of the community. This is an example of where the court will <u>balance</u> the issues as to what the individual is doing and the authority exercised by the police in restraining him. (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 61)

Following the explanation of the First Amendment, the manual discussed each subsequent amendment in the same detailed manner—one in which the role of the police is taught to protect society and the citizen base. This was made very explicit in the description of the Tenth Amendment:

X. <u>Tenth Amendment</u>: States Rights
    A. Powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.
    B. Police Powers of the state deal with state laws pertaining to:
        1. Health
        2. Welfare
        3. Morals (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 69)

In essence, the explanation of the tenth amendment provides the basis for the policing of all facets of Black life. While health and welfare are vague and thus problematic concepts, the phrasing of morality, which appears several times throughout the text, undergirds the role of the police to enforce a particular type of normative standard of behavior that historically has denigrated Blackness. Within the rule of law, moral standards have provided a cloak for the legitimacy of physical and psychological violence against Black people in the United States and consequently served to legitimate the oppression of Black life.[12] This has been further exacerbated by the very contradiction of law in the United States that provided supposed clauses (exemplified by the Bill of Rights) of moral standing. The contradiction is laid bare when it is acknowledged that the Bill of Rights was written in the midst of two of the greatest immoral acts in the history of the world—the savagery of the transatlantic slave trade of Black people and the most heinous disposition of indigenous people of the United States from their land and cultural resources.

The reinforcement of the façade of a U.S. moral position has been consistently buttressed by the structure of education. From early education planners such as Franklin H. Giddings and Thomas Jesse Jones, the thrust of the education of Black people has been to instill particular racial, social, and economic ideologies that are supported by either Biblical and/or enlightened claims of morality (Watkins, 2001). This reinforcement of the moral argument is of particular significance to the U.S. nation-building process, given the intent to suppress Black counter-ideologies that inextricably linked together freedom and education. From the development of an antebellum legal framework that forbade Black literacy to the rise of industrial education during Reconstruction to the systematic, economic disenfranchisement of Black education during codified segregation,

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[12] This has been the case with a wide range of moral defenses for violence enacted upon Black people. From the alleged protection of white women that justified the lynching of Black men to the protection of Black women against themselves that justified forced sterilization, moral rationale has always been purported to justify both legal and extra-legal violence upon Black people (Giddings, 2009; Roberts, 1998). In addition, the same case is made with respect to education, in particular the moral position that informed the eugenics movement that justified the disregard for Black education outside of the realm of manual labor (Watkins, 2001).

severe measures have been put in place during key epochs to counter Black movements for liberation. Each period mirrors the rise of a ground swell of Black rebellion against the brutality of the U.S. nation state. From the Stono and Nat Turner Rebellions to the general strike initiated by Black labor that ended the Civil War to Black collective organizing upon socialist principles of the early twentieth century, the primary goal of the state apparatus has always been to counter Black liberation in order to preserve the Union.

Thus, it comes as no surprise that by the middle of the twentieth century, the preservation of the Union was central to the formation of programs such as the Police in Government collaborative, which attempted to reinforce strict adherence to the legal system. The summation of the Bill of Rights section within the teaching manual provides insight into this process:

> Close up examination of the police and court procedures and the judicial process will reveal that all of these amendments have had an impact on the day to day process of law, and that these ideals are not just words on paper. Every time an arrest is made, or every time a police officer searches for or seizes evidence, his actions will come under the scrutiny of the court to see if he acted within the boundaries of the constitution [SIC] and its fair interpretation. Every time a person finds himself in an arrest situation, he can be assured that he will be subject to a fair and due process of law. (Los Angeles Police Department, 1974, p. 70)

These strategies did nothing more than to mask the daily reality for Black youth in Southern California, which was diametrically opposed to the aforementioned claims of legal due process. Hugh Manes's (1963) decade-long report on police harassment and brutality of Black Angelinos provides clear evidence that Blacks did not only suffer at the hands of the police but also by the court system that both legitimated such brutality and disregarded claims of police abuse. The 1965 Watts Rebellion both exposed the brutal nature of state violence in Los Angeles while also demonstrating the fragility of the city governance with respect to ideological maintenance. Within the constraints of the law, Black life in Los Angeles had no legal rights.

