

University of Cincinnati

Date: 7/17/2018

I, Mark A Morgan, hereby submit this original work as part of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Criminal Justice.

It is entitled:

Too Cruel for School: Exclusionary Discipline and the Incurable Student

Student's name: **Mark A Morgan**

This work and its defense approved by:

Committee chair: John Wright, Ph.D.

Committee member: Brian B. Boutwell, Ph.D.

Committee member: J.C. Barnes, Ph.D.

Committee member: Joseph Nedelec, Ph.D.



30580

Too Cruel for School: Exclusionary Discipline and the Incurable Student

A dissertation submitted to the
Graduate School of the University of Cincinnati

in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

Doctorate of Philosophy (Ph.D.)

in the School of Criminal Justice
of the College of Education, Criminal Justice, and Human Services

2018

by

Mark Alden Morgan

B.S., University of Toledo, 2009

M.A., University of Toledo, 2010

Dissertation Committee: John Paul Wright, Ph.D. (Chair)
J.C. Barnes, Ph.D.
Joseph L. Nedelec, Ph.D.
Brian B. Boutwell, Ph.D.

ABSTRACT

Maintaining order in the classroom is one of the most important responsibilities of a teacher. Historically, during the colonial era in America, educators often relied upon the harsh practice of corporal punishment to enforce discipline in accordance with religious tradition. Following the end of the eighteenth century, however, the spread of progressive values led many scholars to challenge its ethical appropriateness in the classroom. As a useful replacement, suspension was employed to removal particularly troublesome students from the school temporarily and, failing that, permanent expulsion. Moreover, rising juvenile crime rates during the early 1900s began to foster a close bond between schools and the criminal justice system. This complementary relationship would eventually lead to the formation of what is now known as the “school-to-prison pipeline”—a metaphorical process by which socially disadvantaged or minority youth are removed from the positive influences of the school and further criminalized. Unfortunately, despite this rhetoric, there has been a lack of detailed research conducted to ascertain how exclusionary discipline operates, why it is used, and the typical characteristics of suspended or expelled students. Using a sample of serious adolescent offenders, this study examines the long-term consequences of school exclusion over a seven-year period on various measures of criminal offending. The findings suggest that the influence of a single suspension is relatively weak, that expulsion is generally detrimental, and that only excessive amounts of cumulative suspensions show a persistent longitudinal effect. Accordingly, a synthesis is provided in an attempt to resolve the conflict between student disciplinary procedures and the fundamental objectives of the school in modern society. Finally, these results are incorporated into a wider body of literature that recognizes the pervasive danger of antagonistic or physically violent children and the damage caused to others by their pernicious presence at school.

© 2018 – Mark Alden Morgan

All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank my family. While I was fortunate to attend graduate school so close to home over these many years, I was even more fortunate to have my family's unwavering support—especially that of my mother, father, brother, and grandmother. Life has certainly seen us through many challenges since I began my education and I am grateful that we are, at last, able to celebrate this accomplishment together.

To my friends, both inside and outside the doctoral program, thank you for making this journey a worthwhile, entertaining experience. It's the only way I've kept my sanity. Your influence has made me a better human being and I will always appreciate your loyalty.

Thank you also to the University of Cincinnati faculty and, in particular, the front office and distance learning staff who do such a terrific job and provided me with so much assistance.

I would specifically like to thank Dr. Barnes, Dr. Nedelec, Dr. Boutwell, Dr. Wilcox, Dr. Cullen, Dr. Benson, and Dr. Wooldredge for their comments, critiques, and suggestions on my dissertation, various research articles, and their recommendations on the job market.

To my chair, John Wright, there is no easy way to thank you for your continued guidance, wisdom, and scientific insight. You have broadened my perspective on a host of issues and led me to become a more disciplined individual at every level. Your work ethic and thirst for knowledge are impossible to match, but you've motivated me to perform to the best of my ability and I look forward to the next challenge we encounter. You also provided me with countless academic opportunities, but outside the classroom I had never expected to develop a deeper appreciation for nature, firearms, and hunting while working as a criminologist. My thanks extend as well to your family for their hospitality. There aren't too many people in life that you can count on to be "in your corner," but you're one of them. Never lose that fighting spirit.

Finally, to my former mentor, Rich Johnson, thanks for watching out for this dumb Toledo kid. Every time it seemed like I was at the end of my rope, you had some helpful advice, a cache of course material, or an unexpected offer of employment that gave me just enough strength to make it over the next hurdle until I finished. My success is a product of your support.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: The Origins of School Discipline

Prologue.....	1
Historical Overview.....	3
The Decline of Corporal Punishment.....	9
The Rise of Modern School Discipline.....	18
Transitioning to Exclusionary Discipline.....	26
Delinquency, Schools, and the Police.....	32
Truancy, Incurability, and the School Prison.....	40
Summary.....	47

Chapter 2: The Disciplinary Reformation

The Legality of School Punishment.....	49
Child Advocacy and Racial Inequality.....	57
Establishing Zero Tolerance.....	64
The School-to-Prison Pipeline.....	71
Recent Developments and Research.....	79
Summary.....	90

Chapter 3: The Incurable Student

The Troublesome Types.....	92
Identifying the Incurable.....	100
Criminology in the Classroom.....	107
Studying the Student.....	113
Stability Over Time: Bagley Revisited.....	120
The Vicious Student.....	127
Summary.....	132
Summary of the Literature.....	133

Chapter 4: Methodology

Study Overview.....	139
Data Source and Sample.....	144
Dependent Variables.....	147
Time-Invariant Independent Variables.....	149
Time-Variant Independent Variables.....	155
Analytical Strategy.....	158

Chapter 5: Results

Total Offending Across 10 Waves	163
Aggressive Offending Across 10 Waves.....	166
Income Offending Across 10 Waves.....	168
Total Offending Across 6 Waves	170
Aggressive Offending Across 6 Waves.....	172
Income Offending Across 6 Waves.....	174
The Effect of a Single Suspension.....	176
Total Offending Variety Across 10 Waves	179
Summary of the Findings	181

Chapter 6: Discussion

Making Sense of School Exclusion.....	183
Forces Beyond the School.....	190
Current Strategies and Disciplinary Alternatives	197
Limitations and Future Directions.....	201
Conclusion.....	204

References	207
-------------------------	------------

LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

Tables

Table 3-1.....	97
Table 3-2.....	99
Table 4-1.....	161
Table 5-1.....	165
Table 5-2.....	167
Table 5-3.....	169
Table 5-4.....	171
Table 5-5.....	173
Table 5-6.....	175
Table 5-7.....	178
Table 5-8.....	180
Table 6-1.....	184
Table 6-2.....	185
Table 6-3.....	195

Figures

Figure 1-1	23
Figure 1-2	37
Figure 3-1	95
Figure 3-2	126

At all times and in all countries, the rule is the same;—the punishment of scholars is the *complement* of the proper treatment of children by parents at home, and the competency of the teacher in the school. Where there is less on one side of the equation, there must be more on the other. (Mann, 1844, p. 165, emphasis in original)

The right to punish is therefore the right of society to protect itself from the predatory individual. It is the right to offer the inducement of freedom for respect of others' rights. It is the right to impress and illustrate the immutable law of compensation, which associates good with happiness, and evil with suffering. (Morehouse, 1914, p. 164)

CHAPTER 1: THE ORIGINS OF SCHOOL DISCIPLINE

Prologue

Much of our modern understanding of school discipline has been intellectually confined to the last 50 years of scholarship and advocacy as a result of the challenges wrought by racial integration and school desegregation following the Civil Rights Movement. In particular, considerable time and energy has been devoted to expounding on the proposed “school-to-prison pipeline” that allegedly ensnares young black or other minority children in a discriminatory process of disproportionate school punishment, most often through exclusionary practices such as suspension or expulsion. Moreover, with the growing presence of school resource officers in urban communities and enhanced security procedures emerging nationwide it has been argued

that this may also lead to unwarranted contact with the criminal justice system, subsequent academic failure or dropout, and thus long-term disadvantage in society as an adult. Although these potentially damaging disparities deserve our attention and investigation, the intense focus on these issues has led to us neglect—or perhaps even hold in contempt—the historical underpinnings of school discipline, its crucial role in socialization, and its inherent utility as a teacher’s tool for maintaining a safe learning environment for all students.

This dissertation serves as both a historical analysis and as a synthesis of the school disciplinary literature in order to illuminate how we got here and where we are going. The first chapter delves back nearly 400 years to a time soon after the Pilgrims disembarked at Plymouth Rock and founded the earliest religious schools, promoting universal values of education that remain to this day. Eventually, scholars of the late 1700s would begin to confront the widespread, punitive practices of corporal punishment, gradually setting the stage for a more humane approach to discipline including justifications for correction, prevention, and protection following the Civil War. However, as the second chapter details, this reformation into the early 1900s was not without its own complications and, because it often lacked practical alternatives for teachers, it fostered an overreliance on school exclusion, zero tolerance policies, and ultimately government intervention in the decades after World War II. Finally, in the third chapter, a behavioral portrait of the so-called incorrigible student is drawn linking the prominent antisocial characteristics of the past to the complex longitudinal research conducted in the present. Quite remarkably, despite the passage of time, relatively little has changed when it comes to identifying and disciplining the inevitable nature of youth misconduct.

Historical Overview

The history of school discipline in the United States of America traces itself back to the early colonial era in New England where the first schools were established so that all townfolk could be raised to read and understand the word of God (Cremin, 1970; Cubberley, 1919). Indeed, the development of mass education was a necessary consequence of the Protestant Reformation which had rejected the belief in collective punishment, judgment, and doctrinal church authority. The responsibility for salvation now fell onto the individual, making it incumbent upon them to read the Bible, internalize the gospel, and to live their life in keeping with the tenets of Christianity. Illiteracy and ignorance of the scripture were thus understood as potential satanic influences on the populace and societal ills that must be cured. According to Cubberley (1919), the greatest contribution in education during this period is attributed to the Puritans of Massachusetts who by law in 1642, and more compellingly in 1647, mandated that towns fund teachers, provide basic schooling for children, and construct secondary grammar schools based upon their population. Moreover, it meant that both boys and girls were to be educated. Such legislation embodied not only an effort by the Massachusetts government to instruct children in solemn religious matters, but also an attempt to contribute to the continued well-being of the state itself through socialization and general literacy.

While primarily acting on behalf of the church, the inherent promotion of universal education represented an extraordinary idea for its time and one that laid the groundwork for the American public school system. With few exceptions, all New England colonies followed this legislative model wherein towns were obligated to establish schools and parents were required to send their children for instruction. This standard, Cubberley (1919) notes, “formed a precedent and a fixed tradition as to school management and support” which remains to this day (p. 19).

Thus, it comes as little surprise that in 1636 the Puritans founded Harvard to educate future leaders and clergymen. However, such innovations had yet to make an impression on the strict religious discipline of the period as Harvard's first schoolmaster, Nathaniel Eaton, was notoriously cruel and "too prone to drive home lessons with the rod" (Morison, 1936, pp. 9-10). He was summarily dismissed from the fledgling college in 1639 after being brought to court for beating one of his teaching assistants with "a cudgel, which was a walnut tree plant, big enough to have killed a horse, and a yard in length ... till he had given him two hundred stripes about the head and shoulders" (Winthrop, 1639/1908, p. 311). Hearing the commotion, members of the town rushed to the young man's rescue as he fell to his knees in prayer. Apparently unsatisfied with this display, Eaton struck him again for taking the Lord's name in vain.

Throughout the mid to late 1600s, the concept of state-mandated parochial education spread across the New England colonies and Pennsylvania while an indifferent attitude toward schooling in the middle to southern regions like New York, Virginia, and the Carolinas led to the development of private tutoring, apprenticeship, and simple charity schools for the poor (Cubberley, 1919). The influence of European traditions into the 1700s carried over to America in the form of dame schools, where a modestly educated woman would teach neighborhood children in her own home the basics of reading, spelling, and sometimes writing or counting (Cremin, 1970). These dame schools would eventually lead to the creation of formal elementary schools, consolidating their efforts with the more intermediate, but less common city writing school. For male students with sufficient aptitude or financial backing they next attended a Latin grammar school. Here, under the guidance of highly educated male teachers, they acquired the ability to read and write in Latin which was "still the sacred language of religion and learning" and a prerequisite for college admission (Cubberley, 1919, p. 26). However, the Latin grammar

school would slowly be replaced by a more distinctive American institution during the late 1700s emphasizing practicality in studies or specialized vocational training known as an academy—the precursor to the modern high school.

The quality of colonial education varied widely, but in virtually every school religious content dominated the curriculum. In addition, for some students, attendance was also compulsory at church on Sunday. Thus, it was natural for teachers to use the Bible and other religiously themed books in basic alphabetical instruction or for the recitation of catechism (Cubberley, 1919). However, textbooks for students were rare, as was paper and pen, so most lessons focused on reading rather than writing. It was not until the American Revolution that secular works appeared in the classroom and arithmetic was studied by requirement. The teachers in schools of the early era were generally well educated, but as time went on, the low pay of these positions resulted in a seasonal schedule where college students or temporary schoolmasters took over instruction during the winter and local women taught during the summer. Standards for licensing existed but consisted of little more than liturgical inquiries and religious tests of the applicant based upon whatever particular sect of Christianity the town preached. Moreover, the teachers of private schools were the least qualified and consisted of travelling instructors or even indentured servants retained for several years to pay off their debts after crossing the Atlantic from England.

The classroom environment in colonial America was similarly bleak. For instance, Cubberley (1919) remarks that the lack of supplies and resources, combined with the dogmatic nature of instruction, resulted in an inefficient final product. Many students could attend school for years and still acquire only a crude understanding of reading or writing. The schoolhouse itself was generally constructed of logs with simple wooden flooring, rough bench seating, and

windows without glass covered by greased paper. Additionally, blackboards, slates, and other writing instruments would not come into use until the 1800s which made drawing with sticks in the sand a routine method of instruction. For the teacher, aside from having to craft homemade supplies, keeping order in the classroom also consumed much of their time as the school day was long and the children, of varying ages, attitudes, and abilities, each required individual attention.¹ Accordingly, “the ability to impose some sort of order on a poorly taught and, in consequence, an unruly school, was another of the prerequisites for a schoolmaster” (Cubberley, 1919, p. 36). The typical reprimand meted out was, without question, corporal punishment. Every level of schooling, including college, used it as a method of discipline with varying degrees of severity. Teachers of the era were regularly equipped with switches and a whipping post was often present either in the classroom itself or directly outside in the schoolyard. Even into the nineteenth century, as pioneers moved West across the Great Plains, the schoolhouse remained a troublesome setting where inexperienced teachers, taunted by disrespectful students, resorted to their “bare fists” to settle disputes on the American frontier (Danforth & Smith, 2004, p. 13).

Nevertheless, the gradual colonial transition away from religion during the late 1600s and early 1700s would set the stage for a dramatic shift in education after the American War of Independence—and for its purpose under the new democratic government. Several key causes for the decline of religious zealotry have been identified, including the decisive wars against the Native Americans, the growth of frontier colonial settlements, and a rising spirit of individualism (Cubberley, 1919). For instance, the defeat of the Native Americans allowed settlers to safely move inland and to construct new towns that were too distant to be kept under the strict rule of

¹ Cremin (1970) notes that the schoolmaster of the late 1600s was advised “to preserve appropriate decorum and civility at all times through admonition, correction, and, everything else failing, expulsion” (p. 186). Additionally, it was not uncommon for children to withdraw from school, generally to attend to their family’s various frontier needs, only to return sometime later as instruction was conducted year-round.

colonial law.² Additionally, the constant influx of immigrants from Europe, often poor, uneducated, and criminal, created a lower-class that had no understanding of religious oppression and who detested the residual aristocratic elements still present in America (e.g., Latin grammar schools). These bustling communities would, of course, engage in much trade and commerce with one another leading them to the realization that, despite decades of religious strife and intolerance, they still shared a common culture and heritage. As these secular trends spread across the developing countryside, events such as the Salem witch trials, the formation of newspapers, and the passing of religious freedom acts only served to galvanize the public against the now obsolete religious order.

The effect of this transformation, however, greatly upset the established institutions of education. As settlements grew more distant, the traditional parochial school in the city center simply became impossible for children located in rural areas to attend. Consequently, these smaller communities became more autonomous and a decentralized approach to governance naturally developed (Cubberley, 1919). Taxes were paid to a central authority, but some of this money was later dispersed back to the smaller towns and parishes in order for them to maintain their own schools in their own district. This concept of a “school district” led to the creation of independent school boards who, now detached from religious mandates, were free to establish a more contemporary public school with their own selected teachers and curriculum. From this point forward, education became a civil rather than religious matter. Indeed, by the start of the 1800s, “all that the minister, as the surviving representative of church control, had left to him

² Initially, religious missionary work in New England meant that Native American children were allowed to attend the common schools in Massachusetts “side by side with whites” and even to enroll at Harvard per its charter (Cremin, 1970, p. 194). However, continued English-Native American conflict after the 1622 massacre in Virginia deteriorated this relationship. Although some black slaves lived in the colonies, only a few were permitted to receive an education.

was the right to accompany the town authorities in the visitation of the schools” (Cubberley, 1919, p. 45). Such attitudes were reflected in the Constitution and by many of the Founding Fathers who firmly declared that the only way to safeguard this new American democracy was to ensure that the public remained educated and enlightened.

More importantly, the decline of religious power, worldwide, ushered in a new wave of intellectualism eager to question the traditional aims of education and methods of school punishment. Among them was the influential Swiss pedagogue Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi who, by 1799, had rejected the use of rote memorization and orthodox catechism as a learning technique, preferring instead observation, reasoning, and investigation (Cubberley, 1919). He believed that teachers had the potential to “regenerate society” and that all children, even the destitute, possessed a right to attain freedom and independence through education (p. 267). As a result, elementary schools were to teach new academic subjects such as science, geography, and math. The child’s individual development, expression, and stimulation were also to be encouraged, recognizing what would later become teaching in physical education, music, and the arts. Furthermore, “Pestalozzi also resented the brutal discipline which for ages had characterized all school instruction,” believing corporal punishment to be inherently immoral (Cubberley, 1919, p. 265). Although it would take several decades for these ideas to reach and spread throughout America via travelers or written translations (e.g., Horace Mann’s implementation of the Prussian system in Massachusetts during the 1840s), this philosophy, and others like it, would shape educational practices throughout the nineteenth century and inevitably lead to a revolution in school discipline itself (Jewett, 1952; Travers, 1980).

The Decline of Corporal Punishment

Scholars and educators in America and Europe began to directly confront corporal punishment as an undesirable form of school discipline during the mid to late 1800s, yet the writings produced against it during this era represented only a preliminary first step (Craig, 1847; Mann, 1845). While the discussion had been raised, teachers and school administrators still relied upon it to enforce order in the classroom. This debate over how best to discipline students would rage until the modern era and eventually lead to the development of a new philosophy of school management. For instance, Currie (1861) identified three main forms of discipline that were commonly used in elementary schools of the time period: imposition, corporal punishment, and expulsion. The first and least severe, imposition, was simply the teacher's ability to immediately penalize a student for some transgression. This might take the form of after-school detention, loss of recess, additional classwork, or any reprimand intended to form a basic "contract" with the student so as to correct their behavior. The fundamental assumption of this relatively minor imposition being that the student was still perceived as amendable by the teacher.

Conversely, should the student be incorrigible and their behavior too extreme or injurious to others, the teacher, upon consultation with school authorities, would recommend expulsion. It is interesting to note that many educators of this era viewed expulsion "as a far more serious penalty ... with greater evils than any that are involved in corporal punishment" because it suggested that the child was beyond redemption and would be branded as "unworthy to remain in the society" (Currie, 1861, p. 258). Thus, corporal punishment was considered as an alternative to expulsion; an intermediate course of action that should be tried before the student was permanently cast out of the school. Indeed, physical discipline was viewed as a common

necessity with which to maintain order in the face of rowdy and defiant pupils seeking to “turn out” their teacher. This obnoxious classroom custom, in which relentless student disturbances forced the schoolmaster to cease their instruction or, in some cases, caused them to overreact with ever more severe discipline, was allegedly responsible for the shuttering of hundreds of Massachusetts schools during the early 1800s due to teacher resignations or dismissals (Jewett, 1952). Despite this sporadic dysfunction, employing a multitude of physical punishments or potential threats remained an accepted and essential part of running an orderly school, as a former New England pupil recounted:

The truth is, that it seemed to be the prevailing opinion both among teachers and parents, that boys and girls *would* play and be mischievous at any rate, and that consequently masters *must* punish in some way or other. It was a matter of course; nothing better was expected. (Burton, 1833/1897, pp. 45-46, emphasis in original)

Hence, recognizing its importance in the school discipline hierarchy, Currie (1861) wrote nearly six pages detailing the correct application, necessary expediency, and limits of proper corporal punishment while devoting only one paragraph to the use of expulsion.

The primary consideration for the use of corporal punishment was whether or not the teacher had the right to administer it. According to Currie (1861), this power was initially placed in the hands of the parent; that by natural right they were responsible for the upbringing of their child. Moreover, they alone had the ability to delegate this power to the teacher via society and because society had thus seen fit to sanction it in America, no parent could now restrict the teacher’s authority just as they could not deny the teacher’s right to educate their child. The types of offenses that were acceptable for corporal punishment included “falsehood, dishonesty,

impurity of speech, cruelty,” and various forms of moral delinquency (Currie, 1861, p. 261).³ However, more important was that the teacher had previously made clear, explicitly or implicitly, to the student body that particular transgressions would be affixed such a severe penalty—that there was a binding law of justice to be enforced. As a result, there would be no misunderstanding or need to explain why a punishment was administered and, thus, no weakening of the teacher’s moral standing. Currie was also adamant that the degree of the violation, not necessarily the offense itself was what warranted corporal punishment and that the teacher should exercise discretion. For example, being late to class was not ordinarily an offense for which such punishment was customary, but repeated lateness and continued, if not flagrant, disregard for the rules raised this act to a level where its application was justified.

Still, according to Currie (1861), corporal punishment should remain a rare event, used only when absolutely necessary and as a last resort; further suggesting that “he uses it best, who uses it least” (p. 261). That is, the teacher was first encouraged to create an engaging, positive classroom atmosphere and to appeal to the better nature of all students rather than inflicting punishment at every available opportunity. Not only was the teacher responsible for keeping order in their classroom, but it was also incumbent upon them to promote fairness and the overall social health of the school. Therefore, when it came to severe discipline, all other potential options should be exhausted beforehand through “prudence, patience, firmness, and dignity” so that the teacher might become intimately familiar with the student’s problems (e.g., delinquency, poor home life, maturity) and learn from such an encounter (Currie, 1861, p. 260). Additionally,

³ Aside from these aforementioned offenses, a principal of a Boston school, known as G. F. Thayer, delivered a lecture in 1839 as to other commonly prohibited school acts: throwing items, spitting, engaging in vandalism or graffiti, playing with a knife, whittling wood, leaving class without permission, running in the halls, playing marbles or gambling, using profane language or nicknames, eating or drinking in class, getting into mischief, loitering about or wasting time, and striking, kicking, or attacking other students (as cited in Mann, 1840, p. 379).

there were commonsense boundaries and limitations on the application of corporal punishment. For instance, it was to be avoided for students who were weak in health, who remained obstinate and uncorrected, or who possessed a “constitutional characteristic, partly physical and partly mental” that only strengthened their resistance—fearing that unchecked punishment by the teacher may escalate to sheer violence or injury (p. 263). Certainly, if the discipline could not amend the student’s behavior or only served to exacerbate it, it was not to be used.

These sentiments were echoed by White (1893) whose “penal rules” for the school described the end goals of discipline—and the means to achieve it. Central to the belief of White, however, was that explicitly codified rules and regulations should not even be necessary in a school. Furthermore, he states that the best schools are those that have no prohibitory rules because the students have internalized their duty, are disciplined, and naturally obedient. This meant that the teacher should be given wide discretion to not only determine what constituted an offense, but how to punish it with the fundamental understanding that the “supreme end of discipline is to lead pupils to choose the right and avoid the wrong” (White, 1893, p. 192). Using this remark as a guiding principle, he proposed three specific goals for appropriate punishment: (1) reforming the wrongdoer, (2) deterring others from wrongdoing, and (3) condemning wrongdoing itself. First, that is to say, discipline should only be used when it will positively affect the student’s behavior; indeed, “a pupil may deserve punishment and yet may not need it” (White, 1893, p. 194). Secondly, such punishment is acceptable when it will serve as a warning to others and especially when the precipitating transgression is common or likely to occur again amongst the student body. Here, it is noted that instilling fear is a legitimate tactic to quell disorder. Lastly, invoking the basic nature of good versus evil, offenses that are punished

reinforce to the collective consciousness that said acts are morally wrong and that we should feel guilt for committing them.

Linking the works of Jeremy Bentham along with the criminological spirit of Cesare Beccaria, White (1893) next proceeds to detail his characteristics of good (i.e., effective) punishment. This begins with the common refrain that punishment should be certain, that even though the ideal school should not need to forbid offenses or have formal law, when a violation of a penal rule does occur it must be enforced uniformly and without delay. Subsequently, the punishment to be inflicted should be just, proportionate, and take into consideration the student's characteristics or condition. It is here that, recognizing the multitude of disciplinary options available to teachers, White (1893) weaves an argument comparing corporal punishment to criminal law and, specifically, capital punishment. For example, he notes that in England there were once one hundred and sixty crimes punishable by death, but now so few that "one can count [them] on the fingers of one hand"—yet no appreciable upsurge in crime has resulted (p. 201). Similarly, he remarks that French law once made highway robbery a capital crime, but because so many robberies escalated to murder to aid the perpetrator's chances of escape, the law was changed to impose only imprisonment, thereby reducing the number of murders without also leading to an increase in highway robbery. These reforms and amendments, signs of a civilized society White argues, parallel the changes to discipline in the school and the family where "the rod has ceased to be the universal instrument of punishment" (p. 201).

