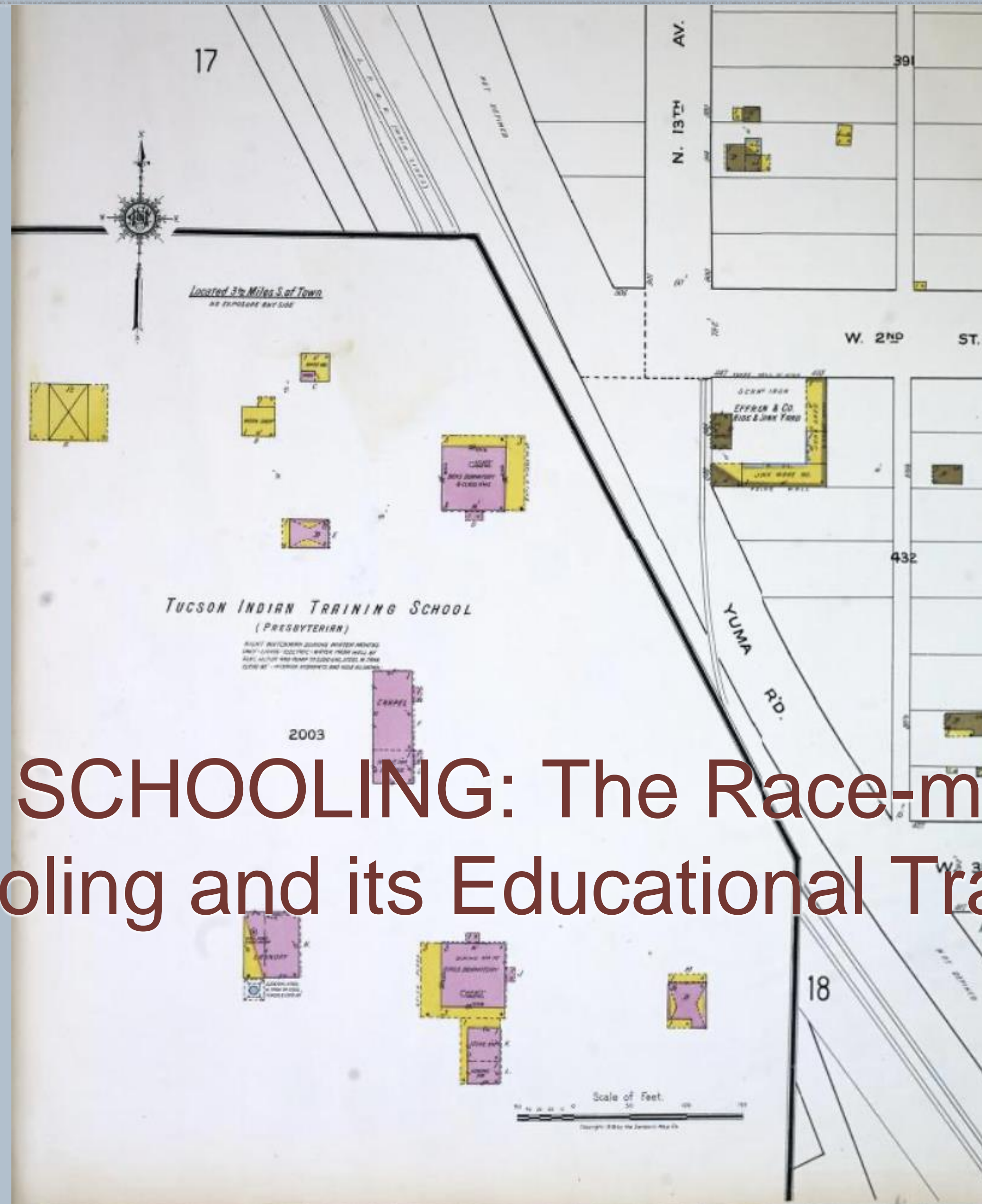


THE COLOR OF SCHOOLING: The Race-making Project of Compulsory schooling and its Educational Tracks of Violence

