Turning White: Co-Opting a Profession through the Myth of Progress, An Intersectional Historical Perspective of Brown v. Board of Education

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> *Although integrated education is not a panacea, diverse learning environments benefit all students, helping children to develop cross-cultural understanding, lessen bias and prejudice, and promote civic participation* (George and Darling-Hammond 2019 para. 1)

> *All our silences in the face of racist assault are acts of complicity*—bell hooks[1]

Brown v. Board (1954)

Between 1939-1940, prior to the *Brown* decision, white teachers were paid approximately 80% more than their Black counterparts, particularly in segregated states (Beezer 1986). According to Beezer (1986), the "NAACP began its legal efforts to equalize the salaries of black and white teachers in those states that maintained segregated schools" (p. 201). Despite the inequalities of "separate but equal," Black students were, largely, educated in schools with teachers who understood their culture, believed in, cared about, and fought for their success, and served as role models and mentors, while being subjected to substandard facilities, materials, and resources.

The *Brown* decision was an implicit reversal of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which upheld the constitutionality of segregation based upon race for public facilities, so long as "separate but equal" facilities were in place. *Brown* effectively found that *Plessy's* "separate but equal" doctrine within educational facilities was unconstitutional. The *Brown* decision argued that Black children were inherently harmed by segregation, and that their separation from white children contributed to low self-esteem that would follow them for their entire lives. According to Howie (1973), the *Brown* court argued for several "intangible" factors, such as the damage that educational segregation causes Black children:

> To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely to ever be undone. (*Brown v. Board of Education* 1954)

Influential to the *Brown* decision was the Clarks' doll experiments of the 1940s. Kenneth (1914-2005) and Mamie (1917-1983) Clark were a married team of African American psychologists, active in the civil rights movement, and perhaps most famous for using dolls to assess children's feelings about race. As cited in the *Brown* decision:

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[1] hooks, bell. "Killing Rage: Ending Racism." *Journal of Leisure Research* 28, no. 4 (1996): 316.

> Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system. (*Brown v. Board of Education* 1954)

Psychologists at Columbia University, Kenneth and Mamie Clark presented participant children with two identical dolls, but for skin and hair color. One doll had brown skin and black hair, the other, white skin and blonde hair. The children were then asked which doll they preferred and various other questions such as: which doll looks "bad," and which has the "nicer color." The children showed an overall preference for the white doll, which illustrated internalized racism among Black participants. As Kenneth Clark stated, "The Negro child accepts as early as six, seven, or eight the negative stereotypes about his own group. . . . These children. . . like other human beings who are subjected to an obviously inferior status in the society in which they live, have been definitely harmed in the development of their personalities" (Clark 1950 n. p.). Such feelings of self-hatred were more pronounced in children who attended segregated schools (Clark and Clark 1950).

Unable to reach a decision after the first set of *Brown* arguments, the justices requested that arguments be presented to them again. Chief Justice Earl Warren focused on the psychological effects of segregation on African American students when making his ruling. The court based its reversal of *Plessy* largely on social science evidence (Russo 2004).

The *Brown* court differed from previous education desegregation cases (e.g., *Missouri ex rel Gaines v. Canada, 1938; Sweatt v. Painter, 1950; McLaurin v. Board of Regents, 1950*) because previous cases neither were compelled to reexamine *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) nor asked to resolve the constitutionality of racial segregation within public schools. According to Howie (1973), "Since by 1954 all states were providing public education to some, if not all, of its social strata, the Court was elevating equality of educational opportunity to a fundamental constitutional right, compelled by the Fourteenth Amendment's requirement of the equal protection of the laws" (p. 376). Prior to the *Brown* decision, previous court decisions lay bare the national, institutional, and judicial influence of slavery on every aspect of American society, justifying racism at every turn.

The *Brown* ruling (1955) was decided during a time of civil unrest. Black soldiers returning from WWII witnessed more freedom for People of Color (PoC) abroad, but found themselves still oppressed at home. Post-WWII, African Americans joined civil rights organizations in record numbers. However, this shift in political activism came with a price. Between the years of 1941-1946, twenty-two African Americans were lynched by whites desiring to repress political activism and terrorize any nascent activists from further political engagement (Webb 2004). The *Brown* ruling, on the surface, appeared to be a win for African Americans and the organizations that represented them. Many believed that the decision was the beginning of the implementation of equal rights for all. The optimism that came with the *Brown* ruling gave hope to many African

Americans who believed that their second-class citizenship would soon be alleviated. However, toppling centuries of white supremacy is never simple.

Theoretical Framework/Historical Lens

Our approach to this historical analysis of *Brown* is to view primary (court cases) and secondary sources (scholarly reviews of course cases) through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT). Additionally, we utilize CRT to center the issues of racism and white supremacy within the field of education in order to speculate about the consequences for past, present, and future SoC who have had little to no exposure to and experience with Black teachers, and to theorize intersectional solutions to the teacher shortage in general.