Along these lines, the final concern for White (1893) was that a punishment should correspond to its offense in a natural way; that while one can gain experience from pain, so too might one learn through forfeiture of a privilege or through restitution. Here, he highlights how prisoners used to be flogged frequently for disobeying guards' commands, but now, after penal

reform, are merely prohibited from socializing and are locked away in their cells where they must dine alone to the same end result. Likewise, White provides an equivalent scenario of this disciplinary dichotomy taking place in a school setting:

Two teachers find it necessary, in their judgement, to forbid profanity on the playground, and in each school a boy violates the rule. One of the teachers calls the offender to account, and, having properly set forth the nature of the offense, says, “John, you have violated the rule by a wicked act, and I must whip you,” and, suiting the action to the word, he gives the boy a whipping, either before the school or privately, as he may deem wise. This is one way to correct profanity, but few teachers have thus been able to banish it from the playground. The other teacher calls the offender to him, and, having explained the offense as an abuse of a privilege, says, “John, you have forfeited the privilege to take your recess on the playground with the other boys. Hereafter, you will take your brief recess after the other boys have come in; but, when I am satisfied that you will observe the rule, I shall be glad to restore the privilege now taken from you.” This second John can but feel that his punishment is just, and it will not be many days before he will be ready to give such assurances as will justify the removal of the penalty. (pp. 204-205)

However, it is not lost upon White that there may be individual students who, despite this amicable alternative, continue to defy their teacher. For instance, in the case of John, perhaps the boy chooses to rebel, leaves the classroom, and take his recess anyway. What then should the teacher do in the face of such defiance? According to White (1893), “insubordination to rightful authority may be properly met by force ... [because] rebellion is the end of authority, if it be not subdued” (p. 207). Therefore, no lesser punishment is likely to resolve the situation and no other recourse exists; consequently, the use of corporal punishment is not only justified, but necessary.

Just as the police or military may use force to restore order when civil authority collapses, so too may the teacher.

Yet much like Currie (1861) who believed that there were limits to corporal punishment, White (1893) also had his reservations concerning particular methods that could be administered. For example, blows to the head, whether by hand or by rod, are to be avoided, he states, because the skull of a child is less developed and, therefore, less protective of the brain which could potentially lead to mental impairment. Additionally, “boxing the ears” he declares only somewhat less dangerous given that physicians have testified as to it causing ruptured eardrums and permanent hearing loss in children. Also to be avoided were violent shakes, hits to the hands, hair pulling, and ear twisting. Similar objectionable acts, noted decades later by Morehouse (1914), included whippings that could aggravate skin diseases, caning, and “flinging children across desks and tables” (p. 200). Curiously, much like Morehouse, White (1893) appears to direct his greatest indignation toward non-violent punishments such as those that may humiliate the student (e.g., dunce cap, gagging) and ridicule, epithets, or sarcasm that “pierce children’s souls with bitter words, more cruel and more degrading than blows on the body” (p. 212). Again, corporal punishment is viewed here as an intermediary designed to restore compliance and order, not as the worst possible penalty that could be levied. This is reflected by White’s statement that suspension from school should not be used on rebellious boys younger than 12 years old; rather, corporal punishment should be applied. He remarks that these young children simply cannot appreciate the loss of a privilege (i.e., school), thus, they will not be amendable through suspension. That punishment, he says, is best used on pupils who are at least 14 years old and can better understand the consequences of their wrongdoing.

Although corporal punishment was a natural product of the parochial school, where religious doctrine was often used to justify discipline, religion was also employed in the movement to end corporal punishment in public schools and within the family. The seminal work of Lyman Cobb (1847) targeted what he viewed as the “evil tendencies” intrinsic to corporal punishment. He reasoned that whipping, flogging, or striking children to teach them moral discipline was illogical. Moreover, just as abolitionist preachers declared that slavery brutalized the slave and corrupted the slave master, so too did Cobb proclaim that corporal punishment “has a degrading and hardening influence on those who receive it, and on those who inflict it” (p. 12). This attitude, characteristic of the Antebellum era, also extended to the role of gender in school discipline. For instance, nearly all sources of the time and even those into the 1900s scarcely mention the punishment of girls, directing all relevant topics of discipline toward that of boys. Cobb, himself, even remarks that girls by nature of their “gentler, nobler, and lovelier sex” should never be whipped and that any teacher who does so is unfit to serve the profession (p. 81). Further, it was not so much that Cobb believed that the rod did not have its place “to make a boy yield or submit,” rare as though he thought it should be, but that he was greatly inclined to view it as entirely unnecessary and counterproductive (p. 9).

In painstaking detail, Cobb (1847) presents thirty “objections” to the use of the rod, each with summary remarks, ranging on matters from the indeterminable length of appropriate punishment, to the possibility that it produces feelings of ill will, belligerence, or revenge among students, that it destroys the positive bonds between child and adult, and finally that it is most often haphazardly applied in the worst schools with the greatest disorder. Over a century later, one scholar would refer to Cobb’s fervent work as a “polemic against the rod” that asserted early exposure to violence as a child would lead to aggressive tendencies in adulthood (Glenn, 1981, p.

402). Cobb's (1847) treatise is then followed by forty "substitutes" and "preventives" that should be used instead of corporal punishment. These include basic platitudes such as speaking kindly and gently, using persuasion rather than force, engaging the minds of children, never threatening the rod—and the odd, such as encouraging harmonious singing in school and splashing cold water on a hot-tempered student. However, Cobb also proposes one important alternative that he believed could "entirely supersede the necessity for CORPORAL PUNISHMENT, as a means of discipline" in the school if administered properly: out-of-school suspension (p. 158, emphasis in original). Just as a rancorous individual could not be permitted to remain in the church after disturbing its worshippers, Cobb applied the same logic to the school and the disruption of classroom activities, stating "whenever a boy has become *very* bad in school, the teacher should SUSPEND him for a certain length of time" (Cobb, 1847, p. 157, emphasis in original).

It is critical to also recognize that Cobb (1847) viewed suspension, like White (1893), as a loss of a privilege. That is, being able to attend school and receive an education was to be seen as an opportunity for the student—not a right. As a result, his rationale prescribed that the boy was not allowed back into the school until: (1) he was convinced that education was important, (2) that he agreed to obey the rules of the school, (3) understood that he must submit to the authority of the teacher, and (4) that his parents or guardians attested, verbally or in writing, that he would behave appropriately. Without these assurances, Cobb (1847) feared that a returning boy, unaffected by the punishment, would be "likely to have an unhappy and injurious influence on the other pupils" as if bad behavior were a contagious infection (p. 158). Likewise, he warned parents against the corrupting forces of their child associating with delinquent peers and saw suspension proceedings as the perfect opportunity for the teacher to initiate this dialogue with the family. To conclude, while suspension was not necessarily a new weapon in the teachers'

arsenal, the rising moral opposition to corporal punishment in America made it an attractive alternative, yet one that inherently relied upon the student's own disposition to be successful.

The Rise of Modern School Discipline

Throughout the early 1900s, several contextual and cultural changes occurred within the field of education that had a lasting impact on the schooling and discipline of children. The most prominent was what Morehouse (1914) called the “feminization” of the teaching workforce—a transformation that had begun decades prior (Cubberley, 1919). While men had once achieved near parity in the field, modernization and industrialization presented new and better paying opportunities for them. As men left the profession in droves, women quickly filled these roles bringing with them a different skill set and style of school management. Soon enough, by the 1920s, approximately 85% of all teachers in the country were women (Snyder, 1993). Morehouse (1914) asserted that women had “a natural sympathy for children” and would attempt to “[secure] their ends by diplomacy rather than by force” (p. 74). Moreover, he observed that they possessed a “soft voice, gentle manner, and angelic patience” that was largely uncharacteristic of the male teachers who had more commonly relied on traditional standards of formal punishment (p. 74). These unique strengths, however, were not without their accompanying weaknesses.

For instance, in the rural areas and frontier schools of America, many teachers were directly challenged in the classroom by “overgrown backwoods boys” looking to cause trouble (Morehouse, 1914, p. 75). Indeed, one such account from a female educator in Oregon around 1904 relates how the school principal, a man, had attempted to punish two unruly brothers with a

switch. The boys, being “much larger and stronger,” fought back, attacked the principal, “whipped him thoroughly, grabbed the switch, and ran out” (Peil, 1958, p. 206). Astoundingly, so vital and expected was the use of corporal punishment to keep order that the *principal* was placed on probation for a month by the local school board due to his failure to administer it! Naturally, women could often be placed at a disadvantage when confronting hostile behavior in this manner, and so Morehouse (1914) states that they turned to less severe tactics, shelving the customary harsh, physical discipline of the time in favor of persuasion and reformation. It comes as no surprise, then, that anecdotal stories of female teachers using their charm, cunning, and tenacity to resolve conflicts or to motivate the community into action are replete in the literature of this period (Bagley, 1915; White, 1893).

Additionally, another important trend identified by Morehouse (1914) was the spread of the democratic American spirit—equal rights, opportunity, and the tolerance of others—which had cut across class lines to reach the poor and disadvantaged. Children were exposed to these values at a young age and, as a result, teachers could no longer portray themselves as authoritarian tyrants in the classroom. They now had to exhibit a disposition of “friendly leadership” and were expected not only to educate students, but also to socialize them in good manners and behavior (p. 77). Morehouse, however, admits that while this was a sign of “a higher state of culture” it was nonetheless an indictment of parents for their lack of discipline and home training (p. 80). Suggesting further that some families and their children “confuse liberty with license,” neglecting their duty to exercise restraint and self-control (Morehouse, 1914, p. 18). Thus, the school had become a society onto itself, not just a mere extension of the government, the family, or the church. Along with the public demand for legislated equality and

compulsory education, however, schools also had to confront the difficult task of educating the disabled, the dumb, and the delinquent.

Cubberley (1919) remarks that various attempts for the education of “defectives” had taken place during the 1800s, but often only as an experiment or token gesture, and it was not until the twentieth century that the concerns of these children—deaf, blind, feeble-minded, sickly, or crippled—were taken seriously. Although limited, the goal of these newly specialized programs and schools was to ultimately try to make such children less dependent on the state; allowing them to care for or support themselves and thus benefiting the general welfare of society. Prior to this transformation, schools had simply been unwilling or unable to cope with the added burden of educating the disabled. Indeed, these unfortunate characteristics sometimes overlapped with antisocial tendencies, making these children especially problematic in the classroom (Morehouse, 1914). To that point, Cubberley (1919) notes that, in the past, teachers and administrators typically “expelled them or let them drop from school” so that they did not “become a nuisance in the school and ... demoralize schoolroom procedure” (p. 381).

Similarly, efforts to instruct delinquent youth had also been neglected in colonial times, not as a direct result of their incompetence or unruliness, but because “the Church could not be wrong and the difficulty must of course lie with the sinner” (Cubberley, 1919, p. 379). Thus, like the defective, the incorrigible were cast aside and expelled if they were not amendable through corporal punishment. However, the delinquent and habitually truant types eventually became ensnared in legislative acts, designed to benefit the disabled, which made their attendance at school mandatory. This necessitated the creation of dedicated disciplinary classrooms within schools and, failing that, centralized county trade schools for those who were unsuitable for higher education. Furthermore, if a juvenile had engaged in criminal activity or was “older and

more depraved” they were often sent to a state industrial school known better as a penal reformatory or, today, as a youth detention center (Cubberley, 1919, p. 384). These facilities varied in their capabilities and purposes across states, but were generally organized based upon offense-type or severity with the end goal being reeducation and rehabilitation, especially for less serious offenders and younger children.

Nevertheless, these sweeping changes in the field of education did not absolve teachers from the necessity (and responsibility) of correcting student misbehavior or punishing those engaged in wrongdoing. Modern society demanded more from the school than mere education, it was now obligated to socially train children in the functioning necessary to “serve the race” (Morehouse, 1914, p. 4). Thus, using historical analyses and simple philosophies, scholars had begun to create a science of school management. This ranged from the study of academic subjects and the best learning techniques, to how furniture and desks should be positioned, various methods of student engagement or motivational reward, and even the optimal lighting and airflow conditions in the classroom (Currie, 1861; White, 1893). Though this was not yet a rigorous, empirical science, it was one consisting of the accumulated knowledge over centuries, passed down generation to generation (Northend, 1859; Waits, 1920). Of course, part of this “art of teaching” dealt with how to discipline students and respond to their behavior. It was clearly acknowledged by this era that humans were naturally selfish and that, at an early age, it was necessary to instill habits that would make children cognizant to the rights of others—that, in a sense, training via punishment was a requirement for successful maturity (Perry, 1915). This line of thinking eventually led to the development of a formal disciplinary framework.

For instance, Morehouse (1914) remarks that while “criminologists are working upon the problem of dispensing a truer justice than can be given by a literal enforcement of the criminal

law,” teachers, nonetheless, “face a condition, not a theory” (pp. 169, 197). Harkening back to the Puritans, he states that “every sin has its punishment” and because man has created a civilization based upon interdependent relationships it is vital that there be some way to penalize those who infringe on the rights of others; a way “to control selfish and thoughtless folk for the general good of all folk” (p. 163). He even constructs three causal path models, displayed in Figure 1-1, to showcase how an individual’s offense affects society, who is to blame, and how punishment should be distributed. This logic suggests that the “consequences of sin are social” and that no offenders are necessarily alike nor are their delinquent acts committed for the same reasons (p. 170). In fact, given that forces outside a student’s control may be responsible for their wrongdoing, he explicitly states that it would be unjust to apply the same penalty to everyone or, in some cases, to find them entirely at fault for their predicament. Moreover, just as parents discipline their children to ensure good behavior in the home and the state exercises its lawful authority over criminals to preserve an orderly society, so too is the teacher entrusted with this rightful ability to reprimand youth in the classroom. Yet beyond this, the teacher, by nature of their position *in loco parentis*, acts simultaneously as the law, the judge, and the warden. Indeed, their knowledge of a child’s conduct may surpass that of even the parents, placing them in a unique situation from which to administer discipline (Burton, 2016). Specifically, Morehouse (1914) identifies four basic motives of punishment on which teachers have traditionally relied: retaliation, expiation (i.e., atonement or restitution), reformation, and protection.⁴

⁴ These familiar concepts were noted, in part or in full, by many scholars of the era, including Bagley (1915) who described similar motives in education as vindictive or retributive punishment, proportionate punishment, reformatory punishment, and protective punishment. Additionally, he identified a fifth, termed prevention, which involved utopian ideals, social justice, and eugenic practices for the “elimination of degenerate ‘stock’” (p. 183).

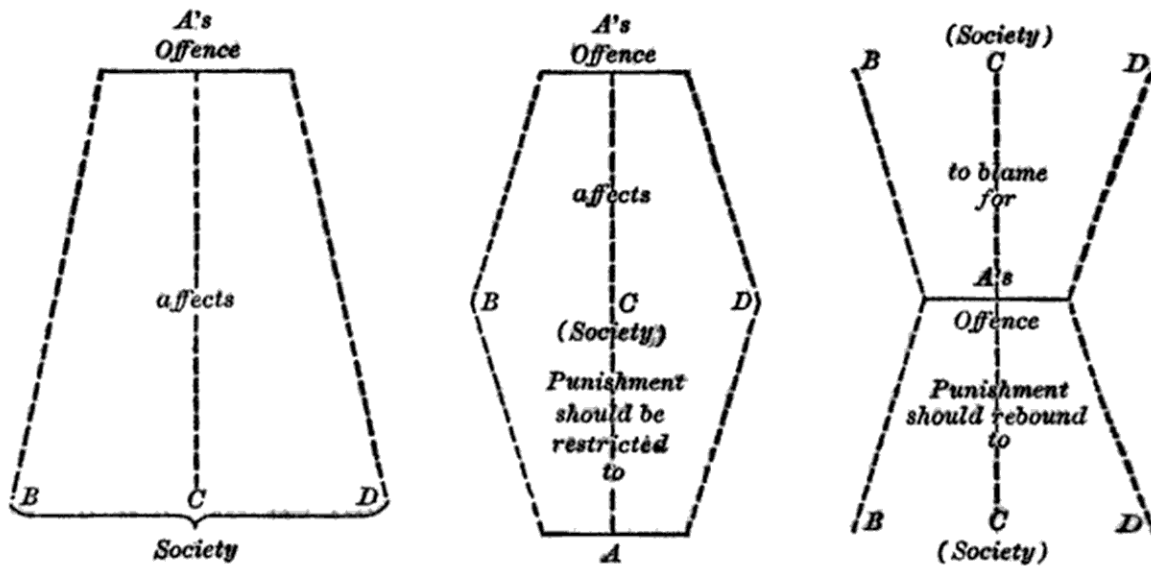


Figure 1-1. Individualization of punishment and the consequences of sin. Reprinted from *The Discipline of the School* (p. 170), by F. M. Morehouse, 1914, Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company. In the public domain.

Historically, retaliation was the earliest of the four and recalled the master-servant relationship between teacher and student from which any deviation of the rules was often met with immediate, physical force. Such examples are the colonial and frontier schools where corporal punishment reigned supreme in all matters. While certainly harsh, egotistical, and unsophisticated, this method, Morehouse (1914) notes, “restrained through fear” and was quite effective in imparting self-control (p. 165). However, as society progressed, the personal slights and vengeances held paramount in retaliation were substituted instead for universal principles enforced by the state or, more often, by religion. Justice was now rendered according to some infallible law, with rudimentary due process, under expiation. The student was thus subject to an official code rather than the whims of the teacher, but the punishment meted out was still based on the individual’s “evil-doing” and required a penance to set right what had been done wrong.

Indeed, this is reflective of the “contracts” of imposition noted by Currie (1861) and in the ideal application of suspension in which the student would, miraculously, learn to submit to school authority through their atonement in isolation (Cobb, 1847; White, 1893).

These two former motives, however, eventually fell into decline: retaliation for its rash, uncultured approach and expiation, in part, for its subjective moralizing to which its attached penalties could no longer be justified. Although particular characteristics of both types remain present in the classroom to this day, the more enlightened replacements of reformation and protection have now become the “two great motives of punishment” in the school (Morehouse, 1914, p. 169; see also Harris, 1928). Naturally, reformation involves changing the disposition of the student so that their self-interest leads them to be law-abiding; so that their choices are aligned with the common good. Nonetheless, the means to accomplish this must still involve a restrictive act of pain—though one that is not necessarily always physical (e.g., loss of a privilege, notifying parents, detention). Morehouse (1914) states that reformation occurs through: (1) the suffering of this pain, (2) the contemplation over the delinquent act and its consequences, and (3) the social disgrace and shame brought on by the punishment itself. This preventative desire to save the individual from committing future, and potentially worse, acts of misbehavior, he says, is the “highest motive for which punishment is given” (p. 168).

Similarly, while reformation involves restraining the individual from himself, protection involves restraining the individual from society. Morehouse (1914) is adamant that, despite the progressive attitudes of the general public, it is an “old and unpopular truth” that social protection is the “ultimate duty of authority” (p. 167). Additionally, he expresses palpable disdain for this developing “maudlin sentimentality” which has caused a “fallacious and mistaken pity for evil-doers, in school and out, which sacrifices the interests or safety of many

that one may be spared deserved pain” (pp. 167-168). Going further, he justifies as the primary objective of punishment the prevention of harm to society from a type of juvenile delinquent he terms the “predatory individual.” Such children, Morehouse (1914) remarks, are “enviored by ignorance and want and sin” (pp. 197-198). They are “primitive creatures from primitive homes, and are sensitive only to the stimulus of bodily pain, or the humiliation that attends its infliction” (p. 197). Therefore, the question is how, exactly, will this student be restrained? Indeed, the decline of corporal punishment has removed a convenient tool from the teacher’s disciplinary repertoire which once possessed the ability to immediately and convincingly punish misbehavior in the classroom—especially among the worst children.

Although it is clear that Morehouse (1914) acknowledges corporal punishment as an extreme and antiquated form of discipline, which he readily admits was used inappropriately in the vast majority of cases, he nonetheless offers a passionate, yet contemptuous warning to those who eagerly await its complete demise:

Corporal punishment is “a relic of the dark ages.” So are those characteristics of human nature that will respond to no greater stimuli. So are all the conditions of our living which keep alive the brutal in mankind. But to assume that all human beings, and especially those whose powers of rationalization are still rudimentary, may be governed by the motives that at present only the more advanced people comprehend, is utter foolishness. To formulate an ideal of human relationship from which force may be eliminated, is a helpful and inspiring exercise; to base a comprehensive system of practical control upon it, to be applied to human beings now, is a Quixotic fallacy.... It is true that children have been injured by brutal schoolmasters, and that injustice may condemn the innocent to unmerited pain. But those who have observed the effect of absolutely forbidding corporal

punishment, who know how lawlessness, parental dictation, and insolence toward authority increase with the withdrawing of this one effective if arbitrary check, can not deny that it has still a place and a function in the scheme of school control. Sensible people, while rejoicing that the era of the hickory rod is gone forever, have little patience with that species of soft pedagogy which, in the face of the fact that some children are not amendable to persuasion, spares physical pain rather than use it to secure the ends of the school. (Morehouse, 1914, pp. 198-199)

However, after conceding the inevitability of this transformation, Morehouse (1914) turns his attention to identifying an effective replacement for corporal punishment. This task, he says, represents “one of the most difficult problems facing teachers today” since society, both in the family and at school, has grown accustomed to the use of the rod (p. 201). Doing his part, Morehouse offers a few token alternatives, but these examples are largely uninspired (e.g., having a “serious talk” with the offender) or impractical (e.g., calling the school board to action for a single student). The only suitable solution that remained to him was the penalty of exclusionary discipline: out-of-school suspension or expulsion. While, historically, these punishments represented the teacher’s weapon of last resort, there was now no other compelling recourse available to protect the school from the predatory student.

Transitioning to Exclusionary Discipline

There does not appear to be a watershed moment in the history of American education that precisely delineates when suspension replaced corporal punishment as a method of discipline. Rather, it occurred as a gradual transition, where it was often used in conjunction with

“safer” methods of physical discipline first (e.g., paddling, striking the hands with a ruler). Various historical sources report that suspension started appearing in written school policies during the 1840s which coincides with the development of compulsory school attendance laws across the country (Cobb, 1847; Northend, 1859). Although it is certain that suspension, as a practical concept, existed much earlier than found in these sources, it only came into mainstream prominence when all children, including the disabled, delinquent, and habitually truant, were mandated by law to attend school.⁵ This progressive movement, along with the moral crusade against corporal punishment, occurred simultaneously and so educators naturally turned to suspension as a useful tool. Indeed, as previously discussed, schools prior to the nineteenth century had no obligation to educate the chronically misbehaved and so these students had generally been quickly expelled (Cubberley, 1919). In a retrospect of school discipline, Raichle (1977) notes that the late 1800s were a time of great debate over the appropriate methods of punishment, but by the turn of the century suspension had won out. Government reports from the United States Commissioner of Education (USCE) detail this more clearly as state boards and school administrators declare throughout that “the alternative for corporal punishment in school is suspension”—often highlighting and praising accounts where it had been eliminated entirely (1889, p. 161). This is best exemplified in an annual report from 1870 in which a superintendent from New York states:

It is satisfactorily established in my judgement, that no absolute necessity exists for a continuance of this mode of discipline, so liable to abuse, so repugnant to every

⁵ The development of suspension appears to be a natural outgrowth of the teacher’s ability to exercise expulsion and “dismiss scholars from [the] town schools” for repeated truancy (Mann, 1841b, p. 65). Indeed, expulsion in legal statutes of the time refers to the power “to *suspend* from school any person whose longer continuance therein would frustrate the design of its establishment” (p. 65, emphasis added). Accordingly, the next logical step was simply to “dismiss scholars for a term of time” and also to provide for it in cases of bad behavior (p. 65).

sensibility of our nature, and so at variance with an enlightened system of public instruction, and the dictates of a sound public opinion. I cordially congratulate the board, therefore, on its entire abolition, and respectfully recommend the enactment of suitable provisions for the suspension or expulsion of incorrigibly vicious or contumacious pupils, and their exclusion from any public school, except upon satisfactory assurances of future good behavior. (USCE, 1875, p. 236)

When considering the use of suspension or expulsion, it is important to remember that these punishments were designed for a student who had become incorrigible and, thus, no longer capable of being managed through less severe disciplinary methods like imposition, isolation, or restitution. Undeniably, other penalties did exist including scolding, extra schoolwork, grade demerits, being sent to the principal's office, detention, conferencing with parents, and even just a stern look, but these were not enough to deter the habitual offender (Cutts & Moseley, 1941). Such a defiant student, as previously noted by White (1893), was to be considered rebellious—a threat to the civil order of the school—and, therefore, not only deserving, but demanding of corporal punishment. Yet without this ability, teachers were forced to use exclusionary discipline instead, with suspension being applied first and, failing that, expulsion. Additionally, this also meant that students who were otherwise well-behaved, but committed some serious, one-off transgression might find themselves under the threat of suspension—a concept known as zero tolerance to which we will return later. Moreover, while contemporary research and practice has advanced the concept of the in-school suspension, this form of discipline was not prominent during this era and so all references to suspension herein are to be understood as the out-of-school variety until otherwise noted.

Morehouse (1914) describes suspension as an inherent method of isolation; that is, when a child is excluded from the classroom they are disconnected from the school, including its positive influences, by default. He argues that because of this “suspension gains no leverage for raising the pupil, unless he has a reason to fear its effects ... no incentive to good conduct, unless he *wants* to pass” (p. 195, emphasis in original). This same concern was why Cobb (1847) insisted that a student returning to school after being suspended must meet his four criteria that proclaimed, overall, his submission to authority and a belief that education was essential. However, Cobb, operating under the motive of expiation (i.e., atonement), did not identify the precise mechanisms by which suspension would change the student’s behavior. Indeed, he seemed to implicitly assume that shame and the religious notion of being good was reason enough to sway the student from being evil. Morehouse (1914), on the other hand, recognized that suspension works in a more specific way through reformation. First, missing class might detrimentally affect the student’s grades and this, of course, would be of great distress to a respectable student. Second, as a privilege lost, it also prevented the student from socializing with his peers at school. Third, parents were often notified during the disciplinary process causing its own set of repercussions if the child came from a decent home. Lastly, the disgrace of the punishment would likely be a source of wounded pride for both the family and the student.