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POPULAR PROGRESSIVE NARRATIVES OF COMPULSORY SCHOOLING

- Popular progressive narratives of compulsory schooling
- Protected youth from child labor practices
- Schools as a social equalizer that provide opportunities for economic and social mobility
- Schools support democratic participation and populous

COMPULSORY SCHOOLING AS RACE-MAKING INSTITUTIONS

I argue that compulsory schooling has been a fundamental institution in the U.S. for racial structuring, the contemporary evidence for which are deep and persistent racial disparities in outcomes for students. Racialized disparities in outcomes are not simply the effects of institutional failure or racialized resource inequalities upon the otherwise neutral institution of compulsory schooling. Rather, compulsory schooling must itself be understood as a race-making endeavor that produces necessary and expected racial disparities in outcomes.

MARXISTS FRAMEWORKS IN EDUCATION

Marxist critics of schooling posit that schooling in the U.S. developed to maintain class distinctions among the population.

- Support to institutionalize schooling at the turn of the twentieth century, came from business elites who needed a workforce socialized to accept their position in life as subservient and disposable.
- Limited amount of knowledge was taught and always in the context of religious and class ideologies.
- They argue that compulsory schooling was designed to discipline new generations into the established class structure, training children into the bodily habits and literacies of industrial (and in today's context), information-based economy laborers.

MARXISTS FRAMEWORKS IN EDUCATION

- In this framework, disparities in educational outcomes are attributed to an unequal distribution of resources.
 - i.e. access to education, quality teachers, infrastructure, curriculum etc.
- The solution posed is to redistribute educational resources equally so school foster critical thinking among youth to restore control over their labor and lives. Thus doing away with class disparities in educational outcomes.
- However, a Marxist critique does little to address the persistence of racial disparities. Marxist centered critiques of schooling often mark race as secondary to class and propose that class focused solutions will inherently solve racial disparities.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY FRAMEWORKS IN EDUCATION

Within CRT, race is both a social construct and an embodied experience.

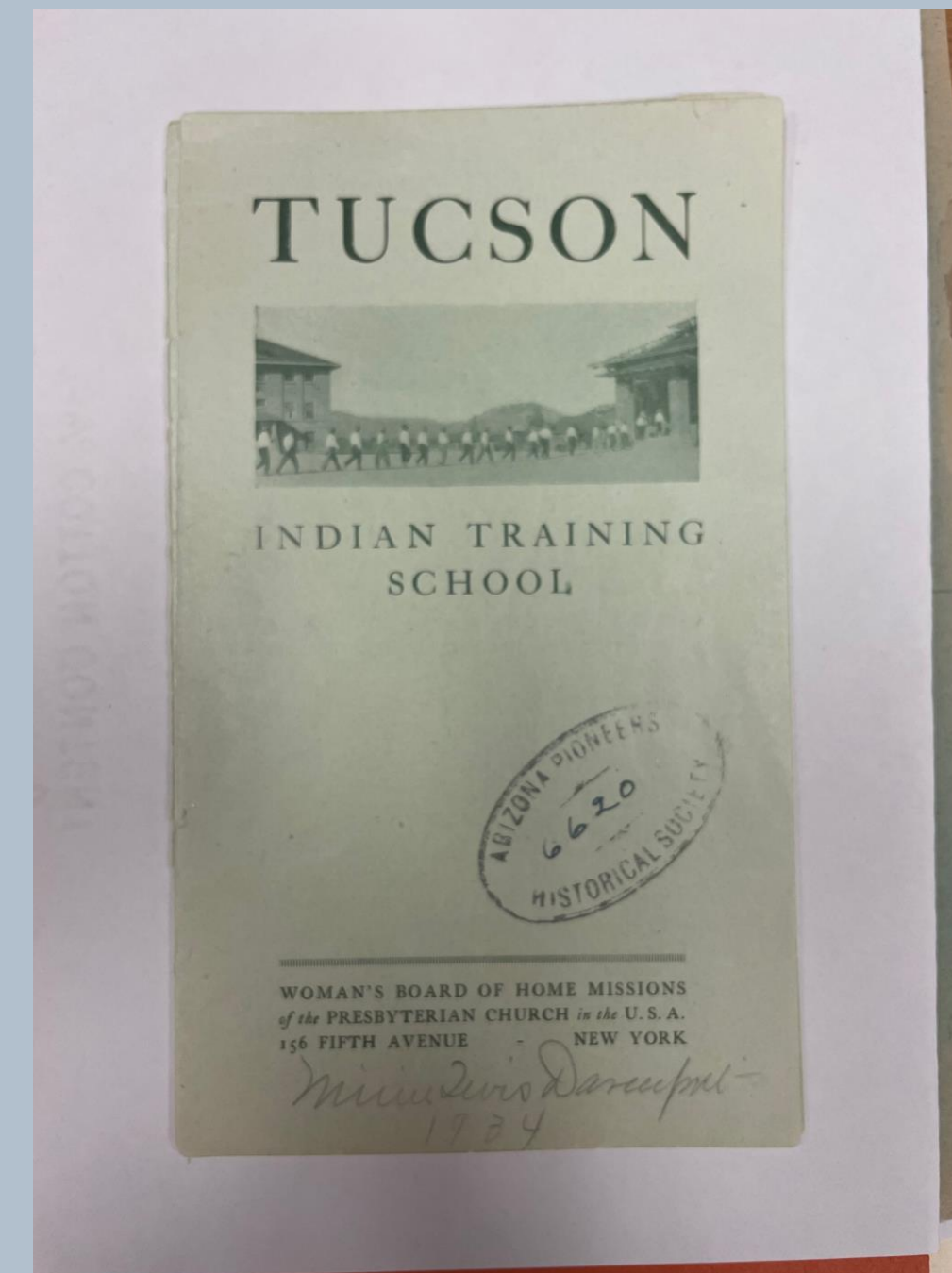
- CRT has highlighted the impacts of race within the schooling system, particularly on Black and Brown youth.
- Rates of discipline (suspension, expulsion, push/drop-out, school-to-prison pipeline etc.) are disproportionately higher among Black and Brown male youth compared to white males, despite race-neutral policies and practices.
- Discipline for Black and Brown girls are gendered - dress code, attitudes, tardiness
- Affects of race are further exasperated when linked to low social-economic standing.

