CRITICAL ISSUES:

- The closure of nearly 10% of all public elementary schools in Chicago, Illinois disproportionately and negatively impacted minority African American and disabled children.
- The closure of public elementary schools in Chicago, Illinois has forced many children to walk through gang-controlled areas in order to reach new schools, exposing them to increased risks of criminal violence and death.
- The Chicago Board of Education, appointed by the Mayor, did not adequately consider the widespread public opposition to the closure of public elementary schools in Chicago, Illinois, including from parents of children affected by the closings, a panel of retired judges, the Chicago Educational Facilities Task Force, and other experts.

PROPOSED QUESTIONS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED STATES:

- What is being done to investigate and address the discriminatory effect of the closures of public schools in Chicago, Illinois and other municipalities on minority and disabled children’s access to quality education?
- What will the United States do to ensure protection of the right to life and protection from the State for children in Chicago, Illinois and other municipalities who face heightened exposure to criminal violence and death as a result of being forced to walk through gang-controlled areas to attend school?
- What is being done to investigate and address the lack of meaningful public participation in decisions to close public schools in Chicago, Illinois and other municipalities, including ensuring local boards of education are democratically elected and that widespread public opposition to school closings is not ignored?

I. INTRODUCTION

1) The City of Chicago recently closed 49 public elementary schools in an attempt to address budgetary and resource constraints. This is the largest wave of school closings in United States history,¹ involving 10% of all public schools in Chicago, the third largest city in the country.²

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Although there are many schools considered “underutilized” in Chicago, those that were targeted for closing were majority African American. The closings affected nearly 30,000 children and have had a disproportionate and negative impact on minority and disabled children. Displaced students will be packed into classrooms with more students, resulting in overcrowded classrooms. The school closings also place children at greater risk of violence and death as many children will be forced to cross gang lines on their way to new schools. The appointment structure of the Chicago Board of Education does not allow for democratic participation and indeed, by failing to pay heed to the widespread opposition to the school closings, the City of Chicago effectively denied people the right to participate in deciding whether or not to close the schools.

2) U.S. courts have failed to take action to stop the school closings. In August 2013, a federal district court judge denied a request for a preliminary injunction to stop the school closings filed by parents of children affected by the closings, with support from the Chicago Teachers Union. A separate request for an emergency injunction filed in federal court seeking to stop the closure of an elementary school with a large population of children with special needs was also denied. A third lawsuit filed by the Chicago Teachers Union in Cook County Circuit Court that sought to stop the closure of ten schools was also unsuccessful.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL COVENANT ON CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS

Article 26: Non-discrimination and Equality

3) The closure of 49 public elementary schools in Chicago infringes African American and disabled students’ right to equality and to be free from discrimination. Article 26 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (the “ICCPR”) provides that states shall “prohibit any discrimination and guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any ground such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.” The Human Rights Committee (the “Committee”) has indicated on several occasions that disabled persons are protected under Article 26. In

6 Id.
7 Id.
6) The school closings have had a negative impact on African American and disabled students because it is likely that the quality of education they receive will suffer as a result. Many displaced students, as well as students in receiving schools, will encounter class sizes larger than in the prior school year due to the school closings. Larger class sizes can have a negative

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12 Id.


impact on learning, particularly in vulnerable communities. Additionally, many displaced students will be forced to go to schools with worse academic records than their former schools. Many schools slated for closure offer extensive services for students with special needs but it is not clear whether the receiving schools will offer the same kind of services required to provide disabled children a quality education.

7) The intent of the public officials in ordering the school closings is not relevant to determining whether or not there is a violation of Article 26 of the ICCPR. In a Communication to the Czech Republic, the Committee stated that the intent of the legislature is not dispositive in determining an infringement of Article 26; rather, an act “may still contravene article 26 if its effects are discriminatory.” Additionally, in finding that the disproportionate assignment of Roma children in the Czech Republic to special schools amounted to a violation the European Convention on Human Rights, the European Court of Human Rights held that it was not necessary to prove discriminatory intent on behalf of the State to establish a disparate impact claim.