Nevertheless, Morehouse (1914) acknowledged the obvious faults that accompanied the logic in assuming suspended pupils were willing or capable of reformation. He states that a school should not release a student immediately after a suspension has been enforced because “the suspended boy rarely goes home when sent; he seeks, with telepathic sureness, the haunts of the street” (p. 195). His suggestion is to keep the child in the school until his parents are alerted. However, Morehouse remains decidedly skeptical of their potential assistance, stating that such a

boy is most likely to find the positive guidance needed for reformation in an area under school control rather than with his own family. These same concerns were raised by White (1893) who believed that young children were better kept in the school and Abbott (1834) who declared it was of paramount importance for parents to keep their children out of the streets, away from delinquent peers. This, of course, was easier said than done as a government report observed:

A large class of boys who have no father or mother, or who are beyond the control of their parents, are in our schools. They are constantly asserting the right to do as they please in the school-room, as they do at home. Any curtailing of their desires, either by corporal punishment or milder means, begets in them a combative spirit; more especially, however, if the whip or ferule be resorted to. This disobedience must be discarded from the school-room, and is. The child, sooner or later, is suspended from school. If he has no parent or friend, he remains out of the school. If he has friends, he gets back into the school-room, to repeat the same course and to meet with the same results in many cases. He is finally out of the schools; nothing to do—learning nothing good—continually forming evil habits and practices, which are sinking him lower and still lower, and making him day by day less and less likely to reform. (USCE, 1872, p. 308)

Indeed, Raichle (1977) commented that “to cast the child, especially the poor child, into the streets was to bequeath a crop of criminals to the future” (p. 78). The recognition of the challenges facing the suspended student is concisely summarized by Morehouse’s (1914) remark that his own advice “does not apply to the pupil who may be trusted to do what he is told; but that sort of boy is not the boy who is suspended, as a rule” (p. 195).

Consequently, suspension primarily served the purpose of protection to keep such incorrigible pupils away from other students, at least, temporarily. Although some suspended

individuals may have truly reformed and changed their ways, especially with proper adult guidance, there was also an understanding that many would not. Thus, requirements for reinstatement, like those originally defined by Cobb (1847), were created to keep particularly troublesome students from returning and, in some cases, to perhaps circumvent compulsory education regulations. For instance, a superintendent of the District of Columbia commented in an official report from 1870 that suspension was being utilized as a pretext for de facto expulsion:

It has been the aim to render suspension as effective as a means of discipline as possible “by making restoration a grave and difficult matter.” In all cases where practicable the presence of the parent or guardian with the child at the superintendent’s office has been required, and an effort made to impress both with the value of school advantages, &c., and it is thought that an unwillingness to undergo this ordeal has prevented many suspended pupils from applying for restoration, but the results upon the discipline of the schools have been far better than if the way of return had been made more easy. (USCE, 1872, pp. 388-389)

Throughout the literature, however, the majority consensus remained one that extended the benefit of the doubt to the student, providing them with the opportunity to prove they were fit once again to attend the school. Yet, unsurprisingly, even after being readmitted, not all children took this “second chance” seriously (Colvin, 1917). For such a pupil, typically a boy, who engaged in repeated acts of misconduct or committed a severe offense and had “established

himself as being beyond the teacher's influence or means of restraint" the finality of expulsion awaited (Currie, 1861, p. 263).⁶

Expulsion, of course, was the most serious penalty that could be issued, but it was not so much a punishment as it was a protective measure to prevent the rest of the student body from being corrupted. This was affirmed by Morehouse (1914, p. 196) who remarked that "to allow incorrigibles to remain in school ... is to encourage constant anarchy" and Currie (1861) who stated that the injury to the expelled student was "nothing compared with the injury from which the whole school must be preserved" (p. 263). Naturally, the expulsion of a student was never to be taken lightly as it commonly required a formal vote by the school board and carried the potential for an undesirable amount of publicity in the community. Having been accomplished, the next step for school authorities was to try and enroll the former student into a reformatory or institution where their behavioral issues could be better addressed. Indeed, this final effort was an attempt to keep the juvenile from falling completely into the criminal lifestyle and further contributing to their burden on society (Morehouse, 1914; Raichle, 1977).

Delinquency, Schools, and the Police

The types of offenses that were known to be explicitly punishable by suspension during the late 1800s into the turn of the twentieth century included the use of profane language, disrespectful or threatening behavior, vandalism of school property, smoking cigarettes, and

⁶ Although exclusionary discipline was generally framed as being administered primarily to boys, several texts of the time did find it acceptable for these punishments to now be levied against both "boys and girls who are utterly unfit to be associated with other children" (Morehouse, 1914, p. 196). This is a remarkable change from corporal punishment which was not to be inflicted upon girls due to its disrespectful and indelicate nature that carried with it potentially "perverted impulses which find pleasurable gratification in inflicting pain" (Bagley, 1915, p. 184).

truancy (Colvin, 1917; Northend, 1859; USCE, 1889). These acts, being relatively minor by their nature, made them acceptable candidates for the reformatory aspect of punishment. As Bagley (1915) aptly remarked, suspension was to be substituted for these petty offenses where corporal punishment, as a penalty, had been removed. This was because these transgressions occurred with such great frequency that some sort of correctional method was required:

It is, after all, not the grave derelictions that worry the teacher; it is rather the little annoyances,—the halting obedience, the sneaking mischief, the crude deceit with regard to little things, and the constant search for means of making trouble that will not be so serious as to merit drastic treatment, but which none the less gives rise in the aggregate to nine tenths of the loss in school efficiency that must be attributed to disorder. (pp. 208-209)

However, it was only when the misbehavior became repetitive and persistent or involved some serious incident of “grossly immoral conduct” that expulsion was to be used (Northend, 1859, p. 332). Moreover, it is implied throughout much of the literature that expulsion was also reserved for those offenses which rose to the level of outright criminality. Theft of school property, stealing from other students, violent fighting, gang activity, and the use or sale of hard drugs such as cocaine and heroin were likely to be met with expulsion or referral to the juvenile justice system during this time period (Bagley, 1915; Morehouse, 1914).

Unfortunately, limited research is available regarding the transformation of tangible disciplinary practices during the early 1900s and in the immediate post-World War II era (Harris, 1928). For instance, Boylan (1932), in a review of the previous sixty years of public school policies, suggests that the dearth of material on disciplinary matters was likely due to the recent reformation on corporal punishment, education’s absorption into growing scientific fields like

psychology, and “the larger implications of [a] philosophy that was so generally accepted by educators” (p. 50). Noted historian Lawrence Cremin (1959a) contends that the rapid rise and fall of the 1920s progressive education movement, originally led by liberal philosopher John Dewey, was a result of ideological distortion. While initially emphasizing an avant-garde “and sometimes anarchic” approach toward unstructured creativity in the classroom, this experimental technique eventually fractured into more radical elements championing collectivist planning, political reform, and “a new social order”—all of which were snuffed out in the wave of conservatism following World War II (1959b, p. 723). In fact, Dewey (as cited in Cremin, 1959a) later remarked in 1926 that those who had taken his child-centered approach to excess, to the point where adult guidance was removed from the school entirely, were “really stupid” (p. 166). Similar concerns about the lack of information during this period were later raised by Ohlsen (1947), in a national educational bulletin, who reinforced the need for better recordkeeping and accurate empirical data in order to assess the issues surrounding behavioral problems in the country’s schools. Additionally, he encouraged administrators to have their staff file detailed reports on every disciplined student that provided facts about the child’s physical and mental health, home life, interests, accomplishments, future goals, and cumulative offense history. Due to their longitudinal nature, these permanent records, he hoped, would assist in illuminating some of the causes behind the startling “increase in juvenile delinquency” (p. 108).

There was, nonetheless, one prominent instance of school development during the Progressive era that was uncovered by Burton (2016) in his historical analysis of Berkeley, California’s first chief of police, August Vollmer. Considered a leading innovator in policing, Vollmer around 1920 had established a “coordinating council” between several social service agencies and his police department. The objective of this organization was to identify children

who were exhibiting problem behaviors or social maladjustment. Using juvenile volunteers who reported peer delinquency, teachers observing misconduct in the classroom, school psychologists, and other administrators, this information on who was deviant or where deviance was occurring was turned over to law enforcement. Simple crime mapping techniques were then used to pinpoint criminogenic neighborhoods and school records, detailing a student's various psychosocial attributes, were employed to detect those children who were considered to be at-risk. This allowed police officers to patrol particular city locations or businesses where juvenile gangs were likely to congregate and to target or deter potential offenders in the community or at their home. Having shown its effectiveness, this model was later adopted in the greater Los Angeles area during the 1930s and expanded to include coordination with other welfare agencies, probation departments, and the juvenile court.

According to Burton (2016), mass education represented an opportunity for progressive civic leaders to “cure” those delinquents who posed a threat to social health and, if possible, to shape them into law-abiding citizens. Indeed, some viewed education for the general public as “an expansion of risk” that necessitated good moral indoctrination, lest its power be used maliciously (p. 10). While these organizations may have certainly achieved some of their altruistic, crime-fighting goals, their extensive surveillance networks when combined with the criminal justice system made for an unusually authoritative association. For example, in the case of a truant boy suspected of theft, the council recommended that the student be institutionalized to protect society and the judge granted their request. Additionally, the council used their judicial influence to take custody of five children from a family who could no longer financially support them and even had a mother sterilized because she was deemed by their investigators to be feeble-minded. These eugenic practices are indicative of Bagley's (1915) idealistic motive of

prevention, yet Burton (2016) states that by the 1950s these councils had disappeared, having been subsumed or replaced. The extent to which they operated throughout the United States is difficult to discern, but it is clear that by linking together the school and law enforcement they represented one of the first instances of a nascent “school-to-prison pipeline.” However, despite this pioneering experiment, the problem of youth delinquency would only intensify.

This peculiar phenomenon was recognized again during the early 1950s when government agencies began producing statistics showing an almost 30% surge in the number of youth appearing at juvenile courts, even though there was only a corresponding 6% increase in the teenage population. Hill, Miller, and Gabbard (1953) warned that juveniles under eighteen were now responsible for 53% of auto thefts, 48% of burglaries, 15% of rapes, 5% of aggravated assaults, and 4% of all homicides in the nation. Although the number of children that had been diverted from the criminal justice system or were never caught for their acts remained unknown, estimates from the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare reported that nearly 400,000 juveniles had been processed in the courts during 1952, representing about 2% of all children ages 10 to 17 (USDOHEW, 1954). More alarming to Hill et al. (1953), as shown in Figure 1-2, was that demographic trends were predicting a 40% increase in this age bracket during the next decade; the so-called “Baby Boomer” generation. This, they declared, “will produce devastating effects upon our social and moral structure, to say nothing of the impact upon our national economy” (p. 181). Another concerned educator, Brandes (1956), cited a figure from 1950 that indicated California was spending \$350 million annually dealing with the consequences of juvenile-related social disorder and maladjustment.⁷ Accordingly, these

⁷ According to estimates from the United States Department of Labor consumer price index inflation calculator, this amount would equal approximately \$3.5 billion dollars in 2017.

researchers recommended immediate action to determine why, in a new age of wealth and abundance, juvenile delinquency was on the rise and what could be done to combat it.

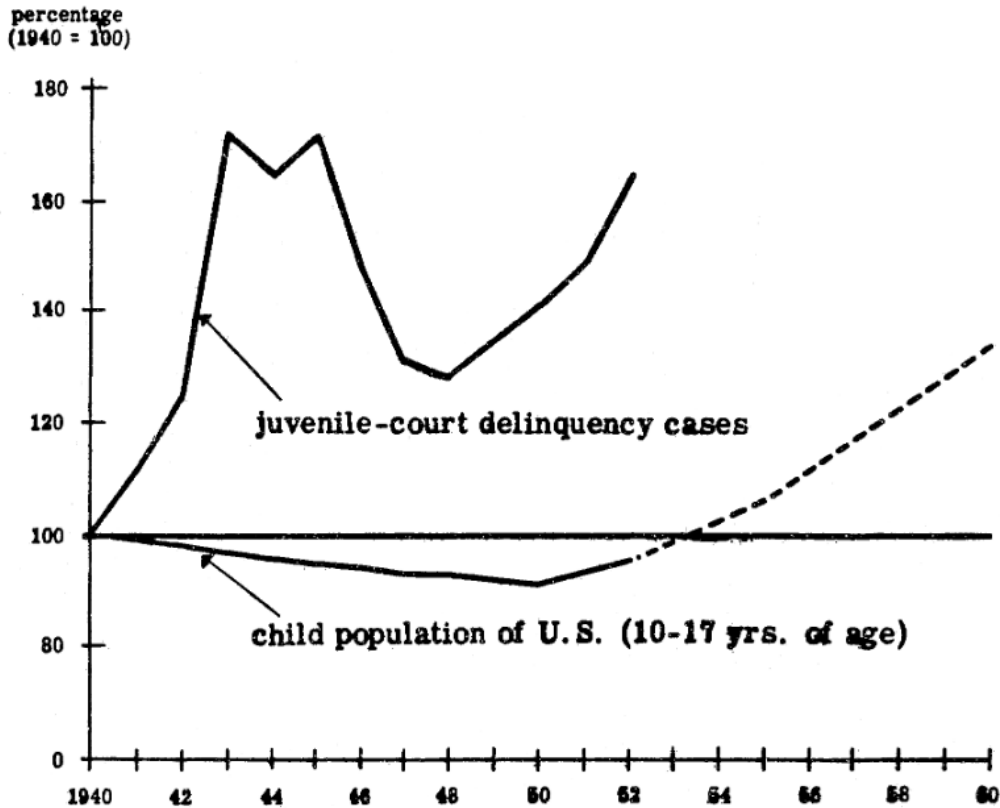


Figure 1-2. Juvenile delinquency cases are rising. Reprinted from *Juvenile Court Statistics, 1950-52* (p. 5), by I. R. Perlman, 1954, Washington, DC: United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. In the public domain.

Cutts and Moseley (1941), emphasizing “mental hygiene,” asserted that the school itself was a social agency and, as such, should cooperate with other community services to better support the welfare of disadvantaged and misbehaved children. This meant that school nurses, for instance, should refer mentally ill students to psychiatric clinics and that teachers should be

familiar with the inner workings of the juvenile court. In particular, they proposed a proactive approach where children were to be referred to the court when they were in danger of delinquency whether due to their peer relationships, natural temperament, or from parental neglect.⁸ This may have resulted in a warning, probation, or even institutionalization (e.g., youth detention center, foster home placement), but Cutts and Moseley (1941) argued that “because of the well-established connection between behavior in and out of school” the teacher, too, knows the child quite adequately in these matters and should be consulted (p. 241). Similar advice was offered by William Kvaraceus (1945) who led the development of a Children’s Bureau in Passaic, New Jersey dedicated to the reduction of juvenile delinquency. This organization was initially formed to act as an intermediary between the school system and the juvenile court, where troublesome or truant students would be referred rather than being formally adjudicated. However, less than 15% of the cases actually emanated from the schools; instead, nearly 40% came directly from arrests made by the police department. As a result, the Children’s Bureau soon found itself dealing with a large amount of aggressive juvenile offenders who had committed robbery, theft, sexual offenses, or were otherwise incorrigible and engaged in mischief. Kvaraceus’ objective was to diagnose these children, collect background information on them, and work as a liaison between other rehabilitative social service agencies in order to intervene rather than institutionalize these youth.

Brandes (1956) postulated that the increasing number of juvenile delinquents was due to the wide-ranging societal changes that had occurred after World War II. Children of this

⁸ Cutts and Moseley (1941) advised that maladjusted children should be given standardized intelligence testing to help place them in classes where they would be best served (e.g., special education, gifted courses). Moreover, they recognized that those with an IQ ranging from 75-90 were nearly twice as likely to be chronic offenders in the classroom. Unfortunately, when attempting to accommodate such students, it was likely that their parents “[were] also mentally defective and are problems in the community just as their children are problems in school” (p. 178).

generation were now exposed to radio, television, industrialization, automobiles, mass transit, civil unrest, and atomic warfare. Furthermore, the speed of this technological progress had also created socioeconomic deprivation, cultural instability, and disorganization in the family. Indeed, one of the key problems addressed by several scholars in the literature is the amount of broken homes and “latch-key babies” following the war (Hill et al., 1953, p. 202). Whatever the issue, Raichle (1977) states that the early twentieth century school was characterized by a greater sense of compassion, including “better trained teachers, growing humanitarianism, an increased knowledge of the social situation and the psychology of the child” (p. 80). Yet, as discussed, part of the strategic planning involved in controlling delinquency was that the criminal justice system was brought, directly or indirectly, into the school environment (Burton, 2016; Cutts & Moseley, 1941). This movement, Beck (1955) remarks, was a natural reaction to the “growing tendency to expect the school to do something about everything” and the “tendency to use the term ‘delinquency’ as if it were a diagnostic entity ... for which there is a specific course of prevention and treatment” (p. 60). While Kvaraceus (1959b) did not believe the school should become a hospital or mental asylum, he did promote the idea that the “good school” would “co-operate closely with other community agencies” to combat delinquency (p. 214).

Brandes (1956), for example, touts police participation as a successful venture at his high school:

Police officers are provided by the school for duty during the two-hour period at noon and a one-hour period after school. These officers are also on duty during inter-school athletic contests and evening social functions. Officers have been selected for their ability to “get along” with pupils. They have been instrumental in the control of pupil conduct in the vicinity of the school, including smoking, loitering, congregating, trespassing,

juvenile gangs, *etc.* Disciplinary action, however, has remained with the school officials.
(p. 108, emphasis in original)

Such activity is certainly reminiscent of the modern school resource officer. Moreover, many of the social agencies attached to the school system, like Kvaraceus' Children's Bureau, included "a social worker, a psychologist, a specialist in reading problems, and four police officers" (Hill et al., 1953, p. 194). These officers were also provided with private facilities "for interviews between police and children away from the stationhouse atmosphere" (Kvaraceus, 1945, p. 27). Larger cities contained an even greater number of personnel with multiple doctors, nurses, special education teachers, and, in the case of Jersey City, "an inspector and 14 plain-clothes policemen with 1 woman investigator" (p. 224). Although the ultimate goal of these benevolent organizations was to sidestep the court system and avoid incarcerating juveniles, it was clear that the collaboration between police and school officials to reduce delinquency was a natural, complementary fit (Carr, 1949). Accordingly, as Raichle (1977) observes, in those cases where suspension had failed and expulsion was warranted, teachers were now presented with a third option: the ability to send the child to a reformatory school or refer them into the custody of a social service agency. This decision not only kept the incorrigible student out of the classroom, but also off the street.

Truancy, Incorrigibility, and the School Prison

Historically, the creation and enforcement of compulsory attendance laws presented schools with the challenging demand of not only educating the mentally or physically disabled, but also two other specific groups of children: (1) the habitually truant and (2) the incorrigible or

delinquent (Cubberley, 1919). While there had initially been little effort to distinguish between these two types of children (Ewald, 1934; Mann, 1838), this mindset began to change in the late 1800s as superintendents recognized the growing problem of truancy, especially in larger, urban cities where truant officers often caught and released such students back into the school. Indeed, there was *something* about truants that clearly differentiated them from their incorrigible counterparts; something that was fortuitously captured in statements by several administrators of the time period:

Boys who play truant are not criminals, and cannot be treated as such. They stay away from school simply because they do not like the restraint which constant application to study requires. If they should be sent to the State Reform School, or any similar institution, the stigma upon their character may turn them into the very path from which they should be kept. At the same time, their absence from school, wandering about the streets, inculcates idleness and shiftless habits, and leaves them to engage in evil practices which may lead to criminal acts. (USCE, 1889, pp. 220-221)

Commonly, the punishments of suspension and expulsion awaited those who repeatedly failed to attend school (McCoy, 1951). Moreover, unlike the incorrigible student, it was soon realized that the use of exclusionary discipline was inherently contradictory when applied to the truant. That is, suspending or expelling a student from school because they failed to attend would have no corrective impact and only served to exacerbate the problem:

The truant suffers personal loss when out of school, but does not occasion loss to those who attend; while the persistently disobedient and refractory pupil profits little, if any, by being in school, and seriously interferes with the progress of others. In dealing with such pupils at the present time, the only means available as a last resort is to expel them from

school, and by doing so make them companions of the truant, thereby defeating the very object sought to be accomplished. (USCE, 1889, p. 222)

Accordingly, there was an overwhelming consensus among educators that an alternative to expulsion and institutionalization was sorely needed. Although the truant's misbehavior was not as severe as the incorrigible student's, it was still seen by many to be demoralizing in the classroom and potentially problematic enough that it required "provisions to be made to reclaim them, to restrain and regulate their conduct, by placing them in some special or ungraded school" and where they "could be suitably instructed and firmly controlled" (USCE, 1889, pp. 219-220).

The response to this desperate plea was the foundation of truant schools that would house, of course, truants, but also those incorrigibles "who require corporal punishment" and were best suited to be transferred rather than expelled entirely (USCE, 1889, p. 220). The limited data provided by a superintendent in Michigan during 1885 states approvingly that the program met with an immediate success when "the habitual truants and the incorrigible were speedily gathered into this school, and punishment and suspension ceased elsewhere" (p. 220). Furthermore, he attests to its apparent deterrent effect on the average pupil and its "restraining and reforming power over all the schools of the city" by more than halving the number of suspensions for absenteeism and misconduct in his district (p. 220). These same findings were corroborated by a truant officer in Massachusetts operating a similar school and by a superintendent in New York who also anticipated a reduction in truancy. Thus, even prior to the Progressive era's coordinating councils and the post-World War II approach to policing delinquency, it was evident that educators had advocated for the removal of troublesome students from the mainstream school system, thereby diverting them down a different educational pathway.

Nevertheless, this was not the first time educators had recognized that such “special schools” played a pivotal role in affecting the trajectory of children’s lives—nor would it be the last (Raichle, 1977, p. 78). The first reformatory school in America was established in 1824 in New York, yet these schools would remain relatively rare until the 1850s or later (Cubberley, 1919). For example, during his travels in Europe throughout 1843, the renowned educational reformer Horace Mann visited Hamburg and detailed what he called a “Punishment-School, or school-prison,—a place of instruction and restraint for those children belonging to the poor-schools of the city, who commit any aggravated offense” (Mann, 1844, p. 170). Students of “poor schools” and their families were already receiving welfare and one of the conditions of this assistance was that the children behave appropriately at school. When they did not, and instead engaged in a repeated trend or serious act of misconduct, they were sent to the “school prison.” Here, from eight in the morning to eight in the evening, students spent half the day in work and the other in study.⁹ However, for some, their sentence included overnight stays and so bedrooms were provided. Mann describes the classrooms and living conditions as “small and wretched,” further remarking that the students were prohibited from communicating with each other during their confinement (p. 171). The teacher, like a jailer, kept a record of each child and corporal punishment was administered as necessary.¹⁰ When the child’s sentence was over, they would be returned back to the poor school, but Mann noted that “instances of a second, and even of a third commitment” to the school prison were not uncommon (Mann, 1844, p. 171). As a reformer, Mann was astutely aware of the challenges that a student’s failure in the classroom presented at

⁹ Interestingly, a study of a New Orleans, Louisiana “prison school” that opened in 2002 and housed 14 black boys reported that its operating hours were from 8:15 AM in the morning to 7:30 PM at night (Simmons, as cited in Rocque, 2017, p. 3).

¹⁰ Mann states that the “school prison” housed 21 boys and 11 girls, but he does not specify whether the girls also received corporal punishment as a part of their sentence, although it is not inconceivable that they did.

school and also what it meant for society. Astoundingly, over 150 years before any modern-day researcher would coin the term “school-to-prison pipeline,” as the lone editor of the *Common School Journal*, it is presumed that Mann wrote this prescient warning:

The family, in the first instance, is the place where the bad passions of children are to be brought into subjection. If not done there, it becomes so much the more important that it should be done in the school. If not done in either place, the community must suffer, through all its interests. Instead of insubordination at school, we shall have crime in society; instead of employing school teachers, we must employ jailers; instead of building schoolhouses, we must build prisons. (Mann, 1841b, p. 66)

Nearly a century later, Lowry (1936) raised the question of whether school discipline itself was responsible for juvenile delinquency. His argument stemmed from the finding that most prisoners had poor educational attainment, yet still chose to participate in vocational training when it was offered. This view was compounded by studies and observations of the time that hinted at the possibility that teachers could identify students with abnormal behaviors who would actually go on to engage in delinquency years later (Wickman, 1928). Lowry suggested that these children were perhaps targeted for punishment due to their inability to conform to the classroom standards, either as a result of their social maladjustment, intellectual boredom, or their active disobedience. Nonetheless, after being disciplined, especially if by severe corporal punishment, the student was likely to disengage from the school, further intensifying their non-conformity by becoming a truant or street criminal. Such a phenomenon was described by Moley (as cited in Lowry, 1936, pp. 10-11) as affecting all individuals in an analogous manner:

A man, or a horse, or a dog, if whipped, will violently seek the shortest line between the place where he stands and the place where the whip will no longer reach him. When

looked upon in retrospect, sometimes his movements are entirely irrational. He will jump through a window or dash into a body of water or throw himself into other dangers more serious than the one which he is enduring.

