

Chapter 2

Educated in a Segregated System

Abstract Brown v. Board of Education 1954 was a landmark case that challenged segregation and denied Black children from accessing all White schools. The ruling in the case was that the ‘separate but equal’ rule that saw separate facilities and services which was usually of lower standards for Black people, unlawful. This marked a huge milestone in the challenge to segregation in education and other societal services, however despite legislation that supports integration, it continues to be a struggle. Access, quality, equity and funding of learning for African Americans and people of colour remains inadequate. The ongoing battle to attain integration in education can further be challenged with an approach that agrees with the notion of segregated schools but rather than Separate but Equal, Separate **and** equal. This implies that opportunities for minority groups that continue to be excluded from the best education opportunities would continue to have separate facilities but the funding, quality of provision, learning environment and teachers from diverse backgrounds would be equal to the services provided in White educational establishments. This approach may serve to attain King’s dream of integration and equality.

Keywords Segregation • Unlawful • Equality • Brown • Board • Inclusion

King (1999) rarely encountered racism as a child but he did recall an experience that he had as a pre-schooler. Jack was a white friend with whom he played on a regular basis until they began elementary school and King was no longer permitted to go over and play. King attended a Baptist faith school which was attended by African American children and no doubt his friend also attended a segregated school. Could the experience of two children not being able to play together as they matured have influenced the narrative within his ‘dream’ speech?

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the colour of their skin but by the content of their character.

Martin Luther King Jnr.

Did the experience with Jack cause him to imagine a day when his children could racially and equally interrelate?

Despite his best efforts, segregation continues to blight the education system in the US even though legislation is enforced to encourage integration.

King the NAACP, white and Christian leaders along with hundreds of African American and poor White school and college students lobbied to uphold their constitutional rights for equality and inclusion. The brutal acts endured by the young people; beatings, being hosed down with the strength of water hydrants designed to extinguish fires; imprisoned and lynched bore testament of a belief that a fight had to be won against the invisible chains that continued to hold them bound in a form of slavery.

Relevant to desegregation is an understanding of the legislation that led to the right to contend with its ills. Amendments to the American Constitution following the end of the Civil war where the North fought against the South to abolish slavery were made on the 1st January 1863. The President of the United States of America, Abraham Lincoln issued a proclamation of emancipation that within identified States of America “all persons held as slaves within designated States are, and henceforward shall be free” it further stated ‘that enslaved people would be forever free’ and authorities were instructed to comply, and not deter them from releasing themselves of the burden of servitude except as a punishment for criminal activity. This was the 13th Amendment, however, the notion of freedom gave way to another form of enslavement. Enslaved people being given freedom when they were born in servitude, their behaviours conditioned, beaten and controlled, maligned and discriminated against, punished and oppressed, unable to read or write, no funds, no housing. What constituted freedom?

King (2000) acknowledged that for over 100 years since the end of the Civil War, African Americans sought the mysterious path that led to freedom and realised that in order to achieve this, they would have to lobby and use faith and solidarity as tools to challenge the status quo. So despite the 13th amendment that “declared them free they were a twice burdened people living in the lowest stratum of society and additionally imprisoned by a caste of colour” and a barrier to accessing benefits attributed to freedom.

The 14th Amendment Eckes (2006) addressed citizenship rights, equality and protection of the laws shielding individuals from unfair and unjust treatment and protection, which covered race, gender, religion and age. This amendment was deemed to transform the United States of America to a country that was no longer “half slave and half free” but a country that constitutionally extended blessings and liberty to the entire population including former slaves and their descendants Nicolay and Hay (1894). However, again the legislation was passed but not enforced because of conflicting expectations of the White majority group.

This created anger amongst the White population who fought against the legislative decision. McElwee (1958) asserted that the amendment posed a “threat to our democratic government,” and where there was rebellion it was in order to ‘protect the nation’, thus it would be considered honourable to take “the law into their own hands”. It was even suggested that as they were Africans, they could not be considered American citizens, therefore the legislation could not be extended to

them. Such was the distress at changes in the law to free African Americans that equality was difficult if not impossible to attain.