8) Budget cuts are not justifiable reasons for adopting policies that disproportionately impact minority and disabled peoples. The UN Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance has directed States parties to “carefully evaluate the potential impact of budgetary restrictions on education, and ensure that they do not have a discriminatory and disproportionate impact on the enjoyment of the right to education of disadvantaged groups, including minorities.”

Article 6: Right to Life and Article 24: Rights of the Child

9) The school closings in Chicago threaten to infringe the affected children’s right to life and to protection from the State, as students have been forced to traverse gang-controlled areas to attend new schools. Article 6 of the ICCPR provides that “[e]very human being has the inherent right to life,” that the right to life “shall be protected by law,” and that “no one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his life.” Article 24 states that “[e]very child shall have, without any discrimination as to race, colour, sex, language, religion, national or social origin, property or birth, the right to such measures of protection as are required by his status as a minor, on the part of his family, society and the State.”

10) Due to the prevalence of gangs in many affected communities, students forced to go to new schools, many of which are farther from their homes than their original schools, face an increased risk of criminal violence and death. The majority of the closing schools are in South Side and West Side neighborhoods in Chicago with high levels of gang activity. Many students walk to school, making street safety a paramount concern. A change in just one block of a commute can result in entering enemy turf and invite gang-related violence, even if the child is not affiliated with any gang. Approximately half of the 1,054 youths murdered in Chicago during the last five years were killed within census tracts where schools have been closed. Prior school closings in Chicago that forced students to transfer to schools outside their immediate neighborhood resulted in spikes in violence in elementary and high schools. One expert found that the closings had already begun to aggravate gang conflicts even before they had been implemented.

11) The Chicago Board of Education has attempted to provide “safe passage” to children scheduled to attend schools in gang-controlled neighborhoods. The effectiveness of this program is questionable given that it merely enlists community members to watch students on their way to school. A double shooting recently occurred on a “safe passage” route. In addition, if the City of Chicago does not promptly sell the closed school buildings, the vacant buildings may become centers for criminal activity and violence in their communities. Indeed, by the end of 2012, 24 school buildings in Chicago were still unsold (as a result of prior school closures), and some had been vacant for a decade or more.

12) Although the violence that school children in Chicago face is not State-sponsored, the ICCPR requires States parties to protect individual rights and groups against human rights abuses committed

26 Stephanie Farmer, Isaura Pulido, Pamela J. Konkol, Kate Phillips, David Stovall and Mike Klonsky, CreATE Research Brief on School Closures, CHICAGOLAND RESEARCHERS AND ADVOCATS. FOR TRANSFORMATIVE EDUC. (Mar. 2013), http://www.createchicago.org/2013/03/create-releases-research-brief-on.html (CreATE is a Chicago-based network of academics who research education and school policy).
30 Id.
34 Sarah Karp, CPS Won’t Take Recommendations Against Closings, CATALYST Chl. (May 7, 2013), http://www.catalyst-chicago.org/notebook/2013/05/07/21041/cps-wont-take-recommendations-against-closings (Catalyst Chicago is published by the Community Renewal Society, a respected civil society organization which focuses on local public affairs).
35 Id.
38 Id. at 4.
by third parties.\textsuperscript{39} In General Comment No. 6, the Committee indicated that Article 6 requires States parties to “take measures . . . to prevent and punish deprivation of life by criminal acts.”\textsuperscript{40} The Committee further stated that “the protection of [the right to life] requires that States adopt positive measures.”\textsuperscript{41} In General Comment No. 17, the Committee declared that under Article 24 States parties must take “every possible economic and social measure . . . to prevent [children] from being subjected to acts of violence.”\textsuperscript{42}