Accordingly, school failure, Lowry (1936) argues, is a result of an inferiority complex developed through continued academic frustration, disappointment, social rejection, and cruel school discipline:

After a few punishments have been received, the recipient is in a mood that impels him to truancy with its incitement to further difficulty. He becomes a “problem” case—not beyond cure but skillful treatment is necessary. Unless he receives it, a “delinquent” is likely to result. (Lowry, 1936, p. 11)

This focus on truancy was important because, by law, compulsory attendance meant that a child who did not go to school was labelled a delinquent automatically. Indeed, it is with truancy that educators may have finally realized that they held the power to criminalize youth based upon their behavior, even if done inadvertently. Naturally, this concept was easily extended toward many other forms of student misbehavior which rose to the level of criminality, including acts of incorrigibility that necessitated referral to an outside agency or an actual police arrest. Lowry (1936) remarked that while a student’s home life and social environment played a much larger role in shaping delinquent pathways, the school is, unfortunately, generally unable to change those conditions and must deal with their consequences instead. As a result, he suggested that the school should strive to make itself “a place of preferment for the child—a place of happiness, achievement, and social equality” rather than something to be avoided (Lowry, 1936, pp. 11-12). These comments echoed those from the past that understood it was crucial for the problem

student to remain in the school and that humiliating punishments should be avoided (Abbott, 1834; Morehouse, 1914; White, 1893).

However, given the nature of exclusionary discipline and the teacher's increasing reliance on it, keeping the incorrigible student in the school became more difficult than expected. The substitution of corporal punishment presented a conundrum to educators, but one that was often lost in the passions and progressive spirit found in the written work of the period. That is, how exactly can such a student remain in the school if there is no effective way to restrain his behavior? For instance, Horace Mann, who would later replace John Quincy Adams in 1848 as Massachusetts's congressional representative and campaign for the end of slavery, adamantly derided corporal punishment as a brutal practice which must be ended, stating forcefully that "the more ignorant and barbarian one may be, the more sure is he to make the power of inflicting pain his only resource" (Mann, 1845, p. 204). Yet, there were instances where Mann conceded that physical discipline still had its utility in the classroom to restrain the defiant pupil rather than expelling him from the school or placing him in an institution; declaring that, "we abhor corporal punishment, but we abhor the halter and the State prison more" (Mann, 1841b, p. 67). These contradictory statements were not lost on the Massachusetts Board of Education (MBE, 1844) who, in a lengthy remark on Mann's accumulated writings, took issue with several of his conclusions:

Mr. Mann's opinion in support of the doctrine of corporal punishment ... is calculated, on the whole, to beget in the mind of the reader, a total distrust in its efficacy, under any, and all circumstances. He brings out into the strongest light, all cases of its extravagant abuse, and, for contrast, gives the most prominent relief to those successful results which have been obtained entirely without it; thus instituting *forced* comparisons, which strike the

mind more by their effect of contrast, than by their just and apposite analogies.... Thus the whole force of his rhetoric is aimed to bring, not merely the abuse of the rod, but its legitimate use, into disrepute; to give false impressions of its real value, as a means of discipline; and, without unequivocally assuming to exclude it, to cast reproach and odium upon all those who openly resort to it, or profess any faith in its good effects. (p. 105, emphasis in original)

Clearly, these inconsistencies were troubling enough in the 1840s that Mann, who was later renowned as the “founder” of the American public school (Cubberley, 1919, p. 167), was essentially chastised for cherry-picking his arguments and insinuating that corporal punishment only remained in existence for the reason that “teachers are incompetent, than because pupils are incorrigible” (MBE, 1844, p. 105). Nevertheless, the die had been cast into history. Exclusionary discipline became the accepted method of punishment and, by the twentieth century, the criminal justice system had become closely attached to the school under the aims of crime prevention and juvenile rehabilitation. However, the overlooked dilemma on how to appropriately deal with the incorrigible student, generations beforehand, had set in motion a disciplinary discrepancy whose repercussions would be felt most acutely in the modern day.

Summary

Corporal punishment emerged in colonial America as a necessary practice to maintain order in unruly frontier schoolhouses where the standards for learning and education were as crude as the discipline itself. Although religion had, at one time, been used to justify physical discipline, changing public sentiments, the abolition of slavery, and the development of a formal

science of school management during the late 1800s began to cast its use as illogical and immoral. To many school reformers, the fundamental goals of classroom punishment could be met by a natural substitute that did not need to inflict bodily harm—out-of-school suspension. However, suspension was a reformatory punishment that relied heavily on the student’s own disposition to be successful; that is, if a student did not truly want to behave at school, then they would return unchanged. Adding to this predicament was the government’s increasing use of compulsory education which swept up chronic truants and other incorrigible youth into the school system who, in the past, had typically been permanently expelled. As a result, suspension as a temporary, corrective measure had no appreciable effect on them and, specifically for the truant, was entirely contradictory. Without a viable alternative to restrain the most problematic students in the classroom, many teachers and administrators were forced, once again, to turn to suspension, expulsion, or to place such students into a “school prison”—known today as a reformatory or youth detention center. Such a decision was less a punishment as it was a protective action to keep these incorrigible student away from the rest of society. Moreover, the alarming rise of juvenile delinquency by the 1950s had also forced schools to cooperate closely with police agencies and the juvenile court system in order to prevent crime. This unusual, but advantageous combination would inadvertently set the stage for the development of the “school-to-prison pipeline” and a national reckoning by the end of the century.

No teacher would maintain a despotism, but in peril of the greater evil of anarchy. But he is sometimes compelled to rule with a rod of iron, because his pupils have imbibed the notion that he has no right to rule at all.... To make such abuse the occasion of infusing into the mind of a child the mania of anti-government, or the idea that he may resist any authority *he* may deem exorbitant, instead of remedying, aggravates the evil.... This evil, which has become so truly alarming, your committee are persuaded, proceeds from a quite limited source. The great mass of the community, are doubtless in favor of a wholesome government in school. But it is found to be in the power of a few individuals to nullify, to a great extent, the authority and the influence of a judicious and skillful teacher. (Report of the School Committee of Westborough, as cited in Mann, 1840, p. 16, emphasis in original)

As a result of this concentration of all pupils, the public schools today are looked upon not only as an educational institution but also as a major social institution through which society might compensate for all its other failures. (Erickson, 1976, p. 44)

CHAPTER 2: THE DISCIPLINARY REFORMATION

The Legality of School Punishment

Throughout the 1950s, educators began to take an appraisal of their profession and question whether or not school discipline practices had truly changed. Discipline, according to

Bowman's (1959) accumulated literature review, was now seen through a sociological and psychological lens in which its appropriate use would lead an individual to "develop habits of self-control" and personal responsibility so that repeated acts of misbehavior would be prevented (p. 149). Additionally, some of the most common offenses of the time included disrespect toward teachers, failure to complete homework, destruction of school property, profane language, stealing, and truancy. Such misconduct had been on the rise for the past several decades even though the vast majority of teachers now reported that troublemakers represented less than four percent of the students in their classroom (Bowman, 1959). Conversely, some of the most infrequent offenses included carrying a weapon, fighting, using narcotics, and direct physical violence against school staff. However, these offenses were actually on the decrease, indicating that the progressive approach to discipline was likely succeeding. This also meant that there was a focus on remedial discipline and the common, minor infractions that were seen as a natural development of a youth's adjustment to authority. That is, teachers expected to punish some misbehavior as a part of a student's learning process to becoming a good citizen (Brandes, 1956). When these methods failed and the child's misbehavior continued, however, suspension was used for up to two weeks, and "after a second or third suspension" the school would then refer the student "to the board of education for exclusion from school" (Brandes, 1956, p. 111).

Exactly how often exclusionary discipline was used is difficult to determine, yet there are some studies that point to its increase or, at least, acceptance by school administrators. For example, in 1939, Cutts and Moseley (1941) conducted a survey of over 2,000 boys and girls in eight junior high schools spread across the country. They asked the students about their most recent infraction and what the teacher had done about it. Examining the top three offenses, for boys, approximately 19% had talked too much in class, 16% had been involved in a physical

attack, and 12% in undue activity. For girls, 34% reported talking, 11% no misbehavior at all, and 8% had been caught chewing gum. The most common disciplinary response, for both sexes, was detention. Expectedly, corporal punishment was used 5.6% of the time with boys and 1.8% of the time with girls. Suspension and expulsion, grouped together however, were only used for 0.4% of boys and 0.1% of girls.¹¹

A decade later, Henning's (1949) survey of 225 high school principals in three Midwestern states found that corporal punishment only remained in frequent use in 1.3% of the schools she analyzed and was never used in almost half—making it the least common punishment.¹² Expulsion, on the other hand, was used frequently in 16% of schools and was rated as the second most effective punishment next to detention. Although this survey did not inquire about suspension directly, it did mention it as a punishment for repeated truancy. When measured this way, nearly 23% of schools used it frequently placing it above other methods of discipline such as removal from sports teams, cutting grades for misbehavior, and requiring additional classwork. Qualitative comments from principals also indicated that suspension was reserved for those students who had accumulated more than four detentions and another principal remarked that his school was now suspending some “pupils within the school,” essentially placing them in a study hall until their situation had been adequately resolved by all parties involved—an experimental tactic that would lead to the in-school suspension (Henning, 1949, p. 272).

Research conducted by Dawson (1965) on the types of misconduct punishable by exclusionary discipline in Iowa found that there were 22 distinct offenses that had been listed in

¹¹ These figures are, of course, underestimated given that suspended or expelled students would be less likely to attend school (see also, the decline in 12th grade expulsions, Morrison, D’Incau, Couto, & Loose, 1997).

¹² The survey responses consisted of only three categories: frequent, infrequent, and never.

various administrative handbooks. Although many, like serious misbehavior, truancy, and drug or alcohol possession, remained unchanged since the start of the twentieth century or earlier, new offense categories had been developed. These included hazing, unsportsmanlike conduct, failure to be vaccinated or attending school with a communicable disease, breaking the dress or hair code, and, with the popularization of the automobile, disobeying traffic regulations. In addition, Dawson investigated some of the historical legal precedents of the period. For instance, students could be excluded if their parents spoke insulting language to school staff, if they attended movies during the week, or if they failed to salute the flag. This later ruling, however, was struck down by the Supreme Court of the United States in 1943; moreover, similar unreasonable causes for exclusion included failure to carry firewood into the schoolhouse, not paying fines imposed for vandalizing school property, and not engaging in compulsory studying at home during the evening (Wells, 1927). Despite these rules, the majority of districts did not have formal, written guidelines for exclusionary discipline and they often simply operated from a common law standard of preserving “good order” in the school (Dawson, 1956, p. 7). This authority, Dawson states, “is not subject to judicial interference except where lack of power, or fraud, or gross injustice is shown” and the board’s decision is final and, thus, has generally been left uncontested by “reluctant” courts (pp. 6, 19). Indeed, such authority had been upheld “in regard to pupil conduct off the school grounds and out of school hours” allowing for tremendous reach in student punishment (Dawson, 1956, p. 19). This power to regulate student behavior outside of the school was considered a “legal twilight zone” due to the ambiguous domains (e.g., athletic events, travel to and from school, busing) of the school itself (Sumption, 1955, p. 85).

Legal challenges related to school authority began to occur in the early 1900s, but these cases appear to have served in most instances only to further define the legal rights of teachers or

administrators and their “implied power to protect” the general welfare of the school (Allen, 1925, p. 180; Lammers, 1965). Nevertheless, while state courts often upheld exclusion for a multitude of offenses, they did begin to take into account the legal procedure for remedy or reinstatement. For example, the duration of expulsion was generally limited to only a single term, the length of the school year. Statutes also allowed for parents to seek mandamus (i.e., a mandate) when school boards may have seriously erred in their decision-making and, in some states, the school or teacher could be found liable for the damages wrought by wrongful exclusion. Beyond this, complex cases identified by Punke (1958) such as the expulsion of two young, married students and their subsequent reinstatement by the courts, resulted in the carving out of basic due process provisioning. Although far from universal, some courts ruled that students were entitled to a formal hearing when applying to reenter the school, especially if they had been permanently excluded. Yet many courts of the time ruled that no trial or even a notice to the parents was required in order for the child to be removed from the school initially given that “the well-being of the school demands the exclusion of a pupil without delay” (Punke, 1958, pp. 54-55). As Kaestle (1978) notes, parental resistance to educational authority, more prominent in rural areas, was present even in the Antebellum era as a response to the use of gratuitous corporal punishment. However, public schooling naturally relied on parents to relinquish their power to interfere in such matters in exchange for the advantages of education itself:

America wanted schools to take custody of their children, and they wanted schools to train their children in basic skills and attitudes. The eventual price that they paid was the loss of authority and control over their children’s education. The trade-off was made. The state successfully exerted its right to discipline all children in values that served, first and foremost, the operational necessities of the school. (Kaestle, 1978, p. 15)

Over time, cultural changes within the family eventually manifested themselves within the school and vice versa, but, Kaestle argues, this has historically been a drawn-out process rife with dysfunction until equilibrium is achieved.

During the 1960s and 1970s, courts finally began to require that schools follow procedural codes for administering exclusionary discipline and, unlike past centuries where education was seen as a privilege (Cobb, 1847; White, 1893), it was now “considered a right that cannot be denied without proper reason and unless proper procedures are followed” (Phay & Cummings, 1970, p. 23). This meant that minimum standards of due process were recommended, including adequate notice to the student or parents of the charges and a formal board hearing with adult representation where evidence and witnesses were presented (Phay, 1971; Steinberg, 1975). Such proceedings would also guarantee appeals and, for expulsion, an automatic review in the following term. While these were ideal, Phay states that “due process is a flexible concept” and that a school’s informal proceedings are generally legally permissible without grave violations of constitutional protections—though he advises they scale with the seriousness of the offense and punishment (p. 20). Additionally, Phay and Cummings (1970) suggested that principals be given the authority to issue short-term suspensions of five days or less, but that any long-term suspension over five days should require approval by the district superintendent. Their concerns would later be validated in 1975 when the Supreme Court ruled in *Goss v. Lopez* that subjecting students to suspension without a hearing was a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment because it deprives a child of the right to be educated. Further, they had recognized that “school separation is a poor method of discipline” because disruptive students often have academic problems that are only compounded by their exclusion (p. 9). Still, their provisions allowed for the indefinite exclusion of students who were dangerous, criminal, or chronic

offenders and whose presence created an atmosphere of “fear or intimidation” in the school (Phay & Cummings, 1970, p. 48).

Simultaneously, in 1975 the Supreme Court ruled in *Baker v. Owen* that schools had the right to administer corporal punishment against the objections of a parent, but that some due process safeguards, at a minimum, were necessary. Once again, corporal punishment had become a topic of debate in American society and in early 1977 scholars and educators met for a national conference on child abuse, partly funded by the National Institute of Education.¹³ The work presented at this forum was later edited into a compendium by Wise (1977) and contained legal arguments for and against corporal punishment (Howard, 1977; Reitman, 1977). Moreover, it included research that suggested it was an ineffective method of punishment which could potentially harm student achievement, that it negatively affected the mental health of both students and teachers, and that it was possibly being used most often against racial minorities and the socially disadvantaged (Bongiovanni, 1977; Hyman, McDowell, & Raines, 1977). The main crux of this literature was that physical discipline communicated the message to students that violence was an acceptable method of resolution. These arguments clearly draw parallels to those that had been made over a century ago by Cobb (1847). Indeed, a superintendent defending the use of corporal punishment even remarked that, “if we suspend a child from school as a possible alternative to corporal punishment, there is no place to send him/her except to the street” or “a quasi-reform school for wayward youngsters” (Reinholz, 1977, p. 29). And, just like the Massachusetts Board of Education’s (1844) criticisms against Horace Mann and his call for the end of the rod, Reinholz captures its modern-day equivalent:

¹³ This was a federal agency for educational leadership and scientific inquiry created in 1972 which was later dissolved and subsumed into other Department of Education organizations in 1985.

Those people who are advocating the abolition of corporal punishment consistently put the term abuse right out in the front where the public sees it as being the norm rather than the extreme form of corporal punishment in public schools. (p. 29)

Reinholz concludes that corporal punishment, when administered reasonably, is a useful deterrent and that its proposed alternatives (i.e., exclusion) are ineffective, especially for those children who “come from homes where parents don’t care” (p. 30). Nonetheless, legal stipulations attached to its use, where educators could potentially lose their teaching license, forced the hand of some districts to ban the practice even though it was viewed favorably.

Although concrete figures on corporal punishment were generally limited and likely underestimated, Hyman et al. (1977) presented data from the state of Vermont in 1974 that reports “one child out of every 379” was subjected to it (p. 6). Across locations, such as Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, physical discipline was administered most often during the elementary or junior high school years and against boys in almost all instances; though it was used only once a year or less by the majority of teachers. Despite its relatively rare application, corporal punishment still enjoyed broad support with over two-thirds of teachers, principals, and the general public (Hart & Lordon, 1978). In addition, at the time, only four states had statutes which limited or outlawed its use, with the decision often being left in the hands of local school districts (Friedman & Hyman, 1977). Later that year in 1977, the Supreme Court upheld *Ingraham v. Wright*, a case involving a student who was alleged to have been paddled excessively, signifying that not only was corporal punishment permissible in schools without due process, but that it did not meet the criteria of cruel and unusual punishment under the Eighth Amendment either. This, therefore, revoked the due process privileges granted in *Baker v. Owen* and, to some scholars, openly conflicted with the ruling of *Goss v. Lopez* that provided for procedural due process in

cases of school exclusion (Messina, 1988). Undeterred, the movement to abolish corporal punishment continued outside the courts with the support of major academic and practitioner groups such as the National Education Association, the American Psychological Association, and the Society for Adolescent Medicine calling for its end (APA, 1975; NEA, 2010; Roy, 2001; SAM, 2003). Today, there are only 22 states that permit or have no laws against corporal punishment and although its use is often considered to be limited to private institutions, approximately 110,000 public school students received physical discipline in 2013 of which over one-third were black, prompting a denouncement from the United States Secretary of Education (King, 2016).

Child Advocacy and Racial Inequality

Consequently, along with the legal rights of students, some scholars throughout recent history have strongly emphasized the socioeconomic and racial disparities present in American society. These differences, Cottle (1974) argued, cannot be easily rectified by legislative acts; instead, they require empowerment and a transformative perspective in order to be successfully addressed:

We must confront these realities: the political dangers of intelligence testing, the tracking system, the barring from school of children whose English is poor or girls who are pregnant, the lack of facilities for physically and emotionally ill children, acts of suspension for academic failures and behavioral misdemeanors, the degradation of the poor, and racism must be confronted as the most crucial, most pressing problems of the day. (Cottle, 1974, p. 149)

Emerging from the social and civil rights movements of the previous decades, professionals began to promote child advocacy groups as a way to reconcile the power imbalance between school staff and students or their parents (Haralson, 1979; Kaestle, 1978). One of the main targets of this activism was school discipline itself where greater monitoring was considered necessary to “[challenge] those actions perceived as unfair or discriminatory” (Haralson, 1979, p. 529). Furthermore, as Haralson states, “perhaps no other issue figures as prominently in the formation of school advocacy groups as that of student exclusion” (p. 533). Suspension and expulsion were thought to be utilized disproportionately against the poor and, in desegregated schools, against black students because they did not conform to the white, middle-class “value orientations” (p. 534). In addition, advocacy also focused on special education given the recent passage of laws related to handicapped children, inclusivity, and the creation of individualized education programs (IEP). While scholars were uncertain whether classism, racism, or other biases were actually at work, these concerns, in part fueled by the legal ramifications from the Supreme Court, now extended a set of defensible rights to all children.

One such advocacy group, the Children’s Defense Fund (CDF), capitalized on data provided by the USDOHEW’s Office for Civil Rights (OCR) that was collected to monitor issues related to school desegregation and civil rights compliances beginning in 1968. Using figures from the 1972-1973 school year, which was the first time the survey included questions regarding suspensions, the CDF assembled the most extensive national evaluation of school suspension ever conducted, remarking that:

Until only a few years ago school exclusionary devices such as suspensions were invisible. Neither the federal, state, nor local governments had any idea how many children were suspended. Even school superintendents were often ignorant of the extent

of this practice in their own districts. Suspension was an administrative process so discretionary and so informal that it was hidden inside the offices of individual principals and sometimes inside the classes of individual teachers. (CDF, 1975, p. 55)¹⁴

Their quantitative analysis included government data from 2,862 school districts encompassing 27,310 elementary schools and 11,556 secondary schools throughout the country. Although not a random sample, approximately 24 million children were captured in the survey, primarily from large cities, representing 53% of the nation's total enrollment and 86% of its minority student population. The findings from the study indicated that "one in every 24 children" or about 4.2% of students were suspended at least once during the school year (p. 10). However, this was driven primarily by suspensions in secondary schools where 8% of students had been suspended compared to only 1% at the elementary level. The average length of a suspension for both school types, nonetheless, was similar at four days long. Interestingly, there was great variation across states in the percentage of students suspended. For instance, Rhode Island suspended 8.8% of students, while California suspended 4%, and Arizona only 1% indicating that different district policies, administrator decision-making, or student behavioral patterns may be at work. Indeed, even within states, some individual counties that shared similar demographics still showed vast dissimilarities in rates of suspension by nearly 10%. Given these inconsistencies, the CDF concluded that rather than representing a justified disciplinary tool, suspensions were being used indiscriminately, resulting in great harm to America's schoolchildren.

Alongside this data, the CDF had previously conducted their own door-to-door survey in 30 census areas across 9 states and the District of Columbia to identify the reasons why students

¹⁴ This document is also cited in later scholarly work as Edelman et al. (1975) after the study's leading director.

were not enrolled in school (CDF, 1974). This household survey collected information on 7,483 children and the disciplinary policies and practices of the school districts they attended, including qualitative interviews with teachers, counselors, and other officials. Taken together, this supplementary information revealed that nearly two-thirds of suspensions were issued for “nondangerous, nonviolent offenses” that were simple rule infractions such as truancy, smoking, behavioral problems (i.e., “acting out,” insubordination), argumentativeness, and cutting class (p. 9). The other third involved fighting, mostly directed towards other students at school. As a result, the CDF remarked that suspensions were “imposed arbitrarily” and that “the great majority of suspensions do not serve any demonstrated valid interests of children or schools” (p. 9). Taking the position that suspensions were unnecessary, especially given the potential for alternative methods, they argued further that suspensions “harm the children involved and jeopardize their prospects for securing a decent education,” resulting in them being placed in the streets and dropping out of school (pp. 9-10). Their data also showed that 40% of children in their survey had been suspended twice and 24% had been suspended three times or more—this effect of multiple suspensions, moreover, occurred 42% of the time with black students, but only 27% of the time with white students. Additionally, boys and poor children receiving public assistance were more likely to be suspended as were those living in a single-parent, female-headed household. Most notably, however, was the racial disparity between black and white children. While whites, as a group, received more suspensions, blacks were clearly receiving a disproportionate share of punishment. According to the government data, which corresponded with the CDF survey, overall, blacks were twice as likely as whites to be suspended (6% vs 3.1%). This effect was also more pronounced during elementary school (1.5% vs. 0.5%) than during secondary school (11.8% vs. 6%). Alarmed by these findings, the CDF devoted an entire

chapter to addressing the prospect of “racial discrimination in the discipline process,” the inability of school staff to respond to the needs of minority students, and urged swift federal action for the “adoption and enforcement” of a civil rights compliance program (pp. 72-73).¹⁵

Following the CDF’s warning, Neill (1976) wrote a special report identifying the main questions that had been raised as a result of their publication and the current legal controversies surrounding exclusionary discipline. For instance, educators were concerned about what role they played in the suspension disparity between black and white children. Did a “cultural conflict” exist between teachers from middle-class backgrounds and their lower income students (p. 13)? Were the socioeconomic and family characteristics of the student to blame? And, lastly, was the disparity a result of more misbehavior among black students or was it caused by racial discrimination? Advocacy groups argued that institutional racism was at the heart of the issue and disagreed that black students engaged in more misbehavior. Their assertions were undoubtedly reflective of the historical injustices perpetrated against the black population in the United States after the end of slavery. Tyack (1972) recounts that although some Northern cities had permitted the racial desegregation of schools prior to the Civil War, the reigning doctrine of “separate but equal” meant that most blacks ultimately lived under a caste system. However, many black communities thrived even in these segregated conditions, generating teachers and creating their own schools. Remarkably, in just a few short generations removed from slavery, blacks had achieved a 90% literacy rate by 1940.

¹⁵ While the CDF (1975) did not present data on any potential racial disparities in expulsions, they state that “the use of expulsion does not appear in OCR data to be as striking as the suspension problem” (p. 172). However, they argue that long-term suspensions, including those that result in school dropout, may nonetheless function in the same way as expulsion.

In fact, due to their autonomous political power, not all blacks were supportive of integration, including teachers who feared being replaced by whites in a consolidated education system. Thus, given their important status as racial role models, some actively resisted desegregation prior to the twentieth century:

In some cities blacks argued for separate but equal schools, maintaining that such systems offered opportunities for Negroes to obtain good jobs and claiming that black children in mixed schools suffered from the insults of white children and the cruelty and bias of white teachers. (Tyack, 1972, p. 77)

Raichle (1977), for example, notes that before World War II, “the black child was not a major discipline problem” and, from the limited evidence, appeared to receive fewer instances of corporal punishment than white students, per capita (p. 80). Still, even if educated, there were insufficient employment prospects for blacks and their schools and teachers were woefully underfunded (Tyack, 1972). Although progress was being made, in 1930 the amount of money spent on a black child’s education “was still about one-fourth that for whites” (Newbold, 1928; Raichle, 1977, p. 80). Consequently, despite black children being overrepresented in delinquency by a factor of three, scholars like Kvaraceus (1945) attributed this “to the cultural and economic disadvantages under which the Negro people generally live” (p. 81). Unravelling disciplinary disparities of the time is difficult, with some studies suggesting that administrators recognized a greater frequency of major offenses (e.g., fighting, stealing, insubordination) occurring in black schools (Shell, 1934) and others reporting no differences in misconduct or in the types of exclusionary punishment administered (Kingston & Gentry, 1961).