In response to these attacks, Black Angelinos began using high school and college campuses as sites for radical Black organizing and education. The city responded by attacking these spaces since they were instrumental in the organizational strategy of Black resistance. In particular, as a strategic point of development, the Black Panther Party actively recruited on high school and college campuses. Such a past belies an important problematic of the STPP argumentation. The STPP framework focuses narrowly on the disciplinary practices that take place at the K-12 level, ignoring the complicity of higher education within processes of Black enclosure. Rather, the primary solution posited by the STPP model is to change the direction of the funneling mechanism from prisons to higher education. What this argument misunderstands is that Black organizing was actively working to challenge the racist tenets of Black oppression by challenging the racist foundations and practices of secondary and post-secondary education. Institutions of higher education were considered bastions of opportunity and struggle. On the one hand, while there was much to be gained within institutions of

higher education in terms of educational and financial resources; on the other, they were also predominately white institutions that reluctantly admitted a modicum pool of Black students. The more common approach was to deny the presence of Blackness both in terms of student population and academic scholarship (Biondi, 2012). Thus, it comes as no surprise that when enclosures were placed upon Black organizing, colleges and universities were also key sites used to limit the effectiveness of Black liberation movements. For example, while much has been discussed about the 1969 murders of Bunchy Carter and John Huggins on the campus of the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), the backdrop of the story is very important (Widener, 2010). Both the Panthers and the United Slaves (US) organizations were heavily involved with the new influx of Black students that arrived from the heart of both South Central Los Angeles and Oakland at UCLA during the later part of the 1960s. Much of the jockeying between the organizations was to determine which direction the Black Student Union was going to be directed—either in a cultural, nationalist perspective informed by the US or through a radical formation asserted by the Black Panther Party (Everett & Zarlow, 2009). Carter and Huggins were both students at UCLA and members of the Panther Party who actively utilized the educational resources at UCLA to educate and organize Black students on campus (Demyanenko & Sloan, 2005). The strong connection between Black freedom and the central role of public education as a site of organizing and building cannot be overstated (Demyanenko & Sloan, 2005). Leaders of Black radical movements in Los Angeles such as Bunchy Carter, Ericka Huggins, and John Huggins recognized the immense power in education and were highly effective in politicizing and directing the energy of a sizable population of angry and dissatisfied Black youth. The effect was the building of a radical, Black student body at one of the two flagship institutions within the University of California system.

Specifically, their radical political position was based upon a system of governance that was free from the control of the government. The first mandate of the Black Panther Party Ten Point Platform states, "We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community" (Hilliard, 2008, p. 74). How this was to be developed is explicated in point number three:

> We want an end to the robbery by the capitalists of our black community. We believe that this racist government has robbed us, and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules were promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of Black people. We will accept the payment in currency which will be distributed to our many communities. (Hilliard, 2008, p. 39)

Building from the similar strategy exercised by Black leaders during Reconstruction, Black freedom was predicated upon the development of an educated Black population. Positioning the key role of education within the system, point five states: "We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society" (Hilliard, 2008, p. 75).

It can be argued that the goal of point five seems overly idealistic, but it has to be situated within who was teaching Black youth. By 1969, Black communities throughout

Los Angeles had long been dissatisfied with the education that their children were receiving. In addition to the placement of disgruntled teachers within Black schools, there was the general sense that the school system was outright negligent in their treatment of Black students.[13] The boiling point of this rage culminated in 1969 when Black youth from Thomas Jefferson High School went on strike and refused to attend school until their explicit demands (i.e. vacating police from school campuses, hiring of faculty that provided community-determined educational quality) were met.[14] The STPP discourse has failed to account for this longer history of policing in schools and Black resistance to schools as sites of Black enclosure.

The goal of the Police in Government course was to shift the radical, ideological stance of the Black student population to one that would encourage individuals to abide by a limited civil rights paradigm. This governance model attempted to counter the political agenda within Black communities—the same communities that understood the severe limitations of the legal system and racially discriminatory nature of the business sector. The power and consequent danger of Black radical struggles was their political analyses and potential to undermine the city's leadership and financial interests of private capital within Los Angeles through the demands for redistribution of wealth and relinquishment of control of state structures (Horne, 1997).[15] In particular, after the failed promises made on behalf of the city and private capital to incorporate more inclusive hiring practices following the 1965 Watts Rebellion, Black Angelinos knew that the answer to their problems did not rest within the solutions provided by city leadership (Holland, 1995). Instead, following the rebellion was a massive retreat by private and public sectors of political and economic capital that left a tremendous void within key state structures including schools (Gilmore, 2007; Kelley, 1998). Such action provided evidence that state institutions consistently sold false bills of goods to Black communities.

