

FAILING BROWN v. BOARD

A Continuous Struggle Against Inequity
in Public Education



JOURNEY FOR JUSTICE ALLIANCES

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Foreword

Sixty-four years after the U.S. Supreme Court's historic *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, the education system in this country remains deeply separate and unequal. Not only have Black, Brown and immigrant students been denied access to the same educational opportunities as their white counterparts; but they have been subjected to severely racialized privatization schemes that have deepened the opportunity divide and devastated thousands of public schools throughout the country.

In education, America does *everything but equity*. Alternative schools, charter schools, contract schools, online schools, credit recovery...schools run by private operators in the basement of churches, abandoned warehouses, storefronts; everything but ensuring that every child has a quality pre-k through 12th grade system of education within safe walking distance of their homes.

In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled on the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* case, ruling that segregation of schools, commonly known as separate but equal, must end with "all deliberate speed." Unfortunately, much of the white response to this decision was not contrition for centuries of brutality, but precisely the opposite. In 1956, Senator Harry Byrd from Virginia called for "massive resistance" to *Brown v. Board*. In Prince George's County, Maryland white parents removed their children from public schools to avoid integration in an initiative that they called school choice. In Prince Edward County, Virginia the public-school system was shut down for 5 years to avoid adhering to the landmark decision.

Nowhere was the resistance to ensuring that all children had access to quality education more tangible than Little Rock, Arkansas. In 1957, nine courageous Black students, "The Little Rock 9" integrated Central High School and needed military protection as they were tormented and attacked by white students, fa-



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thers and mothers. These students endured discrimination, physical and emotional violence for their entire time at Central High School to make America honor a Supreme Court mandate. It is important to understand that the strategy of school integration was not utilized by the civil rights movement because there was an overwhelming desire to go to school with white people. Somehow, organizers had to figure out how to navigate a country's baseless hatred of Black people to make sure that all human beings had access to resources and opportunity. Today, efforts to improve education in the United States must answer the question, have we realized the true mandate of *Brown v. Board*? Have we achieved education equity?

For more than 20 years, I helped to implement leadership development programs in public schools throughout the state of Illinois. I implemented programs in schools that served middle class and low income Black and Brown communities where there were no libraries, outdated books, over-crowded classrooms and punitive discipline policies. I also worked in schools with children from working class white families that were well-resourced, where students flourished with fully stocked libraries, science labs, history clubs, art and music. This type of ineq-

uity, which runs rampant across the country is failing *Brown v. Board*. Our schools are not failing; as a public we have been failed.

Today, school closings and the spread of charters in Black and Brown communities across the country make up the soul of the “school choice movement.” Thousands of schools have been closed across the country, devastating Black and Brown communities and having a direct impact on the decline of the number of Black teachers nationwide. Cities across the United States like Chicago, DC, Detroit, New Orleans, Philadelphia, Oakland and Cleveland have seen the ranks of Black educators shrink as schools close and the teaching force in Black and Brown communities becomes younger, whiter and more transient. Recent polls have clearly indicated declining support for school privatization and that most Americans want their schools fixed, not closed. Billionaire philanthropists are abandoning the privatization movement and now elected officials are as well. Last month, the Colorado Democratic state assembly (the state’s Democratic Party convention) rejected the neoliberal privatization outfit Democrats for Education Reform and said “there is no place for them in our Democratic Party.” Elected officials are seeing through the scam called school choice.

According to the United Nations, America ranks 17th in education among Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Remove poverty and America rises to number 2. The facts are clear; America knows how to educate children, but refuses opportunity to the low-income, the Black and the Brown.

This report makes the point plain by examining 12 cities; sharing course offerings in high schools (and elementary in Chicago) that serve Black, Brown and white students. The results — a clear rationing of opportunity that provides greater numbers, variety and depth of courses to the wealthiest, whitest schools — should shake you to your soul. Instead of addressing these inequities, school districts create even more

segregated systems, by rolling out the red carpet to private operators who drain money from an already weakened system and make a vicious cycle even worse. In the Journey for Justice Alliance, we call this the “illusion of school choice.” As public-school parents, we don’t choose to have our schools starved and closed. We don’t choose schools with no art, music, librarians or world language. We choose equity.