Solutions proposed are similar to the solutions proposed by educational Marxists, they are monetary: an equal redistribution of resources (access to education, quality teachers, infrastructure, curriculum etc.) would diminish disparities.

LIMITS OF MARXIST AND CRT FRAMEWORKS IN EDUCATION

- Both frameworks argue that schools need to be restored to better align with the democratic aspirations and promises of equitable education. It's not a question of restoring democratic ideals, simply because compulsory schooling was never meant to be democratic.
- The historical origins of compulsory schooling in the U.S. are Indian Boarding Schools.
 - This historical lineage exposes how the institution of school was designed as a disciplinary technology with the objective of (re)producing and conditioning an oppressed consciousness through the generations.
 - The archives of the Tucson Indian Training School, underscores this intent of compulsory schooling, despite its public articulation of progress and self-sufficiency for Native American peoples.

THE TUCSON INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL



- The Tucson Indian Training School was established in 1888 by Presbyterian missionaries.
- The school was primarily established to educate the Native American tribes of the southern regions of Arizona including Pima, Papago (now known as Tohono O'odham), Apaches, Maricopa, and Hopi tribes.
- In 1909, the school site sat on 160 acres of land; it had a single story main building that served as the administration building with a chapel and music room. There was a separate dormitory for boys and girls, a work shed, an oven/bakery, a laundry building and sewing room superintendents house.

TUCSON INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL'S GRADUATION RATE

- From the onset Indian Boarding Schools (IBS), whether funded by the US government or religious organizations, were designed and funded to help Native Americans assimilate and be self-sufficient in American society. Yet this narrative is not reflected in the archive
- In 1934 the Tucson Indian Training School reported that it had “reached 1400” Indigenous youth since its inception in 1888, **yet only 73 students had graduated during this time, a rate of 5.2%** (when it was well into its establishment).
- The graduation rate does not support, even in a monetary sense, such as receiving a diploma, the notion that IBS were beneficial to Indigenous youth.
 - In other words, what where Indigenous Youth of the Tucson Indian Training School matriculating into?