According to Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), Critical Race Theory (CRT) encompasses five tenets:

1. The permanence of racism
2. Counterstorytelling
3. Interest convergence
4. Whiteness as property
5. The critique of liberalism

To summarize Ladson-Billings and Tate's analysis, as well as further CRT analyses by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1988; Crenshaw et al., 1995) and Derrick Bell (1980; 1995), first, using a critical race lens requires scholars to acknowledge the intractability of racism and its impact. Second, CRT demands that we find underrepresented stories to reveal the truths of living in a racist society. Third, critical race theorists understand that unless change benefits the dominant group, then change will not occur. Fourth, CRT proponents understand that whiteness has historically dominated indigenous and enslaved peoples, treating humans as property, while dominating or forbidding property ownership for PoC. Fifth, the implications of CRT suggest that we move beyond colorblindness and other positions that mask the reality of white supremacy, such as grassroots political organizing as opposed to relying on legal remedies, or working within the current political system, i.e., the philosophy of liberalism, in the creation of social change with regard to race and intersectional issues.

Contact theory is also relevant to the issues addressed in this paper. That is, the more contact we have with others who are different from us, the more likely relationships will form. According to Moody (2001), "Part of the motivation behind the *Brown* decision was the recognition that informal social relations are an important part of the educational experience" (p. 707). In some instances, intentional work was done on the part of districts and schools to integrate SoC and whites in a manner that utilized leveled status structure and activities, which led to interracial friendships. However, when school culture was not taken into consideration, and school officials were not intentional about integration, then racial conflict was common (Moody 2001). Professional development informed by CRT is crucial for all educators, particularly when seeking school integration.

Good Idea/Bad Implementation?

The *Brown* court ultimately determined that the doctrine of separate but equal had no place in American education, but was unable to reach an immediate decision following the first set of arguments. After hearing oral arguments a second time Chief Justice Earl Warren, writing on behalf of the unanimous Court, asked, "education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments . . . does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race . . . deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities?" (*Brown v. Board of Education*). Although segregation and Jim Crow were disastrous for African Americans in general, there were pockets of hope located within many segregated Black schools.

Prior to the *Brown* decision, Black schools in Topeka, for example, were well-funded and highly respected. Black teachers were esteemed, and the teaching profession in general was prestigious (Lutz 2017). W.E.B. Du Bois (1868 - 1963) argued that Black teachers were better equipped to teach Black children. Interestingly, as schools became integrated, Black teachers were pushed out of the profession, the prestige of the profession decreased, and Black students became trapped in underfunded schools with inexperienced white teachers with little to no understanding about how to teach SoC (Kluger 2004).

Additionally, many whites historically were not invested in *Brown* because there was no interest convergence (Ladson-Billings and Tate 1995). Unless they were civil rights activists themselves, whites neither possessed the passion nor the knowledge of how to create successful integration. The implementation of *Brown* often failed because radical social change was not integrated with the slow legal changes of *Brown*—thus integration was enforced by federal force. With the intentional removal of Black teachers, SoC were often pathologized within formerly white schools to maintain white supremacy (Kluger 2004; Love 2019).

According to Douglass Horsford (2019), there was intentional judicial resistance to *Brown*. For example, The *Brown II* decision (1955) pertains to school desegregation being implemented with "all deliberate speed," which, ironically, delayed desegregation for decades. According to Oakley, Stowell, and Logan (2009):

> After *Brown* many southern districts were required to desegregate. . . . Integration of the student body in the South left black teachers more vulnerable to displacement than elsewhere. In non-southern states, both residential segregation and the racially conscious placement of schools and configuration of attendance boundaries sustained school segregation even after the *Brown* decision. Because insidious segregation was harder to prove as intentional, court-mandated desegregation was less frequent. (p. 1577)

Mandated desegregation was effective only when sufficient force was enacted. For example, between 1968 and 1986, almost 50 major school districts changed dramatically after mandated desegregation orders. However, in districts with greater than 5% black enrollment, segregation from 1970 to 2000 was greater in districts not forced to desegregate.

Justice Kennedy's concurrence in prior court decisions (e.g., the Seattle and Louisville cases) presented choices for school districts to achieve racial integration (Hunter 2009). Districts were

permitted to locate schools between racially distinct neighborhoods, alter school attendance boundaries, and target recruitment of students from specific schools. Efforts at decentralization post *Brown* were common. According to Hunter (2009), concerns about the implementation of integration post *Brown* were prominent, "Most models were created by boards of education after they received complaints from minority parents over the educational quality their children were receiving" (p. 578). Litigation in federal courts began in the 1970s in order to ensure equitable distribution of resources in public schools.

