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The African-American Minority Beyond New Racism: Post-Obama Era And The Myth Of Post-Racialism In US Public Schools

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Abstract :

The historic 2008 presidential election, won by Barack Obama as the first African-American president, has introduced America to the so-called post-racial era. Although concerted efforts to eliminate racism are heightening public discourse, social disparities in the field of education continue to be silenced. This paper uses critical race theory as a lens to identify the issue of racial oppression in K-12 schools. Thus, qualitative and quantitative approaches are used to explain why racism became subtler during Obama's presidency. It aims to examine different anti-racist dialogues that may help African-Americans and whites come out of their black and white fragility, beginning with schools. To realize the aforementioned objective, it is important to ask: Why does the American system of education continue to mute social inequity in US public schools? As a matter of fact, racism is ineradicable, even though the president is black. Americans dismiss race talk and prefer to deny that there are problems with inequality due to social constraints.

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1- Introduction

Barack Obama's victory in 2008 as the 44th president of the United States was a ray of hope for many African-Americans. They tend to put their offensive past behind them and start a new chapter of life governed, for the first time in history, by a man of their race. Many scholars have rushed to say that America is beyond race and race relations are better now (Alemàn et al., 2011, p. 479). Yet it is evident that wiping out racism in the US is easier said than done. Proclaiming that people do not see color after electing a colored person has only swept the facts under the rug. For instance, discussions on the topics of race, racism, and social disparities in society are silenced and muted due to the prompted declarations that suppose the beginning of a post-racial era. Addressing current issues people of color face in reality is important and necessary to refute post-racialism. The persistence and presence of racism in the field of education is key to proving that electing a black man did not take the nation "off the hook," as "acts of prejudice and discrimination have continued to affect the experiences of students of color on university campuses" (Alemàn et al., 2011, p. 479).

While concerted efforts are being made to respond to the institutional racism conducted in different life sectors, much less attention is paid to social abuse and segregation in US public schools. This paper shows that ignoring social oppression in education will only result in pervasive and reverse racism across the nation. Education is connected to the nation's social status at all levels, mainly the young generation (Olivier, 2018, para. 1). Although many Americans believe that they are colorblind, racism continues to cunningly exist. Thus, the problem lies in the mindset of people who pretend they do not see color. Overall, to stop the hidden and rapid increase of racism and erase racist beliefs from the minds, it is significant to start with the

young generation, notably in K-12 schools. Looking at the issue through the lens of critical race theory (CRT) shows that the gap lies in dismissing race and racism conversations in schools. With this in mind, it is necessary to deconstruct racial narratives during the post-racial era.

The paper reveals that fighting racism through education and action is a potential solution to reaching constructive debates. Moreover, Olivier adds that "At the early stages of education, children need to be taught that they should look at others as equal to them" (2018, para 10). Discussing racism in US public schools demonstrates its negative impact on African-American children, who are still experiencing prejudice and discrimination. CRT is used as a framework to support the idea that teaching race to children will gradually eliminate racist practices inside and outside the classroom. Moreover, it will open the door to getting over white and/or black fragility. Meghan Dougherty confirms that telling children, whites and blacks, about the past of their country is the clue to "grapple with the issues" they encounter (Washington Post, 2021).

The paper relies on the qualitative method to interpret the different solutions proposed by scholars to wipe out systemic racism in public schools and its impact on children's learning. In addition, it uses the quantitative method to present different experiences and narratives about racism. It acknowledges the fact that the post-racial era offers no evidence for race relations progress but that racists simply changed their strategies of conducting racism. CRT suggests that debating race, confronting the fear of white fragility, and supporting narratives about history are available solutions to provide tolerance in diverse US public schools. However, these questions are worth asking: Do whites and blacks feel ready to engage in these conversations? Will blacks and whites be open to different subjects about race and racism? Will narratives that do sometimes hurt receive acceptance from both sides? If not, what is the alternative? With this regard, it becomes a fact that the present can only be post-racial if Americans, whites and blacks,

overcome the fear of facing the past. Refuting the myth of post-racialism after the Obama age does not mean that the president did not achieve an advantage in fighting racism in education. But racism is an ideology that is embedded in the American system. It is a phenomenon that cannot possibly end in two terms of tenure.