In either case, the prevailing sentiment among educators of the 1970s was that there was not enough evidence to make a convincing case as to the true cause of such disparities, only that

such trends were worrying (Neill, 1976). Moreover, the executive director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, Owen Kiernan, criticized the assumptions of the CDF's report stating, "despite repeated suggestions to the contrary, it is not our experience that the first impulse of administrators faced with problems of student conduct is to suspend or expel the students" (as cited in Neill, 1976, pp. 14-15). Indeed, Kiernan asserted that the reason the majority of students were suspended for minor, non-violent behaviors was because they were repeat offenders, remarking that "the suspension is imposed because of the pupil's demonstrated refusal to comply with school rules, rather than the violation itself" (as cited in Neill, 1976, p. 15). Beyond this, Kiernan (1975), in a testimony to a Congressional sub-committee on juvenile delinquency, emphasized what he termed the "frightening growth" of misbehavior in America's schools (p. 1). Further, he stated, that despite the progressive school reforms of recent memory, "violence and vandalism have moved, just in one decade, from being an ancillary and occasional problem in the life of the secondary school principal to a position of oppressive and ever-present dominance" (p. 1). Kiernan blamed the rising nationwide crime rate, the overburdened court system, parental indifference, and the lack of controls placed on youth for this problem. Additionally, he foresaw the need for more security officers who were trained "jointly by school personnel and by the juvenile officers of the departments of local police," new security devices, and judicial reform for crimes occurring within the school (p. 8). Similarly, Duke (1980) predicted the coming years would give way to more rules and harsher punishments in schools as a result of the increasing levels of violence. Thereby providing teachers an easier pathway to

suspending and expelling troublesome students, as well as encompassing a greater role played by the courts and law enforcement in cases of actual criminal behavior at school.¹⁶

Establishing Zero Tolerance

During the early 1970s, approximately 40% of elementary schools used suspension as a disciplinary measure compared to 86% of secondary schools throughout the country (Kaesar, 1979). It was clear that the prevalence of exclusionary discipline was growing, but some questioned whether this was warranted. Using data from 82 school districts in Ohio during the 1977-1978 school year, encompassing over 400,000 students, Kaesar (1979) examined the types of offenses that had resulted in a suspension across secondary schools. In the first semester, roughly 7,000 suspensions were issued with attendance or truancy issues accounting for one-third of the total. The next largest categories were assault or abusive language with 28%, disruption and disobedience at 27%, and the remaining 10% consisting mostly of drug or alcohol violations. In addition, similar to the CDF (1975) study, individual schools differed in their rates of suspension by as much as 70% and racial disparities were present in most districts.

Accordingly, Kaesar (1979) states that “suspension in many cases is used out of frustration or convenience” and because it is an easy and immediate solution (p. 481). Moreover, she remarks that “many educators defend suspension because, although it fails to change behavior, it is successful at catching the attention of the parent” (p. 482). This reasoning, however, she rejects and ascribes instead to an overreliance on discipline, weak leadership, uncreative administrators,

¹⁶ Government reports of the time estimated that a minimum of 157,000 incidents of crime and disruption occurred in American schools each month with 8% of all schools being seriously affected by disorder. Moreover, the risk of assault and robbery to urban children was greater in school than out and, for overall crime, three times higher than that of rural children. While projections indicated that crime rates in schools since the 1960s “have leveled off, and there are some hints of a decline,” this prediction would be short-lived (USDOHEW, 1978, p. 74).

and poor parent-teacher relationships. Concerning the potential alternatives to suspension, she quotes a dismissive principal who comments to her that “there are no new solutions” and Kaesar (1979) responds tersely:

That is precisely the point. There is nothing new which will solve the old problem of how to discipline students. Rather, most change depends on taking a long, hard look at what goes on inside schools and what can be done to make them more successful at their job of educating. (pp. 480-481)

Nevertheless, the practicality of exclusionary discipline made it “an administratively efficient way to handle large numbers of disruptive youths” during the population boom throughout 1946 and 1964 (Adams, 2000, p. 144). As previously discussed, juvenile crime was on the rise as was the development of the modern school which could often house hundreds or thousands of students per institution. These increasing enrollment numbers forced educators to adopt a philosophy of incapacitation toward incorrigibles, mirroring the incarceration of violent criminals, in order to “[offer] protection to the larger student body” (p. 145). As Adams (2000) notes, suspensions and expulsions “provided administrators with a sense of control over the uncontrollable” (p. 145). Of course, the overuse of exclusionary discipline eventually resulted in legal challenges, due process rights, and lawsuits that necessitated the development of an alternative method of control. Thus, the most commonly chosen substitute was the in-school suspension which avoided most concerns over litigation (Garibaldi, 1979; Neilsen, 1979). The rationale behind the use of this method was clear as schools realized that excluding students for minor misbehaviors, like truancy and disrespect, was counterproductive and ineffective. That is, these students were likely to subsequently become involved in worse delinquency outside the school in the streets of their community. Moreover, suspension rarely addressed any of the

underlying issues necessary to correct student behavior—concepts that had been well understood prior to the twentieth century (Abbott, 1834; Mizell, 1978; Morehouse, 1914; White, 1893). The goal, therefore, was to keep the student under the influence of the school where these problems could be better addressed.

While initial experiments met with some success in reducing suspensions (Harvey & Moosha, 1977), the reality was that not all in-school alternatives met the high standards necessary to solve the disciplinary problem completely (Short & Noblit, 1985). Mizell's (1978) ideal program involved a screening process, an official referral, a separate facility, additional staff certified in special services, counseling, coordination with community-based agencies, recordkeeping, follow-up, and parental involvement. Such a placement could also range from a single class period to multiple weeks, if necessary. Unfortunately, as Adams (2000) remarks, the lack of funding, training, and overall commitment meant that in-school suspensions did not turn out to be “the panacea they were once expected to be” and, in some cases, operated merely as a detention hall or holding cell in a vacant room (p. 146). While a study of over 1,300 students by Mendez and Sanders (1981) showed that in-school suspensions could improve graduation rates, they had no effect on truancy or attendance, and recidivism back into the program was near 50%. Indeed, despite these benevolent aims, Garibaldi (1979) also recognized that in-school suspensions “should not be seen as the answer to all classroom or discipline problems” and that out-of-school “suspensions will be necessary sometimes” (p. 102). Furthermore, there were concerns that in-school suspensions circumvented due process rights while still funneling minorities and disadvantaged students into isolated, less pedagogical classrooms which contributed to a “prison atmosphere” in the school (p. 102). Although the use of in-school alternatives was widespread, served to deter misconduct, and improved outcomes for some

referred children, there were drawbacks. For instance, Neill (1976) notes that the programs frequently became “catch-alls” for misbehavior instead of their intended purpose and that “undesirable results” occurred when similar offenders were housed together in the same room (p. 47).

Entering the 1980s and 1990s, the explosive growth of crime and delinquency that scholars had warned about finally came into fruition (Duke, 1980; Kiernan, 1975). During the decade of the 1980s, murder increased 87%, aggravated assault by 64%, drug crime soared, and “one-half of all violent crimes against teenagers occurred in school buildings” or on the surrounding property (Gold & Chamberlin, 1996, p. 28). Juvenile crime played a critical role in this upsurge as their arrest rate for murder grew 167% between 1984 and 1993. Had these dire trends continued unabated into the twenty-first century, Butts and Travis (2002) assert retrospectively, “it would have caused a national crisis” (p. 2). Additionally, some studies reported that fighting, disrespectful behavior, and substance abuse were becoming more frequent concerns within schools than they had been since the 1960s (Weber & Sloan, 1986). This resulted in a perceived epidemic of hostile, antisocial school violence that naturally “[reflected] the aggression prevalent within our society” (Gold & Chamberlin, 1996, p. 28). In response, schools began embracing “a get-tough approach” focused on detection and immediate punishment to combat school disruption (Adams, 2000, p. 147). Detection involved proactive surveillance whether through hall monitors, security guards, police, cameras, searches, metal detectors, and various other techniques that further contributed to a “prisonlike” approach (Adams, 2000, p. 147; Burton, 2016). The second aspect, punishment, was a return to the strict policies of exclusionary discipline when “even a mild threat or act of violence is involved, even on a first offense, regardless of the student’s record of conduct” (Kingery, 2000, p. 1). This later

concept, known better as *zero tolerance*, “grew out of state and federal drug enforcement policies,” the military, and customs border agencies where it was imported into schools to combat violence and disorder (Skiba & Peterson, 1999, p. 1).

Although policies differed across school districts, there was a general theme that zero tolerance primarily targeted weapons possession (e.g., guns, knives), drug or alcohol violations, and physical fighting. Additionally, schools also used zero tolerance as a way to stifle gang participation by stringently enforcing the dress code amongst other disruptive or subjective activity (Gold & Chamberlin, 1996; Kingery, 2000; Skiba & Peterson, 1999). Indeed, as Skiba and Peterson (1999) remarked, there appeared to be a haphazard attitude toward enforcement where “infractions that fall under the rubric of zero tolerance seem to multiply as the definition of what will not be tolerated expands” (p. 3). Students punished under this policy were often met with longer, mandatory suspensions and more frequent expulsions, especially for weapon use or possession (Stone, 1993). For instance, in 1994, the federal government passed the Gun-Free Schools Act that compelled “each state receiving federal funds to have in effect a state law requiring local educational agencies to expel, for at least one year, any student” who was found to have brought a firearm onto school grounds (Cerrone, 1999, p. 163). Moreover, this legislation did not extend any due process provisions to students thereby confusing previous legal precedents and absolving schools of their former responsibility. As a result, some students were excluded for incidents that “[bordered] on the ridiculous” such as playing with plastic toy guns, accidentally bringing a kitchen knife to school, or carrying a water pistol with no available means to appeal their sentence (p. 176).

Early studies, such as those conducted by Burke and Herbert (1996), showed that a zero tolerance approach toward fighting, resulting in immediate expulsion, could dramatically reduce

its occurrence in a single high school from nearly 200 cases a year to only four. Similar efforts, magnified by the prominent tragedies of school shootings in the late 1990s, only served to fuel the expansion of safe school laws and zero tolerance policies across the nation (Gold & Chamberlin, 1996; Skiba & Peterson, 1999). Unsurprisingly, from the start to the end of the 1990s, “the number of expulsions [had] more than doubled” with some specific locations reporting an “eight-fold increase” and similar accompanying trends for suspensions (Kingery, 2000, pp. 2, 5; Morrison, D’Incau, Couto, & Loose, 1997). Compounding this was an educational shift toward college readiness which sought to raise the standards in high school preparation and graduation (McDill, Natriello, & Pallas, 1986). Disadvantaged students, whether intellectually, socioeconomically, or often both, were being placed at an increased risk of academic failure—a failure that could also strain a student’s bond or commitment to the school. Thus, such students were more likely to become truant, chronically absent, withdraw, dropout, exhibit behavioral problems, or be “pushed-out” by frustrated school staff. This later tactic was regularly used to get rid of persistent “troublemakers” with a prior record of disruptive classroom behavior (Bowditch, 1993). While troublemakers could certainly be suspended or expelled, they could also be transferred to an alternative school. When asked by Bowditch if such methods actually resulted in a favorable outcome, a school official responded, “They help this school. They don’t help the kid. But then, you can’t do anything with those kids, anyway” (p. 504).

However, throughout the late 1990s and into the 2000s, criminal victimization in and around schools followed a national downward trend (Cook, Gottfredson, & Na, 2010). Whereas 12% of students feared being attacked or harmed at school in 1995, now only 5% felt threatened by 2007. Still, crime remained higher in middle schools as opposed to elementary or high schools, in urban communities, and in schools with a majority of non-white, minority students. In

addition, new federal education regulations like the No Child Left Behind Act, passed in 2002, “[stipulated] that school systems must have programs in place to reduce levels of violence” (p. 318). According to a review of school crime statistics, Cook et al. (2010) note that prevention remained a serious concern for high schools as 72% utilized security officers, 61% drug-sniffing dogs for random checks, and 11% had metal detectors—detection efforts that were further enhanced by zero tolerance policies and referrals to the criminal justice system. Although the declining crime rates outside of schools occurred simultaneously, making causal inferences difficult, Cook et al. (2010) state that, “clearly, removing troublemakers from school helps to maintain an environment more suitable for learning for the remaining students” (p. 372). Yet there were several dissenting voices questioning whether zero tolerance policies had done more harm than good by not targeting the root issues of juvenile disorder and by not considering the lasting effects of such discipline on the offender or society. For instance, Skiba and Peterson (1999) wrote admonishingly that the true effectiveness of zero tolerance on delinquency was largely unknown, seemingly negligible, and potentially detrimental:

In choosing control and exclusion as our preferred methods of dealing with school disruption, even as we refrain from positive interventions, we increase the likelihood that the correctional system will become the primary agency responsible for troubled youths. Ultimately, as we commit ourselves to increasingly draconian policies of school discipline, we may also need to resign ourselves to increasingly joyless schools, increasingly unsafe streets, and dramatically increasing expenditures for detention centers and prisons. (p. 9)

Horace Mann’s (1841b) prophetic warning was finally at hand.

The School-to-Prison Pipeline

The use of zero tolerance policies, Cook et al. (2010) remark, “increased suspensions and expulsions, referred more crimes to the juvenile justice system, and generally ‘criminalized’ behavior that used to be dealt with internally and less formally” (p. 386). Additionally, instead of reserving exclusionary discipline “for the most egregious acts and for repeat offenders,” there had been a tendency to utilize it in order to punish “types of students” rather than “types of behavior” (Bowditch, 1993, p. 500; Kingery, 2000, p. 12). This particular focus on supposed troublemakers, Adams (2000) notes, “seems to parallel economic divisions, which, in turn, are associated with race,” especially in the inner-city where delinquents in the community import a greater amount of misbehavior into the school (p. 149). As a result, “the school may become progressively more chaotic” if it is overloaded with deviant youth who “amplify the problem” through their “negative influence” on the overall student body (Cook et al., 2010, p. 387). Thus, while this may have explained why some unsafe, urban schools engaged in the more extreme measures of zero tolerance, there remained a growing concern that these policies were not only ineffective, but also resulting in the disproportionate suspension of black students by a two to three margin difference compared to whites (Skiba & Peterson, 1999; Stone, 1993).

Historically, initial studies attempting to clarify the nature of this disparity began using correlational and multivariate analyses to pinpoint the variables that were associated with school exclusion. Wu, Pink, Crain, and Moles (1982), for instance, evaluated a national sample of 641 schools, containing over 30,000 students and their teachers from the government’s Safe School Study conducted in 1976. Although a measure of a child’s antisocial attitude was significantly related to suspension, so too were measures of a teacher’s lack of interest in pupils and their belief that the student body was incompetent. In addition, schools with a centralized

administration for disciplinary matters and a greater percentage of low-ability students were significantly associated with suspensions which the authors state may reflect a potential “academic bias” against poorly performing students (Wu et al., 1982, p. 266). However, despite these controls, non-white students, primarily blacks, were still suspended disproportionately. In conclusion, Wu et al. suggest that rather than focusing merely on individual misbehavior, future research should consider the “complex of factors grounded in the way schools operate,” including investigations into racial discrimination (p. 245). Analogous findings were also reported in a longitudinal sample of nearly 1,000 students from a single city by McCarthy and Hoge (1987) that examined disciplinary sanctioning. While race was not consistently found to be significant in their study, they argued that race operated indirectly through the convergence of student delinquency, demeanor, academic performance, and past punishment—all indicators on which black students performed worse than whites on in the aggregate—to produce biased outcomes even under supposed, non-discriminatory “universalistic norms” of school conduct. This process, they state, “perpetuates social disadvantage” and could indicate the presence of “institutional discrimination” (p. 1117).

Early qualitative assessments of inner-city black students found that they often viewed teachers as disciplinarians, their interactions as hostile or disapproving, and increasingly negative at higher grade levels where “order and control is the primary aim of schools in culturally deprived areas” (Lefevre, 1966, p. 15). Bennett and Harris (1982) conducted an evaluation of approximately 2,000 students, their parents, and school officials across eleven high schools to determine where racial disparities in “serious disrupters” were most common. Using indices to measure the interracial climate, they reported that in some schools where the support for an inclusive, desegregated environment was lower and where “white predominance” was higher,

there was a greater disproportionality in the number of disruptive black students (p. 418). Moreover, anonymous surveys of teachers showcased that many viewed desegregation unfavorably, would not live in mixed race neighborhoods, did not support interracial marriage, and regarded white students as academically superior. Taking a broader perspective, Bennett and Harris (1982) state that racial disparities in school discipline may result from “an overall orientation of White predominance which includes institutional and individual racism” (p. 420). However, in contrast to these allegations, the early studies by McCarthy and Hoge (1987), where the majority of teachers and administrators were black, and in Wu et al. (1982) it was noted that black students “were not *necessarily* better off with minority teachers” when it came to being disciplined with suspension (p. 270, emphasis in original).

Similarly, the notion that teachers and administrators actively, and perhaps knowingly, discriminated against black students was challenged by Yudof (1975) in an astute legal analysis on desegregation. He believed that the rate of serious misconduct (e.g., fighting, weapon possession, drug use) among whites and blacks was likely to be relatively equal at school. Conversely, he inferred that the more minor incivilities, like those that had been noted by the CDF (1975), such as truancy, disruption, and disrespect, were probably higher among black children and, thus, responsible for the greater amount of exclusionary discipline occurring against them. This ostensible cultural clash, Yudof (1975) notes, was being exacerbated by the forced busing of black students into unfamiliar white, middle-class neighborhoods where they found themselves inadvertently challenging the more rigid authority and structured timeliness of white society:

In short, they have assertedly engaged in institutionally inappropriate behavior, disregarding the “hidden curriculum” or values underlying institutional public schooling.

When a black student or parent refers to “institutional racism,” he is making reference to these institutional rules. He is arguing, in effect, that the institution has an obligation to alter its rules to make them less arbitrary and more consistent with the behavior patterns among blacks. An institution which consciously applies rules which systematically disfavor blacks is a “racist institution.” On the other hand, when a white student or parent argues for the need for discipline, he is implicitly sanctioning the system of institutional rules, and maintaining that black children must learn to adapt to that system.... The problem is inherently cultural. As Professor Bowles and others have pointed out, socialization to such values as the need for decorum, delayed gratification, obedience to authority, and punctuality are closely related to the demands that an industrialized society makes on its citizens in the work force. Black children are subjected, like white children, to a system of rewards and punishments which furthers these values of the industrial society. (Yudof, 1975, pp. 386-387)

While Yudof (1975) acknowledged the complexity of these racially-charged issues and recognized the role of poverty in the black community, he nonetheless asserted that “approaches premised on simplistic notions of personal or institutional racism are just that—simplistic” (p. 389). Furthermore, he reasoned that disciplinary disparities would most likely be found in institutions applying a subjective criteria to schooling rather than those imposing rigid, “traditional values” (e.g., zero tolerance) since there would be less variation in the latter’s enforcement ability (p. 387). The failure to understand these principles or hastily labelling the educational system racist, he warned, “does a grave injustice; for it fails to analyze the legitimacy of the socialization process, and the values inherent” to the public school. To conclude, he remarks that “unequal results do not necessarily reflect unfair rules and procedures”

and that misguided attempts to purge the so-called “hidden curriculum” from schools would, in effect, destroy the fundamental concept and purpose of the school itself in preparing children for modern civilization (p. 389).

Despite these decades-old caveats, the narrative among many scholars in recent times has continued to emphasize concerns over racial discrimination in education. Such an instructive example is a collection of essays arranged by Johnson, Boyden, and Pittz (2001) to discuss matters related to zero tolerance policies, “extreme security measures,” “high-stakes testing,” and “the racial profiling of students of color” at school (p. 5). Additionally, the introduction by Cross (2001) makes an explicit reference to “white privilege” as a causative factor in the oppression of minority groups in education, stating that “an invisible system of unearned privilege and power operates to maintain institutional racism and to assure that its cultural workers (educational professionals and systems) carry out this function” to the benefit of white children (p. 6). For instance, she remarks that standardized tests “derive from racist origins” and are “founded on the racist notion that intelligence is genetically determined by race,” leading to inequality in academic outcomes and, subsequently, state funding (p. 10).¹⁷ Following these arguments, Cross (2001) next turns her attention to disciplinary disparities, noting that by 1996 approximately 90% of schools had a zero tolerance policy for weapons possession, drug or alcohol use, and, to a lesser extent, fighting. The result of these policies, she argues, was that while black children were 17.1% of the United States’ student population, they ended up representing 32.7% of those suspended in the country; conversely, white children composed 62.7% of students, but only 49.8% of the suspensions—a clear discrepancy. Skiba and Leone (2001) also warned that there

¹⁷ Although the authors in Johnson et al. (2001) acknowledge that Asian youth “appear to be doing about as well as white students—and better than white students in math” they caution that Southeast Asian students, specifically, do not conform to this “model minority myth” and remain among the lowest-performing in some school districts across the country (Cross, 2001, p. 13; Mizell, 2001, p. 30).

may be racial inequities in the application of invasive school security measures in which “urban, predominately minority schools” receive the brunt of their negative influences, such as law enforcement involvement, reinforcing “the sense of school as a prison” (p. 36). The establishment of these “maximum-security schools,” Cross (2001) asserts, contributes to academic disadvantage, suspension, school dropout, and is “a determining factor in whether or not a student is placed on the *prison track*” (p. 14, emphasis added). This perspective suggested that “the mass incarceration of people of color” is, at its core, a direct result of “the lack of quality education available to youth of color” combined “with the increased likelihood of them being targeted by the criminal justice system” through punitive and discriminatory school disciplinary policies (p. 18).

Two years later, Wald and Losen (2003) would expand on the term “prison track” and further clarify its implications that some children, particularly minorities, were being diverted down a different educational pathway. For example, they noted that the national growth in yearly suspensions from 1972 to 2000 had increased from 3% to 5% for whites, but risen from 6% to 13% for black students. Alongside this, they identified racial disparities in juvenile justice outcomes where black youth were six times more likely and Latino youth three times more likely than whites to be incarcerated for the same offense. Linking together the proliferation of zero tolerance policies in schools, the harsher sanctions employed in juvenile courts, including those used for non-violent offenses, and record rates of imprisonment led the authors to conclude that “the racial disparities within the two systems are so similar—and so glaring—that it becomes impossible not to connect them” (p. 11). As a result, they state that “adult prisons and juvenile halls are riddled with children who have traveled through the *school-to-prison pipeline*” (p. 11, emphasis added). They describe this theorized journey within the pipeline in specific detail:

Many will be taught by unqualified teachers, tested on material they never reviewed, held back in grade, placed in restrictive special education programs, repeatedly suspended, and banished to alternative out-placements before dropping or getting pushed out of school altogether. Without a safety net, the likelihood that these same youths will wind up arrested and incarcerated increases sharply. (Wald & Losen, 2003, p. 11)

Their objective was to place pressure on educators so that they moved beyond the rhetoric of simply “getting the disruptive kids out of class” and focusing, instead, on behavioral interventions, at-risk programming, school reentry, and the vulnerability of disabled or racial minority students (Wald & Losen, 2003, p. 14). Likewise, other scholars have warned about a “cradle to prison pipeline” that neglects to provide impoverished children with adequate healthcare or mental health treatment, leading to a multitude of symptomatic misbehaviors at school, suspension, unemployment, crime, and, finally, incarceration (Edelman, 2007, p. 1). Noting these statistical associations, the United States Department of Justice and the Department of Education issued a joint declaration to examine school disciplinary practices, to ensure compliance with civil rights legislation, and to promote a climate for safe learning (Holder & Duncan, 2011).

Consequently, the “school-to-prison pipeline” has become an organizing framework from which disciplinary differentials are understood. While no single definition of the pipeline exists, several recurrent themes have begun to develop in the literature (Skiba, Arredondo, & Williams, 2014a). According to this line of research, students are often met with the widespread and systematic use of exclusionary school discipline as punishment for school infractions which removes them from the classroom environment or involves them with the juvenile justice system (Gordon, Della Piana, & Keleher, 2000; Krezmien, Leone, & Wilson, 2014). Direct contact with

the court system may result from the commission of serious crimes, but can also be influenced by the increasing presence of school resource officers and their ability to arrest students for a wide range of minor offenses (Wolf, 2014). Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the “school-to-prison pipeline” disproportionately involves students of color and that school officials may treat the misbehaviors of black and other minority students more harshly, in part, because they hold negative stereotypes of non-white youth (Casella, 2003; James, 2012; Lewis, Butler, Bonner, & Joubert, 2010; Rudd, 2014; Skiba et al., 2011). Limited qualitative assessments suggest that students of color may feel disrespected by teachers exercising their authority over them and view classroom rules as being unfairly applied (Sheets, 1996). This resulting cultural mismatch with traditionally white, middle-class values in the school system can lead to harsher sanctions and punishments for minorities, regardless of whether the teacher is of the same race or ethnicity as the student (Moore, 2002; Monroe, 2005; Raible & Irizarry, 2010).¹⁸ Critical theorists have also argued that the pipeline is simply an extension of the “prison-industrial complex” intended to empower whites while disenfranchising people of color (Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin, & Bennett-Haron, 2014; McGrew, 2016). This structural oppression, some contend, may even be an outcome of “good faith” criminological initiatives, training, and education that further serves to legitimize discrimination (Schept, Wall, & Brisman, 2015). Either way, once marginalized, the long-term repercussions for students on the pipeline path are grim, resulting in, “a host of negative developmental consequences, including diminished academic success and disengagement from school” (Rocque & Paternoster, 2011, p. 637).