The liberal ideal of *Brown*, that racial integration would increase the self-esteem of Black students, reduce racism in the U.S., and unite the races, was misguided because interest convergence was not in place. In fact, integration efforts post-*Brown* were often implemented by individuals within racist systems, who did not abide the spirit of *Brown*, were unable or incapable to truly recognize the strengths of SoC; rather, they viewed SoC from a deficit point of view. These ideas are revealed in the practices of academic tracking. According to Moody (2001), "Academic tracking . . . simultaneously separates students and creates a status differential between students in academic tracks (often white) and students in nonacademic tracks (often nonwhite)" (p. 680). The consequences of this historical and ongoing secondary segregation (academic tracking) are still with us in our current educational milieu, as realized in the achievement gap, more correctly characterized as "opportunity gaps" and as "educational debt" (Carter & Welner 2013; Love 2019). This updated terminology places more onus on the system and those in charge of the system, rather than on the most vulnerable participants within an oppressive system, the students.

When integration efforts are intentional and culturally responsive, i.e., within settings where students of different races possess equal status within the school and when students of different races engage in interdependency, this can promote interracial friendship (Moody, 2001). Contact theory suggests that interracial friendships, given exposure, is dependent upon the status structure and activities within the school setting. According to Moody (2001), when there are only two races within a school, the "us versus them" dynamic can occur. However, when a school has more than two races, "multiple dynamics may mitigate racial segregation . . . differences in race-specific mixing patterns may create bridges between groups that help unite the entire school . . . school organization affects racial friendship segregation by structuring interracial contact" (p. 708, p. 709). In sum, school climate matters, and adults must be intentional in creating a school climate where social and racial justice is possible. Educational leaders were decidedly not intentional in the creation of socially and racially just school cultures post-*Brown*.

Unintended? Effects of *Brown*

Racial Extremism. As CRT suggests, during and after the *Brown* decision, there was much dissention among whites in particular to the idea of school integration, and active resistance to the actual move toward desegregation. According to Tushnet (1994), Judge John Parker, who wrote for one of the *Brown* cases, argued, "The Constitution . . . does not require integration. . . . It merely forbids the use of governmental power to enforce segregation" (p. 175). Judge Parker's interpretation of *Brown* was not unique in the years immediately following *Brown*. School districts (e.g., Baltimore and St. Louis) adopted "freedom-of-choice" and "neighborhood student

assignment plans" that, in effect, reproduced previous racial segregation, and such plans went mostly unchallenged (Tushnet, 1994). According to Douglass Horsford (2019), white supremacy was reflected after the *Brown* decision in Jim Crow laws, *Brown II,* and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District* (2007). This resistance led to white racial extremism in many instances.

White resistance stemmed from the idea of Blacks and whites learning together within the same school would threaten the ideas of white supremacy and white superiority. In fact,

> Many whites assumed, and feared, that if blacks and whites went to school together, blacks would suddenly feel equal, perhaps even intelligent. And this of course, according to many whites, would lead blacks to become not only overconfident, but skeptical of the carefully crafted facade of white superiority. (Lutz, 2017, p. 8)

Moreover, the idea of separate but equal being considered unconstitutional undermined the established rules of Jim Crow. However, most white southerners were not willing to accept a ruling to integrate when they had worked diligently to keep the races apart. As one group was on the brink of receiving access to equal opportunities, another group felt that their rights were now being oppressed.

Perhaps the most explicit resistance to *Brown* was The Southern Manifesto—more formally known as the Declaration of Constitutional Principles. Written in 1956, this was a congressional document opposing the racial integration of public spaces. The signers believed that the judiciary abused their authority in making a federal decision impacting, what Southerners believed, should be a decision left to the states. The Southern Manifesto signaled southern defiance to *Brown* in particular.

Signed by 101 Congress members (99 southern Democrats and two Republicans, 19 senators and 82 representatives—including the entire delegations of the states of Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina and Virginia), The Southern Manifesto argued, "The Supreme Court of the United States, with no legal basis for such action, undertook to exercise their naked judicial power and substituted their personal political and social ideas for the established law of the land" and promised to use "all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation" (The Southern Manifesto of 1956). Additionally, The Southern Manifesto, argued that *Brown* "is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races . . . certain to destroy the system of public education in some of the States" (The Southern Manifesto of 1956). The signers of the Southern Manifesto also declared that they would resist any attempts at "forced integration" by any "lawful means."

Measures to thwart school integration were often under the direction of White Citizens' Councils, whose purpose was to keep segregation intact. As described by Holmes, the members of White Citizens' Councils were prominent and respected whites who were influential in their communities. The goals of these Councils were identical to those of the Ku Klux Klan, denials of equality to Blacks, but these goals were pursued with less violent tactics: through economic pressures, Black voter suppression, boycotts of schools, etc. (Holmes 1972).

Negative Consequences for Black Teachers/Students/Administrators: 38,000.