2- Overview of Post-Racialism in the Field of Education

In the past, many US public schools used overt racism towards minority students as a reflection of the landmark of 1865, Plessy v. Ferguson. It was obvious that individuals and the system itself allowed the practice of social segregation and were not interested in social equality. Today, the two types of racism, individual and institutional, continue to take place; however, they become closely related forms that confuse the way to understand which one emerges in US public schools. Theoretically, the former is based on the actions of individual whites against individual blacks. The latter, is based on the actions of the white community against the black community (Jones, 1974, p. 218). Now, in reality, it seems that both are covert. Many social workers, along with those interested in making things better, argue that schools prefer to use the second type, which is highly covert and subtle, as "it originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society, and thus receives far less public condemnation than the first" (Jones, 1974, p. 218). This is undeniably the reason why many theories explain blacks' low achievements in schools as a result of their low performance and efforts. On the other hand, individuals, for instance, teachers, no longer express hostility towards blacks "but are not accompanying their friendliness with challenging academic standards" (Massey et al., 1975, p. 10).

In the post-racial era, it was thought that the US had finally closed the chapter on open racial attitudes and experienced a new age of post-racialism where public segregation was officially illegal. However, a shift in the perspective of these attitudes is what changed. If old racism

was motivated by the principle of white superiority and black poor relative standing in society, new racism is motivated by stereotyping African-Americans, accusing them of playing the race card, and complaining about new racial experiences (Bonilla-Silva, 2018, p. 1). The emergence of "deficit" theories, for instance, colorblindness and post-racialism, has created new barriers for African-Americans to access American life. In reality, when white Americans claim that they are colorblind and see America as post-racial after electing a black man, then no excuses are left for the African-American minority. According to Meghan Dougherty, whites are "looking to sweep it under the rug" (Washington Post, 2021).

Nowadays, people focus on the issues happening in US public schools and the murder rate of the African-American community without paying attention to the fact that these terrifying events are the consequence of underestimating the danger of racism in US society (Feder, 2020, para. 2). It has become a fact now that racism is not only limited to race but deeply rooted in the US system. Regrettably, its roots have been reinforced in society throughout generations, which no one can easily question or doubt. DiAngelo also believes that these ideas and attitudes are no longer individual but institutional. Racist thoughts are instilled in the American mind and cannot be changed just because the president is black. She adds that "racism is deeply embedded in the fabric of our society" (2018, p. 86-87). In this respect, it becomes clear that racism is motivated institutionally and politically in all life sectors, which makes it difficult to eradicate overnight. Making laws, institutional decisions, and even children's educational programs are all affected by the menace of racist beliefs. These decisions usually perpetuate white supremacy and emphasize blacks' inferiority. The post-racial era did not change American thinking about race and racism but introduced America to the millennium of new racism, which Bonilla-Silva described as "racism without racists" (2018, p. 1). Yet, those institutionally racist communities require hard work to figure out solutions that may at least minimize the spread of racism, starting with schools.

In the context of education, post-racialism in this field would mean that social disparities in US public schools no longer exist as a significant issue in students' experiences. However, inequality in the US system of education has historically been critical and continues to persist in different ways. Although many academics showed a great desire to move past race and write about a specific level of transformation in the post-racial era, there is a remarkable lack of data on how to practically go beyond racism in both social and political spheres. In addition, Warren explains that this gap is a result of "the United States' nearly 400-year investment in the social construction to create a stratified society, as well as white supremacy, have created a society in which non-white children continue to bear the brunt of racial trauma through educational inequality" (2012, p. 197). This indicates that the proliferation of post-racial theory intentionally exists to mute a new phase of racism. Alemàn, on the other hand, notes that electing Barack Obama would not mean shirking responsibility to recognize and analyze the continuous emergence of inequality throughout US K-12 and higher education that usually restricts children's and students' opportunities and achievements (2011, p. 480). Based on a large amount of evidence that inequality persists in almost all institutional sectors, it becomes a necessity to examine and present the solutions suggested by social workers who tend to make conditions better for minorities in the US, mainly African-Americans.