The Journey for Justice Alliance is proud to be founders and members of the #WeChoose Campaign, driven by a multi-racial coalition of education organizing and policy groups such as the Alliance for Education Justice, Advancement Project, Alliance to Reclaim our Schools, Badass Teacher’s Association, Data for Black Lives, Dignity in Schools Coalition, Institute of Democratic Education in America, Network for Public Education, NAACP, Mom’s Rising and Save our Schools. We are actively supported by over 1.5 million Americans who demand equity in public education and are building local coalitions to advance policy to achieve that goal. We are organizing to stop school privatization, create sustainable community schools, win policy on education equity, increase the number of teachers of color in our classrooms, end appointed school boards and state takeovers, stop punitive standardized tests and utilize multiple assessments for student growth and implement restorative justice practices and student leadership development programs while ending racist zero tolerance discipline policies. As a nation, when will we have zero tolerance for inequity?

Jitu Brown

Director, Journey for Justice Alliance

#WECHOOSE

**EDUCATION EQUITY, NOT THE
ILLUSION OF “SCHOOL CHOICE”**



Introduction

The Journey for Justice Alliance defines “education” as the experience of “inspiration and information that prepares young people for successful adulthood and to positively impact society.” We assert that all students deserve the right to a public school education that not only teaches them the basics of reading, writing and math, but also serves as a porthole to the possible: the chance to see and experience a wide range of academic and artistic paths to follow as they become productive adults. This experience has been systematically denied to Black and Brown children in the United States.

It has been more than fifty years since the U.S. Congress established a federal program—the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA)—explicitly designed to help close the gap between the educational opportunities available to white and more affluent children and those available to low-income children and children of color.

While much has changed in the interim, the gap remains. Today, children of color and those living in poverty are disproportionately denied the most challenging and engaging educational experiences. The resource disparities between predominantly white schools, and those that serve majorities of low-income African American and Latino children continue to be nearly as stark as they were fifty years ago.

Today, as a new “Poor People’s Campaign” raises a national demand for moral revival, the Journey for Justice Alliance reveals the truth emerging from Black and Latino schools across the country: our children continue to be subject to systemic racism, poverty and inequities in our public schools.

The fact is, public schools in Black and Latino communities are not “failing.” They have been failed. More accurately, these schools have been sabotaged for years by policy-makers who fail to fully fund

them, by ideologues who choose to experiment with them, by “entrepreneurs” who choose to extract public taxpayer dollars from education systems for their own pockets.

Repairing this breach in opportunity will require an overdue and bold commitment from policy-makers at all levels to acknowledge and address the harm from institutional racism and racist policies that have undermined efforts to improve schools in Black and Brown communities across the nation.

We reject the age-old notion that money doesn’t matter since it’s proven to be false, or that these failings are the fault of our children or their families. We know that Black and Latino students want these schools and value their educations. A poll released just last month by the United Negro College Fund found that 70 percent of African American young people feel that school is a top priority for them, while only 65 percent feel that their own school is adequately preparing them for college.¹

We also know what successful, fully-resourced schools look like: They offer a culturally relevant, engaging and challenging curriculum, smaller class sizes, more experienced teachers, wrap-around emotional and academic supports, a student-centered school climate and meaningful parent and community engagement. These schools exist by the thousands across the country. But they rarely exist in communities struggling with poverty. We are seeking these schools—the schools that *all* our children deserve—in our communities.

In the fall of 2017 through spring of 2018, members of the Journey for Justice Alliance conducted simple course comparisons between a school in our communities, serving majorities of Black and Brown students, versus nearby schools serving a majority of white students. This report reflects on our findings.

Our Course Comparisons

This fall, Journey for Justice members in 12 predominantly Black and Latino school districts conducted a simple assessment of educational opportunity. In each district, we chose two schools: one serving a majority of Black and/or Brown students, another more affluent and serving a larger percentage of white students. We gathered lists of the course offerings at each. Schools were either compared to others in the same district or to a school in a neighboring suburb.