13) The Inter-American Commission on Human Rights (the “Commission”) has also stated that governments must protect individuals not only from State-sponsored violence but also violence at the hands of private actors, particularly when such violence is widespread. In \textit{Jessica Gonzales v. United States}, the Commission found that the United States “failed to undertake reasonable measures to protect the life of [the claimants] in violation of their right to life” when it failed “to adequately organize its state structure to protect them from domestic violence.”\textsuperscript{43} In relevant part, the Commission held that the ICCPR “underscore[s] that the duty of the State to implement human rights obligations in practice can extend to the prevention and response to the acts of private actors.”\textsuperscript{44} The Commission further held that States are “under a positive obligation to protect and prevent violations to [the right to life], through the creation of the conditions that may be required for its protection.”\textsuperscript{45}

\textbf{Article 25: Right to Take Part in the Conduct of Public Affairs}

14) The appointment structure of the Chicago Board of Education and its failure to heed the widespread objections to the school-closure plan, effectively denied people the right to take part in the conduct of public affairs. Article 25 of the ICCPR provides that “[e]very citizen shall have the right and the opportunity . . . without unreasonable restrictions” to “take part in the conduct of public affairs.”\textsuperscript{46} The Committee explained in General Comment No. 25 that “[t]he conduct of public affairs . . . is a broad concept” that “covers all aspects of public administration, and the formulation and implementation of policy at . . . local levels.”\textsuperscript{47} The Committee further established that participation may be achieved by citizens “taking part in popular assemblies which have the power to make decisions about local issues or about the affairs of a particular community and in bodies established to represent citizens in consultation with government.”\textsuperscript{48}


\textsuperscript{40}\textit{U.N. Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 06: The right to life (art. 6), ¶ 3, Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies, U.N. Doc. HRI/GEN/1/Rev.1 at 6 (1994) (April 30, 1982), http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/84ab9690ccd81fc7c12563ed0046fiae3?opendocument.}

\textsuperscript{41}\textit{Id. at ¶ 5.}

\textsuperscript{42}\textit{U.N. Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 17: Rights of the child (art. 24), ¶ 3, Compilation of General Comments and General Recommendations Adopted by Human Rights Treaty Bodies, U.N. Doc. HR/GEN/1/Rev.1 at 23 (1994) (April 7, 1989), http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/(Symbol)/cc0f1f8c391478b7c12563ed004b35e3.}

\textsuperscript{43}\textit{Gonzales v. United States, Case 12.626, Inter-Am. C.H.R., Report No. 80/11, ¶ 3 (2011).}

\textsuperscript{44}\textit{Id. at ¶ 119.}

\textsuperscript{45}\textit{Id. at ¶ 164.}


\textsuperscript{47}\textit{U.N. Human Rights Committee, General Comment No. 25: The Right to Participate in Public Affairs, Voting Rights and the Right of Equal Access to Public Service (art. 25), ¶ 5, U.N. Doc. CCPR/C/21/Rev.1/Add.7 (July 12, 1996), http://www.unhchr.ch/tbs/doc.nsf/0/d0b7f023e8d6d9898025651e004be0eb.}

\textsuperscript{48} \textit{Id. at ¶ 6.}
The Committee reiterated that “no unreasonable restrictions should be imposed” on such participation.49

15) Concerned about the lack of public participation in decisions to close or “turnaround” public schools in Chicago, the State legislature of Illinois amended the Illinois School Code, effective August 2011, to add provisions regarding democratic participation in school closing decisions.50 The State government ordered the “significant involvement of local school councils, parents, educators, and the community in decision-making” processes concerning school closures.51 Despite these efforts by the Illinois legislature, democratic participation is constricted in public school matters in Chicago because, unlike most other school districts in the United States, school board members in Chicago are not democratically elected. Instead, the Mayor of Chicago appoints all members to the Chicago Board of Education.52