It is evident that preventing institutional racism is a hard nut to crack; however, examined strategies may help solve the problem. In this respect, Jones (1974) suggests that eliminating racism is not only based on fighting individual actions but rather on taking off its roots (p. 218). He adds that "institutional racism is comparable to a runaway vine. Often it is difficult to find its roots. And as with the vine, you can kill as many branches as you choose, but if you fail to destroy the root, the vine continues to grow" (p. 221). In truth, it has been illegal for ages to have segregated schools, but since then, the situation inside them is getting worse. Regarding Warren's previous view, this means that those policymakers who track institutional sectors seek to keep

the school system racist so that the other sectors will meet the same consequences. Orlando Patterson, the John Cowles professor of sociology at Harvard University, discusses the topic of why America cannot easily escape its racist roots and says that the issue lies in the fact that being white in America is a privilege and being black would refer to outsiders, and this is what he called "the norm" (CBS News, 2020). So, as taking off the roots is a complex process, starting with the branches is the alternative.

The next crucial step to fighting racism is dealing with individuals. The process demands more effort and willingness from all stakeholders. Researchers argue that preventing racism should start with fighting the factors that hardened its deep roots, mainly categorization and segregation. White Americans believe that their circle and category do not include black people; hence, placing minorities in a separate category of racial groups backs up segregation and social disparities in the country (Feder, 2020, para. 6). To eliminate the persistence of these preferences and beliefs, scholars call for an anti-racism movement based on conversations and discussions throughout institutional sectors. People, especially children and adults, need to recognize that treating others who are outside their circle should not be less favorable than the group they belong to. According to Olivier Marie (2018), this challenging step should start with education to end the increasing racist beliefs and encourage diverse exchange (para. 1). In addition, the idea of implying CRT in US public schools has met different views in academic and political discourse. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic identify the objective of CRT and state that "critical race theory contains an activist dimension. It not only tries to understand our social situation, but to change it; it sets out not only to ascertain how society organizes itself along racial lines and hierarchies, but to transform it for the better" (2006, p. 1).

3- Examining Racism in Education During the Post-Obama Era: The Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches

The theoretical part of this paper uses historical and analytical tools to present a literature review on post-racialism in education. It is also based on different scholarly works that agree on the fact that structural or institutional racism persists and strongly influences the country at all social levels. In their book *resegregation as curriculum: the meaning of the new racial segregation in U.S. public schools*, Jerry Rosiek and Kathy Kinslow refer to the power and persistence of systemic racism and mention that "racism is more than an aggregate of personal moral mistakes that people keep making over and over. It is a highly adaptive social system" (2016, p. 1). With this in mind, the CRT concept is used as a lens to better understand the current issues in K-12 schools and suggest possible solutions for a real post-racial America. The qualitative method is used to figure out the gap that was left in post-racial and CRT theories. The former has proved to be a myth and only rhetoric, while the latter has received heated criticism from different scholars who believe it will worsen discussion about race, mainly between children's parents and school administrators, as it opens some stories that may hurt. Consequently, it was officially banned in some schools (Washington Post, 2021). Simply put, the paper used CRT theory as a complementary framework to fill in the missing parts of vivid post-racialism.

Furthermore, the literature received extensive research on the topic of race talk or race dialogue as an answer to the questions: Why is it tough for America to go beyond rooted racism, and what is the impact of the post-racial era on African-American students? Moreover, how well can anti-racist movements in the field of education help to encourage the elimination of racism? In his work, *the new racial dialogue: arriving at whiteness in the age of Obama*, David H. Roane argues that Obama's age needs "new participants," where whites and blacks work together to accept the fact that their society is not yet post-racial but most-racial (2008, p. 185). Similarly, the idea that whites

today publicly reveal that they are not racist simply shows that they did not change their attitudes but changed their tactics to express them. This is deeply explained in Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's book entitled *racism without racists: color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America*, in which the writer analyzes new racism that is largely based on ignoring race problems and stereotyping blacks (2018, p. 1). Similarly, the valuable work of Robin DiAngelo, *white fragility*, is an essential tool for an authentic post-racial society. For her, open access to race conversations will not trigger feelings of racism, as expected by some critics, but it is a chance for whites and blacks to solve the issue of race and overcome the fear of white and black fragility.

The quantitative approach is used to refute the so-called post-racialism in K-12 schools by showing different statistical findings and reports, for instance, Meredith Anderson's report, *a seat at the table: African American youth's perceptions of K-12 education*. It also reveals the undeniable fact that preventing racism is indeed a complex but still ongoing process. Moreover, using the work of Stephen Sawchuk entitled *what is critical race theory, and why is it under attack?* provides a depth of understanding about new racism and discloses the fact that implying CRT and race talk in public schools is the current available solution to encourage an anti-racist movement. With this in mind, the potential answers to the previous questions require the inclusion of various categories within society into the process of race talk. The rate of African-American achievement and opportunities in schools depends on white and black willingness to go beyond race problems.

