The Fight that Must Be Fought: Reflections on Race, School, Struggle and Sacrifice on the South Side of Chicago

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Guest Feature Article
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The following paragraphs are centered in the realities of life in a hyper-segregated city that moves to displace, marginalize and isolate certain members of its population while making space for new investments in housing and other infrastructure. The story is layered and multi-pronged, while deeply imbued in the politics of race, class, and government. Fortunately for some members of the city, the struggle for the basic needs of housing, education and quality of life has not ended. Instead, a public awakening has begun to ignite city members to work in unison to change the current condition.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY & EDUCATION IN CHICAGO

Over the last 20 years I have used critical race theory (CRT) to provoke thought and action in education. Founded in legal scholarship, the theoretical construct centers the salience and permanence of White supremacy/racism in life in the United States. For the purposes of this account, instead of thinking of white supremacy/racism as solely located in individual acts of bigotry, it is

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1 David Omotoso Stovall is a professor of Educational Policy Studies and African-American Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago. Since his arrival at UIC, Stovall has been working with youth, community organizations, and schools in Chicago, New York City, and the San Francisco Bay Area. Furthering his attempt to connect K to 12 and university spaces, Stovall also serves as a volunteer social studies teacher at the Lawndale Little Village School of Social Justice. Stovall studies the influence of race in urban education, community development, and housing. His work investigates the significance of race in the quality of schools located in communities that are changing both racially and economically.


3 See Kimberlé Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, Critical race theory: The key writings that formed the movement. (1st ed. 1995); see also Derrick A. Bell, Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism. (1st ed. 1992)

4 See Edward Taylor, A primer on critical race theory: who are the critical race theorists and what are they saying?, THE JOURNAL OF BLACKS IN HIGHER EDUCATION 122-23 (1998) ("[I]ndividual racist acts are not isolated instances of bigoted behavior but a reflection of the
important to understand the concept as one that holds the views and values of White, Western European, heterosexual, able-bodied, cis-gendered males as normal, right and good. Any viewpoint other than the aforementioned is “othered” instantaneously, resulting in rationales that justify the continued domination, marginalization and isolation of communities of color. In some instances, the call for marginalization is subtle. In others, this is not the case.

Understanding the amorphous nature of racism/White Supremacy requires us to envision how it operates both ideologically and systemically when identifying the relationship between low-income/working class communities of color and schools systems. Chicago, in all of its perpetually shifting policies and facades of “development,” provides a prima facie example of the aforementioned relationship. Deepening this narrative, the events surrounding the struggle to keep Walter H. Dyett High School open on the South Side of Chicago, the struggle of community members to revitalize their school is one that must be understood as a struggle against White supremacy/racism and a struggle for human dignity.

larger, structural, and institutional fact of white hegemony. This normalization of expected, race-based practices in employment, housing, and education makes the racism that fuels it look ordinary and natural, to such a degree that oppression no longer seems like oppression to the perpetrators.

Critical race theory encompasses and has influenced women of color feminism, critical trans politics (CTP), and critical disability studies. See Dean Spade, Normal life: Administrative violence, critical trans politics, and the limits of law (1st ed. 2011) (drawing heavily on critical race theory scholarship); see also Fiona A. Kumari Campbell, Exploring internalized ableism using critical race theory, 23.2 Disability & Society 151 (2008)

Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate IV, Toward a critical race theory of education, 97 The Teachers College Record 471 (1995).


Pauline Lipman, Chicago school policy: Regulating Black and Latino youth in the global city, 6 Race, Ethnicity, and Education 331 (2003)

PRELUDES TO THE STRIKE: CHA POLICIES & RENAISSANCE 2010

Documented in a brilliant account by education scholar Eve Ewing, the struggle to revitalize Dyett High School is one that is deeply connected to housing in the city. For many residents on the South Side of the city, particularly public housing residents, housing stock has been destroyed under the Chicago Housing Authority’s (CHA) Plan for Transformation—in total disregard to resident’s input or participation.