African Americans that tried to exercise their freedom were often arrested, charged and imprisoned. An important case that occurred is the notorious case of *Plessy a freed slave v. Ferguson* 1896, which considers the rebuttal of the 14th amendment. Plessy boarded a train in New Orleans, Louisiana and defiantly found a seat in a car reserved for Whites. He was ordered off the train but refused and was arrested for violating segregation laws.

The case was tried at the US Supreme Court where the defence lawyer quoted the amendment to the constitution which asserted that 'a state could not deny individual's privileges unless due process of law was adhered to' but the court ruled against Plessy. This coined the legal term 'Separate but equal' attributed to the amendment, which along with the 'Crow law' was used by White supremacists to extend and enforce social barriers against African American people. The abolition of slavery had been replaced by racism, discrimination and injustice, which was upheld by the law.

It was the State of Ferguson where the perpetual rejection of the amendments was visible, and in 2015 the world watched in disgust as an 18 year old college student was shot dead by police and left in the middle of the road in public glare, uncovered in the heat for several hours before he was removed sparking riots across America of anger against the perpetual racism that continues to exist, legalised murders by the police that are upheld by the judiciary.

This doctrine that established different facilities for blacks and whites was valid under the equal protection clause of the 14th amendment as long as they were 'equal'. For example, drinking fountains had to be provided for both Black and White people, indicated by notices 'Whites' and 'Coloured's'. There were no stipulations about the quality of the facility or provision, they just needed to be available; the same principle attributed to the schooling system and other vital services such as housing and health.

In courts across the country Black children were denied access to white schools. Their parents believed that an integrated education would give their children a better future thus this bolstered their resolve to do their best to give their children the best opportunity. They took their cases for integration to court, however the cases were overthrown as there was a lack of will to enforce equality, which unfortunately continues to be reflected in society today. Discriminatory behaviour and practices apportioned by people with perceived or actual power according to Malik (2009), causes disadvantage to people from minority groups, females and people with disabilities. A person of colour is unable to hide their race and will inevitably suffer disadvantage based upon the colour of his skin and as King stated in his speech; not the content of his character; while not all disabilities or sexuality is physically visible they may be spared the effects of discrimination.

King described Atlanta, Georgia as one of the only cities in the Deep South that opportunities of every kind were available to African Americans. Both Black and White people benefited from access to spiritual, financial, cultural and educational possibilities, which continues today. Education and faith were reflected as an inseparable partnership throughout the life of King but it was also achieved in a segregated, faith environment in his formative years.

As well as narrating inspirational prose, King challenged political decisions that segregated those in less fortunate positions than himself; from social to racial disadvantage, often putting his own life at risk. His philosophy on equality and his approach to influencing change was criticised even by African Americans, however the masses were in favour of change after they witnessed the outcome that resulted from an infamous court case of *Brown v. Board of Education* recounted by Bell (2004) which became a catalyst for racial and gender equality.

According to Cohen (1978), the public school authorities deserted Black children after the Civil War and such was the contempt for them that their 'planned deprivation' became a norm of educational practice. So it was that dependent upon the geographical location of minority children and the opportunities for them to be educated privately made a difference to their educational experience and economically 'comfortable' outcomes. It is evident from King's experience that private education in a segregated faith based environment was beneficial.

Brown v. Board of Education 1954

Now is the time to lift our nation from the quick sands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children

Martin Luther King Jnr.

To put the infamous *Brown v. Board of Education* within context, there were a number of cases taken to the high court where families tried to have their children included within an integrated educational system.

An early case of segregation in a school system occurred in 1849. 5 year old Sara Roberts was forced to walk past several white schools to reach her segregated "coloured" primary school. Her father, Benjamin Roberts, a printer by trade, filed a lawsuit against the city of Boston to integrate public schools. In 1849 reformer and future U.S. Senator Charles Sumner represented Roberts and challenged school segregation in the Boston court arguing that separate schools for African Americans branded a whole race with a stigma of inferiority and degradation. The Massachusetts Supreme Court, however, upheld segregation in a widely cited ruling. Influential Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw according to Levy (1957) noted that Boston's separate schools possessed substantially equal facilities and declared that school integration would only increase racial prejudice.

Kansas law gave cities that had a population of over 15,000 the right to segregate their school systems. Topeka junior and high Schools were integrated following a Kansas Supreme Court decision in 1941 that found segregation to be unequal. Elementary schools had not yet been required to integrate but 9 years later, a famous landmark case challenged and succeeded giving rights for children to access an integrated school; *Brown v. Board of Education*; Topeka, Kansas supported by the NAACP.