Within this void and the failure of the Civil Rights legislation to produce tangible benefits for the masses of Black people, the city doubled back with the implementation of the Police in Government course. Although the program was portrayed as an altruistic act by the city to rectify tensions between Black Angelinos and the police, the real intent was to further marginalize Black people through conservative reform that tried to dampen Black radicalism. In response to Black demands for control over education to improve the situation within Black schools, the city responded by investing in a program that sent police officers into schools. Further, the intent of the program was to squelch the spirit of

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[13] Black rage toward the system was evident at a school system meeting where angry Black parents, in response to consistently placing bad and disgruntled teachers within Black schools, shouted at the Associate Superintendent of Schools Richard Purdy and School Board President Arthur Gardner: "Get off your ass!" "The people will take the power in their own hands!" "Do we have to burn your school down?" ("School Board Plans," 1969)

[14] In response to an altercation that occurred at a Crenshaw and Jefferson football game, the LAPD swarmed down in mass upon Jefferson High School. Students refused to return back to school unless the police were removed from the campus (Porter, 1969).

[15] For more information on the relationship between owners of industry and the state via a vi the Black population, please see chapters 13 and 14 of *Fire This Time: The Watts Uprising and the 1960s* by Gerald Horne (1997).

revolt that city officials such as Mayor Yorty and Police Chief William Parker had spurred when they placed the blame of Black communities' lack of resources upon a failure of Black people to abide the rule of law.[16] Similar models became the norm with respect to Black communities and Black education in the decades that followed the implementation of the Police in Government program. Within California, there was greater withdrawal from publically funded education due to the direct threat of organizations such as the Black Panther Party and their reliance upon public education as a key site of organizing.[17] Similarly, legislation such as the Street Terrorism Prevention Act, passed in 1988, and the Abolish Chronic Truancy program, passed in 1991, were implemented and served to further situate gangs and rogue Black youth as the problem of a city that possessed both areas of greatest affluence and poverty in the nation. Similar to actions taken some twenty years prior, Los Angeles' response was to further entrench Black communities and schools with increased forms of surveillance and policing. Importantly, the culmination of these policies as well as those of the 1950s through the 1970s predate and/or occur simultaneously with the expansion of prisons in California. Such a history demands that contemporary analyses of prisons begin to shift. Instead of focusing on prisons, schools should be more closely examined as the sites from which policies and models of urban enclosure emanate.

Conclusion: Looking Back to Move Forward

The intent of Los Angeles city officials and planners to frame the discourse around law and civil rights and away from a radical position relates directly to the current moment with regard to discussions pertaining to the STPP. Many of the solutions are being derived from a public policy and legal agenda that has developed from the very set of processes that function to limit Black freedom. This is not an argument against the great work that is being done within the realm of the law to fight for freedom, but one must have a historical perspective to understand that an agenda that only relies upon legal constructs and public policy mandates has been ineffective for Black people. Also, even when well-intentioned laws have been passed, they have rarely been followed, or more commonly, have lacked any proverbial teeth to enforce the basic tenets of justice.[18] The crux of the matter is not the presence of the law or even those legislative bodies who passed the law. Rather, the economic impetus for and ideological premises on which laws, policies, and plans are formed are of greater importance and provide needed insight to understand both intent and purpose.

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[16] Hugh Manes (1963) documented the details of how Mayor Sam Yorty worked to undermine radical Black organizing by the NAACP and Black Muslims in Los Angeles in the 1950s and 60s while LAPD police chief William Parker worked to eliminate Black communal organizations. Their argument was based upon the mythical creation that such Black organizations were the causes of extreme violence and were anti-American.

[17] Roger Freeman who was an education advisor to then California Governor Ronald Reagan vocalized this logic of fear. In an interview he stated, "We are in danger of producing an educated proletariat. That's dynamite! We have to be selective on who we allow to go through higher education" (as cited in Franklin, 2000).