> *I still remember my rage when we had to awaken an hour early so that we could be bussed before the white students arrived. We were made to sit in the gymnasium and wait. It was believed this practice would prevent the outbreak of conflict before classes began. Yet, once again, the burden of this transition was placed on us. The white school was desegregated, but in the classroom, in the cafeteria, and in most social spaces racial apartheid prevailed.*[2]

Mandated desegregation often resulted in the closing of Black schools exclusively, placing the burden of change upon them specifically, as hooks points out. Because of *Brown's* explicit lack of direction pertaining to Black educators and the retention thereof, as well as a lack of monitoring, this set a precedent where, "Normative pressures included new teacher-certification requirements that disadvantaged black teachers, supported indirectly by the merging of the American Teachers Association, the National Education Association and the black state teachers association with their white counterparts" (Oakley et al. 2009 p. 1577). Hooker (1970) found that requiring the National Teacher Examination (NTE) for certification led to the further whitification of the profession. According to Oakley et al. (2009), "the NTE was designed by and for middle-class white teachers and, according to critics, many of the test items had nothing to do with teacher ability" (p. 1578). Black principals/administrators were impacted even more severely, as "white students . . . would not be under the authority of a black principal" (p. 1578). For example, Oakley et al. (2009) found that in North Carolina alone there were 227 black principals; this number fell to *eight* by 1970, yet no legislation was ever enacted to protect Black educators from displacement. In sum, according to Lutz (2017):

> While *Brown* enabled children of all races and backgrounds to have equal opportunity and access in education, poor integration implementation policies and widespread white backlash presented problems for many black students and teachers. Black students lost role models who not only knew them on a personal level, but had a unique understanding of their communities, cultural identities and individual situations. (p. 1)

After *Brown*, 38,000 Black teachers and administrators in southern and southern bordering states were displaced from their profession. This is both a little known and a harrowing fact. According to Orfield (1969), there was neither language provided in the 1964 Civil Rights Act, nor in the federal desegregation guidelines of 1966 to protect Black educators. In the 1960s and 70s, more desegregation orders were enacted, which caused a further reduction in the Black teaching force (Oakley, Stowell, & Logan, 2009). The removal of Black teachers included changes to teacher certification programs intentionally disadvantaging historical minorities (Oakley et al. 2009). According to Orfield (1969), additional tactics used to remove black teachers included: non-renewal of contracts, reassigning black teachers to white schools without choice or preference (much different from white teachers' experiences). The harassment faced by Black teachers in these hostile white schools often caused them to leave their jobs altogether. The U.S. teaching force is currently more than 80% white (Bureau of Labor Statistics 2019). We speculate on

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[2] hooks, bell. *Teaching to Transgress*. Routledge, 2014.

whether some of this disproportionality can be explained by the historical trauma experienced by Black teachers at their removal from the profession post-*Brown*.

White Flight. Nine black students were the first to integrate Central High School in Little Rock, AR. Unwanted by white students and parents, the Little Rock Nine attempted to enter the school amid whites spitting on them, yelling, and threatening them with bodily harm. Not only were they tormented by crowds outside, but the Little Rock Nine were also greeted by the Arkansas National Guard. Governor Orval Faubus ostensibly called the National Guard to protect the Black students from riot and bloodshed, but, in reality, he wanted to protect the white children from having Black children attend their school (Kluger 2004). It took military action from President Eisenhower to allow the Little Rock Nine entrance to their new school. Forced desegregation led many white families to flee public schools, or to relocate to districts and locales that were more homogeneous in order to avoid the issue altogether.

For over forty years, underrepresented student enrollment in public school has increased, while white student enrollment is on the decline, particularly in urban areas (Oakley et al. 2009). A diverse teaching force enriches the educational experiences of all students because this exposes students to diverse and underrepresented perspectives represented within the U.S., encouraging multiculturalism, and serving as potential role models for SoC (Carter and Welner 2013; Love 2019; Oakley et al. 2009).

Middle class and wealthy parents possess the resources to move their children to higher performing schools (including private schools) based upon public information about student performance on standardized tests, which are often used to assess the quality of a school and its teachers (Hunter 2009; National Education Policy Center, 2018). These decisions serve to leave (mostly) urban public schools with large numbers of what are perceived as low-achieving students (Beese and Martin 2016; Hunter 2009). According to Hunter (2009):

> These [urban public] schools serve students who come from predominantly Black and poor socioeconomic backgrounds and whose parents do not have sufficient economic and political power to fend all the profit motives of persons who want to privatize their children's schools. In this case, so-called educational reformers, who are proposing radical solutions to the educational problems of urban schools, are in the traditional sense opponents if not enemies of the residents in these communities. (p. 588)

According to the National Education Policy Center (2019), desegregation peaked in 1988, but since then segregation for Black students has risen in every region of the U.S. Additionally, although racial diversity is greater than ever, public schools are ever more segregated—resulting in long-term consequences for Students of Color, such as achievement differentials, un/underemployment, and income discrepancy (National Education Policy Center 2019). As Orfield argues:

> Segregation is expanding in almost all regions of the country. Little has been done for a generation. There has been no meaningful federal government effort devoted to foster the voluntary integration of the schools, and it has been decades since federal agencies

funded research about effective strategies for school integration. We have to do more. (National Education Policy Center 2019, para. 8)

White flight, and educational policy (specifically the proliferation of charter schools), have done much to dismantle the intentions of *Brown*. In terms of educational reform efforts, charter schools that profess to provide students in "failing schools" the opportunity to obtain a high-quality education have most negatively impacted urban schools by promoting segregation: white students flee struggling urban schools to attend charters and cause the removal of public funds from urban public schools into private hands. Economic resources follow the students; when students leave urban schools so too does the money, ultimately causing severe inequities in school funding.

The Proliferation of Charter Schools. There is debate about when the concept of the charter school was formed. Some argue that the concept was popularized in a 1988 speech by then president of the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) Albert Shanker. Conceptualized as lab schools, the idea that Shanker spoke of involved teachers experimenting with new pedagogies in a smaller environment, and then take their research back to the larger organization—an idea incubator if you will (Shanker 1988). This is a far cry from what charter schools look like today.

Others argue that the proliferation of charter schools originated with the deregulation of the 1970s, when policy influencers, like business leader from Minnesota Ted Kolderie, worked actively to "end the exclusive franchise" of local school districts providing public education (Kolderie 1990). Kolderie advocated for free market choice in education. Although the firm reliance on the free market and deregulation may be considered Republican ideas, both Republicans and Democrats have supported charter schools. Instead of recognizing differential per pupil funding (decidedly lower in districts containing lower tax bases), issues of segregation, and other systemic issues, politicians and policy makers sought to "solve" the problems of public education, e.g., the U.S. lagging behind other countries in reading and math, the achievement gap, poverty, drugs, crime, etc., by betting on the charter school "solution."

Opposed by teacher unions, charters are decidedly anti-union and they pull public monies into private hands, but students can be excluded from entrance based on complex application processes that "screen out" students based on English Language Learning statuses, special education status, learning challenges, and the like. Charter schools are purported to educate all students, just like public schools, yet their often complex application processes, often written in English, serve as a gatekeeper. Many charters accept only the most academically talented students (Gilblom and Sang 2019).

In the 1990s, legislation was passed to expand charter schools. With little evidence of the effectiveness of charter schools on student learning (Orfield 2014), the No Child Left Behind Act authorized charter schools as an acceptable alternative to low performing public schools (National Alliance for Public Charter Schools 2013). In addition, the Obama Administration and the U.S. Department of Education required states to remove barriers to charter school creation as a pre-condition for the competitive Race to the Top reform funding (U.S. Department of Education 2009).

Touted as entities to improve schools, the expansion of charter schools has resulted in the reallocation of funding from public schools, leaving many public schools, particularly urban public schools, seriously underfunded (Berends 2014; Knoester 2011; Miron, Horvitz & Gulosino 2013). In our current educational milieu, SoC are disproportionately segregated in underfunded urban schools, which has led parents be swayed by the false promises of charter schools (Beese and Martin, 2016). However, charter schools do not outperform public schools on standardized assessments (Beese and Martin 2016; Hunter 2009).

Charter schools utilize state aid, which would otherwise be allocated to local public schools. This funding reallocation has left many public schools with fewer resources, making it more difficult for them to meet the needs of their diverse student populations. This may lead to administrators tightening budgets and making cost savings decisions such as personnel cuts and increasing class sizes (Orfield and Frankenberg 2014). Property wealthy districts are able to curb financial shortcomings with local levies; however, property poor districts continue to struggle. This is compounded by the lack of governance regarding for-profit managed charters. The expansion of charter schools is an issue of equity (Frankenberg, Ee, Ayscue, and Orfield 2019).

Charter schools in their various forms are touted as the market based solutions to the problems facing public schools today. However, the relative ineffectiveness of charter schools and the associated equity issues involved with their expansion is not communicated to the public as readily as is the narrative that public schools are failing. Public schools are performing better, but money is being reallocated to charters and disproportionately taken from the urban schools. Along with this false narrative comes the demonization and degradation of the teaching profession, and specifically of unionized public school teachers.

The Degradation of the Teaching Profession.

> *We have fought hard and long for integration, as I believe we should have, and I know we will win, but I have come to believe that we are integrating into a burning house. I'm afraid that America has lost the moral vision she may have had, and I'm afraid that even as we integrate, we are walking into a place that does not understand that this nation needs to be deeply concerned with the plight of the poor and disenfranchised. Until we commit ourselves to ensuring that the underclass is given justice and opportunity, we will continue to perpetuate the anger and violence that tears the soul of this nation. I fear I am integrating my people into a burning house*—Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

Free market and neo-liberal proposed solutions to educational quality has done much to dismantle any real gains that the *Brown* decision could have made. As the profession became whiter, simultaneously "darkening" the student population, the prestige of the profession lessened. Respect for teachers in the larger society dwindled, and political accountability measures heightened.