In addition, we reviewed three K-8 schools in Chicago. Past research has indicated that, by the time students enter high school, some may already have been denied access to certain coursework or supports that might fully prepare them for higher-level opportunities in high school. We decided to look at a triplet of K-8 schools just to get some insight in to this possibility as well.

Our teams reviewed school websites to identify academic and enrichment offerings. Where the website did not include a complete listing, we did our best to obtain them from school staff and parents.* In the case of our three K-8 schools, we were not surprised to find that curriculum listings were less specific and the range of courses was more narrow. However, inequities did emerge, as reported below.

We recognized that the gaps in actual school offerings and learning conditions may actually be larger than is reflected in a simple listing of what the school says it offers in terms of academic and other programs. We found multiple instances where educators or administrators in the school acknowledged that certain courses listed on the website were not being offered because of a lack of staff or funding.

An additional challenge in determining access to wide-ranging opportunity is also reflected by Rich-

ard Kessler, former Executive Director of the Center for Arts Education. Despite what the school may say it offers, Kessler notes, “The disparity between what schools offer and what students actually receive can be enormous... What the data isn’t telling you is that you can have schools where there is one music teacher and 1,000 students. Some of those students are going to get music, and some of those students aren’t.”²

Despite these caveats, our “snapshot” comparisons demonstrate the daily reality for millions of students. Some attend schools with a wealth of interesting and engaging-sounding academic course options, along with a sometimes dizzying range of arts and career programs. Others attend schools that lack the courses and opportunities that allow students to find and follow their passions or to meet the requirements for a public college or university.

* It is worth noting that the more affluent, white schools were much more likely to have a complete course listing on their website. Across the board, across geographies, the school websites in majority Black/Latino schools were less comprehensive and less up-to-date.

Findings

In too many of the schools we compared, Black and Latino students do not have the option of advanced or rich course offerings.

- At the elementary/middle school level, we found that many more options—particularly in the arts—were available at the schools serving whiter, more affluent students.
- What you see is not necessarily what you get. At Mollison Elementary School in Chicago, a teacher shared that, while the school touts a 6-8th grade International Baccalaureate (IB) program that requires instruction in a foreign language, the school currently does not offer any language instruction at all. In addition, when we asked about the school's library, the teacher wrote, "we have a library but no staff librarian or check-out system for children. We cannot get a scanner to catalog the library because they are only given to schools with librarians."
- In every pairing of high schools, majority white schools offered more—both in academic subject areas and in the arts—than majority Black and/or Brown schools;
- Most, but not all, the majority Black schools offered calculus and/or physics to students, but generally only one course option, while the majority white schools offered several. For example, McDonough 35 High School in New Orleans offered physics. But nearby Chalmette offered a second year of advanced physics **and** a separate course in physical science.
- Most of the schools in our surveys offer at least one foreign language. But the white schools offered more: Where one school might offer three years of Spanish (Spanish I, II and III), the comparison school also offered three years of French or, in one case, any of six different languages!

- Advanced Placement (AP) opportunities varied widely. In the Milwaukee area for example, Marshall High School offers eight AP courses while Menomonee Falls High School offers more than thirty.
- In virtually every pairing that we looked at, access to art, music, dance and drama significantly varied between majority white schools and those serving students of color. While most of the schools serving Black and Brown children offered some access to arts and music, the range of opportunities in the white schools was dramatically wider, including for example, ceramics studios, photography classes, sculpture and metal working, broadcast journalism, animation and lessons in piano and guitar. Black or Latino students with a passion for music are often forced to fulfill that passion outside of school and at a cost (if at all), whereas white students have multiple music programs offered to them as part of their school's regular programming.
- While most schools offered some visual art and music classes, 92% of the affluent schools we reviewed offered drama or theater, while only 53% of our under-resourced schools did so.
- Our snapshot showed that 38% of affluent and just 13% of under-resourced schools offered dance.