4- African-American Children at the Edge of US Public Schools: Is CRT applicable?

Recent studies on diverse school programs in US public schools find that attempts to enforce anti-racist sessions and training programs fall short at the first hurdle. Amy Stuart Wells, a professor of

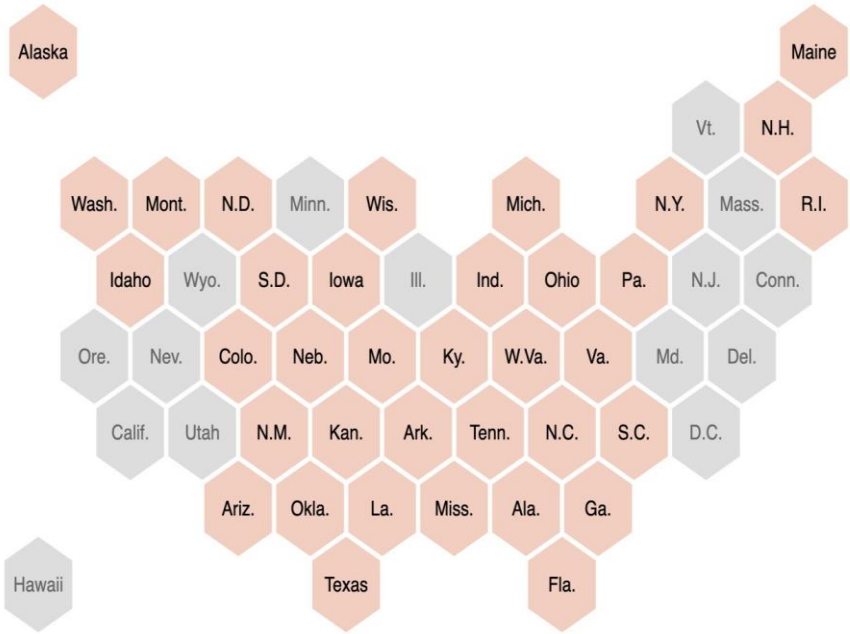
sociology and education, finds that the so-called color-blind educational policies fail to support the idea of diverse learning, which leads to worsening and motivating inequality in school classrooms (2014, para. 1). Wells notes that most of the last decade's educational policies based on the notions of colorblind and post-racial America do not consider the fact that inequality is vivid in children's educational milieu. She explains that "these policies advance an ineffective colorblind approach to educational reform that ignores stark racial inequality when implementing policies and then bemoans vivid racial inequalities in educational outcomes" (2014, para. 4). On that account, ignoring the current racial situation of K-12 school students, notably African-Americans, raises serious concerns about the ability and willingness of the education policy agenda to improve the quality of racial learning and provide equality in diverse classrooms.

A report provided by Meredith Anderson indicates that "necessary changes in K-12 education will not take place unless those who will be the primary beneficiaries of better education, including youth of color, are central participants in the reform process" (2018, p. 2). As referred to previously, perceiving what is going on in reality and dealing with it is the backbone of promoting equality in schools. Participants in the different categories should listen to the various stories people tell about African-American children's experiences in public schools that have negatively affected their performance, if not their future. Based on this purpose, scholars who use CRT to study education examine the actions that exist and contribute to constant segregation, then analyze them to find out possible solutions. A study conducted by the association of California school administrators finds that researchers who applied CRT to education demonstrate that "ongoing segregation, inadequate resources and facilities in predominantly African-American schools, and disproportionate discipline of African-American students," to mention a few, become evident today (2021, p. 4). The ongoing challenge to combat racism in reality invites many figures in this complex process; for example, parents, along with teachers and administrators, can largely influence

children's views of their country. Supporting diverse teachers and curricula programs themselves is a noticeable progress.