A legal challenge was made by the father of Linda Brown a 3rd grader who lived in a racially mixed neighbourhood but had to attend a segregated school. She travelled 21 blocks to get there, walking 7 blocks to the school bus stop, then took a bus to complete the journey to school, while Sumner Elementary school which she walked past every day was only 6 blocks away from her home.

Brown attempted to enrol his daughter Linda at Sumner Elementary school, however the school rejected her application. The NAACP encouraged Brown to take his case to the Supreme Court along with 4 other similar cases. They won a victory which historians and legal scholars concur Brown as being one of the most time honoured decisions made to American constitutional law (Anderson 2006). This case continues to be widely referenced in a number of other social sectors. This decision was an attempt to dismantle segregation and made history inasmuch as it was unlawful to deny black children access to white schools. The case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* (2004) where Separate but Equal was endorsed; Earl Warren, Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court 'concluded' that the doctrine of 'separate but equal' had no place in public schools and that segregation would be detrimental to African American children. He asserted that where policy separated race, it was interpreted as presenting the African American as inferior. Separate but equal, he stated was inherently unequal.

King tried to influence political address of the need for equality through a political and legal route with the NAACP while maintaining his philosophy of tempered radicalism. He pressed for change believing that the Brown v. Board of Education ruling would make a difference and professed 'who ever used to cry "never" are now saying "later" and that much of the agitation and ire were the sceptics of desegregations 'death throes of a dying system'.

He truly believed that change was imminent and affirmed this in his Philosophy of Integration speech, King (1962). He noted that small steps were being taken towards integration but they were at least progressive steps moving forward. In 1962 King reckoned that within ten years, or by 1972, desegregation would be achieved throughout the Southern States of America.

Sternberg (2005) suggested that learning is influenced by the people that one integrates with and Black parents believed that their children would get a better education through access to a curriculum within an excellent environment and the resources would have been far superior in integrated conditions. However this was not the perception of some white parents, particularly those in Americas Deep South because of their belief in White supremacy and the accepted dehumanisation of Black people who were previously enslaved and legitimately denied their human rights.

Separate educational facilities were deemed inherently unequal. Segregated schools were illegal but the Brown v. Board of Education ruling became a catalyst of change in a number of social areas such as housing, employment and salaries. But despite the victory of this case the spirit of the law had not penetrated the hearts and minds of the supremacists who continued to hold fast to their belief that they were more important and unwilling to accept this as a 'defeat'.

However according to Karpinski (2006) the success of Brown resulted in bitter repercussions because as well as the challenge to integrate African American children within White school, rather than accept integration African American segregated schools were closed down, teaching and administrative African American teachers were displaced. Although they had full qualifications they were either demoted or dismissed and replaced by White teachers even if they had low-level qualifications. The demotion of African American principles therefore had an impact on their status within the community, their progress as professional Black teachers and their earnings capacity suffered.

There were accounts of rioting, angry mobs surrounding schools fighting to hold on to the last threads of power and oppression; the remnants of slavery and on the 3rd September 1957, the governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus (Pettigrew and Campbell 1960), used the National Guard to stop black children from attending the local high school in Little Rock. Woodrow Mann, the reforming mayor of the city, disagreed with this decision that Black children should not be integrated and on 4th September telegraphed President Dwight Eisenhower and asked him to send federal troops to Little Rock so that children could access the school.

King endorsed President Eisenhower's use of the army in a case of the Little Rock Nine, to support the African American students who had legitimate rights to access the educational facility. King affirmed that pro-segregation groups would have assumed the right to stir up enough angst and trouble in the schools that were under court orders to integrate had a firm stance not been taken. Elizabeth Eckford one of the student's, described her experience as she tried to enrol at Little Rock Central High School during September 1957. She reflected on how the guards glared at her with a mean look which frightened her. She didn't know what to do; wherever she turned the crowds pushed towards them and she recalled hearing someone yelling "lynch her!"