The appendices to this report include the course listings from all our pairs (and one threesome) of high schools, as well as our three-way comparison of K-8 schools in Chicago. The excerpts included here pose the central questions: In which of these schools are students offered the path to follow or acquire a passion? Which set of classes would motivate you? Which school in each pairing would you choose—for yourself or your child? What does the future hold for students in each school?

1. Milwaukee Marshall High School English offerings compared to Menomonee Falls High School English offerings:

Marshall High School 94% students of color Course Offerings in English:	Menomonee Falls High School 21% students of color Course Offerings in English:
American Authors British Authors English 9 English 10	English 9 – World Perspective English 9 – Honors English 10 – The American Experience English 11 – Contemporary Issues English 12 Options: Science Fiction and Fantasy Literature of Conflict and War Mystery and Suspense Novel and Film Honors AP Literature and Composition

2. Language and career path offerings at South Oak Cliff High School in Dallas compared to Centennial High School in Frisco, Texas

South Oak Cliff High School 100% students of color	Centennial High School 39% students of color
AP Courses Offered: 7 Language Options: Spanish, French Career Path Offerings: Law enforcement, STEM, Business and Industry.	AP Courses Offered: 22 Language Options: Spanish, French, Chinese, American Sign Language Career Path Offerings: Journalism and Communications; Agriculture, food and natural resources; Floral Design/Landscaping; Architecture and Construction; Arts, Technology and Communication; Audio & Video Production; Graphic Design and Illustration; Fashion Design; Business Management and Administration; Education; Finance; Health Sciences; Hospitality and Tourism; Government and Public Administration; Human Services; Information Technology; Marketing; Law, Public Safety, Corrections and Security; Science Technology, Engineering and Math; Introduction to Welding; Transportation Distribution and Logistics.

3. Languages and arts opportunities at Manual High School in Denver, compared to those at Cherry Creek High School in Greenwood Village

Manual High School 96% students of color	Cherry Creek High School 33% students of color
<p>AP Courses Offered: 7</p> <p>Foreign Languages Offered: Spanish</p> <p>Arts: Drawing and Painting; Digital Design; Drama; Music Composition; Choir</p>	<p>AP Courses Offered: 27</p> <p>Foreign Languages Offered: Spanish, French, German, Latin, Chinese</p> <p>Arts: Acting; Directing; Technical Theater; Ceramics; Drawing; Jewelry/Metal Working; Painting; Photography; Sculpture; Video Production; Broadcast Journalism; Band; Symphonic Band; Wind Ensemble; Jazz Band; Concert Orchestra; Chamber Orchestra; Symphonic Orchestra; a cappella; Jazz choir; Piano (and more).</p>

This is racism in action. There are no excuses for these discrepancies. *All* students should have access to a wide variety of interesting and engaging high school coursework that allows them to discover or pursue a lifelong passion and be prepared for college and beyond. Clearly we still do not provide that access for everyone.

Our Findings Are Corroborated by Other Research

The Journey for Justice Alliance conducted these “snapshot” comparisons in 12 cities across the country. Comprehensive research on inequities supports our findings.

Under Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, states, districts and schools must not intentionally treat students differently based on race, color, or national origin in providing educational resources.

Yet, according to a US Department of Education review in 2016:³

Schools with high Black and Latino enrollment offer fewer higher level math and science classes

- African Americans and Native Americans are the least likely to be enrolled in schools that offer a full range of math and science courses;
- As of 2015-16, one out of four high schools where Black and Latino populations comprised more than 75% of students failed to offer Algebra II, a common requirement for college entrance. 80% of schools overall had Algebra II classes.
- Only about half the schools with high Black and Latino enrollment of color offered Physics, another common entrance requirement, compared to 60% of schools overall.
- Only 38% offered Calculus, compared to 50% overall.⁴