Beginning in 1999, over 80 percent of CHA buildings have been razed (including 100 percent of high rise housing not designated for senior citizens), with only 20 percent of the razed properties being replaced primarily as new developments (primarily mixed-income housing) erected to house displaced residents. In the mixed-income developments, former CHA residents (who were classified in the new developments as “low-income”) had to apply to live in the new buildings, which often required them to work at least 30 hours per week, have no felony convictions, and have no one in the dwelling whom had a recorded history of drug abuse.

To some, the requirements may appear sanguine. However, in understanding the power of White supremacy/racism, such “requirements,” given the history of marginalization and isolation in CHA, makes it nearly impossi-

13 Mary Pattilo, Black on the Block: The Politics of Race and Class in the City 160 (1st ed. 2007) ("The evolution and implementation of the mixed-income policy reveals that it did not emerge from the ‘bottom up.’ Mixed-income housing was not necessarily a solution for the public housing problems voiced by public housing residents. In fact, the Central Advisory Council (CAC), a representative body made up of representatives from each public housing development was not systematically included in the initial goal setting and development of the Plan. Rather, the CAC was only asked to vote to approve the Plan after it was fully developed by the CHA").
14 Isil Celimli and Sudhir Venkatesh, Tearing Down the Community, National Housing Institute, http://www.nhi.org/online/issues/138/chicago.html ("Overall, roughly 75 percent of all CHA families have expressed an interest in returning to their old neighborhood. Yet, conservatively, fewer than 20 percent will be able to return because units for poor families do not meet demand and the eligibility rules for poor families are prohibitive. The Relocation Rights Contract, which specifies the rights of the CHA families and the obligations of the CHA, offers the right to return to all lease-compliant families but does not guarantee that all families displaced by redevelopment activity will be able to return to their original site").
15 Ewing, supra note 12.
ble for many former residents to secure housing. For example, if a person has a felony in the state of Illinois, they are disenfranchised from most forms of gainful employment that provide a living wage. If a person is unable to secure employment or housing, they are left with few viable options. In many cases, those with criminal records return to the underground economy, increasing their chances to return to prison. Additionally, some households are led by grandparents who may live on a fixed income, automatically disqualifying them for selection due to the 30 hour-per-week work requirement.

Coupled with the realities of education, the advent of the Chicago Public Schools (CPS) policy known as Renaissance 2010 (Ren2010) has deeply impacted education options for South side residents. Dyett, as a neighborhood school in the South Side neighborhood of Washington Park, experienced the residuals of Ren2010 first hand. As the policy originally targeted the mid-South region of the city (the area consisting of the neighborhoods of Kenwood, Oakland, Grand Boulevard and Douglass), a bevy of community resistance (led by the Kenwood Oakland Community Organization—KOCO) halted the initial surge of the policy. However, as the policy was imple-

18 Devah Pager, Marked: Race, crime, and finding work in an era of mass incarceration (1st ed. 2008).
20 Susan J. Popkin, No simple solutions: Housing CHA’s most vulnerable families, 1.1 NW. J. L. & SOC. POL’Y 160 (Summer 2006) (“Hard to house public housing residents include families with multiple barriers—...[such] as ‘grandfamilies,’ i.e. grandparents who are the primary caregivers for children”) (citing ROBIN SMITH & KADJA FERRYMAN, URBAN INSTITUTE, SAYING GOOD-BYE: RELOCATING SENIOR CITIZENS IN THE HOPE VI PANEL STUDY, ROOF OVER THEIR HEADS POL’Y BRIEF NO. 10 (2006)).
21 Pauline Lipman and David Hursh, Renaissance 2010: The reassertion of ruling-class power through neoliberal policies in Chicago, 5.2 POLICY FUTURES IN EDUCATION 160 (2007).
mented throughout the city, a layered set of realities began to reveal themselves.  

Chicago, as a hyper-segregated city, often operates like a mythical hydra, with many heads that will replace themselves when one is cut off. The struggle to maintain Dyett is reflective of such layering. Local government, by way of neoliberal economic development, has created a rationale for the future of the mid-South region. Because Washington Park is adjacent to the mid-South region, the city has pressed forward in making space for prospective new residents. As the city uses the rhetoric of underutilization and underperformance to create the general rationale for the closing of schools, the narrative of disinvestment is one that is not shared in popular news outlets.