There is now more political oversight over the field of education than ever before. According to Douglass Horsford (2019), "the same public spaces and institutions that once served as centers of power and domination by Whites hold diminished value as a result of Black entry and participation" (p. 260). After *Brown*, we see diminished value for public spaces in exchange for

the free market, and what is left within the educational public sphere becomes hyper-regulated: by standardized testing, by zero tolerance policies, and by hyper-regulation, illustrating "a critical feature of the New Jim Crow, where the lives of the marginalized are monitored, monetized, and displaced in this confined yet highly visible position" (Douglass Horsford p. 260). Many white families abandoned public education, pursuing charters and other privatized entities, which led to the abandonment of public education in general as a public good—and to the degradation of the teaching profession by extension.

Districts serving predominantly Black students, and urban public schools in particular, have been disadvantaged by market-based reforms, which have resulted in the closing of predominantly Black schools, the displacement of Black teachers and administrators, and the "dissolution of Black educational associations, networks, and institutions" (Douglass Horsford 2019 p. 260). According to Douglass Horsford (2019),

> Whether through the expansion of 'no excuses' charter schools . . . maintenance of alternative schools that serve as a pit stop from a traditional school setting to prison . . . or the disproportionate number of school closures in historically or predominantly Black communities. . . . the commodification, criminalization, exploitation, and displacement of Black students are predominant features of schooling in the New Jim Crow. (p. 261)

Ultimately, Douglass Horsford (2019), argues that Black families were sold a "bill of goods." Under the guise of equality, Black students were assimilated into schools that did not retain teachers with the knowledge of how to care for and demand excellence of their Black students, or care for Black students on an institutional or community level. It is thus not surprising that Black students would not have an interest in entering the teaching profession.

The Teacher Shortage.

> *As desegregation was underway, then student Brenda Walker volunteered to be one of the first students to integrate Central High School in Jackson, Mississippi. On this rigid winter day in 1969, Walker entered her classroom to find all the white students sitting on the side of the classroom closest to the door. Walker was not shocked because most wanted nothing to do with her. She took a seat near the windows to discover that they were open. It was then she realized that her classmates had hats and coats. "Oh God, they planned this," she thought to herself, realizing that she could not just get up to go to her locker for her coat and still get back to class on time."* (Dreher 2017)

In our current teacher shortage, ToC are still being pushed out of their roles, if they are even pursuing the profession amid high stakes teacher education tests and the prospect of low wages. The majority of Black teachers are working in urban schools. However, many of these urban schools are underfunded and in danger of closing (or have closed) because of the proliferation of charters. As Anderson explains:

> [I]n the country's largest urban districts, mass school closings are the education policy du jour. From New York and Chicago to New Orleans and Philadelphia, school leaders are targeting schools that disproportionately serve Black students. Startling data from the

U.S. Department of Education shows a consistent trend. While 43 percent of Chicago students are Black, they accounted for 87 percent of affected students in schools marked for closure. The same pattern is seen in Philadelphia and New York City, and in every case Black teachers are caught in the crossfire, as they tend to be heavily concentrated in schools with predominantly Black student bodies. (2014 para. 9)

According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, (2019) there are currently 9,313,000 teachers, 81.5% of whom are white, while 10.6% are Black. Oakley, Stowell, and Logan (2009) remind us that schools were mandated to desegregate students, but no mention was made or protections offered Black teachers and administrators. As Oakley et al. (2009) argue, "the legacy of mandated desegregation may have created broader institutional conditions in which black and other minority teachers remain underrepresented in the teaching force" (p. 1576). According to Lutz (2017), the lack of Black teachers has impacted the test scores and graduation rates of Black students. According to Oakley et al. (2009), "It is possible that the systemic policies and practices stemming from *Brown* that led to fewer black teachers may have had an institutional impact that became embedded in the public school bureaucracy" (p. 1577). If Black students, and other SoC, are not represented by ToC, via curriculum, and in policies, then it is not surprising that they would not be inclined to pursue the profession of teaching.

Today, Black teachers are underrepresented in all areas of the country. As the student body of public schools continues to diversify, the shortage of ToC is a major policy issue. In fact, Oakley, et al. (2009) argue that the historical impact of desegregation on Black teachers created a "legacy" within the field of education, which has created barriers for ToC, both implicit and explicit. According to a recent study, Black teachers are more likely to pass the Bar examination than they are to pass the teacher licensure exam, Praxis (Will 2019).