[18] This was exemplified by the passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1965, which required the proof of racially discriminatory intent with regards to the renting and selling of housing, perhaps the highest standard within the rule of law.

The history of radical Black freedom struggles has always existed outside of the boundaries of the supposed law. From Nat Turner learning how to read, proselytizing, and teaching a message of Black revolt throughout the U.S. South, to Black students at Jefferson High School going on strike, education has remained at the intersection between freedom and enclosure of Black people. It is necessary for perceived agents of power to both render such actions as terroristic, violent, and dangerous in order to maintain the illusion of control on one hand, while reacting with a set of reformist-based processes that are labeled as the solution on the other. The intense focus upon the behavior and subsequent disciplining of Black youth has taken center stage with respect to the argumentation of the STPP. The rhetorical strategies and policies that have emanated from such conversations have hijacked the real demands for an education that is based upon social change. Until there is a firm grasp on the centrality of the structure of education as a key site in the development of control-based strategies and the attempted suppression of a radically different type of education process, then analyses will fail to develop real and long-lasting solutions.

Solutions have to be located within the demands of communities that are currently under siege. While the above history of educational and social enclosures highlights city-level responses to radical actions of Black liberation, the intended targets have been Black communities in general. According to sociologist Pam Oliver (2008), the development of policing mechanisms within Black communities is an effort to stamp out dissent. Oliver points out that in direct response to the organizing and collective efforts of Black communities, a plan of action was developed to effectively police all Black communities with the intent to stop Black organizing before it occurred. In her discussion of the mechanisms that foster Black repression in the United States, she states that repression operates in three capacities: deterrence, incapacitation, and surveillance. Her analysis of surveillance underlines the philosophy that has driven the enclosures of Black education. Oliver (2008) states, "The third mechanism, coercive surveillance, also works by gaining information to identify the people to target for control and by disrupting or blocking the social organization of collective action" (p. 14). She demonstrates that the infrastructure for what was previously considered "necessary" only for riot suppression is normal policing within the Black community. She argues that "the United States is one of the most repressive countries on earth. Our Black population is living under a level of surveillance that can only be characterized as a police state" (Oliver, 2008, p. 3).

Key to Oliver's argument is that the draconian enclosure processes that targeted Black radical organizing have become the norm throughout all Black communities. Regardless if one is directly involved with organizing, Black people, and students in particular, are subjected to the very models that were designed to stop Black radical organizing. Further, Oliver's analysis of the current conditions of Black life in the United States in conjunction with the aforementioned history of repression of Black education allows us to understand that enclosures of Black communities emanate from attempts to control Black radical organizing—a form of organizing that has always placed education at the fore. The bond that has connected Black radicalism to Black education is the organic connection fostered by the lived experience of Black people in Black communities. Thus, it is no surprise that the first place of attempted control was schools, for as history dictates, education has been the central component of Black communal

organizing. This is what the framing of the STPP ignores, and more importantly, has never intended to address. The current structure of discipline, curriculum, and policy formation within public education is based upon an anti-Black praxis of repression of Black struggles for liberation. In order to cast asunder the enclosure of Black education and the problematic of policy-based models that function to mis-educate, marginalize, and exploit Black communities, solutions must be derived from the demands of the Black people within communities, not policy makers, philanthropic foundations, or manufactured leaders.

In an effort to bring forth these demands, I will end with a beginning. Trained as an anthropologist, my research of schools and prisons in the United States has enabled me to have insightful conversations with Black youth, parents, teachers, and community members. While I have had the privilege to listen to and discuss many possible solutions pertaining to Black education, there have been three that consistently come to the surface: (a) remove policing (not just the official police, but *all* forms of policing) from Black schools, neighborhoods, and communities; (b) bring an end to all forms of standardized testing within public education; and (c) provide community control of all economic and pedagogical resources that govern Black education. It is important to note that these proposed solutions were not on the extreme end of the spectrum; rather, they were the baseline for the start of conversation and were not negotiable. In other words, these are demands that have to be at the center of any solution model regarding the education of Black youth. My effort is not to merely provide a list of solutions, but rather to change the framing of education from a set of consistently limited parameters that serve to ensure Black subjugation to one that is based upon the basic tenets of a radically democratic society.

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