THE COALITION TO REVITALIZE DYETT HIGH SCHOOL

In a collaborative effort to expose the counternarrative to development, the Collaborative for Equity and Justice in Education (CEJE) and KOCO created a brief on the "three D's of corporate school reform." As resources are removed from communities, it becomes difficult to provide schools with the supports necessary to function as a quality school. Along with school disen-


24 See Rima Wilkes and John Iceland, Hypersegregation in the twenty-first century, 41.1 DEMOGRAPHY 23 (2004); see also Douglas S. Massey and Jonathan Tannen, A Research Note on Trends in Black Hypersegregation, 52.3 DEMOGRAPHY 1025 (2015).


27 See Editorial, A promise worth breaking, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, Mar. 12, 2013, http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2013-03-12/opinion/ct-edit-charter-20130312_1_charter-schools-schools-ceo-barbara-byrd-bennett-school-buildings ("Schools are going to be closed because they are underused and/or performing poorly. Chicago has 19,000 students on the waiting list to move to a charter school. If a charter could pack an empty school building with children who are drawn to a vigorous learning environment, what better use could there be for that building?").

28 Rhoda Rae Gutierrez and Pauline Lipman, Dyett high school & the 3 D's of Chicago school reform: Destabilization, disinvestment, disenfranchisement, COLLABORATIVE FOR EQUITY AND JUSTICE IN EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO (July 2012).
franchisement and destabilization, Dyett was in the eye of the hurricane regarding the three D’s.\textsuperscript{29}

In fact, Dyett has experienced disinvestment on three separate occasions. Once a thriving K-8 school, it became a high school in the 1990’s.\textsuperscript{30} The first years of the high school saw a series of administrative shifts until the hiring of Jackie Lemon, who stabilized the school in the early 2000’s.\textsuperscript{31} Under Lemon’s leadership, the school had a robust restorative justice program,\textsuperscript{32} a thriving student body and staff, and a local school council (LSC) filled with community members, teachers and students. When Lemon transitioned from Dyett, a series of disinvestments from the district ensued.\textsuperscript{33} At the same time, community members held steadfast in their support of their school.\textsuperscript{34}

In 2011, CPS announced that Dyett was scheduled for closure.\textsuperscript{35} Before the announcement, as some of the neighboring school’s populations decreased, community members devised a proposal that sought to secure the population schools in the neighborhood. By aligning professional development for the K-8 schools that fed into Dyett, the idea was to combat CPS’ rhetoric of un-

\textsuperscript{29} Mary C. Plemonte, Parents Protest CPS Turn-Arounds, WE THE PEOPLE MEDIA, Dec. 2, 2011, http://wethepeoplemedia.org/parents-protest-cps-turn-arounds/#more-4823 ([Barbara Byrd]-Bennett said KOCO has secured partnerships with the Strategic Learning Initiative, DePaul University’s Egan Center, the Illinois Institute of Technology, the Chicago Botanical Gardens and other institutions to support their schools plan, which he said is also supported by research from the Annenberg Institute for School Reform from Brown University and Communities for Excellent Public Schools).


\textsuperscript{33} Gutierrez & Lipman, supra note 21 ("Due to CPS cuts, Dyett lost a counselor and assistant principal, a truancy prevention program that provided mentoring and a Saturday school, and an effective reading program. In 2011, Dyett had just one honors class, no AP classes, no art teacher—senior art was taught on-line").


derperformance. By aligning instruction between the feeder schools, an early support system would be in place to ensure students would be supported if they came from any of the feeder schools. Once the proposal was submitted, CPS rejected the proposal with an insufficient response, only relenting after 11 activists staged a sit-in at City Hall in September 2014.

Following the announcement, after a series of back-and-forth bouts with CPS concerning the viability of Dyett, community members galvanized their efforts to create a new proposal for a school of green technology. In their commitment to stall community efforts, elected officials and CPS made sure that the Coalition to Revitalize Dyett would not be granted uncontested approval of the proposal. Despite six town hall meetings and over 3,000 signatures collected by the Coalition to Revitalize Dyett for their school, CPS decided to open the proposal process to the broader community.