One more recent study, entitled *CRT map: efforts to restrict teaching racism and bias have multiplied across the U.S.*, finds that a huge number of US states adopt laws and policies that ban teaching race and racism in educational programs in public schools (Stout & Wilburn, 2022, para 1). So far, measuring social inequality will depend on each school district; the findings will not necessarily be steady. Actually, it appears that US states are now divided into those who prevent antiracist efforts, thus refusing to imply CRT beliefs, and those who already add ethnic courses into their education programs, so they back up the concept of integrating diverse courses into the curricula. Similarly, in his article, *critical race theory under fire, should it be taught in schools?* Aaron Allen confirms that America is at an intersection as a result of the persistent struggle to include or exclude CRT from the school system (2021, para. 1). In essence, the raised conflict against divisive concepts divided American scholars into for and against. White administrators refuse to teach CRT or engage their teachers and students in race conversations during class because, according to them, the past is closed, and whites are not obliged to remember the offensive past or even apologize. Marsha Blackburn, a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee, states that "all of this revisionist-woke curriculum…are not going to do this to our children" (Washington Post, 2021). Opponents do not confess that CRT does not exist to put the blame on a certain group but to help them avoid current social tensions. The map below shows the states that prohibit CRT beliefs in US public schools.

Map 1. CRT MAP (2022)



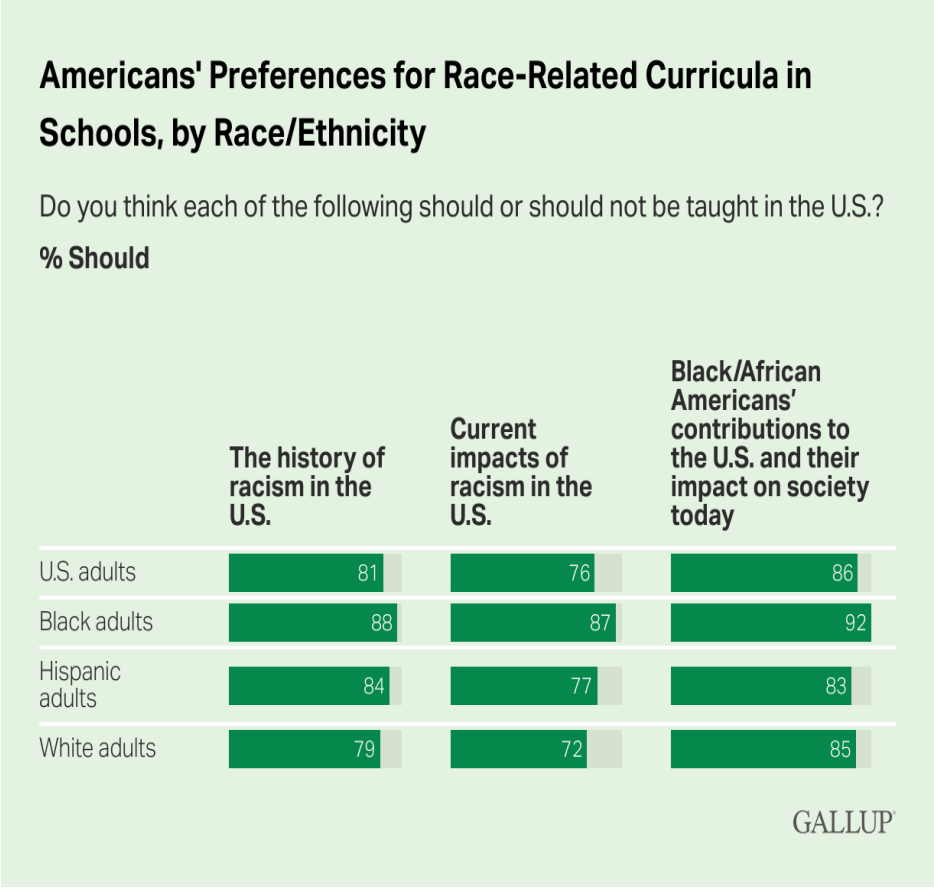
Source: Stout & Wilburn (2022), CRT map efforts to restrict teaching racism and bias have multiplied across the U.S., Chalkbeat.