Tucson Indian Training School
Tucson, Arizona
Conducted by the
Woman's Board of Home Missions
of the
Presbyterian Church in the United States of America

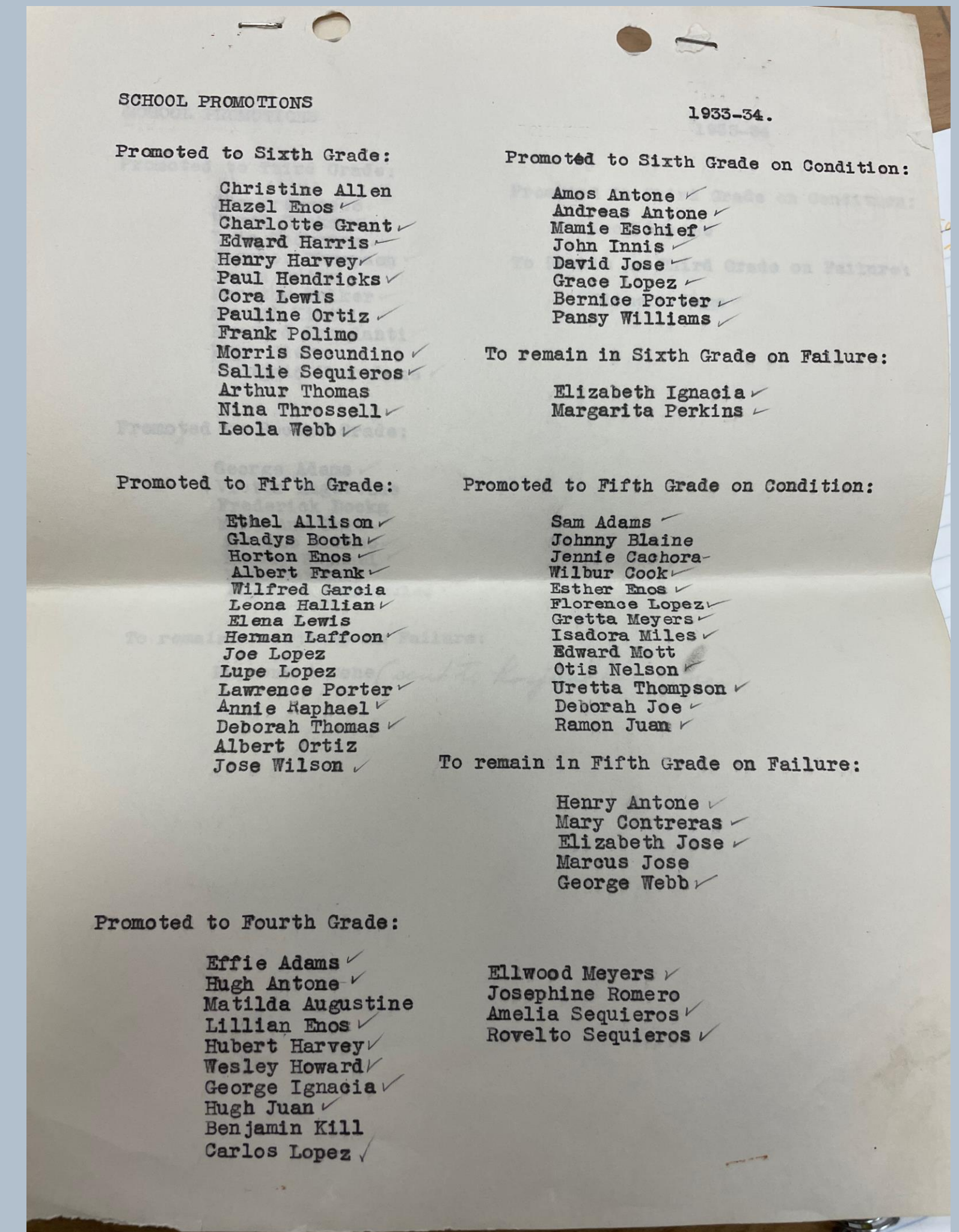
Martin F. Weston Superintendent

COMPLETE LIST OF GRADUATES OF THE TUCSON INDIAN TRAINING SCHOOL

1903	1909
Jose Xavier Pablo (Papago)	Louisa Anton (Papago)
Jose Padgeley (Pima)	Placida Dolores "
John Howard "	Martha Anton (Pima)
Joseph Jackson "	Mary Williams "
1904	1910
Dora Roberts (Pima)	Paul Howard (Pima)
Helen Lewis "	Mollie Parvelo (Papago)
Emily Cherlis "	Lilly Thompson (Pima)
Annie Blackwater "	Cherlis Varvechis "
Silapolla Garcia (Papago)	
1905	1911
Shale Preston (Pima)	(none)
Johnson Enos "	1912
Harry Azule "	Alice Enos (Pima)
William Manuel Nelson (Pima)	Alfred Jackson "
Cantalya Kisto (Pima)	
Laura Anton "	1913
Luciana Lolorias (Papago)	Emma Pedro (Papago)
Lucile Wilson "	Pauline Xavier (Pima)
1906	1914
Jackson Thomas (Pima)	(none)
Matthew Roberts "	1915
Charles Schurz "	Nana Emerson (Pima)
Cyrus Thomas "	Nannie Howard "
Juana Cherlis "	
Elizabeth Roberts "	1916
Susie Blaine (Papago)	Lizzie Allison (Pima)
1907	Lucy Jackson "
(none)	Annie Manuel "
1908	Mattie Thompson "
Marianna Garcia (Papago)	Listine Wilson (Papago)
Josephine Enos (Pima)	Felix Porter (Pima-Papago)
Lucy Howard "	
Lobi Anton Young "	
Mabel Nelson "	

GRADE PROMOTION RATES

- A school report from the academic year of 1933-34 documents 6th grade to 1st grade student promotions at the school, who was held back and who were promoted with conditions.
 - 6th grade: 14 were promoted, 8 with conditions, and 2 were held back. **Over 41% of the 6th grade class was struggling or outright failed.**
 - 5th grade: 15 were promoted, 13 with conditions, and 5 were held back. **Over 54% of the class had struggled or failed.**
- The lower grades seem to have done better.
 - 4th grade: all 14 were promoted
 - 3rd grade: 10 where promoted, 1 with conditions, and 1 was held back. Overall the class had an 84% success rate.
 - 2nd grade: 8 were promoted and 1 student has held back.
- Indigenous students seemed to have holistically struggled as the moved up through each respective grade.



CLASS GRADES