16) Reflecting this lack of democratic appointment, the process leading up to closure of 49 public elementary schools in Chicago did not adequately protect the right of affected communities to take part meaningfully in the conduct of public affairs. Although the Chicago Board of Education held hearings with community residents about the school closings, those without Internet access found it difficult to obtain speaking spots at the meetings. Requiring parents and concerned community members who lack access to the Internet to apply online in order to participate in public hearings amounts to the imposition of an unreasonable restriction in contravention of Article 25.53

17) During the public hearings, the overwhelming majority of parents objected to the school closings. Independent hearing officers appointed by the school district to preside over the hearings filed conclusions and recommendations that raised general objections and recommended against the closing of particular schools.54 A number of academic experts who studied the school closings also raised numerous objections to the plan.55 The Chicago Board of Education, however, was unresponsive to the public’s concerns; instead, it ignored widespread public opposition and pushed forward with the school closings. The right to participate in decision-making processes regarding school closings is an empty promise if the opinions of the community are ignored.56

49 Id.
51 Id.
http://www.uic.edu/educ/ceje/articles/Printed%20school%20board%20report.pdf.
53 George N. Schmidt, Kafka on Clark Street, SUBSTANCE NEWS (June 4, 2013).
55 See, e.g., Stephanie Farmer, Isaura Pulido, Pamela J. Konkol, Kate Phillippo, David Stovall and Mike Klonsky, CREATE Research Brief on School Closures, CHICAGOLAND RESEARCHERS AND ADVOCOS, FOR TRANSFORMATIVE EDUC. (Mar. 2013), http://www.createchicago.org/2013/03/create-releases-research-brief-on.html; Michael Tarm, Gang expert to US court on Chicago school closings: ‘likely a child will be shot and killed’, AP (July 17, 2013),
56 Rick Perlstein, Chicago Rising!, THE NATION (July 2, 2013), http://www.thenation.com/article/175085/chicago-rising#axzz2ZXhvXLrn (“A recent Chicago Tribune/WGN poll found that more than 60 percent of Chicago citizens opposed the closings, and a healthy cross section of them had turned out for the first of three straight days of marches in protest.”).
III. Recommendations

- We urge the Committee to recommend that the United States take steps to ensure equal access to quality education for minority African American and disabled children in Chicago and other municipalities where public schools are closed, including guarantees that the special needs of disabled students will be met in their new schools and that children are not forced to receive a lower quality education as a result of school closings.

- We urge the Committee to recommend that the United States consider all possible options to address the discriminatory effect school closings in Chicago and other municipalities have had on minority African American and disabled students, such as federal investigation and contingency federal funding.

- We urge the Committee to recommend that the United States implement measures to ensure adequate protection for students affected by the closure of public schools in Chicago and other municipalities who must walk through gang-controlled areas on the way to new schools, such as federal and local law enforcement partnerships directed towards stopping gang activity in affected areas.

- We urge the Committee to recommend that the United States establish an independent federal body to investigate and make recommendations concerning the public school closures and the lack of meaningful public participation in the decisions to close public schools in Chicago and other municipalities, including highlighting the importance of a democratically elected board of education.

DATE: AUGUST 23, 2013
RESPECTFULLY SUBMITTED BY:

The Midwest Coalition for Human Rights

The Midwest Coalition for Human Rights is a network of 56 organizations, service providers, and university Human Rights centers that work together to promote and protect human rights in the Midwest region of the United States. Coalition organizations research, advocate, educate, and take action as a strong regional voice on national and international human rights issues. The full member list of the coalition is available at http://www.midwesthumanrights.org/members.

University of Chicago Law School’s International Human Rights Clinic

The International Human Rights Clinic works with non-governmental organizations to design and implement human rights cases and projects. Students learn human rights lawyering skills by working on these cases and projects, all of which are supervised by the director of the Clinic. The Clinic uses international human rights laws and norms to draw attention to human rights violations, develop practical solutions to those problems using interdisciplinary methodologies, and promote accountability on the part of state and non-state actors.