As shown in the map, the 36 states, highlighted in pink, restrict any anti-racist courses or efforts in US public schools. In this regard, one can understand that Americans' claim that they do not see color is proven symbolic and mythic. Besides, lawmakers recognize that applying CRT will disclose the hidden actions conducted against African-American children. Indeed, colorblind and post-racial theories emerge to muffle the strident call to teach US citizens that adopting anti-racist courses in classrooms is the clue to tolerating the past and living a peaceful present. Kimberlé Crenshaw, a distinguished professor of law at Columbia University and a well-known writer on

CRT, asserts that conservatives, including lawmakers, school administrators, and children's parents, have perused a war over how to spread racist beliefs among students and maintain institutional racism (Ciesemier, 2022). According to her, these conservative activists put all their efforts into dismantling the CRT framework. Consequently, the prevailing ideology resulted in "death threats, social media bullying, and harassment from those who are adamant that teaching a more inclusive history harms student" (Ciesemier, 2022). Additionally, placing CRT at a disadvantage clarifies that its emergence in the education system threatens those conservatives who will never give up maintaining white supremacy.

Current narratives indicate that African-Americans' low performance and opportunities in K-12 schools are usually interpreted in terms of the lack of motivation and engagement perceived by this minority group. Unsurprisingly, this is another result of post-racial thinking that seeks to spread the belief that African-Americans' are lazy and keep on complaining about unreasonable issues. Unlike what narratives say, Anderson's report finds that African-Americans show strong enthusiasm and great motivation towards their studies and seek to achieve high rates of success (2018, p. 3). In a sample classroom of schools that ban CRT, teachers show their interest in making conditions better for African-American youth. They pretend to communicate with this racial group and share cooperation and friendliness as a motive to gain challenging academic programs or scholarships (Massey, 1975, 10). These corrupt ideologies are more dangerous than past overt hostility. Distorting facts about African-Americans and underestimating their vivid abilities to make decisions and bear responsibility have become major objectives for opponents of anti-racist programs. The figure below shows different Americans' responses related to race-based curricula.

Figure 1. Americans' Preferences for Race-Related Curricula in Schools, by Race/Ethnicity



Source: Andrea Malek Ash (2023), Majorities Support Racial Education in U.S. Schools, Gallup Center on Black Voices.

Current data shows that great importance is given to the impact of racism on Americans' lives today. The report reveals that blocking racial courses that teach the history of racism and African-Americans was due to the fear that the country may experience another social deconstruction as it did in the Civil Rights era. According to the figure

above, the majority support teaching about race in K-12 schools. However, the report shows that "Republicans are the least likely to support all three topics in U.S. curricula, while Democrats are the most likely" (Ash, 2023, para. 6). As a result, the unsteady progress of diverse curricula in K-12 schools depends on the category of policymakers undertaking decisions and programs. These decisions are usually influenced by their political affiliations, standards, and doctrine. Republicans or conservatives, for instance, are among the most remarkable opponents of teaching about the history of racism in the US. Again, it is significant to realize that banning CRT is not limited to certain political groups. For the polls to be considered on the ground, various factors may contribute to the use of CRT, simply motivate racial dialogue, or teach racism in schools. Such factors may include teachers' tutoring and awareness courses, anti-biased programs, zero tolerance for microaggression inside schools, and most importantly, supporting diverse classrooms and schools.

5- CRT Framework for a Common Social Tolerance in K-12 Schools: Take it or Leave it

The selection of racism in US public schools' discourse was necessary to measure whether or not the next generation is tolerant or intolerant of racial differences. From K-12 to higher education, the programs, training, and courses students receive in their classrooms undeniably reflect the way they think about their country. Thus, it is considered a glimmer of hope to erase the racist thinking of the American mind, starting with the field of education. The historic nature of Barack Obama's election as the 44th President of the US is apparent. However, one should not rush post-racialism in a long-running racial climate. Believing that US society is beyond race for the simple reason that a man of color is occupying the White House is absurd (Alemám et al., 2011, 480). The support of unrealistic ideologies that pretend America is beyond racism now only helps to keep attention away from the steady institutional racism and hinders the efforts of activists who seek to fight racism. The paper used the

CRT framework as a lens to identify the issues that block access for African-Americans to academic opportunities and limit the improvement of race relations, notably in the post-racial era. More specifically, *the association of California school administrators* explains that CRT focus is not put on the individual; instead, it emerges to reveal the fact that racism is part of Americans' daily lives and criticize how the US system at all social levels operates racism in favor of certain groups, mainly whites (2021, p. 4).