Separate but (Un)Equal, Again

Recent data from the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights (2014) illustrates how racism and structural inequalities impact schools today. Some of the most startling findings from these data include: although African American students account for only 18% of U.S. pre-K enrollment, they account for 48% of *preschoolers* with multiple suspensions. African American students are expelled three times more than their white counterparts. African American and Latinix students account for 40% of enrollment at schools offering gifted programs, but only 26% of students in said programs. African American, Latinix, and Native American students attend schools with higher percentages of first-year teachers (three to four percent) than their white counterparts (1 percent). African American students are more than three times as likely to attend schools where less than 60% of teachers meet all state requirements for certification and licensure.

The issue of financial and resource equity in education continues to be a crucial issue. More resources are allocated to incarceration in the U.S. than to education. Despite the fact that the U.S. is one of the wealthiest nations, the U.S. comprises five percent of world's population and 25% of world's inmates (Darling-Hammond 2010). As Kozol argues, (2005), the discrepancy in funding for public schools in the U.S. disproportionately impacts the poor and PoC, leading to an intractable opportunity gap.

Although we are literally decades away from *Brown*, we are not metaphorically far from the above-mentioned feelings of SoC illustrated by the Clarks' experiments, trapped in segregated schools and reduced to feelings of inferiority; their surroundings teach this to SoC. According to Hunter (2009), although *Brown* struck down the "separate but equal" doctrine established in *Plessy*, today schools are more segregated than ever because of housing segregation and inequitable public school funding. This leads to an unequal education.

The *Brown* decision was offered with no official timeline to complete integration. In the years following *Brown*, courts became less and less interested in discrimination cases; therefore, little pressure was placed on schools to diversify their student populations. Now, some sixty years post *Brown*, schools are more racially divided than ever. Segregation (or racial isolation) is now is as bad as it was at the time of the *Brown* verdict (Kucsera, Siegel-Hawley and Orfield 2015).

Students who are at the intersection of race and poverty typically find themselves in inner city, urban schools. These are traditionally the lowest scoring schools on standardized assessments, with the lowest amounts of resources. According to the Center for Public Education (2017), "Despite progress, many of our students are still racially isolated. About 15 percent of black and Latino students attend schools that are less than one percent white" (Wagner para. 4, 2017). These schools also face high teacher turnover, low rigor courses, and little opportunity for differentiated instruction. Research has shown that schools composed of a racially diverse student body perform better than racially isolated schools; however, achieving current day integration reform is a challenge that will be beneficial if officials are willing to face the difficulties of reform (Wagner para. 8, 2017).

Educational Trauma

Educational trauma is common for SoC. Constant exposure to and experience with events such as: suspensions, expulsions, school push-out, and the presence of in-school police officers are ubiquitous in urban schools (Love 2019). The consequences of these events may be so traumatic that they deter students from continuing their education and from pursuing a career in education (Kucsera, Siegel-Hawley, and Orfield 2015). Educational trauma is not a new phenomenon. Traumatic events in the educational setting have been perpetuated onto PoC long before the inception of integration.

Throughout America's history, it is evident that school has always been a white space. When Blacks are present they can either conform to the norms of whites, or become spotlighted, silenced, or removed. Love (2019) explains the impact this has on SoC. The notion of "spirit murdering" conceptualized by Williams (1991), and later explicated by Love (2017), is "the personal, psychological, and spiritual injuries to people of color through the fixed, yet fluid and moldable, structures of racism, privilege, and power'" (p. 199). Love argues that the over-policing of schools serves to "spirit murder" many of our SoC.

The desire to survive within a white space is referred to Love as the educational survival complex. Unfortunately, it "has become so rationalized and normalized that we are forced to believe, against our common sense, that inadequate school funding is normal. . . . We have come

to believe that . . . the only way to measure a child's knowledge is through prepackaged high-stakes state tests" (p. 101). Racism and structural inequalities continue to impact schools post-*Brown*. Considering the history and current occurrences of student trauma, it is no surprise why many SoC refuse to become educators. Rectifying the teacher shortage must start with repairing the current state of Black students' educational experience.

Practices that Undermine *Brown*: Current State

Again, public schools are now more racially and socioeconomically segregated than ever (Carter and Weiner 2013; Orfield and Frankenberg 2014). A major factor contributing to this post-*Brown* segregation is the proliferation of charter schools. The issue of public monies being transferred to private and for-profit entities is not only relevant to students attending these schools, but also to society in general. Racism and structural inequalities continue to impact schools, 60+ years post-*Brown*. These inequities are revealed in the number of African American, Latinx, and indigenous students having unequal access to experienced teachers, gifted programs, and other school resources (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2014). According to Douglass Horsford (2019), "the role of privatization and increasingly unregulated capitalism in education provide further examples of schooling in the New Jim Crow whereby Black bodies serve as property—commodities and goods to be exploited for profit and put back in their place" (p. 267). As Orfield compels us, "We have to do more" (National Education Policy Center 2019 para. 8). We *must* do better.