Daisy Bates President of the NAACP (1962) reflected on the day the students arrived to an empty school surrounded by the National Guard and mobs of angry white people. The students walked through the centre of a line of national guardsmen—only the nine Negro students attended school that day. What tenacity and courage was displayed by the young people who were prepared to face such grievous challenges in order to access a good and equal educational experience.

Despite the challenges that the children faced; the publicity and personal anxiety and having made a stand for education. King Jr. attended graduation ceremonies at Central High School in May 1958 to see Ernest Green, the only senior among the Little Rock Nine, receive his diploma.

Several of the Little Rock Nine went on to work in distinguished careers as federal Department of Labour under President Jimmy Carter; one worked as deputy assistant secretary for work force diversity in the Department of the Interior under President Bill Clinton, and another worked as a reporter for NBC. The group were recognised for their significant role in civil rights history and in 1999, President Clinton awarded each member of the group the Congressional Gold Medal and the nine also received personal invitations to attend President Barack Obama's inauguration in 2009.

The legal representatives of the 9 youth and the many other African American children that were integrated to White schools was publicised, but there is no account of what must have been the emotional, psychological and physical challenges they faced and how they overcame.

To enable access to educational facilities, private black colleges were established and funded through sponsorship by northern leaders of white charitable organizations. Black college presidents at that time were white and the African American presidents were well versed in the etiquette of southern 'Jim Crow' and cooperated in adopting an academic curriculum that was designed to maintain white supremacy and assure the continuing inferior status of Black people. They were expected to train their fellow Black teachers and clergy, discouraging them from getting involved in politics and the 'affairs'.

In an interview in 1963, King voiced his views on segregation in education. He believed that all schools should be integrated and that residential segregation should not be an excuse to continue segregation within educational institutions. He stated according to Washington (1986) that his view of segregation opposed his goal of creating a society that was integrated with love and responsibility which are characteristic that are yet to be realised especially the notion of 'shared power'. This unfortunately is impossible unless it is given by those that have it.

King's view on segregation was that it diametrically opposed his ultimate goal of creating a beloved, integrated community. He once supplicated that "With every ounce of our energy, we must continue to rid the nation of the incubus of segregation. This he said was the only way to create the beloved community." Segregation is inconsistent with a beloved community because it short-circuits any form of true interrelatedness, leaving dreams fragmented against King's vision of a "single garment of destiny."

Alexander (2012) suggested that a positive education would keep Black children hopeful of a future and goes on to say that it is imperative for a citizen to be able to read and write otherwise they cannot vote. This law continues to prevent whole generations of families from having a stake in American politics.

60 years post the Brown v. Board of Education ruling, Orfield et al. (2012) states that schools in the US are more segregated than 30 years ago. However as will be discussed later, the failure to integrate educational facilities with the evident chasm between rich and poor will be demonstrated as prevailing socio-economic factors and not simply Black and White.

A Case for Separate Schools—Separate and Equal

A precursor to the Brown v. Board of Education case was that of George W. McLaurin an African American school teacher who applied to the all-white University of Oklahoma in 1948 to gain a degree in education. They rejected his application because Oklahoma laws made it illegal for black and white students to attend the same school. 'McLaurin filed a complaint against the University on the

state court level and won. He was allowed to attend classes but not with his fellow students'. He sat at the back away from the rest of the class, segregated in an integrated classroom (Carter 1988).

Smith (2000) described education as being of personal benefit to the individual and ultimately enables groups of people to access social and economic success. If this is the purpose of education it is incumbent upon world leaders, governments and educators to commit resources and finances to enable citizens to access learning. Racial inequalities however, prevents this from occurring as it has an endemic legacy in the historic events of African slavery. Leaders and educators according to Burke (2013) categorises racial inequalities and separates them under two headings, more specifically Black Africans, that became a part of American society through their kidnap; enslavement and forced citizenship and the other through immigration. Both groups are discriminated against; but the former suffers greater than the latter; as an enslaved person is forced while the other would have made a social choice to emigrate hoping for better prospects.

American Indians are another group that were overwhelmed and racialised as a result of military conquest and subjugation. Sociologist Blauner's (1972), hypothesis suggested that the impact of the conditions under which a minority group enters a larger society extends for decades or even centuries after first contact. Minority groups created by conquest, coercion, force and colonisation; unwilling participants in the larger society, experience more intense prejudice, racism, and discrimination than those created by immigration. He goes on to say that people that typically enter the host society voluntarily such as European immigrants and their descendants; exiled as prisoners to the New World/United States or migrated of their own free will were able to use the resources they took with them. This included family relationships, education, and money to defend their interests and develop themselves, defend their status and improve their situation in the larger society.