¹⁸ However, the evidence is mixed and, in some cases, demonstrates that black teachers may punish black students more severely than white teachers (Bradshaw, Mitchell, O’Brennan, & Leaf, 2010; Gilliam, Maupin, Reyes, Accavitti, & Shic, 2016; Wu et al., 1982). This suggests that race-matching is not a viable solution to reducing disciplinary disparities.

Recent Developments and Research

Several competing theoretical models have been developed over the last few years in an attempt to explain the origin, associated factors, and causes behind the “school-to-prison pipeline.” Hirschfield (2008), for instance, recognized what he saw as the criminalization of students through the “incorporation of a crime control paradigm” that mirrored the broader approaches used in the juvenile courts and by law enforcement (p. 94). To that point, McCarthy and Hoge (1987) and Townsend (2000) had previously argued that because black children, and especially those from impoverished areas, frequently enter the classroom academically and behaviorally disadvantaged, teachers and administrators may perceive them as requiring greater scrutiny and control. Correspondingly, Rocque and Snellings (2017) reasoned that the pipeline was an outgrowth of “risk management” principles wherein certain student population groups, often racial minorities, were excluded from the classroom because they “present the most danger to the purported goals of education” (p. 7). This “new disciplinology,” they put forth, bears similarities to the incapacitation of adult offenders in society and has, as a result, “made it easier for schools to rid themselves of students who are not likely to succeed” (p. 5). However, while these concepts appear to be relatively recent occurrences, Burton (2016) has provided historical evidence that, rather than representing a new educational phenomenon, security cameras, school resource officers, zero tolerance policies, and other innovative technologies are simply a “logical extension in the age of modern policing” continuing since their precursory implementation in the early 1920s (p. 15). Still, concerns persist among many scholars centered on allegations of bias or discrimination in the educational process; thus, race remains a core component of understanding the pathways linking school discipline to later imprisonment.

Welch (2017), for example, has written that “because of the stereotype of blacks as criminals, school policymakers may sense a greater risk that needs managing when schools are populated by a proportionally larger number of black students”—a perspective known as the racial threat hypothesis (p. 3). In addition, Welch notes that this perceived threat can be extended to other non-white minority groups, primarily Hispanics, in order to exert formal social control in a purposeful manner. That is, rather than being a passive, inadvertent result of “get-tough” policies or risk management run amok, racial threat implies a latent racial animus that exists in a zero-sum “racial competition for limited financial and political resources” (p. 3). Empirical evidence appears to somewhat support this possibility as relative increases in black or Hispanic student enrollment in a school has been found to be a robust predictor of higher suspension or expulsion rates, a greater variety of school security measures, and the use of punitive disciplinary policies like zero tolerance (Mowen & Parker, 2014; Payne & Welch, 2010; Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, & Ferron, 2002; Welch & Payne, 2010; Welch & Payne, 2012). Moreover, black students appear to receive more office referrals for subjective misbehaviors such as threats or disrespect compared to whites’ objective misbehaviors such as smoking or vandalism and black and Hispanic children are less likely to receive positive attention from teachers (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002; Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007).¹⁹ To some, such pernicious findings could potentially represent evidence of “systematic racial discrimination” (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2000, p. 16). Conversely, the imposition and proliferation of punitive policies, others have argued, was a measured reaction to the due process movement in student rights during the 1970s that sought to “curb the arbitrary application of exclusionary school punishments and

¹⁹ Teachers, however, were found to hold the highest expectations for Asian students (Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007). Additionally, racial disproportion in subjective versus objective offending was noted decades earlier by Lloyd Henderson, a former OCR director, as a potential finding that would suggest “changes must be made” in exclusionary disciplinary policies were it confirmed to exist (as cited in Neill, 1976, p. 17).

press for greater codification and standardization of disciplinary procedures” (Hirschfield, 2008, p. 9; Toby, 1998). Accordingly, teachers and administrators, fearful of legal action, saw their classroom authority to punish undermined and began to delegate their powers directly to the criminal justice system “since limiting the involvement of school professionals in the process reduces their vulnerability to litigation” (p. 9).

Aside from this, contemporary research has also begun to investigate the role of differential student behavior across racial or ethnic groups as an important factor not only in accounting for racial disparities, but also for explaining subsequent criminality (Hinjosa, 2008; Lynn, 2009; Rocque & Paternoster, 2011). Traditionally, however, studies within the field of education have sometimes deemphasized individual behavior as a relevant explanatory variable in understanding the disciplinary gap (Fenning & Rose, 2007; Skiba & Williams 2014). For instance, as Skiba et al. (2011) remarked:

It is important to note, however, that there is no previous research that we are aware of that explores the association of students’ prior record of school infraction with racial and ethnic disproportionality in school discipline. . . . With no evidence that supports the notion that there are concurrently higher levels of disruption among African American students, we see no reason to presume that disparate rates of discipline between racial and ethnic groups can be explained by differential behavioral histories. (pp. 103-104)

Despite this statement, the literature has identified racial and ethnic differences in self-reported student misbehavior. For example, national-level data on high school students in the 9th to 12th grades from 2005 showed that 43% of blacks, 41% of Hispanics, 33% of whites, and 22% of Asians reported having been involved in a physical fight, anywhere, during the last year. Adjusting for fights specifically on school property, 17% of blacks, 18% of Hispanics, 12% of

whites, and 6% of Asians reported fighting (Dinkes, Cataldi, Lin-Kelly, & Snyder, 2007). Similar numbers were found in a 2007 investigation of high school students where 18% of blacks, 16% of Hispanics, 10% of whites, and 9% of Asians reported fighting on school property (Aud, Fox, & KewalRamani, 2010). These same patterns also coincide with federal crime data on serious and violent juvenile offending (Hawkins, Laub, Lauritsen, & Cothorn, 2000). Additionally, nationwide data on 10th graders from 2001 to 2005 showed that black and Hispanic children were significantly more likely to report bringing a weapon to school than whites, while Hispanics were significantly more likely to report using alcohol or drugs at school—both serious violations that may impose an automatic suspension for districts following a zero tolerance policy (Wallace, Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008).

While the aforementioned offenses are clearly punishable, research suggests that particular transgressions, like those involving aggression or physical violence, place students under closer surveillance by school staff. As a result, they may receive additional office referrals or suspensions for less serious, attitudinal misbehavior in the future (Morrison, Anthony, Storino, & Dillon, 2001). Given that antisocial behavior is likely to manifest early, to occur across contexts, and to persist into adolescence, this may partly explain why minority students would receive more referrals for subjective misbehavior compared to whites, especially if prior problem behavior increases scrutiny by school officials and reduces tolerance for future misconduct (Frick & White, 2008; Tobin, Sugai, & Colvin, 1996). Indeed, Morrison and D’Incau (1997) found that “socialized delinquents” exhibiting repeated, violent, and threatening defiance in the classroom were the most likely youth to be expelled compared to first-time offenders and students with less severe disciplinary histories. Limited research on repeat offending has also shown that the probability of recidivism for a student who has already received a referral during

the same school year is over 70% (Wright & Dusek, 1998). Collectively, these recent empirical studies have reported that the black-white racial gap in school discipline can sometimes be attenuated or even closed using behavioral controls (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Petras, Masyn, Buckley, Ialongo, & Kellam, 2011; Rocque, 2010; Wright, Morgan, Coyne, Beaver, & Barnes, 2014), that the Hispanic-white gap is inconsistent and may not exist (Eitle & Eitle, 2004; Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010b; Skiba et al., 2011; Morgan & Wright, 2017), and that Asian students appear to fair better than whites on disciplinary sanctions in the aggregate (Bal, Betters-Bubon, & Fish, 2017; Krezmien, Leone, & Achilles, 2006; Sullivan, Klingbeil, & Van Norman, 2013).

With the causes of the “school-to-prison pipeline” uncertain and subject to much debate, researchers have naturally turned their attention toward investigating the long-term outcomes and effects of exclusionary discipline on children. Indeed, studies have shown that out-of-school suspension is significantly related to an increased prevalence of arrest for juveniles across the months and years following a suspension in various, large-scale longitudinal samples, including among youth without a prior history of behavioral problems (Cuellar & Markowitz, 2015; Monahan, VanDerhei, Bechtold, & Cauffman, 2014). Furthermore, evidence has been reported associating racial disproportion in suspension with disproportion in juvenile court referrals (Nicholson-Crotty, Birchmeier, & Valentine, 2009). Taken together, these findings suggest that “there is a cumulative effect of school discipline on formal contact with the criminal justice system” even after the student returns back to the school (Mowen & Brent, 2016, p. 19). Specifically, adjudicated youth, upon being released from juvenile placement, will yet again face serious procedural obstacles that can stifle their ability to reintegrate into school, often inevitably leading to dropout (Curtis, 2014; Feierman, Levick, & Mody, 2009). Unsurprisingly, a meta-

analytic review noted that out-of-school suspensions are more strongly associated with poor academic achievement than in-school suspensions, but that “it could be that students who are low achievers, for example, are more likely to misbehave in the classroom” (Noltemeyer, Ward, & McLoughlin, 2015, p. 235). However, some research has established that an excessively higher than normal utilization of exclusionary discipline within schools can result in “collateral consequences” which negatively affects standardized test scores for non-suspended students as well (Perry & Morris, 2014). Lastly, longitudinal studies have shown that suspended students are significantly more likely to engage in illegal activity during adulthood, including serious violent crime, to experience criminal victimization, and to be incarcerated (Katsiyannis, Thompson, Barrett, & Kingree, 2012; Wolf & Kupchik, 2017).

Alternatively, a growing body of evidence is starting to present a more complex picture of the effects of suspension on student body achievement, how mandatory disciplinary policies affect racial disparities, and the role school resource officers play in referrals to the juvenile justice system. For instance, in a six-year longitudinal study of nearly a half million Arkansas students, Anderson, Ritter, and Zamarro (2017) found, surprisingly, that out-of-school suspension exerted a slightly positive, but mostly neutral effect on math and reading test scores even amongst the most highly disciplined students who had been expelled or sent to an alternative learning environment.²⁰ Notably, in an Australian sample of approximately 3,500 youth, analogous findings were reached suggesting “that while suspension is strongly associated with educational outcomes, the relationship is unlikely to be causal, but rather stems from differences in the characteristics of those suspended” (Cobb-Clark, Kassenboehmer, Le, McVicar, & Zhang, 2013, para. 1). Similarly, Kinsler’s (2013) econometric analysis of three,

²⁰ Suspensions longer than ten days were considered expulsions in this study due to Arkansas law.

large school districts in North Carolina concluded that “the threat of suspension deters students from ever committing an infraction, particularly those students who pose the greatest risk for poor behavior”—males, minorities, and children who come from homes with poorly educated parents (p. 382). Moreover, when considering the “spillover effects” of peer misbehavior on other students, he remarks that “missing classroom time as a result of suspension has a negative impact on individual student achievement, but a disruptive environment can significantly affect achievement school-wide” (p. 375). Thus, as a result, “the positive association between racial composition and discipline severity is consistent with achievement maximizing behavior on the part of principals” (p. 382). Understood more simply, teachers and administrators working in schools with a larger proportion of black children encounter more disorder in their attempts to educate students and, therefore, “pursue more stringent discipline policies since the threat of peer misbehavior [to the overall student body’s achievement] is greater and the individual academic costs of the policy [to the misbehaved student] are smaller” (Kinsler, 2013, p. 377).

Regarding policy, Bekkerman and Gilpin (2014), using combined federal data on 3,200 public high schools across four years, reported that states with an above average number of mandatory disciplinary guidelines for severe, felony-level misbehavior in the classroom did not show any racial disproportion in expulsions. Moreover, those states with a below average number of guidelines saw their removal rates rise by 0.15% per 1% increase in the minority student population. Although strict guidelines (i.e., zero tolerance) for criminal misconduct act to “dampen [racial] inconsistencies,” similarly harsh guidelines for less serious, misdemeanor-level delinquency is counterproductive and can actually increase disparity (p. 59). However, in a follow-up study, Bekkerman and Gilpin (2015) found that while schools with a greater black, but not Hispanic student population engage in more punitive discipline, it is not the case that more

lenient schools have a “predominantly white student body or that the toughest punishments occur in schools with a predominantly black student body” (p. 775). It appears, rather, that inconsistent disciplinary procedures are reflective of the inherent problems of schools that are naturally haphazard in disciplinary application. These results parallel those of Kinsler (2011) where racial disparities in referrals were attributable to variation in school-level policy, stating that “student race plays a very small role in principal punishment decisions ... and the cross-school discipline gap between black and white students does not vary with teacher or principal race” (p. 1382). Indeed, the paucity of evidence for the racial threat hypothesis in these aforementioned studies conforms with prior criminological research which has shown “substantial support for the argument that when blacks attend school systems with a higher on average proportion of white students, their rates of subsequent adult incarceration were substantially reduced” (LaFree & Arum, 2006, p. 96).

Concerning the consequences of incorporating the juvenile justice system, Bekkerman and Gilpin (2016) again produce contradictory results that show schools that choose to refer fewer incidents of misconduct to law enforcement agencies end up using more severe and lengthier punishments instead. Additionally, these same schools were more likely to have a greater proportion of students who were minorities, to score at the 15th percentile or lower on standardized tests, and to receive free or reduced lunch. Examining the role of school resource officers over a three-year period, involving approximately 57,000 referrals, including arrests, May, Barranco, Stokes, Robertson, and Haynes (2015) found that these officers “were less likely than law enforcement officers outside of school to refer juveniles for minor offenses” and that they “do not increase the size of the school-to-prison pipeline” (pp. 1, 10). Na and Gottfredson (2013) also reported findings from 470 schools over three years that showed “students in schools

that add police officers are no more likely to be removed, transferred or suspended from school” and that there was “no evidence of adverse impact of police officer presence on minority groups” (p. 642). Similar studies note that crime prevention efforts at schools are effective, but not necessarily “one size fits all” and that racial characteristics or “problems in the larger community” like urbanicity, crime, and gangs are important to consider as well (Crawford & Burns, 2016, p. 474; Kupchik & Ward, 2014; Owens, 2017). As a result, the recent research on school resource officers has produced mixed findings, suggesting that suspect demeanor, the neighborhood, or the institution itself may have a moderating effect (Brown, Novak, & Frank, 2009; Fisher & Hennessy, 2016; Hirschfield, 2017; Nance, 2016; Theriot, 2009). To clarify, as an officer remarked to Casella (2003), “my job is to nip [dangerous behavior] in the bud. We get the bad guys out and keep the good guys in. I guess, in a way, it’s the opposite of prison” (p. 60).

Finally, cross-national studies of thousands of secondary school students from the United States and Australia have shown that school suspension is not predictive of later non-violent antisocial behavior (e.g., stealing, drug dealing, alcohol or drug use) once peer associations were taken into account (Hemphill et al., 2013). Furthermore, aside from school-level factors like student body commitment, some of the strongest predictors of out-of-school suspension are an individual’s propensity for fighting, theft, weapon carrying, rebelliousness, and academic failure (Hemphill, Plenty, Herrenkohl, Toumbourou, & Catalano, 2014). Along these lines, Na’s (2017) analysis of over 1,300 serious adolescent offenders reported that “contrary to many theoretical predictions and empirical patterns observed in the literature” self-reported offending was not increased by school dropout (p. 21). Nevertheless, influential academic and professional groups like the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Psychological Association, and various government agencies continue to decry the use and detrimental effects of zero tolerance policies

and exclusionary school discipline as “of such severity that their application and appropriateness for a developing child require periodic review” (AAP, 2003; AAP, 2013, p. e1000; APA, 2008). Conservative estimates indicate that suspensions may result in more than 67,000 school dropouts per year at a cost of \$35 billion dollars; moreover, scholars have identified recent disproportionate increases in discipline not only amongst minorities, but also the disabled and potentially LGBTQ youth (Losen & Martinez, 2013; McFadden, Marsh, Price, & Hwang, 1992; Rumberger & Losen, 2016; Snapp, Hoenig, Fields, & Russell, 2015). Accordingly, in the face of these “disturbing trends,” particularly in early education settings, the United States Department of Health and Human Services released a joint statement with the Department of Education calling for educators to “work toward eventually eliminating the expulsion and suspension” of young children (USDHHS & USDOE, 2014, p. 1).²¹

Still, as these chapters have demonstrated, it is critical to understand school discipline within a historical perspective as a matter of fostering obedience, promoting socialization, and removing disruptive or predatory youth from the classroom environment. To that end, the earliest estimates of school discipline in the 1970s noted that 4.2% of children nationwide had received an out-of-school suspension (CDF, 1975). Today, that number has increased to 6.4% overall, yet differences do occur across racial or ethnic lines with 15.4% of blacks, 5.9% of Hispanics, 4.3% of whites, and 1.5% of Asian children being suspended within one school year (USDOE, 2017b, p. 194).²² Comparatively, however, the estimated suspension rate in England is near 5% and, despite emphasizing disciplinary methods that are less punitive than the United States, “actual punishments received by students appear to be fairly similar” (Kupchik, Green, & Mowen, 2014,

²¹ This report was targeted toward children ages five or younger, generally including pre-school or kindergarten.

²² Across the entire K-12 journey, national estimates suggest up to 35% of students will be suspended at least once, including 44% of boys and 25% of girls (Shollenberger, 2015).

p. 16). Although rates of expulsion have dropped within the last decade in England to around 0.1% this figure too remains relatively comparable to America's 0.22% rate today. Likewise, in Horace Mann's travels to Europe in the early 1840s, he noted a familiar observation:

In cases of incorrigibleness, expulsion from school was the remedy. One of the school magistrates in Amsterdam, told me that, last year, about five thousand children were taught in the free schools of that city. Of this number, from forty to fifty were expelled for bad conduct. This would be about one per cent. (Mann, 1844, p. 170)

It is a testament, perhaps, to both the consistent nature of youth misbehavior and the necessity with which it must be punished that these disciplinary statistics remain so strikingly similar nearly two-hundred years apart.

In summation, while many voices continue to assert that school disciplinary policies and their related punishments harm students in both the short and long-term, there is an accumulating body of empirical research that suggests otherwise. Moreover, many of these school reform advocates, while well-intentioned, have yet to propose, or even consider, whether effective alternatives to suspension and expulsion exist. "Too often," Bear (2012) writes, "advocates of those alternatives fail to recognize why suspension is valued by educators, while also making the mistake of advocating for alternatives that have their own limitations and share the same aim of suspension—obedience and compliance to adults and rules" (p. 174). Thus, just like the impassioned decline of corporal punishment during the late 1800s and the school teacher's subsequent overreliance on practices of exclusionary discipline, educators are once again grappling with how they are to maintain order in the classroom. Recent qualitative assessments report alarmingly that some educators believe school discipline has "become too lenient," that it has "created a sense of anxiety among staff when disciplinary action [is] administered," and

caused them to be “hesitant to punish students in fear of any repercussions”—fostering a crisis of legitimacy in the school system (Brent, 2017, p. 11; Eden, 2017). For example, when asked why he thought students were misbehaving at his large, “urban” school—which had recently been found to be in violation of state discriminatory discipline practices—a black male teacher responded:

I think because kids are not as dumb as people think they are. They know we can’t really do anything to them so they get the freedom to do whatever they want. They know they aren’t going to be suspended or whatever so they’re like ‘yep I’m doing this and you can’t do shit.’ (Brent, 2017, p. 12)

Students in the modern world now possess a “right” to education and accompanying legal protections from unfair punishments; importantly, however, these newfound civil rights were provided without a corresponding civic responsibility. This is particularly evident in the case of the rebellious, incorrigible student who repeatedly interferes with the learning process of other schoolchildren. Indeed, as Gnagey (1956) remarked decades ago, “juvenile offenders are truants, misfits in school, and find considerable distaste for the school situation.... When all the data are in it seems fallacious to accuse the school of being a major contributor to juvenile delinquency” (pp. 217-218).

Summary

Throughout the early 1900s, the growth of out-of-school suspension and expulsion was fueled by the corresponding decrease in corporal punishment. While teachers generally viewed exclusionary discipline as effective, its somewhat indiscriminate use began to invite legal action

from parents who felt their children deserved to reenter the school. Consequently, the courts slowly carved out disciplinary guidelines and due process entitlements across the 1950s, curbing the authority of the school, and eventually culminating in the students' de facto right to education. This monumental shift also paralleled academic efforts in the attempt to ban the practice of corporal punishment and work by child advocacy groups that sought to empower racial minorities and the socially disadvantaged during the 1970s. This fight for equal rights was driven primarily by the discovery of racial disparities in the use of suspension wherein black students were disciplined at a rate two to three times that of whites. When initial empirical studies were unable to account for the disciplinary gap in multivariate models, concerns were raised that the use of exclusionary discipline could represent systemic racial discrimination. Indeed, the rising crime wave into the 1980s had sparked a reactive approach within schools to "get tough" and use zero tolerance policies to incapacitate disruptive youth. This included the presence of police officers, security cameras, and screening devices that some scholars viewed as contributing to a prison-like atmosphere in the school. Furthermore, the incorporation of the criminal justice system appeared to be diverting minorities away from education and into the "school-to-prison pipeline." However, recent research has begun to critique these assumptions, suggesting that school officials are not biased and that suspended students often have extensive behavioral histories that can account for their punishment. As a result, misguided activism may threaten to delegitimize the school and the fundamental purposes of student discipline.

One of the greatest reasons why *very* BAD boys should be SUSPENDED, is, that, there can *not*, in *any* school, be but a *very few* boys who are *positively* BAD; and therefore, these few should *not* be permitted to *disturb* and *annoy* the other portion of the school. (Cobb, 1847, pp. 158-159, emphasis in original)

The candidates for expulsion will generally be turbulent, refractory scholars; and these are the very ones who most need a subjugation to authority. If they defy the control of the teacher and committee, when young, will they not bid defiance to society and the laws of the land, when old? (Mann, 1841b, p. 66)

CHAPTER 3: THE INCORRIGIBLE STUDENT

The Troublesome Types

Since the late nineteenth century, school officials had recognized truants as a separate category of troublemakers from those students who posed a more serious threat to classroom order—the incorrigible (Cubberley, 1919; Lowry, 1936; USCE, 1889). Throughout the earliest available government reports, reference is made to this “apparently incorrigible pupil ... who, ‘like a hornet in a bee-hive,’ brings consternation to the queen, creates confusion in the swarm, and threatens all with destruction” (USCE, 1889, p. 160). Many anecdotal accounts from superintendents across multiple states converged in their description of this problematic and

psychologically maladjusted student who appeared to be entirely incapable of restraint or reformation:

There is a class of children whose presence among other children or classes demoralizes the school and wears out the patience and strength of teachers beyond all reasonable degree of endurance. Many of this class are marked by a vicious spirit, a reckless license and a gross disrespect for just rights and requirements, amounting to unbearable insolence. The time of children and teachers should not be devoted to these, nor should their malicious and unmanageable examples be tolerated, for it is our duty to shield the other children from such evil influences. (USCE, 1889, p. 219)

Much like Cobb's (1847) warning to parents that they should ensure their children do not associate with delinquent peers, these administrators remarked that well-behaved students should "not be in danger of contamination by [this] vicious element" while at school (USCE, 1889, p. 221). Furthermore, as "the worst class of juvenile offenders, some figuring as petty thieves, burglars, and vagrants," it is clear that the emergent criminal behavior of the incorrigible student underscored the immediate necessity with which they must be removed from the classroom, suspended, expelled, or sent to an alternative school:

It is often the case that a single boy by his repeated acts of disobedience almost monopolizes the time and vitality of the teacher, and thereby deprives the other pupils of the instruction to which they are entitled. Such boys are the *anarchists* of the school community, and should be treated as the worst enemies of its order and welfare.... There can be no worse policy than to let them remain where their presence is a constant injury to others. (USCE, 1889, p. 222, emphasis in original)

Although no true scientific taxonomy was put forth during this time period, several educators in the following decades did undertake the initial processes of defining and classifying such students into various “troublesome types” (Bagley, 1915, p. 216).

Morehouse (1914), for instance, identified a “predatory individual” as worthy of expulsion; however, he made no further clarification regarding who, exactly, this person represented in the classroom (p. 164).²³ Yet in his quest to analyze the causal origins of common school offenses, Morehouse observed that the majority were attributable to minor faults in the student’s environment (e.g., poor parenting, malnutrition, social mimicry) rather than as a result of their inherent physical condition. Nevertheless, while he believed the former to be preventable or ultimately correctable, he states that problems originating from “the latter are far more puzzling and difficult to deal with” (p. 128). This notion that traits intrinsic to a student could be responsible for serious delinquent behavior was not an unknown concept even during this era. Indeed, despite lacking advanced statistical techniques, Healy’s (1915) unprecedented study of 1,000 convicted juvenile offenders in Chicago provided one of the first attempts to establish the causal nature of delinquency. While skeptical that there was a specific, inheritable gene for criminality, he recognized that in the life histories of the juveniles he analyzed, heredity was still an indirect factor in the majority of cases.²⁴ As he stated, and more clearly shown in Figure 3-1, “the whole problem of human conduct is so complicated by environment and other genetic factors, that only now and then do we get satisfactory positive evidence of the part that heredity plays in the background.... of anti-social conduct” (p. 188).

²³ Morehouse, in this passage, appears to be referencing expulsion as akin to banishment from society rather than simply from the school; nonetheless, the lesson remains instructive.

²⁴ Given the 832 available cases, heredity was noted as a potential factor in 502 (Healy, 1915, p. 155).