We question whether school choice should even play a part in school reform, particularly if said "choices" are not subject to the same governmental oversights that are required of public schools. Darling Hammond (2013) argues that continued de facto segregation contributes to the disproportionate funding of public schools, creating a continued disadvantage to urban schools in particular, which comprise higher concentrations of SoC and students living in poverty. High poverty schools are those where at least 75% of the student population receives free and reduced price lunch; a disproportionate number of high poverty schools are located in urban centers and consist of higher percentages of Latinx and Black students (Berends 2014).

White students are leaving public schools to attend charter schools resulting in increased school segregation in urban settings with inequitable access to learning opportunities and enduring resources (Beese and Martin 2016; Kucsera, Siegel-Hawley, and Orfield, 2015). Public schools are performing better, but money is being reallocated to charters and disproportionately taken from urban schools. One consequence of charters is that the resulting exacerbation of segregation has been masked because a large proportion of charter schools are in urban areas that are already highly segregated (Orfield and Frankenberg 2014; Rotberg 2012; Silverman 2012). However, as charter schools expand, we fear even more segregation, and an ever more departure from the intent of *Brown* (Beese and Martin 2016; Kucsera and Orfield 2014).

Speculative Intersectional Imaginings

We must inform stakeholders that current educational policies exacerbate existing levels of segregation and associated issues, including: large income disparities, opportunity gaps between affluent and low-income students, and the proliferation of charter schools, all of which contribute

to increased student stratification (Wells 2002). Academic achievement improves in integrated schools and Black students who attend diverse schools are not only more likely to attend college, but also to live and work in integrated settings (Gilblom and Sang 2019).

We must work toward not only imagining better public schools, but also to work to make them a reality. We can begin by:

1. Investing in rich and varied curriculums in all schools
2. Measuring knowledge and skills with care (not standardized tests)
3. Regaining democratic control of public schools
4. Demanding the recognition of education as a public good
5. Intentionally ending school segregation
6. Demanding equitable and fair resource allocation (adapted from Ravitch 2013)
7. Heightening education as a profession, both in K-12 and in the teacher education professoriate.

We must work toward imagining a more diverse teaching force and make it a reality. We can begin by enacting the above list and by ending teacher licensure exams, which act as a gatekeeper of privilege, an adaptation of Jim Crow literacy tests (Will 2019). As previously indicated, Hooker, in 1970, found that teacher licensing exams served to exclude ToC from the teaching profession. Tests designed by and for middle-class white teachers have little to do with teaching ability and serve to maintain the profession as white (Oakley et al. 2009).

Educators must be empowered to speak the truth of the reality of schooling, and their institutions must support them in these endeavors. If these needs are not met, we must then ask the questions: what is the purpose of schools? And what is the purpose of education in a democratic society? The acknowledgement that inequities exist is a fundamental part of this process. If we do not sound our voices, we are complicit in the inequities around us.

In order to create better public schools, and to help to reduce teacher shortage, we must also become involved in policy by:

1. Advocating for equitable school funding (the same dollar amount per student no matter the district or geographic location)
2. Advocating against the proliferation of charter schools, disseminating the truth of charter schools' exclusion of all students, and their lack of performance when compared to public schools.
3. Advocating to pay public school teachers more, provide additional compensation for TOC (Love 2019), and for teachers working in high-need schools (Rivera Rodas 2019). This will contribute to the re-professionalization of the profession.
4. Advocating for additional professional development for teachers and providing compensation for said trainings (Rivera Rodas 2019).
5. Advocating for professional development based upon the tenets of CRT (Frankenberg, Ee, Ayscue and Orfield 2019).

In general, public schools are performing better than charter schools, but public monies are being reallocated to charters and taken from urban schools, which only serves to muddy the waters. If we are remiss in our communication of these realities to policy makers, then segregation will only increase among various identity markers: race, ethnicity, income, religion, and social values, as well as for students who need special education services or English-language instruction.

Policies that encourage states to expand charter schools are likely only to increase segregation (Wells, 2002). Policies that invest in current principals and teachers, support systems, and innovations might yield better results (Burks and Hochbein, 2015). Policymakers, educators, and researchers invested in the success of the urban educated student must do more to bridge the realities of students, policies, and to expand instructional practices and resources in public schools (Milner, 2012).

Harkening back to the tenets of CRT, as K-12 educators and/or professors of education, we must teach about the permanence of racism, and how it has impacted and still impacts PoC. We must create counterstories for SoC and PoC so that all students are taught through culturally responsive pedagogies and are offered the highest expectations within their classrooms and schools. We must advocate for interest convergence in the full integration of schools, for we all benefit from diversity (Banaji and Greenwald 2013; Carter & Welner 2013; Love 2019; Oakley et al. 2009). We must undermine the seemingly intractable system of whiteness as property, which has historically and currently forbidden/forbids property ownership, economic/educational autonomy and financial security for PoC. We must continue to critique our current system that has not done much to end institutional racism, which still impacts all aspects of our society. In sum, we *must* do better.

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