High-poverty schools offer fewer arts and music opportunities

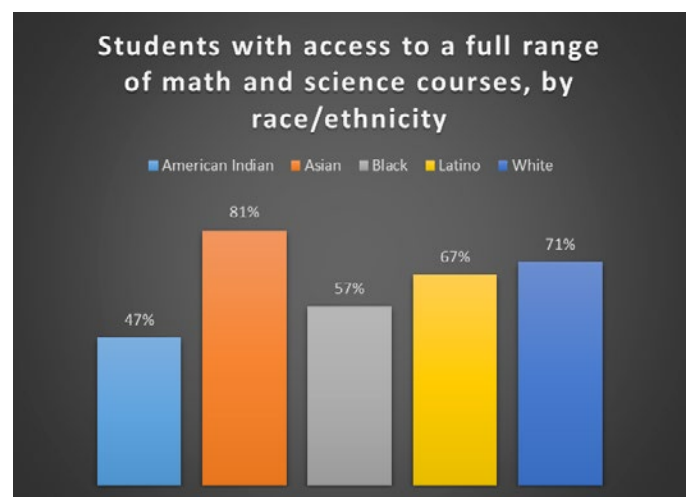
National-level data on access to arts education is older and focuses primarily on socio-economic status rather than race (although the two are linked: over 65 percent of Title I-eligible students in the U.S. today are African American or Latino).⁵ But these

data, as well as our comparisons, described below, indicate that schools serving majorities of Black and Latino students are less likely to have access to a full range of opportunities in the arts.⁶

- In 2010, 97 percent of elementary schools with fewer than half of their students eligible for free-and-reduced priced lunch, offered specific music instruction, whereas 89 percent of “high-poverty schools” (those with over 75 percent eligibility for free and reduced meals) did so;
- Visual arts instruction was offered in 95 percent of the lowest poverty schools, but only 80 percent of highest poverty schools in 2008-2009.⁷
- The National Center for Education Statistics found large gaps in theater instruction, where 65 percent of the wealthiest students had access, compared to just 41 percent of the most impoverished students.⁸

Disparities in Opportunity Begin Early On

Additional research has looked at the availability of high-level opportunities such as Advanced Placement courses or International Baccalaureate programs that can increase student access to college.



In 2011, researchers studied the availability of these courses, and sought to determine how decisions were made on whether and where to offer them. They found that students' eighth grade test scores were the strongest predictor—outweighing school size, the number of teachers and teacher qualifications—of whether administrators decided to offer them the chance to study in advanced courses.⁹ An extensive body of research shows that standardized testing has never escaped its shameful origins in eugenics and racism, when early researchers designed “intelligence tests” to declare some recruits unfit to serve in the military.¹⁰ Administrators nationwide face similar pressures to deliver high scores and graduation rates. So it is unlikely that Florida's are unique in using this single, narrow and flawed measure to ration opportunities in high school, following the trend, for instance, of forcing students into double periods of tested subjects rather than offering more diverse, engaging classes. These decisions recreate and reinforce the discrimination that students have already suffered through years of being subjected to a biased high-stakes testing regime.

Interestingly for our analysis, the same researchers found in a companion study that Black, Latino and Asian students were more likely than their white peers in similar circumstances and environments to enroll in advanced courses when they were available. Their “results suggest greater or at least equal demand for advanced courses among traditionally underrepresented minority groups.”¹¹

Access to High Level and Wide-Ranging Coursework Matters

Does access to higher level academic and enrichment opportunity matter? Absolutely. Researchers have shown that such rationing of opportunity reinforces inequities that begin in elementary and middle school, especially around testing and ability grouping, segregates peer groups by race and class and leads to lower wages for those receiving fewer, less challenging classes.¹² The courses a student takes in high school impact her likelihood of graduating, being accepted to college, succeeding in college and earning a degree.¹³ Even students who don't go to college are more economically successful and more actively engaged in civic life if they took challenging courses in high school.¹⁴

Our course comparisons put these national research findings in stark relief.

Conclusion

The refusal to offer Black and Brown and poor children the same resources and educational opportunities that are offered to white and wealthy children continues to be a national crisis that has yet to be acknowledged or addressed by those in positions of power.

The snapshot presented here and in the appendices that follow, points to stark and indefensible disparities. Black and Brown students are given fewer options, and have fewer opportunities to pursue their interests, and to take the kinds of courses in high school that would propel them to higher learning, higher-paying careers and well-rounded lives. There are no excuses.