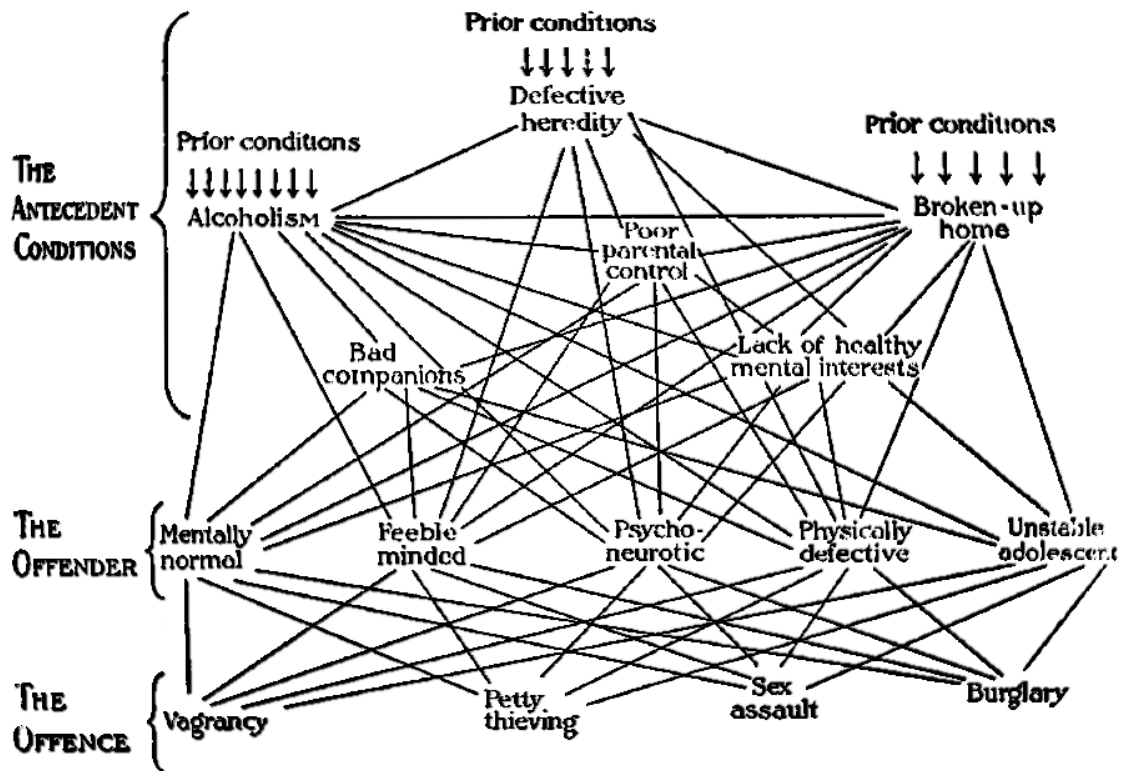


Figure 3-1. Diagram of sequence or conjunction of some simple antecedents and consequents. Reprinted from *The Individual Delinquent* (p. 165), by W. Healy, 1915, Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company. In the public domain.

Suffice it to say, the inability of scientists to untangle this web of causality during the early 1900s made proving or refuting the heritability hypothesis of delinquent behavior essentially an impossible task. Consequently, Healy (1915) remarked that his 800-page work was “largely characterology”—an endeavor to understand the basic elements, forces, and motivations behind disordered social conduct (p. 21). Although relatively unknown today, in a retrospective assessment of his life, Snodgrass (1984) noted that Healy’s “major area of interest was ‘conduct disorders’ of childhood and adolescence” and that by introducing his multifactor theory he had “set American criminology on a new course” that rivaled the contributions of Lombroso (pp. 332-333). In particular, Healy (1915) was cognizant that “by reason of their number and the

seriousness of their offenses, repeated offenders (recidivists) have the greatest significance for society,” that “practically all confirmed criminals begin their careers in childhood or early youth,” and that there was a distinction between “the repeater and the offender for a single time” (pp. 10-13). His work, therefore, predated and paralleled, to some degree, Moffitt’s (1993a) influential research on life-course-persistent and adolescence-limited offenders by nearly eighty years. Moreover, Healy (1915) even cast doubt on some of his own study’s conclusions given that the juveniles he interviewed were, on average, 16 years old, writing that it “has been suggested to us that the age at which we have taken delinquents ... is too late. If all is true that has been stated about the early genesis of character formation ... we are surely somewhat behind” (p. 38). These statements, exceptional for their time, laid the groundwork not only for future genetically-informed analyses, but perhaps more importantly, allowed scholars to redirect their attention toward the characteristics—the types—of antisocial youth.

Freed from the need to concern themselves with precisely why a student behaved a particular way, educators like Bagley (1915) commented on the possibility of simply identifying groups of problematic students based upon their characteristics in order to “indicate to a young teacher some of the symptoms to look for” so that they could be properly disciplined (p. 220).²⁵ That is to say, the paramount goal of the teacher was to maintain order in the classroom and this did not necessarily involve solving the root causes of misbehavior; therefore, “treatment” for a maladjusted student often consisted of just enough correction that an “unruly spirit may be curbed and a more wholesome spirit engendered” (p. 215). Still, as Bagley notes, teachers were also tasked with socializing children and so had to be alert for misconduct regardless of whether

²⁵ Even prior to this, Currie (1861) had described four “faults of temper” that a teacher was likely to confront when attempting to provide a virtuous and moral education: obstinacy, querulousness, peevishness, and violence (p. 53).

it was a “vice” that affected the individual (e.g., inattention, laziness, timidity) or a “crime” that infringed on the rights of others (e.g., disobedience, cheating, fighting) within the school setting. From this dichotomy, Bagley proposed eight “troublesome types” that a teacher was likely to encounter. These are summarized in Table 3-1, although some creative license has been taken to better illustrate these concepts as Bagley did not specify their grouping nor did he provide reliable descriptors for all types. For instance, he refers to the deceitful pupil as possessing an “individual weakness,” but also distinguishes this type as a habitual cheater that, left undetected, could lead to the “demoralization of the [student] body” (p. 232).

Table 3-1. Bagley’s eight troublesome types.

<p style="text-align: center;">“Vices”</p> <p>Personality defects that affect the individual</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">“Crimes”</p> <p>Prohibited behaviors that affect everyone</p>
<p>Haughty (egotistical, sense of superiority, overconfident)</p> <p>Self-complacent (lazy, works below ability, lack of shame)</p> <p>Irresponsible (erratic, undisciplined, passively disobedient)</p> <p>Morose (antagonistic, petulant, distrustful)</p> <p>Hypersensitive (docile, meek, cowardly)</p>	<p>Stubborn (obstinate, actively defiant, rebellious)</p> <p>Deceitful (evasive liar, cheater, manipulative)</p> <p>Vicious (depraved, bullying, criminal)</p>

Note. Adapted from *School Discipline* (pp. 216-237), by W. C. Bagley, 1915, New York, NY: The Macmillan Company. In the public domain.

Approximately two years later, Colvin (1917) introduced a similar classification scheme consisting of only three categories: the *disorderly* pupil, the *rebellious* pupil, and the *vicious* pupil. Having read and cited Bagley's (1915) earlier work, it is apparent that Colvin's (1917) categories reflected a more organized and condensed version of the original troublesome types. The *disorderly* group, for example, contains the "least serious" of the "isolated and special cases," including those students "with wandering attention, [the] restless, the careless, the overzealous pupil to the giggling girl, the egoistic pupil," and other mischievous sorts (p. 87). Accordingly, the *disorderly* pupil encapsulates all of those types that are affected by "vice" or minor, individual defects. On the other hand, the *rebellious* group consists of hostile students who are "at times sulky and obstinate, less often openly unruly and willfully disobedient, occasionally impudent, insulting and defiant"—clearly a reference to the "crime" of the stubborn type (p. 91). More interestingly, Colvin (1917) remarks that the truant belongs to this category because he "finds the outside world particularly attractive, is likely to turn his back on school tasks and seek every opportunity to escape them" (p. 91). Lastly, the *vicious* group represents the criminals and cigarette smokers: "thieves, petty gamblers, liars, deliberate and wilful [*sic*] cheats, and obscene and sexually immoral pupils" (p. 93). As expected, due to the illegal nature of their behavior, the harshest punishments were reserved for this group "because of the great social danger of their presence" and, by namesake, they denote Bagley's vicious type (p. 93). Furthermore, while Colvin also includes the deceitful type in this category, he states that "perhaps it is unfair to class the dishonest pupil as vicious, although his conduct as such may warrant this characterization"—and as an example he provides a tale of an incorrigible cheater (p. 93). To clarify his efforts, a summary of these classifications are presented in Table 3-2.

Table 3-2. Colvin’s three problematic pupils.

<u>Disorderly</u>	<u>Rebellious</u>	<u>Vicious</u>
<p style="text-align: center;">Bagley’s “Vices” (inattentive, careless, restless, egoistic, mischievous)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Stubborn (defiant, disobedient, insulting, unruly, truant)</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Deceitful (dishonest, repetitive, incorrigible, cheater)</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Vicious (criminal, dangerous, immoral, deliberate)</p>

Note. Adapted from *An Introduction to High School Teaching* (pp. 83-104), by S. S. Colvin, 1917, New York, NY: The Macmillan Company. In the public domain.

The order of severity naturally progresses across these groups from left to right with the *disorderly* exhibiting behaviors that are most likely to be amendable through socialization, the *rebellious* misconduct correctable through strict discipline, and the *vicious* delinquency that is so persistent and dangerous that it can scarcely be tolerated. Given this, Bagley (1915) cautions that those who seek to rehabilitate such incorrigible youth must not fall under the guise of a “weak sentimentalism” especially when “dealing with vicious pupils” lest this unmerited goodwill serve only to reinforce and exacerbate their misbehavior (pp. 233-234). Indeed, as Waits (1920) reminds us, “the public school by its nature cannot serve the function of a penal institution or a reformatory” (p. 198). Despite this, it is necessary to call attention to the failure of many scholars of the era to link fighting specifically to the vicious student. To be sure, fighting was a “crime” in the classroom, but it was often seen as a way “in which a boy may prove his right to the respect of other boys”—essentially, a natural part of his progression into manhood (Morehouse, 1914, p. 137). More cavalier teachers, recognizing this male thirst for excitement, were even alleged to have organized supervised boxing matches at schools to suitably channel this pugilist instinct. Amusingly, Bagley (1915) recounts a story of a mother who locked her hypersensitive child

outside the home so that he would be forced to confront his bully, later “[emerging] with a bloody nose and a black eye—but proud and triumphant. It was a turning point in his life” (p. 231). However, while anger by itself was “not an immoral feeling,” Currie (1861) concluded, “the abuse of it was” (p. 244). Thus, whereas violence, fighting, and aggression are seldom mentioned directly in the texts, they are indirectly referenced in many passages concerning those who would engage in “tyranny or bullying on the part of the strong towards the weak” (p. 51).²⁶ Cobb (1847), for instance, remarks that when combative students are encountered after a fight the teacher must chastise them and “then show them the difference between the *human* and the *brute*” (p. 181, emphasis in original).

Identifying the Incurrible

By the early 1920s, it had been established that the definitional difference between incorrigibility and delinquency was largely a matter of whether or not a child had been charged with a violation of the law. This meant, according to Pennsylvania statutes, that a delinquent youth was, fundamentally, also an *incorrible* child regardless of whether their misconduct had occurred in the home, at school, or in their community. As a result, Deardorff (1926) acknowledged that “many children whose conduct is notoriously anti-social are not counted in the delinquent group” simply for the reason that they do not have “experience with legal machinery” (p. 68). In effect, deliberately vicious or disorderly youth could go undetected if their behaviors never came to the attention of legal authorities, if school officials did not refer them, or

²⁶ Bagley (1915) believed bullying was “perfectly natural” and that it served “an important educative function by acquainting the timid and the weak with the necessity of standing up for their rights” (pp. 151-152). Nonetheless, he admits that, in practice, such outcomes are rare and that the school must protect children from maltreatment.

if their parents never took issue with them. Data from seven Pennsylvania counties throughout 1923 to 1924 showed that males were largely responsible for the bulk of delinquency cases brought to court; roughly 85% of the total. Most often these offenses involved theft, malicious mischief or disorderly conduct, truancy, assault, and a “catch-all” category of incorrigibility. Moreover, the greatest proportion of girls were found in this last ambiguous category, presumably because their unmanageable conduct was unlikely to exceed the threshold of actual criminality. Still, the use of “blanket terms” like incorrigibility, for either boys or girls, Deardorff notes, could mask other “offenses against morality and violations,” but that “even with these possible additions the majority of such cases must have been unreported” (p. 72).

These same trends in offending, clarified by the development of uniform crime reporting, continued across the 1930s and 1940s as juvenile delinquency waxed and waned temporarily (Schwartz, 1949). The growth of the juvenile court itself continued in tandem, however, most cases were handled unofficially—without legal filings or a judge—and nearly 50% of all boys’ juvenile cases were eventually dismissed in 1946. The increased use of probation, restitution, and social service-related programs were the likely culprits for these legal diversions; nevertheless, institutional commitments for non-white youth remained higher due to “the great inadequacy or total absence of alternative facilities” available for minority groups (p. 17). Yet even thirty years later, delinquency and incorrigibility remained relatively synonymous with the only clear distinction between the two being the prosecution of an illegal act. However, in an attempt to distinguish their meanings, Jacobsen (1953) stated that, “it has been preferred to list under the heading of incorrigibility the problem or emotionally maladjusted child, rather than the chronic truant and the child who commits an overt [delinquent] act,” as he continued:

The incorrigible child has been considered a nonconformist. He has been the youngster who caused the teacher considerable trouble. He found it difficult to adjust to the conventional routine of the classroom. He has been a “trouble-maker” or, more accurately, an uncomfortable child to have around more amenable and docile children. Many incorrigible children, of course, do commit overt acts of delinquency.... They cannot leave school until they reach the age set by law; they are socially maladjusted and cannot fit into the traditional curriculum. They harass the school authorities and often become a menace to the community because of their frustrations. (pp. 24-25)

For instance, while truancy was technically an illegal status offense—a crime—for those under the age of 18, it appeared to be “symptomatic of some maladjustment that is more serious than the mere disinclination to attend school” among some, but not all children (p. 25). That is, a child could commit a minor act of delinquency (e.g., truancy, vandalism) and be arrested, yet still not be a habitually incorrigible youth—though, of course, most incorrigible youth *did* engage in delinquency whether detected or not.²⁷ Alongside this, Jacobsen also identified another potential threat materializing from within the ranks of the incorrigible: “the highly processed young criminal or thug” (p. 27). These individuals, according to Doshay (as cited in Jacobsen, 1953), comprise only about 10% of all juvenile offenders, but represent nonetheless a “vicious, hardened and aggressive habitually delinquent type who espouse antisocial behavior as a career and the gang as a medium of protection, comfort, and training” (p. 28). Following the end of World War II, the ensuing rise of delinquency brought a renewed focus onto the characteristics

²⁷ This distinction appears to be an attempt, confusing as though it may be, by scholars of the era to disentangle what would later be clarified in Moffitt’s (1993a) developmental taxonomy.

of these types of juvenile offenders, the role of the school in identifying, managing, or referring troublesome students, and investigations into the theoretical causes behind youth misbehavior.

Hill et al. (1953), for example, attempted to describe who was at risk for delinquency by splitting teacher observations into two broad categories of school maladjustment. To summarize, those who they saw as overly aggressive, obnoxious, engaged in stealing, fighting, or truancy were labeled “hostile” and those that were withdrawn, unusually anxious, expressed negativity, or showed other extreme emotions were called “neurotics” (p. 182). Again, it is not difficult to draw parallels to these categories and those devised decades earlier by Bagley (1915) and Colvin (1917). Furthermore, Hill et al. (1953) recognized that chronic or repetitive misconduct at school and the inability to properly socialize with peers, even among otherwise intelligent and obedient students, were clear “symptomatic behaviors” that signaled preventative action was needed. While they accepted that “structural defects of the brain” could account for some of these issues, they estimated that the majority of “delinquent conduct is learned or conditioned behavior” caused by adverse interactions with peers, family, or other conditions associated with low socioeconomic status (pp. 201-202). Although debates would rage in later decades about whether the school itself was responsible for causing or preventing delinquency, Moore (1961) commented that “between 95 and 98 percent of school-age children are normal personalities, reasonably healthy, and law-abiding” thereby reaffirming the inherent benefits of attendance and education (p. 202).

Another youth classification system for educators, first proposed by Jenkins and Hewitt (1944) and later clarified by Beck (1955), detailed three distinct personalities: the *neurotic*

delinquent, the *social* delinquent, and the *asocial* delinquent.²⁸ Unsurprisingly, the *neurotic* was beset by “compulsive” problems “inside himself” and, as a result, “a great deal of aggression is turned inward, so that the child suffers guilt and anxiety” (Beck, 1955, p. 64). Thus, he was likely to engage in delinquent acts alone, yet there was hope that such neuroses could be diminished through the creation of a functional student-teacher relationship. Next, the *social* delinquent, often a resident of an impoverished, urban neighborhood, was “adventuresome, destructive, restless, aggressive, and rebellious,” but also socially content and loyal to his literal gang of friends; in addition, these youth had “little capacity for relationship with adults and resent supervision and authority” (p. 61). Indeed, as expected, “a history of reading retardation or truancy or both is characteristic of most social delinquents” (p. 63). Lastly, the *asocial* delinquent, a rarer find in the classroom, is “extremely narcissistic, and their behavior has a primitive, instinctual quality to it” (p. 63). However, “unlike the social delinquent, they can neither give nor receive affection, with adults or with their peers.... In nature these children are very close to the classical definition of a psychopath” (p. 63). Lacking any sense of guilt or responsibility for their actions, the long-term scholastic prognosis for this type of student was undeniably poor, as Beck (1955) remarked:

When dealing with these children, teachers must give up clichés about keeping children out of court or freeing them from the stigma of a court record, for a delaying action with this type of delinquent is dangerous and socially improvident. Attempting to treat the child permissively makes the situation worse rather than better.... Obviously, the school’s role cannot be enlarged to include the treatment of the asocial delinquent. In

²⁸ Beck (1955) also included a fourth, minor category: the organic and accidental delinquent. This group represented a small number of children afflicted with brain damage or those non-conformist youth who had been inadvertently swept up in “the machinery designed for the genuine delinquent”—a cautionary reminder that schools and teachers must be accommodating when educating the disabled (p. 65).

most instances, these youngsters are too damaged to remain in the school system. (pp. 63-64)

There can be little doubt that these three personalities described by Beck correspond directly to those of the *disorderly*, the *rebellious*, and the *vicious* pupils (Colvin, 1917). In particular, the consistency of the historical warnings from Bagley (1915) and others that the vicious student must be carefully monitored and, in most cases, ultimately removed from the school belies the origins of their incorrigible temperament. “Where these pupils are found in the school,” Bagley declares, “they are usually the product of an unfortunate heredity and an equally unfortunate environment” (p. 232).

Teacher perceptions also aligned with the student personality profiles created by these aforementioned academics and psychiatrists when it came to pinpointing the worst types of classroom behavior. Stouffer and Owens (1955), for example, compared 232 modern-day teachers with those from a 1928 survey on their rankings of various rule-breaking categories and found that the “problem child in school is still, as he was twenty-five years ago, identified chiefly by annoying, disorderly, irresponsible, aggressive, untruthful, disobedient behavior” (p. 331). Specifically, teachers held the greatest concern for the student who “showed himself aggressive” (p. 331). Likewise, a study by Clark (1951) involving 181 elementary school teachers and their reactions to objectionable student conduct, primarily minor annoyances, reported that they held the most contempt for behaviors which “affected the smooth functioning of the pupil group” rather than those which affected them personally (p. 448). Included among the top annoyances were lying, picking on or bullying others, being a tattletale, and disturbing other students while they studied. Concerning overly aggressive students who required psychotherapy, Tonsor (1950), a former principal who had once faced the unintended side effects of compulsory education laws,

remarked that, “fortunate is the administrator who can get rid of those definitely suffering from mental impairment ... the mentally handicapped or the emotionally disturbed” (pp. 473). These chaotic students would, after being suspended or referred into psychiatric care, inevitably return back to the school where “the merry-go-round starts all over again,” Tonsor complained:

Each of these “cases” involved hours of time and “reams” of paper. Every referral means a stack of papers a half-inch thick. All the work is usually wasted, since the only result is a digest of the report already sent, translated into sociological and psychological gibberish. Indicated therapy? There was none.... When a state institution can declare a child beyond help by it and return the child to the school the situation is certainly irrational. What is the administrator to do if the psychiatrist is helpless? (pp. 472-473)

Exploratory research of the time period regarding attempts to reintegrate (i.e., “mainstream”) adolescents with an official psychiatric diagnosis back into the school environment proved relatively unsuccessful. Mayer and Wolfenstein (1943) found that of 100 children returned to public schools after treatment, only 42 made a wholly successful adjustment. Moreover, success was closely tied to the type of diagnosis with the vast majority of anxious or compulsive neurotics and those with minor behavior disorders adjusting properly, while only 37% of “acting-out neurotics” and 31% of “psychotic-like” children did (p. 357). Nevertheless, some educators did see such problematic children as the school’s responsibility—a responsibility that necessitated cooperation from teachers, school counselors, psychologists, physicians, community welfare agencies, and home-visiting social workers (Stullken, 1953). This meant that special classes or schools should be created for maladjusted individuals so as to intervene early in their development. However, Stullken was also adamant that these facilities “should not be called ‘truant schools,’ ‘disciplinary schools,’ or ‘industrial schools’” as they had in the past to

avoid any negative connotations in their purpose or goals (p. 571). Additionally, he warned that exclusion or removal from school alone cannot remedy the antisocial child as these “juveniles must return someday to the community” and that it was best to correct the behavior than to let it fester into adulthood (Stullken, 1956, p. 837). By the end of the 1950s, the continued upsurge of delinquency and its associated costs were fast approaching “alarming proportions” according to Stullken (1956, p. 841). Correspondingly, the chief statistician for the federal government’s Children’s Bureau confirmed that the rise was real and “may become staggering” (Perlman, 1959, p. 8). As a result, he concluded that theoretical research would be necessary to understand the reasons why this was occurring because, “unfortunately the statistics do not tell us enough about the whys and wherefores of delinquency, the motives, the reasons” or how to prevent it (p. 8).

Criminology in the Classroom

Generating a causal model to explain delinquency, of course, was not a simple task. As Glueck (1960) remarked, “no unilateral theory advanced by sociologists ... is sufficiently comprehensive, sufficiently specific or sufficiently close to the realities” of human behavior to be used as the premier guide for undertaking such research (p. 293). Nonetheless, the work of Glueck and Glueck (1950, 1964) involving a longitudinal study of 1,000 delinquent and non-delinquent boys produced one of the first attempts to predict future criminality. Using information about a child’s character, temperament, and, most crucially, family social factors it appeared possible to determine who, despite some early deviant activity, was a “pre-delinquent” destined for continued criminality and those who would desist entirely (Thompson, 1953). While their tools found some lasting efficacy, as criminology became more methodologically

sophisticated, their predictive elements were gradually criticized due to their limited utility (Weis, 1974). However, the influence of the Gluecks' research, especially its emphasis on an age of onset during elementary school, had made a lasting impression among educators seeking to identify the "seeds of delinquency" (Dresher, 1957, p. 598; Stullken, 1956). Within the classroom, they saw the results of early antisocial behavior in academic failure, increased absences, earlier dropout, reduced parental support, and less engagement or bonding with teachers and the school. They also witnessed first-hand the characteristics of those most likely to be exempted from school, "an antisocial, compulsively acting-out individual with little self-control and poor academic skills" who was most often an emotionally disturbed boy in the first-grade (Lyons & Powers, 1963, p. 159; Rexford, 1959).

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, subsequent empirical investigations by criminologists would begin to support these earlier assertions and observations made by school officials. Craig and Glick (1968), for instance, applied the Gluecks' diagnostic tool onto a sample of 301 boys entering first-grade and followed-up with them over a ten-year period. They reported that "by the end of the third year, approximately 4/5 of the boys who later became delinquent were problems to their teachers" (p. 26). This encompassed a wide range of minor issues such as disobedience, but also included criminal acts like "stabbing, severe fighting, and stealing" (p. 19). Additionally, research conducted by Feldhusen, Thurston, and Benning (1970), using approximately 400 youth across multiple grade levels, found that students who were "persistently misbehaved in aggressive-disruptive ways" at school were at the outset less intelligent, more likely to come from a non-stimulating home background, and to attain significantly lower grades, five years later, in all academic subjects than their well-behaved peers (p. 9). Their results, however, also showcased how "chronic academic disadvantages" persisted over time, potentially leading to

prejudicial treatment by teachers, student frustration, dropout, and further antisocial behavior (p. 9). Taking these latter themes into serious consideration, several criminologists began to diverge into a new area of research that closely examined the interplay between a child's socioeconomic status, their prospects for the future, and their academic achievement.

Although a child's upbringing, encompassing predominantly their immediate family and neighborhood environment, had naturally been linked to delinquency, the possibility that schools and teachers themselves shared blame for this behavior was a more radical viewpoint. However, Stinchcombe's (1964) study of student rebellion in a California high school posited that when the social norms or prospects for future success (e.g., getting good grades, attending college, finding a white-collar career) that were being imparted were not actually obtainable—delinquency would result. Through a process of “expressive alienation,” similar to strain theory, students who “[faced] a working-class future” would, thus, be the most likely to rebel (Polk, 1969, p. 214). Given the social upheaval of the 1960s, including the student counterculture movement, these ideas quickly took root in academia. Supporting evidence from Hagstrom and Gardner (1968), using a sample of 1,318 high schoolers, found that despite a child's socioeconomic background, those who did not expect to attend college were more likely to become disciplinary problems in the school, suggesting that “student rebellion is a reaction to failure” (p. 18). Similarly, Heath (1970) investigated 4,077 junior and high school youth on outcomes related to truancy, being sent to the office, and suspension. His results showed that students with a rebellious identity were more anxious about their future, saw teachers as punitive, and did not feel the school's curriculum applied to them. Indeed, some studies even indicated that school dropout was associated with *decreased* rates of future offending (Elliott, 1966). Nevertheless, not all of the hypothesized properties of this adolescent anomie, including its strict reliance on long-term

aspirations and social class-specific outcomes, would survive rigorous empirical testing (Polk, 1969).