Disadvantage of colonized groups persist longer and are more difficult to overcome than the disadvantaged status faced by groups created by immigration according to Harlan and Smock (1989) and Booker T Washington, a leader in Black educational studies. They believed that education was a process by which individuals could be liberated and that it could elevate a Black man's social status, however, White men particularly in Southern States believed that education would be wasted on African Americans because 1. they were not sufficiently intelligent to engage in learning and 2. if they were educated they would likely improve on what was a poor lifestyle for the Black community.

The end of World War II created significant change for African Americans and the British Commonwealth countries that were enlisted to fight against Germany. They were on the front lines and more Black men were killed than White as drill sergeants stereotyped them stating that because they were enslaved they had more stamina than their white counterparts securing their position at the forefront of the battle.

The horror of death camps and the scientific racism that moved the world to War against Germany had in some way impacted on the response of the African American to his plight. In the words of an African American Corporal in the US army "I spent four years in the army to free a bunch of Dutchmen and Frenchmen,

and I'm hanged if I'm going to let the Alabama version of the Germans kick me around when I get home. No sirreee-bob! I went into the army a nigger; I'm comin' out a man" (Orfield et al. 2012). The Black man became assertive which was a characteristic that the NAACP used to strengthen the fight for their cause.

Throughout his lifetime King encouraged Black people to try to access education to engender responsible leadership. He would therefore see education as a vehicle for the attainment of social change and that influence could be effective if governments permitted educators to fulfil their desire to be change-agents that actualise better and healthier communities.

Corcoran and Wals (2004) suggested that "Segregation of white and coloured children in public schools was detrimental and affected the 'coloured' children" and because they felt inferior their motivation to learn was affected. According to Simkin (1997) the *Brown v. Board of education* ruling asserted that the impact of segregation was greater when it was sanctioned by law and that the policy of separating races usually led to an interpretation that symbolised the inferiority of the 'negro' group.

James Eastland a US senator in 1941, strongly opposed African American Civil Rights and declared to the Supreme Court that "Segregation is desired and supported by the vast majority of the members of both of the races in the South, who dwell side by side under harmonious conditions". He went on to state that segregation rather than preventing, promoted racial harmony as it allows each race to develop its own culture, institutions and civilisation and that "segregation was not a badge of racial inferiority", endorsing the notion of separate and equal. However, in the Words of Aristotle the Greek philosopher "Educating the mind without educating the heart is no education at all" Simpson (1997).

Eastland's statement was not in support of 'negro' children but rather to maintain segregation and retain 'power and control', attainable only by the White majority. However, an alternative approach may concede possible benefits of separating children according to their race ensuring that these could only be realised providing equal investment of funding, resources, the environment—school building and aesthetics, quality of the curriculum, expectation and outcomes are established.

Could there also be benefits in identifying the outcome of research into the psychological effects of learners that are integrated within an institution and environment from which an individual is morally and psychologically excluded? The notion that separate or segregated services are better as suggested by the White community, to some extent may not be negative if the impact is exclusion and long term psychological injury. It could be that 'integration' is the cause of the disproportionate number of Black males deemed to be schizophrenic because of their exclusion throughout all facets of society.

King made constant reference to the evils of segregation, both in the broader social arena and in the context of education. But is it a war worth waging? Maybe the fight should be to attain the promise of equal funding, resources, teaching standards and access to opportunities to higher education and employment and promotion.

Du Bois (1935) a former slave turned professor, educationalist, social and civil rights contributor, described the possible benefits of separate schools for Black children, and acknowledged a need at that time for culturally competent teachers and an environment that was sympathetic to their background and history and understanding the experiences black children had faced. He made reference to understanding the attitudes of white America or any other majority culture for that matter, towards minority groups; protecting them against what he called a worsening of 'continuous animosity'. He further acknowledged that he did not believe that Black people would ever receive a proper education. 80 years later, the issues appear to be fundamentally the same.