The Tucson Indian Training School's scholastic record does not improve much over time. The archival collection of the Tucson Indian Training School, housed within the Arizona Historical Society, has over 50 record-keeping booklets spanning from 1909 to 1951.

- Subjects taught included Arithmetic, English, Social Sciences, Art, Biology, Science, Spanish, History, and Music.
- In 1950 W. Donalson, taught 8th grade Math and 9th grade Science.
- 8th grade Math class: 24; students.
 - A = 1. B = 3. B- = 2. C+ = 3. C = 9. C- = 1. D = 2. F = 3
 - 15 students had C's or lower. **Over 57% of his students struggling to comprehend the material or outright failing the class altogether.**
- 9th grade Science class,
 - 19 out of 29 of his students had a C or lower.
 - **65% of his students struggled in the classroom.**

SUBJECT 8th. MATH. February

NAMES	1951							1952							1953							1954							1955						
	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
Antone, ALEX																																			
Antone, EMMEN																																			
Billy, WOODY																																			
Johnson, LARRY																																			
Jones, GILBERT																																			
Manuel, ORLANDO																																			
Osife, KEITH																																			
Ponselle, MAYBERN																																			
Robinson, BYRON																																			
Smith, ALASKO																																			
Barlow, BETTY																																			
Buff, DELORES																																			
Harvey, GRACE																																			
Lewis, ETHELENE																																			
Lewis, HENRIETTA																																			
Lewis, IMOGENE																																			
Ludlow, MYRA																																			
Manuel, LAVERNA																																			
Sakiestewa, HEVERLY																																			
Shaw, JO ANNE																																			
Smith, ELIZABETH																																			
Throssell, MARGUERITTA																																			
Throssell, PHYLLIS																																			
Victor, FERMA																																			
Victor, PHYLLIS																																			
Haskie, JANET																																			