Even with the evident refusal of CRT and race dialogue, unquestionably, US public schools continue to be diverse, both ethnically and racially. The potential solution to ensure healthy conversations and relations inside and outside the classroom is to rethink the weaknesses of CRT and race talk instead of banning them. In fact, the collaboration between white and racial teachers is the clue to helping them understand the past and live a peaceful present. Focusing on instilling the idea that reading the offensive past of racism is not meant to revive the stories that may hurt, but rather it is an approach that makes them stronger and readier to tolerate it and move forward with an authentic race talk where neither the white nor the black should be blamed. By providing a healthy education, race and racism will not be biological and unconscious anymore. Richard Delgado, who teaches civil rights and critical race theory at the University of Alabama School of Law, and other CRT theorists assert that racism today is not based on biological differences but is culturally invented and inherited (Allen, 2021). Indeed, when a white child remarks that a black child is treated equally to his white classmates, he will recognize that being different does not mean being unequal.

In essence, dealing with racism depends on the practices and events that children and youth experience in their small community, and it is largely up to those responsible for making decisions in the field of education. Escayg said that "children do not see race and that they are racially innocent" (2019, p. 14). This indicates that racism today is

beyond the factor of race and that children will not perceive that colored people are treated differently until they see it or learn it themselves. What they acquire on their first journey is definitely imprinted in their minds. That is the reason why anti-racist ideologies, for instance, CRT, assert that the transformational potential of the African-American minority starts in schools. Otherwise, it is too late to erase the acquired feelings and beliefs of inferiority and fragility towards colored people. So, combating racism strongly depends on dealing with the psychological side of the dominant group, which is extremely responsible for changing hearts and minds. Because education is the root of all life domains, it is then the appropriate place to take off the deep roots of racism, which America was not able to escape for decades.

Roberts and Rizzo believe that much less attention should be given to research on how or why people are racists today; rather, they see that future students, along with scholars and the country itself, should work on spreading the notion of "a psychology of anti-racism" (2021). Similar to Robert and Rizzo, CRT seeks to use the boundaries that happen before and after prejudice and segregation to ease communication between majority and minority groups by anticipating what can help or block the link of dialogue between them. As a result, even if scholars' methods to fight racism differ, they share the same objective. They seek to create conscious anti-racist programs that deal with the individual first. As discussed previously, whatever horrific and subtle racism exists, the psychological field provides powerful methods to deal with it. Definitely, whether America implements anti-racist theories or not, it remains a choice. Whether you like it or not, the shift in cultural content learned in schools, homes, and US institutions remains a favorable way to enhance race talk and change the way of thinking about race and racism (Hayes, 2020, para. 1). Different scholars mentioned earlier believe that school teams and stakeholders have great authority to change the future of the next generation. The current results presented in this paper show that the

majority support diverse curricula, yet actions speak louder than words.

6- Conclusion

It has become a fact that race and racism in US society are alive and well. New racism has been proven ineradicable in the mainstream. The election of a black man for the highest office in the country may be considered a starting point for realizing a relative shift in race relations. But it is next to impossible to believe that racism can be eradicated in two terms. Contrary to what was expected, new forms of racism have emerged in the post-racial era as a result of assuming that US society is beyond race. It did not only create subtle and complex racism, but it also wasted the efforts of legal scholars and activists. They emphasize that the most available solution to the pervasive spread of racism in all life sectors, mainly education, is to go into an anti-racist movement based on conscious training that encourages equality and fights social disparities and segregation.

The paper has focused on the examination of CRT theory in US K-12 schools to end racist attitudes in the 21st century. Though it seeks to discuss possible solutions and encourages healthy conversations about race and racism in both public and private sessions, the theory has received heated criticism. The major reason behind this refusal is the strong disagreement of white conservatives with the idea of teaching about the impact of racism and its history and including them in schools' curricula. The concept will always be argumentative as long as black people are still discriminated against. The different studies presented so far reveal that African-American children are underestimated, unencouraged, and usually threatened with being suspended from school at an early age. This indicates a more serious issue, which is the emergence of hate crimes in society. The paper concludes that the system of education and the decision-makers need to struggle to raise a more tolerant generation, as children are perfect mirrors of their schools. Diverse schools will certainly increase the

chances of acceptance and commitment in students' hearts and minds. Rethinking race talk, CRT, and other anti-racist movements remain a choice, yet they aim to shift individuals' attitudes and perspectives towards race.

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