Separate schools have been endorsed and encouraged by faith and gender, therefore the success of girls and females pushing an equalities agenda could extend to race. Single gender schools could therefore be considered segregated.

King supported equality and the rights of women, in fact he played a significant role in actively engaging with Parks, a woman, triggered the year-long infamous bus boycott.

In the aftermath of the success of *Brown v. Board of Education* and the outlawing of the 'separate but equal' practice that heralded integration for black students, an additional clause was added. This related to gender discrimination under the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution after challenges were raised in the US court system for equality based on gender according to Strum (2002). Cases were presented such as *U.S. v. Virginia* 1996 for violating the 14th Amendment Equal Protection clause.

Girls were denied access to a military institute for male students so they took out law suit against the college. After the hearing, the court ruled in favour of the females and successfully signalled affirmative action for women and where findings deemed that practice was unequal, monetary compensation was awarded.

Another case was *Franklin v. Gwinnett County Public Schools* (1992) A female student and a class of plaintiffs filed a law suit against the board of education under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It is unfortunate that inequality that denied Black students access to integrated schools were not awarded compensation as were the females. It would be interesting to know whether any of the females successful in the case of this case of *US v. Virginia* 1996 were Black and if so, whether they also received monetary compensation, and if so, were they paid equal amounts as their white counterparts.

Criticism of King's activities were challenged by some women who perceived the work of the NAACP as sexist denying women the same opportunities as men which according to West (2015) was demonstrated in the maleness of the clergy and political figures that worked alongside him on the campaigns. The fight for affirmative action for women was raised in the 1990's and it appeared that despite the fight for justice on race gender was not considered. Therefore the question could be posed, whether gender was truly considered as important to King whose philosophy of non-violence is compared to 'Malcolm X's black nationalist, right

to self-defence, masculine “by any means necessary” rhetoric’. West further suggested that when this contrast is treated as a typical ‘ideological paradigm for understanding black communities during the late 1960s, specific notions of maleness are transmitted’.

Gender is however recorded as playing a significant part in making steps towards a civil society. Rosa Parks was known to refuse to give up her seat on a public bus which initiated King as leader of the Civil Rights movement and escalated to bring about political change. A year after making that stand, desegregation on buses was initiated. However what is not commonly recognised is that a 15 year old school girl Claudette Colvin created this catalyst for change. She was returning home from high school on 2 March 1955 and was seated near the back of the bus with 3 friends which was her usual and legitimate practice. The driver asked her to give up her seat to a white man but she refused. Three stops further, a traffic policeman boarded the bus and asked why she did not give up her seat to which she stated that it was her constitutional right to sit there. The bus progressed to the next stop where two policemen dragged her off of the bus arrested her and booked her into prison. Parks was the fourth black woman within 12 months to be arrested for not relinquishing her seat to a white passenger.

Parks was known to have made a significant impact on desegregation moving civil rights forward as a result of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, however, the reason that she was the face of the boycott was her age as she was dealt with as an adult and Colvin a school girl, also, significant status during slavery was there was more respect for people with a lighter skin complexion such as Park’s, which Herring et al. (2004) described as a form of stratification where the darker the skin tone, the more discriminated against they would be; this continues today even among Black people who consider each-others hue.

At the time of the bus boycott King was the leader of the Civil Rights movement through the NAACP and his role was to promote the embargo to all faith ministers and to enforce the act of disengagement with the transport system by men, women and children. This simple act crippled the system as three quarters of commuters were African American and ultimately brought about political change (Parks 1974; Kennedy 1989; Johnson-Coleman 2016).

This narrative reflects the importance of females in the fight for social justice and despite not being reflected predominantly in the Civil Rights Movement, they were there. This omission would no doubt have been customary at a time where women did not receive equal pay for doing similar jobs to men. However in the NAACP and other race challenging organisations, the focus was on race, social and racial equality. It is possible that if king had not been murdered, his next mission may well have been about giving women a voice.

Segregation in the UK?

Segregation in the UK according to a study by Demos Integration Hub and Simon Burgess of the University of Bristol examining diversity, discovered that the education system revealed that 61 % of Black and minority ethnic (BAME) pupils attend schools where they are in the majority. The research analysed how white and ethnic minority pupils are integrated within schools and found patterns of pupils that were more likely to be taught with other pupils from a similar background.