SUBJECT 9th. SCIENCE Feb

NAMES	1951							1952							1953							1954							1955						
	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S	M	T	W	T	F	S	S
Antone, GEORGE																																			
Baha, SYDNEY																																			
Bergan, ALLEN																																			
Buff, HAROLD																																			
Enos, LARRY																																			
Evans, WILFRED																																			
Jenkins, ERVIN																																			
Jenkins, FRANCIS																																			
Lewis, DAVID																																			
Ludlow, MAURICE																																			
Mendez, DONALD																																			
Meyers, LUTHER																																			
Patrick, KIRK																																			
Blackwater, LOUELLA																																			
Enos, LAMBERTA																																			
Howard, STELLA																																			
Jackson, ROSE																																			
Jefferson, HEVERLY																																			
Morales, JUANITA																																			
Norris, DELIA																																			
Osife, MAJEL																																			
Patch, CLAUDINA																																			
Puella, ELOISA																																			
Smith, CORRINE																																			
Smith, KATHLEEN																																			
Ventura, FRANCES																																			
Wellington, MYRA																																			
Whitman, EDRIE																																			
Whittaker, VERA																																			

POINT OF PASSING STUDENTS ALONG = DOUBLE CONSCIOUSNESS

- As the documents illustrate “passing” as a pedagogy was actively practiced in the Tucson Indian Training School. “Passing” students became a way to extend student exposure to the system compulsory schooling in order to create an oppressed consciousness within Native American youth.
 - **“The oppressed suffer from the duality which has established itself in the innermost being. They discover that without freedom they cannot exist authentically...They are one and the same time themselves and the oppressor who’s consciousness they have internalized. The conflict lies in the choice between being wholly themselves or being divided; between ejecting the oppressor within or not not ejecting them...This is the tragic dilemma of the oppressed which their education must take into account.”** Paulo Freire - *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* Pg. 48
- Freire argues that an oppressed consciousness is learned and points to schools as one site where it is taught. Pedagogy of the oppressor is a learned consciousness that works to create a split consciousness within students. Students not only learn the behaviors and values of this consciousness but take it on, as their own while simultaneously learning to fear/despise/distrust anything that doesn’t align with the oppressors’ values. For Native (Black and Brown) youth, this means they are taught to distrust themselves.
- Freire’s articulation of the oppressor’s pedagogy and the archives of the Tucson Indian Training School illuminate how an oppressed consciousness is continuously reproduced and normalized within compulsory schooling in the U.S.

NORMALIZATION OF EXPECTED FAILURE AS THE DESIGN OF SCHOOLING IS A RACE MAKING PROJECT

- “Passing” is not simply a form of pedagogical cruelty, but a violence that normalizes slow death as a common fact of life. In order to succeed in school, students have to master or mimic the the pedagogy of the oppressor, which is informed by Western modernity and racialized as white.
- In this way “passing” students is a **pedagogical violence that works to racialize bodies within schools** - it maintains the expectation that Black, Brown and Indigenous youth are more likely to have a harder time in school and fail.
 - This expected failure is tied to their over all life chances, complicating their economic, social and mental well-being.
- This framework helps to clarify that race does not simply impact ones schooling experiences **but rather that schooling is a race-making institution in and of its self that normalizes the slow death of these populations.**

NORMALIZATION OF EXPECTED FAILURE AS THE DESIGN OF SCHOOLING IS A RACE MAKING PROJECT

Development of this educational discourse that places blame on the individual is then generalized as community failure, re-inscribing failure as the expected outcome of individuals and communities within society as a whole.

- This discourse of failure is then normalized and manifests as premature/slow death as the common/expected life outcome for the individual and community within society.
- The normalization of premature death throughout the discourse of educational failure obscures how the failure is a desired structural outcome of schooling because compulsory schooling is born out of IBS.

It is not a process of miseducation, it is a process of reproducing an oppressed consciousness, directed at normalizing the slow and premature death of Indigenous students specifically, and Black and Brown youth in general. This is the function of schools - evidenced by the persistence of disparities in educational outcomes.

Education and schools have become synonymous - I challenge us as educators to move away from this framework.