How and why do these disparities happen? In many cases, the range of curricular and extra-curricular offerings are dictated by decisions about school budgeting. Funding for public education has declined dramatically in a number of states over the past decade.¹⁵ Resource gaps between schools with majorities of Black and Brown children and schools that are majority white are often embedded in state and local funding formulas.¹⁶ In addition, the rapid proliferation of charter schools, and so-called “student-based budgeting” –both implemented disproportionately in high-poverty districts, has led to declining enrollments in (and therefore funding for) schools serving our most vulnerable students. And federal dollars intended specifically to increase educational opportunity to disadvantaged students have never been fully funded.¹⁷ Together, public schools in Black and Brown communities have been crippled by policies that sabotage their chances of success.

In some cases, administrative decisions—often at the district level—about how to staff schools and what courses to offer where, communicate a broader message about what some young people deserve and are expected to achieve. But regardless of where the decisions lie, the impact on low-income youth and

students of color could not be more harsh: Students reviewing a course catalog with a full sequence of courses on food science, culinary arts, agribusiness and marketing might dream of running their own restaurant or catering business. Children with the opportunity to hone their understanding of music theory and skill playing an instrument might find a path to composing movie scores or becoming a recording executive. Children with a chance to take in-depth courses in government, economics and political science are being told they are expected to be engaged and active citizens as we have seen with the mostly affluent Marjorie Stoneman-Douglass High School students from Florida, whose debate, drama and government classes have enabled them to be effective advocates for social change). When children in a mostly Black Dallas school can only consider careers in law enforcement while their peers in the neighboring Frisco district can prepare to be attorneys, we are only perpetuating generational inequality steeped in racist decisions and history.

When we offer less to Black and Brown students, we are denying them access to their future. And for those students, the disparities are in their faces on a daily basis. As NEA president Lily Eskelsen-Garcia told Journey for Justice told parent and youth activists at a #WeChoose Campaign National Townhall in Detroit:

“Walk into best public school in your state. Walk through that school and just start taking inventory: writing down the stuff, the stuff, the computer lab and AP chemistry and the French classes and girls’ volleyball team and swimming pool. Take that list and go walk into every school and ask, ‘where’s this sports team, that foreign language and those college prep classes?’ Because until you can say every school looks like your best public school, we have not arrived.”

The #WeChoose Campaign—led by the Journey for Justice Alliance—is a multi-racial, people-powered coalition representing thousands of American voices. Members of the coalition understand that, while Republicans and corporate Democrats may run the senate, Congress and ultimately the White House, they do not run our neighborhoods. As Journey for Justice director Jitu Brown says,

“We are organizing for more than a fair chance. We are organizing for equity, where each child gets what she or he needs to thrive. We know what works in public education, and we want those successful, fully-resourced schools in our communities. It is not right that Black and Brown children don’t have access to physics or trigonometry. It is not right when Black and Brown schools employ more police officers than counselors.¹⁸ It is not right when Black and Brown students don’t have access to art or music or expansive career preparation classes. Our course comparisons expose a stark series of blocked opportunities, divided clearly along race and class lines.”

It is long past time to ensure that Black and Brown students experience public schools as the place where they get inspiration and information that prepares them for successful adulthood and to positively impact society. White students take this for granted. Until all students can as well, then we have failed the mandate of *Brown v. Board*.

Demands

FEDERAL:

- ✓ States whose districts are found to offer inequitable access to learning opportunities to their disadvantaged students and/or students of color or others will be issued an equity mandate to guide their remediation. This mandate will spell out the timelines, benchmarks and oversight for states to demonstrate that every student, regardless of race or class, has equitable access to high quality learning. The mandate will also set out penalties for failure to meet its requirements.
- ✓ Congress will fund the Every Student Succeeds Act sufficiently that every district receiving federal funds gets enough money to ensure that disadvantaged students, English learners, students of color and those with disabilities access and have the supports to achieve in the courses that ESSA's Title IV defines as a well-rounded education. 2017 levels for Title IV are less than one-fourth of what Congress authorized, meaning many districts currently receive no support at all.
- ✓ Congress will fund the development by subject matter experts of Opportunity to Learn standards in each of the 17 subjects outlined in ESSA as part of a well-rounded education. These guidelines will describe the resources necessary to provide equitable access to high quality learning and support all students to achieve subject matter standards for the lower grades, and to achieve public college admissions standards at the high school level.
- ✓ The Department of Education will require all states and districts to conduct and make public the needs assessments for a well-rounded education every three years that are currently only mandated by ESSA for districts receiving grants above \$30,000.
- ✓ The curriculum audit mandated every 3 years by ESSA will require states to demonstrate that they are equalizing course offerings and opportunities to learn among the wealthiest and poorest schools and among racial and ethnic groups, or risk federal interventions, in keeping with the law's requirements of making students well-rounded.

STATE:

- ✓ States will ensure that every student has in-person access to the courses - including high quality pre-k , middle school algebra and a 3-course sequence of career and technical education - that allow them to graduate high school qualified for admission to a public university or a trade certification program in their state. In some places that will mean helping districts or regions to provide transportation to or dual credit arrangements with other campuses and institutions.

- ✓ States will provide templates, technical assistance, relief from testing mandates and additional, dedicated funding for districts conducting needs assessments around equitable course offerings, and for schools and districts striving to provide coursework more equitably as part of a transition to sustainable community schools district-wide. This should include assistance rethinking budgets and removing support for privatization and over-testing efforts, which drain funds from and work against greater equity in public schools.
- ✓ States will ensure district budgets include a dedicated funding stream for equity work, pooling federal, state and local sources to conduct and implement the results of Title IV needs assessments and support schools moving to a sustainable community schools model as a result of Title I and Title IV equity concerns.
- ✓ States will assume budget oversight and withhold accreditation, borrowing authority and state subsidies to districts and schools which fail to make substantial progress toward equitable course offerings via a democratic engagement process in a timely manner, among other penalties.

LOCAL DISTRICT:

- ✓ Schools not offering the full range of course offerings will be prioritized for additional funding from a dedicated revenue source and immediate technical assistance and support to transition into a sustainable community school process for the next school year.
- ✓ All schools will apply the following elements of sustainable community schools to their course selections:
 - ✓ Community committees and administrators will jointly determine course offerings, regularly reviewing enrollment demographics to guard against segregation from opportunity within buildings and within subject areas (for instance, offering AP courses but enrolling few English learners, or tracking students of color into less challenging versions of the same classes.)
 - ✓ Course offerings will be based in part on surveys of student interests and community assets, not determined solely by test scores.
 - ✓ Every district will have at least one dual enrollment arrangement with local community colleges or universities to offer advanced coursework for college credit and career technical education. These arrangements will include publicly funded transportation.
 - ✓ Every district will have arrangements with local arts organizations to augment their course offerings and allow students to earn credit toward graduation.
 - ✓ Students will have the option of selecting themselves into advanced coursework that allows them to explore their interests, and receiving supports - including in-class instruc-

tion by a certified educator and tutoring - that allow them to succeed. Faculty will receive professional development to enable these supports, coupled with anti-racist education to reduce bias.

- ✓ Schools will reallocate time and resources away from test preparation and multiple periods of the same tested subjects, and toward offering more challenging courses with greater depth of content and connection to students' lives and interests, allowing them to demonstrate learning in diverse ways.
- ✓ All schools will implement restorative practices that prevent children from losing time away from class and enable them to keep up with accelerated coursework. Suspensions and expulsions will only be used as a last resort in extremely dangerous circumstances.
- ✓ Schools will use culturally relevant and responsive instruction, coupled with ethnic studies curricula to diversify and enhance their course offerings, engage students of color and attract and retain a diverse students and faculty.

Acknowledgements

Members of Journey for Justice Alliance local organizations in each of the twelve cities worked to identify the comparison schools, find course listings and confirm them. These local leaders are organizing to fight for sustainable community schools and the elimination of inequities in our public school system.

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