In London for example, approximately 26 % of pupils are white British, but 49 % of these children are in schools that have a white British majority. Children from Bangladeshi, Pakistani and black Caribbean communities are also disproportionately likely to be at school with children from the same ethnic background thus demonstrating that the British education system practices segregation.

A study by Demos, an independent educational charity in the UK showed that parents prefer to send their children to school in a community that reflects their own; segregated, which Trevor Phillips, chair of Demos acknowledges is understandable because parents want their children to ‘fit-in’ and feel comfortable when they are at school. However, Weaver (2015) asserts that white children’s education is being hampered by segregation as according to Phillips, they do not have the competitive edge that high performing minority children provide for them.

Maybe segregation and ‘separate *and* equal’ in its true sense is the way forward; however, He opposed Booker T Washington’s passive acceptance of segregation but, in some cases it may be beneficial. For example, 7th Day Adventist church schools are predominantly attended by children that are Black or people of colour achieve positive academic results. The school’s mission statement is inclusive however the Adventists particularly in the UK is predominantly Black African/Caribbean/British so it not only offers biblical moral teaching but to use an oxymoron, it inclusively—segregates, meaning that it includes children from other cultures, yet they are predominantly Black thus a form of segregation. A number of religious groups keen to open segregated state schools were supported by the UK government which resulted in it being accused of backing ‘educational apartheid’ according to McVeigh and Sikkink (2001).

An example of a 7th day Adventist school is Harper Bell, founded in 1988 in Birmingham in the Midlands in the UK. It was a fee paying school but due to its successes and reputation based on a foundation of Christian values, excellence and reliability. It received voluntary aided status in 2011 which meant that parents no longer had to pay school fees. The website gives very positive reviews and has predominantly Black representation throughout.

Discrimination also, continues to be a prevailing issue in education in the US despite Civil Rights Laws. UNESCO policies on education as reported as recently as February 2015 in the Post and Courier News stated that equal segregation is needed, because there has been little change and it further asserted that more than 50 years after desegregation, schools in Charleston County remain segregated by

race in order for White parents to maintain a 'quality education for their children. Reporters Parker and Hawes in the Post and Courier on-line newspaper (2015) also noted that all of the segregated, predominantly Black high schools in the district were ranked 'at risk' or below average'.

A Paradigm of Change

What if budgets were re-shaped so that financial re-distribution created a balance in resources; harmony would be established and integration could then be a possibility. Attempts to integrate across the school system even with the recognition of multicultural education has failed and it appears that the underlying factor is not merely based on education but requires real political will an admission and acknowledgment of the impact of prevailing discrimination and the enforcement of penalties for non-compliance.

Such a change would require a government that is willing to challenge policy and inequality in practice and holding to account those responsible for failing to enforce operational aspects of the system. National, regional and local policies and a positive use of legislation could also influence change.

Racism is more than just skin deep, Herring et al. (2004) as it denies whole groups of people from accessing social and economic stability and wealth also for the majority group believing and then enacting behaviours that reflect and teach 'supremacy'. Maybe despite King's best intentions, his cry for freedom was never going to be achieved. Maybe his discourse for equal resources in segregated conditions would have been more fruitful than inclusion and integration.

King's philosophy on everything was hinged on love, God's love. He believed that

Love is the only force capable of transforming an enemy into a friend

Martin Luther King Jr

Diversity prevents perpetrators from reflecting on the impact of their behaviours and leaves victims frustrated at not having a voice, power or a recognised and respected position in society. Therefore, with this knowledge there is a question to be asked; without an infrastructure based on equality, will equal integrated schools ever be achieved?

Segregation could work. 'The Black College and University Act defined a historically Black college and university (HBCU) as one that existed before 1964 with a historic and contemporary mission of educating Blacks while being open to all. There are 103 HBCUs, located mainly in the South-eastern United States, the District of Columbia and the Virgin Islands.'

HBCU's have contributed to 22 % of black students achieving bachelor's degrees who went on to be known as engaging in high profile roles; 40 % of all congressmen, 12.5 % CEOs; 40 % of engineers, 50 % professors at non-HBCUs;

50 % of lawyers and 80 % of judges are HBCU graduates. If such excellent outcomes can be achieved in a segregated education system it is unclear why the focus is on integration and not equity in funding separate schools.