36 Id.
37 Ted Cox, Dyett Proposal Gets High-Profile Support at Board of Education Meeting, DNAInfo.com, Dec. 17, 2014, http://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20141217/bronzeville/dyett-proposal-gets-high-profile-support-at-board-of-education-meeting (“Dyett has been slated to be phased out for years, and now has a dozen seniors as its last students before closing with their graduation next spring. The Coalition to Revitalize Dyett has arrived at a comprehensive plan to convert it into the Dyett Global Leadership and Green Technology Academy, a plan composed by the community, along with education experts at Brown University and the University of Illinois at Chicago, as well as the Chicago Teachers Union. Yet CPS and the Mayor’s Office have rebuffed attempts to have that plan adopted in time for next fall. Instead, CPS announced in October it would put out a request for proposals on Dyett, with the intent to reopen it in 2016.”)
Recognizing this was a sham process, the Coalition decided to take matters into their own hands. The result was a thirty-four day hunger strike to enforce the community’s demand for a school that met their expressed needs. In a egregious show of power, CPS offered the official line to the public that they engaged in a “compromise” with the community to create an open-enrollment “arts-based, technology” school. What is known is that there was no compromise between CPS and the aforementioned coalition. Instead, there was a commitment by CPS to continue the legacy of White supremacy/racism by denying a predominantly Black community the right to determine their educational destiny.

CONCLUSION

Despite the realities of the current moment, the efforts of the hunger strikers and the coalition did not go in vain. Because of their efforts, a public


45 Ted Cox, Dyett Hunger Strike Enters Fifth Week: We Are Prepared to Die’, DNAINFO.COM, Sept. 14, 2014, http://www.dnainfo.com/chicago/20150914/downtown/dyett-hunger-strike-enters-fifth-week-we-are-prepared-die (“A compromise happens when two people come together and they work out together something that’s agreeable to both parties,’ said Jitu Brown, a leader of the hunger strike, Monday at City Hall. ‘There was no compromise.’ According to Brown, he was told about the CPS plan 15 minutes before it was presented by Chief Executive Officer Forrest Claypool. Brown said he asked to continue to negotiate, but Claypool responded, ‘We’re moving forward.’ ‘That’s not compromise,” Brown said”).

46 Amara Enyia, In Bronzeville, a hunger strike for the ages, AUSTIN WEEKLY NEWS, Aug. 27, 2015, http://www.austinweeklynews.com/News/Articles/8-27-2015/In-Bronzeville-a-hunger-strike-for-the-ages/ (“These are parents who have put in the work and are making sacrifices not only for their children but for families who are rescuing the notion of ‘school choice’ so that it means real self-determination — the ability for a community to proactively develop and implement its vision for the kind of schools its children should attend. And what has been the city’s response to the actions of this proactive, self-determined community? Denial and delay”).


consciousness on education has ensued. The layers of the public consciousness include the revealed realities of police violence, the fight for a living wage, and the groundswell for a locally elected school board that is representative of the people who best know the issues and concerns of their collective locales.

The work is long and the struggle is in perpetuity, but it is a righteous one deserving of victory. To invoke KOCO activist Jitu Brown,

We recognize that when we win Dyett High School that means that people can win community-driven reform in Uptown. People can win it in Pilsen. People can win it in Little Village. People can win it in Auburn Gresham. That communities, the people who should be engaged in the first place, will actually have an example of what community-driven school improvement looks like.

49 Randi Weingarten, *AFT's Weingarten on #FightForDyett*, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, Sept. 2, 2015, [http://www.aft.org/press-release/afts-weingarten-fightfordyett](http://www.aft.org/press-release/afts-weingarten-fightfordyett) ("There are more Dyetts across our country. In communities where neighborhood public schools were closed, not fixed. In communities destabilized by bad policy. But they are fighting back—in Chicago, in Newark, N.J., in Philadelphia, in Pittsburgh. Across the country, communities are determined to do whatever it takes to have great neighborhood public schools. And just as with Dyett, we want to make it crystal clear that the American Federation of Teachers has your back.")