In the US, another issue that perpetuates discrimination is 'tracking' which is a system used to indicate the levels of pupils achievements. As one would expect, African Americans and Hispanic students are graded lower than their white counterparts. The impact of this practice explained by Herzog (2005) streams or categorises children and determines the level of academia that they can expect to achieve; they consistently lag behind their White counterparts with an ever increasing performance gap.

These groups have few opportunities from which to excel. Interestingly, this experience is not reserved for students from low income and poor backgrounds, according to Wilkins, Vice President for Government Affairs and Communication for the Education Trust; middle classed African American children that make up a minority in White schools experience the same types of biases and low expectation unless their teachers encourage them, they are made to feel alienated, which impacts on their performance, reinforcing the notion of separate and equal schools.

Over the past decade since Pennsylvania Commonwealth Court Judge Doris Smith-Ribner's ruling demanding improvements in what she called the "substandard quality of education in racially isolated minority schools, much of the focus on the District's most racially segregated schools were negative. A 5 year action plan called Imagine 2014 was devised as a result of the ruling to lessen the achievement gap for African American and Hispanic children. It set out to support all social areas that impact on education with the support of relevant partners including Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission and the School Reform Commission, the community, students and parents.

Case Study

FS Edmonds School—Racially Isolated Education Provision

- 98 % or more African American population continues to outperform most of their counterparts.
- While racially segregated schools as a whole struggle with insufficient funding and less-skilled teaching staffs, these two schools appear to be able to leverage resources to create supportive, encouraging environments for teaching and learning.
- Sharon Finzimer principal of F.S. Edmonds Elementary School in East Mount Airy, has benefited from a host of academic and social supports and interventions for her 653 students in grades K-6,
- 50 % of her students are from low-income families.
- Edmonds is in its third year of an intensive Saturday reading program managed by Options Publishing that serves about 25 s graders from October through June.
- Students in need of focused literacy supports use Fast ForWord (FFW), a software program that helps improve auditory processing skills.

- FFW is run by both the resource room teacher and classroom teacher.
- Partnerships with local universities include Arcadia University's math-science practicum, with 50 student teachers doing student pull-outs and tutorials.
- Edmonds partners with Arcadia in other ways—via B2EST (Building Behavioural Support Teams), an expanded, 27-h professional and para-professional development opportunity for all staff over the course of three Saturdays.
- Professional development sessions are targeted toward positive climate—we implement strategies to reduce disruptive behaviours.
- School-wide help is offered to children to build social skills and put classroom systems in place.
- Healthy minds demand healthy bodies—and the Food Trust delivers farm-fresh, organically grown food to Edmonds classrooms.
- There is a strong Staff team. “We have a staff to die for—high teacher attendance, high-quality instruction, caring,” said Finzimer. “Nobody put in for a voluntary transfer.”
- The community continues to bring extensive resources to the school. Reformation Church, long a community pillar, runs before- and after-school programming in the school building between 7 a.m. and 6 p.m., and offers on-site daycare.
- People Organized for the Restoration of Temple Stadium (PORTS) raised \$50,000 for Edmonds and the District matched it, resulting in a state-of-the-art playground. Alvin Williams, Jr., a Toronto Raptors basketball star and an Edmonds alumnus, contributed \$59,000 to go toward 39 iMac computers.
- The school recently became the first in the District to be nominated for the National School Change Award, because of its increase in TerraNova scores at every grade level. Students have made equally significant gains on the PSSA—over the past three years, fifth graders at Edmonds scoring at or above proficient jumped from 18 to 59 % in reading and from 15 to 52 % in math.

Legislation, policy, commitment, equalities strategy implementation, performance and outcome monitoring and accountability are evident characteristics of this provision which if the model was replicated, should result in wider, positive outcomes. However as good as this programme is, it is not the first to attempt a reduction in the education and skills gap. It is and has been acknowledged that the skills gap between different communities is unacceptable.

School attainment and engagement of the community may not yield immediate change but may promote a modification of culture which if replicated and endorsed could see consistently positive outcomes, however, it has to be led strategically with national and governmental commitment, funding, ongoing support and backing. This type of initiative would require set actions which are monitored and reviewed until the end of the programme or performance is imbedded as business-as-usual.

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