Alternatively, more advanced quantitative studies would subsequently find that poor academic performance was associated with school avoidance and misbehavior, concluding that students with lower grades “may also be systemically excluded” from prosocial school activities—a potential indicator of a labeling effect (Kelly, 1971, p. 500). Kelly and Pink (1973) later reported in a sample of 284 high school boys that those exhibiting lower levels of school commitment were more likely to engage in acts of rebellion (e.g., drinking, fighting) and delinquency (i.e., court appearances), reasoning that they turned to risky subcultures and other delinquent peers in accordance with their negative label. To these criminologists, failure at school appeared to precede misconduct, so it meant that blame could be laid at the feet of the school system, with intelligence testing, or as a result of “low teacher expectations” caused by methods of formal or informal tracking (Duke, 1976, p. 82; Phillips & Kelly, 1979). Even the label of a “disruptive child,” Redl (1975) argued, was entirely subjective with “no root in psychological reality”—thus, society should be concerned not with the exclusion of troublesome students, he concluded, but with what they are “included into” (p. 569). While perhaps well-intentioned, this theoretical detour into social constructionism would ultimately be brief due to its unsustainable and “unrelenting depersonalization of blame,” as Duke (1978a, p. 415) observed:

As the focus for blame becomes more diffuse, the quality of supporting evidence decreases. Fewer efforts to blame the school system are based on controlled investigations involving carefully selected samples.... A greater tendency also exists for

critics of the school system to make sweeping statements condemning factors that are very difficult to define or measure. (pp. 427-428)

Specifically, he advocated instead for a revival of investigations into the “person-based or intrinsic determinants of behavior,” noting that, “the resolution of the current ‘crisis’ in school discipline will depend ... on the ability of young people, and educators, to cease regarding themselves as victims of their environment and to start seeing themselves as responsible human beings” (p. 434).

The prominent support of Hirschi and Hindelang (1977), in particular, paved the way for a return to the study of individual traits by criticizing the dismissal of the link between intelligence and delinquency. They remarked that the failure of researchers to utilize variables aside from “class, culture, and official processing ... will continue to restrict and even embarrass sociological theory until some effort is made to incorporate them” (p. 585). Using his own control theory as an example, Hirschi (1977) wrote that although “the school may ‘fail’ to win the interest and loyalty of many of its pupils, [it] does not *make* them delinquent” (p. 336, emphasis in original). In addition, he stated that students were not all equal in their academic abilities, IQ, or future potential, that crime was “the product of ordinary desires operating on people ill equipped to resist them,” and he rejected the idea that delinquent peer groups were intimate or cohesive (p. 340). Longitudinal studies also began to dismantle much of the prior literature as they reported that dropping out of school increased offending rates in the immediate period and that it had “a positive long-term effect on criminal behavior” (Thornberry, Moore, & Christenson, 1985, p. 17). Moreover, findings revealed that measures of prior misconduct, including school suspensions, could explain nearly all “dropout-delinquency relationships”—even the link between expulsion and later violent offending (Jarjoura, 1993, p. 167). It was clear,

once again that, among aggressive and disruptive students, their behaviors frequently became a stable way of interacting and that teachers, rather than causing school failure, were simply reacting to “a constant source of frustration” (Coleman & Gilliam, 1983, p. 126).

However, this was not to suggest that the lessons of context and culture had been entirely discarded and forgotten. Schools and teachers could still have an appreciable impact on students and it was important to realize that potential differences in “rules, values, and attitudes” needed to be considered during the socialization process or when administering discipline (Ainsworth & Stapleton, 1976, p. 55). For instance, early exploratory studies showed that poverty was significantly related to chronic rates of absenteeism in schools, a known predictor of dropout, but not to the use of long-term exclusion (Galloway, Martin, & Wilcox, 1985). Relatedly, Weishe and Peng (1993) found in a study of 1,051 eighth-grade schools that controlling for individual-level factors, larger, urban schools with more socially disadvantaged students, substance abuse issues, and a poorer academic climate had more misbehavior, especially more violent misbehavior. In two nationally representative analyses involving 254 secondary schools, higher levels of communal organization and student bonding were found to be associated with less disorder (Payne, Gottfredson, & Gottfredson, 2003); furthermore, student perceptions that rules were clear and fairly enforced appeared to result in less delinquent behavior and student victimization (Gottfredson, Gottfredson, Payne, & Gottfredson, 2005). Large-scale multilevel models have also reported that higher aggregate levels of anger in schools may result in more student conflict, but that individual factors can still explain more of the variance in weapon carrying at school (Brezina, Piquero, & Mazerolle, 2001; Wilcox & Clayton, 2001).

Studying the Student

While hierarchical modeling can be useful to parse out contextual effects, school and community-level factors are generally dwarfed in comparison to the amount of variance explained by individual-level variables; so much so that the ability of these higher-level characteristics to explain “differences among individuals in criminal behavior no longer seems tenable” (Gottfredson, McNeil, & Gottfredson, 1991, p. 221). Welsh, Green, and Jenkins (1999), for example, in their study of over 7,500 students in 11 middle schools, found that while 16% of the variance for student misbehavior was attributable to individual factors, only about 4% to 5% was accounted for at the next level. They remarked that, “these are striking results ... variations in student misconduct have less to do with community-level variables in crime or stability than originally thought” (p. 107). Along these lines, more pertinent investigations into the strengths of peer influences on youth behavior have produced findings that suggest when a student socializes with delinquent peers, they tend to increase their delinquency. Moreover, this effect is reciprocal and reinforced over time, serving to “‘harden’ the formation of delinquent beliefs” and deepen the ties forged with delinquent peer networks (Thornberry, Lizotte, Krohn, Farnworth, & Jang, 1994, p. 47).

Similar observations were made by Jang (1999) in a longitudinal follow-up of 1,715 students where the effect of delinquent peers was strongest around mid-adolescence, from approximately ages 13 to 15, peaking in accordance with the time of “greatest temptation and pressure” toward deviant behavior (p. 674; see also Bryant, Schulenberg, O’Malley, Bachman, & Johnston, 2003). It should be no surprise then that “the greatest rates of [out-of-school suspension] seem to occur at the middle school or early high school levels,” reaching their highest point around grades 9 and 10 which corresponds closely with the age-crime curve

(Loeber et al., 2012; Raffaele Mendez, 2003; Raffaele Mendez et al., 2002, p. 260). Notably, substance use during this time period, especially earlier and more frequent use has been associated with later violent behavior as well (White, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Farrington, 1999). Still, a child's commitment to school and their attachment to their parents remain significant predictors in prevention across most studies. Garnier, Stein, and Jacobs (1997), for instance, concluded in a 19-year study that, even in nonconventional families, strong parental commitment and stability "can protect adolescents from related school problems" like drug use, poor academic achievement, and dropout (p. 414).

While it is encouraging that some individual-level forces external to the student may be of value in restraining misbehavior, recent research has, nonetheless, shown that future delinquency is generally a result of the student's own failure at school. Rather than finding that dropout was a causal antecedent to crime, Sweeten, Bushway, and Paternoster (2009) reported, in a sample of over 8,000 teenagers, that those who dropped-out of school had, on average, poorer academic achievement, prior histories of antisocial behavior or school difficulties, were more likely to have been previously arrested, and came from homes with younger mothers. As they stated, the link "between delinquency and drop-out is driven almost entirely by time-stable differences between individuals" (p. 77). Likewise, Felton and Staff (2006) using a longitudinal sample of approximately 10,000 secondary school students found that "delinquency is not a response to academic failure ... adolescents differ in their ability to regulate their behavior and these differences affect behavior inside and outside the classroom" (p. 315). That is, juveniles with low self-control have difficulties in both getting good grades and staying out of trouble. In the same vein, Siennick and Staff (2008) showed in a sample of 7,573 children that delinquent youth who were rated by their teachers as displaying lower effort in the classroom ended up

receiving lower grades, yet contrary to labeling theory perspectives, these students still had a tendency to “overestimate their academic performance,” believing that they had done well—due in part, they propose, to “calculation errors” about their own abilities (p. 629).

Accordingly, research examining the stability of self-control reports that it develops, at least, starting in pre-school around age 4, continues to rapidly increase until age 8, and then stabilizes by age 10. During this time, as levels of self-control increase, deviance decreases, indicating the existence of an inverse relationship that may have a partial genetic basis (Vazsonyi & Jiskrova, 2018). Similarly, a longitudinal study over 18 years by Caspi et al. (1997) linked temperamental dispositions at age 3 to personality traits (e.g., negative emotionality, constraint) at age 18 in order to predict a variety of health-related, risky behaviors at age 21. They concluded that “undercontrolled children” were significantly more likely to later engage in alcohol abuse, unsafe sex, dangerous driving habits, and to participate in various types of violent crimes (p. 1059). Even some of the first preliminary analyses of students who had been suspended from school found that, although stressful family factors may play a role, “pupils were disturbed constitutionally” and had below average intelligence, especially low verbal ability, which was independent of their disruptive behavior (Galloway, 1982, p. 205). Indeed, intelligence itself has been implicated as a potent causal agent of misbehavior wherein “the direction of effect probably runs from IQ to delinquency,” controlling for race, class, and student motivation during testing (Lynam, Moffitt, & Stouthamer-Loeber, 1993, p. 193). Moreover, delinquent boys score approximately 8 points lower on full-scale IQ measures than non-delinquent boys and black students, as compared to whites, are at greater risk for engaging in delinquency if they also exhibit poor school performance.

Given that most studies have collected data on boys, the nature of girls' school behavior and delinquency has remained relatively unaddressed in the literature. However, a meta-analysis by Hubbard and Pratt (2002) discovered that, fortunately, "many of the strong predictors of female delinquency are the same as those for males" making prevention efforts targeting individual-level criminogenic factors worthwhile for both sexes (p. 1). That said, girls tend to be influenced to a greater extent by family or school relationships and are more likely to experience physical abuse or sexual assault than boys. For instance, while Duke (1978b) recognized that girls engaged in considerably less deviance than boys due to gender-role expectations and their greater propensity for inhibition, he still found that girls had more problems external to the school (e.g., running away, domestic violence), that their teachers cared less about these issues, and that their misconduct was generally hidden (e.g., substance abuse, peer group status-seeking, resentment). Addressing the role of biological or contextual factors in female delinquency, Caspi, Lynam, Moffitt, and Silva (1993) found in a sample of 265 girls that those who entered puberty later and attended all-girls schools were less likely to commit delinquency as a teenager; thus, suggesting that sexual maturity (i.e., biological age) and access to male peers may represent a unique pathway to delinquency for girls (see also Haynie, Steffensmeier, & Bell, 2007).

Though limited, examinations into race-specific school effects have noted that childhood deviance is closely related to antisocial behavior in adulthood for both whites and blacks, that "blacks are at least as strongly bonded to [schools] as whites," and that while these bonds can explain variance in delinquency, this effect is weaker for black students when it comes to prevention (Cernkovich & Giordano, 1992, p. 261; Robins & Ratcliff, 1978). In another large-scale study, Bradshaw, Waasdorp, Goldweber, and Johnson (2013) collected multilevel data from over 16,000 high schools students to investigate bullying and reported that both bullies and

victims were “generally at the greatest risk of being involved in violence, engaging in multiple types of substance abuse, and having academic problems” (p. 220). Specifically, however, blacks were at an increased risk of gang membership, weapon carrying at school, marijuana use, and poor academic achievement. Concerning long-term effects, Abram et al. (2017), in a 12-year study, followed 1,829 youth after juvenile detention and reported that among non-whites, though primarily blacks, males scored significantly lower on measures of educational attainment, gainful activity, parental responsibility, and other markers of social stability across time. Likewise, Wolfgang’s (1973) extensive longitudinal analysis of nearly 10,000 boys followed from birth to eighteen concluded that lower socioeconomic status and non-white race were the two strongest predictors of delinquency. Within the chronic offender group, which represented only 6% of the sample, non-whites committed 71% of all the offenses, including all murders and the vast majority of rapes, robberies, and aggravated assaults. These disturbing trends, some have asserted, may be the result of a subculture of violence in predominately black schools or communities where “boys are expected to retaliate when provoked” in order to attain peer approval (Anderson, 1999; Brezina, Agnew, Cullen, & Wright, 2004; Felson, Liska, South, & McNulty, 1994, p. 170).

Such extremely antagonistic behavior, Rader (1975) claimed, was committed by a type of child he called the *terrorist*—a student who inspired fear in others, including adults, through their unpredictable attacks and violent reputation. As the principal of an all-black elementary school in Chicago’s west side, Rader relayed several stories of his encounters with these students and their families. In the particular case of Archie Gibson, he noted that to this eight-year-old boy, “fighting meant repeated punching, long past the time the other child had quit fighting back, followed by ‘stomping’—stamping on the other child’s inert body” (p. 15). When Archie’s

mother was called into the school due to his behavior, she became belligerently defensive and began attacking a female teacher until she was restrained by school personnel. Despite being transferred, over the next few years, Archie was involved in around 20 to 30 fights, often of his own instigation. Stemming from these fights, the entire Gibson family became embroiled in a neighborhood “tribal war” that erupted “with bottles being thrown and threats of beatings” until the other family “had been driven out of [the] school” and moved away (pp. 20-21). When the dust settled, Archie, his sister, and his six older brothers had all become involved with the criminal justice system; five had spent time in detention homes, two in state prison, and two others had been charged with murder. This bizarre and aggressively reflexive behavior exhibited by such families and their children, Rader conceded, sometimes declined, but never ceased:

The entire school community—staff, children, parents, and neighborhood residents—is vulnerable when paranoid personalities are stimulated to act out their fantasies. Every conversation, every staff meeting hinted at the price teachers must pay for attempting to contain these children.... But the psychological toll on [other students] was even greater than that exacted from the staff because the children’s terror did not end when the signal sounded for dismissal.... They must make the trip home unguarded, risking attack or ambush, or, if the terrorist had a gang of relatives or interested friends, a hounds-and-hare chase to some safe refuge.... Although the effects of these children on morale in the local community are far from negligible, the true measure of their potential for devastation requires a projection into the future. The childhood manifestations of the paranoid

personality are only suggestions of the grosser crimes these children commit as adolescents and young adults. (pp. 32-33)²⁹

Whether the conduct described by Rader (1975) is representative of the “code of the street” is unknown, however, research has revealed that the concentration of crime within families, like the Gibson family, is strongly dependent on the behavior of the father, but can still be explained by “having a younger mother, living in a bad neighbourhood, and low guilt of the boy” as well (Farrington, Jolliffe, Loeber, Stouthamer-Loeber, & Kalb, 2001, p. 579; see also Stewart & Simons, 2006). Moreover, low empathy has been associated with more frequent and violent bullying and, in children with particularly callous traits, an impairment in emotional processing (Dolan & Fullam, 2010; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2006). While the exact etiology of this vicious conduct—whether cultural, environmental, or genetic—is still debated, it has become apparent that severely aggressive behaviors, once manifested in early childhood, remain relatively stable until at least age thirty—paralleling trends in criminality (Farrington et al., 2006). Furthermore, research continues to indicate that not only is this behavior stable within individuals, but that it is also stable across generations through its transmission within families; that is to say, “aggressive parents have more aggressive children” (Huesmann, Eron, Lefkowitz, & Walder, 1984, p. 1128; Farrington, Barnes, & Lambert, 1996). As criminology entered the twenty-first century, the use of longitudinal data and neurocognitive assessments would begin to shed new light on the nature and developmental trajectories of these incorrigible students.

²⁹ Lacking a useful administrative definition, Rader (1975) “[turned] to mental health terminology” to describe the paranoid behavior he witnessed at his school. Specifically, he noted the *terrorist* child’s “unrealistic evaluation of others’ motives” and their belief that they were always going to be attacked—leading them to engage in, what they considered to be, fights of self-defense (p. 28).

Stability Over Time: Bagley Revisited

Studies within the last twenty-five years have accumulated a large body of evidence suggesting that problem behaviors, including aggression, emerge in children as early as infancy, become most pronounced during adolescence, and gradually taper off into young adulthood (Loeber & Hay, 1997; Loeber et al., 2012). Naturally, the school is therefore one of the primary environments where these antisocial traits will first be displayed and, subsequently, punished. Indeed, it is recommended that modern interventions designed to target elevated levels of aggression in children “should begin by the first grade” (Tolan, Guerra, & Kendall, 1995, p. 580).³⁰ This juncture is a critical period of time during which students are often first identified, referred, and sometimes excluded from the school based upon their dispositions—and one that has been noted by scholars and educators since the 1950s (Jacobsen, 1953; Lyons & Powers, 1963; see also USDOE, 2014). As children age, particularly boys, their behaviors move from simple expressive forms of aggression or ill-temper, to more physical acts like bullying and roughhousing in elementary school, and later to outright violence such as fighting around ages 10 to 12 (Loeber & Hay, 1997). Beyond this, some will eventually transition into actual criminal activity like robbery, assault, and rape. Among teenage males, this conduct can be amplified not only by their increasing physical strength, but also by their peer groups (e.g., gangs) and the availability of weapons (Loeber, Burke, Mutchka, & Lahey, 2004). Moreover, these trajectories are somewhat similar for girls, though markedly more restricted to verbal or indirect forms of aggression, until adolescence when their general involvement in violent behavior declines substantially (Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukiainen, 1992; Björkqvist, 1994). Given this backdrop, further investigations into the characteristics of problematic children, their

³⁰ First-grade typically covers children ages 6 to 7.

environmental context, and, in particular, their different developmental pathways can help us to situate how these factors affect scholastic and disciplinary outcomes in the school.

To start, it is important to recognize that a multitude of terms, traits, and constructs within criminology and other fields hold distinct, but sometimes overlapping meanings. For example, references to aggressiveness, delinquency, crime, misconduct, disobedience, violence, self-control or impulsivity, viciousness, deviance, malevolence, and antisocial behavior all share similarities in what they predict (or are predicted by), yet they can still be defined differently. Likewise, clinical diagnoses or personality measures such as psychopathy, attention deficit-hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), the five-factor model (FFM), conduct disorder (CD), callous-unemotional (CU) traits, oppositional defiant disorder (ODD), the Dark Triad (DT), and antisocial personality disorder (ASPD)—while more conceptually distinct—are often found to be equally overlapping in neurocognitive functioning which also corresponds to various negative life outcomes for youth, especially criminal involvement (Blair, Leibenluft, & Pine, 2014; Jones, Miller, & Lynam, 2011; Krueger et al., 1994; Miller & Lynam, 2001; Vaughn & DeLisi, 2008; White et al., 1994; Wright et al., 2017). Farrington and West (1971), most notably, made this rationale clear in one of their earliest publications on juvenile misconduct, stating that “the young aggressives and the early delinquents were the same kind of boy. It may be concluded that the most overtly aggressive schoolboys are the ones who make up the actual or potential delinquent population” (p. 357). Consequently, when considering the abstraction that is the *incorrigible student*, the objective of this section is to identify, in a broader sense, those qualities and characteristics that lead particular children to become more problematic and unmanageable in the classroom. Fortunately, history has provided a useful guide for such an endeavor,

reminding us that the types of students, their behaviors, and the requisite punishments (e.g., suspension, expulsion) have not changed in over a century (Bagley, 1915; Colvin, 1917).

Advances in the prediction of delinquent or, later, criminal offending have shown that the key risk factors typically fall into six major categories: early disruptive behaviors, low IQ or school achievement, impulsiveness or a propensity for risk-taking, existing criminality in the family, poor child-rearing practices, and economic deprivation or other household problems (Farrington et al., 2006). From this, offender trajectories have traditionally been classified into at least two groups—the life-course-persistent and adolescence-limited—or, as in more recent studies, several distinct categories such as persisters, desisters, late-onset offenders, and non-offenders, better recognized as normal individuals (Brame, Mulvey, Schubert, & Piquero, 2018; Farrington, 2006; Moffitt, 1993a; Nagin, Farrington, & Moffitt, 1995). These aptly named groups attempt to reflect not only the origins and timings of antisocial behavior, but also whether it continues across the life-course. However, other research has meticulously looked within these groups, questioning whether personality traits might explain why some individuals gravitate toward specific trajectories. For instance, Caspi (2000) found that children at age 3 could be categorized into three primary temperaments: those who were well-adjusted, the inhibited, and the undercontrolled. Naturally, the well-adjusted children had few issues across their life and into adulthood. The inhibited, being “shy, fearful, and socially ill-at-ease,” had difficulties exerting agency over their life, suffered from internalized problems, and were more likely to be depressed—but were not more criminal (p. 168). The undercontrolled, however, representing 10% of all cases, were irritable, impulsive, and gave up easily on tasks, “throughout childhood, their parents and teachers found them difficult to manage,” and by adulthood they were more aggressive, socially alienated, criminal, and poorly adjusted (p. 168). The coherence of these

temperamental differences over time, Caspi stated, meant that “the child thus becomes the father of the man” (p. 170).

Further work by Caspi et al. (1994), in a dual study of teenage youth in New Zealand and the United States, linked the personality traits of negative emotionality and constraint (i.e., self-control) to self-reported, observer-reported, and official records of offending. In summary, they noted that such boys and girls, whether black or white, “preferred rebelliousness to conventionality, behaved impulsively rather than cautiously, and were more likely to take advantage of others” (pp. 179-180). Additionally, these volatile individuals may have been “predisposed to construe events in a biased way, perceiving threat in the acts of others and menace in the vicissitudes of everyday life” (p. 187). Similar studies have also found that the traits of psychoticism and low empathy are significantly correlated with offending, but that socioeconomic status or low IQ may mediate this relationship (Heaven, 1996; Jolliffe & Farrington, 2004). Among chronic offenders, these connections may be more salient, especially in children who are afflicted by neuropsychological deficits or impaired intellectual functioning (Loeber et al., 2012; Piquero, 2001). However, some researchers have questioned whether childhood prognoses can adequately capture long-term trajectories since the majority of offenders desist after age 30 or if these aforementioned groups can even be distinguished at an early age (Sampson & Laub, 2003). For example, the lives of supposed adolescence-limited offenders, who are hypothesized to abstain from antisocial behaviors in adulthood, nonetheless remain marked by involvement in “drugs, alcohol, and violence outside the home” through age 32 (Nagin et al., 1995, p. 135). In their defense, however, proponents have acknowledged that these categories are not immutable and reflect only a useful, though statistically corroborated, approximation of reality (Nagin & Tremblay, 2005).

Given this, while potential life-course trajectories are well-suited to explaining the stability of offending ex post facto, the actual identification of troublesome students during childhood is better served through an understanding of particular developmental pathways. Luo, Hughes, Liew, and Kwok (2009), for instance, presented results from a sample of 480 at-risk first-graders where they differentiated four “subtypes” of academic engagement associated with long-term achievement by the fourth-grade: cooperative, enthusiastic, disaffected, and resistive. While there were no significant differences in IQ across groups, the resistive group was discerned by a lack of teacher and peer-rated school effort, prosocial engagement (e.g., getting along, playing fair, considerate of others), and teacher support. Likewise, they exhibited more antisocial behaviors such as fighting, bullying, and disobedience—and these children were also more likely to be males and black. These findings align with similar studies that have clustered expelled students into categories of increasing severity like “first offender,” “disconnected,” “troubled,” and “socialized delinquent” as well as various other aggressive subtypes (Morrison & D’Incau, 1997; Rappaport & Thomas, 2004). As expected, those in the “socialized delinquent” category were more likely to be expelled for their dangerous behavior rather than for violating a zero tolerance policy. Along these lines, Nagin and Tremblay (1999) devised an examination of “trajectories” predicted from measurements at age 6 related to types of violent and non-violent juvenile offending at age 17. Using a sample of 1,037 inner-city schoolboys rated through teacher and self-reports, they found a “chronic oppositional trajectory” that predicted covert delinquency like theft whereas a “chronic physical aggression trajectory” predicted physical violence and other serious acts by adulthood. In addition, they reported that boys with “high levels of hyperactive behavior ... are much less at risk of juvenile delinquency than those who show high levels of physical aggression or opposition” (p. 1192).

Indeed, such recurrent themes within the literature are consistent with Loeber et al.'s (1993) original hypothesis, presented in Figure 3-2, that the development of disruptive child behavior could be classified into three basic groups: the *authority conflict* pathway, the *covert behavior* pathway, and the *overt behavior* pathway. Each pathway is split into three separate steps, indicating increasing severity, age of onset, and the decreasing number of children involved (i.e., fewer boys commit the most severe acts later in life). The *authority conflict* pathway is characterized by stubborn and defiant behavior before age 12, as well as authority avoidance at later stages such as truancy, running away from home, and violating curfew. Next, the *covert behavior* pathway starts before age 15 and includes minor acts of delinquency like shoplifting and lying. In the later stages, it may escalate to property damage, vandalism, arson, serious theft, burglary, and fraud. Lastly, the *overt behavior* pathway begins with bullying and annoying others, but transforms into physical or gang fights, robbery, violent assaults, and rape by the final stage (Loeber & Hay, 1997; Loeber, Keenan, & Zhang, 1997).³¹ Akin to Moffitt's (1993a) taxonomy, children may experiment within each pathway briefly, but it is the persisters who generate the greatest concern. Furthermore, as Loeber et al. (1993) reported in their sample of approximately 1,000 boys aged 10 to 13, these behavioral categories may overlap as youth engage in various types of misconduct; yet, when a child consistently does so in combination, this can result in significantly increased rates of delinquency, especially violent offending. Moreover, studies have shown that black boys are not only more likely to be involved in the overt pathway, but also to have progressed further into the second stage compared to whites (Loeber et al., 1993; Loeber et al., 1997).

³¹ No specific age of prior onset was noted for the overt pathway, but based upon research in other diverse samples, such behaviors appear to occur in close temporal proximity to the covert pathway (Tolan, Gorman-Smith, & Loeber, 2000).

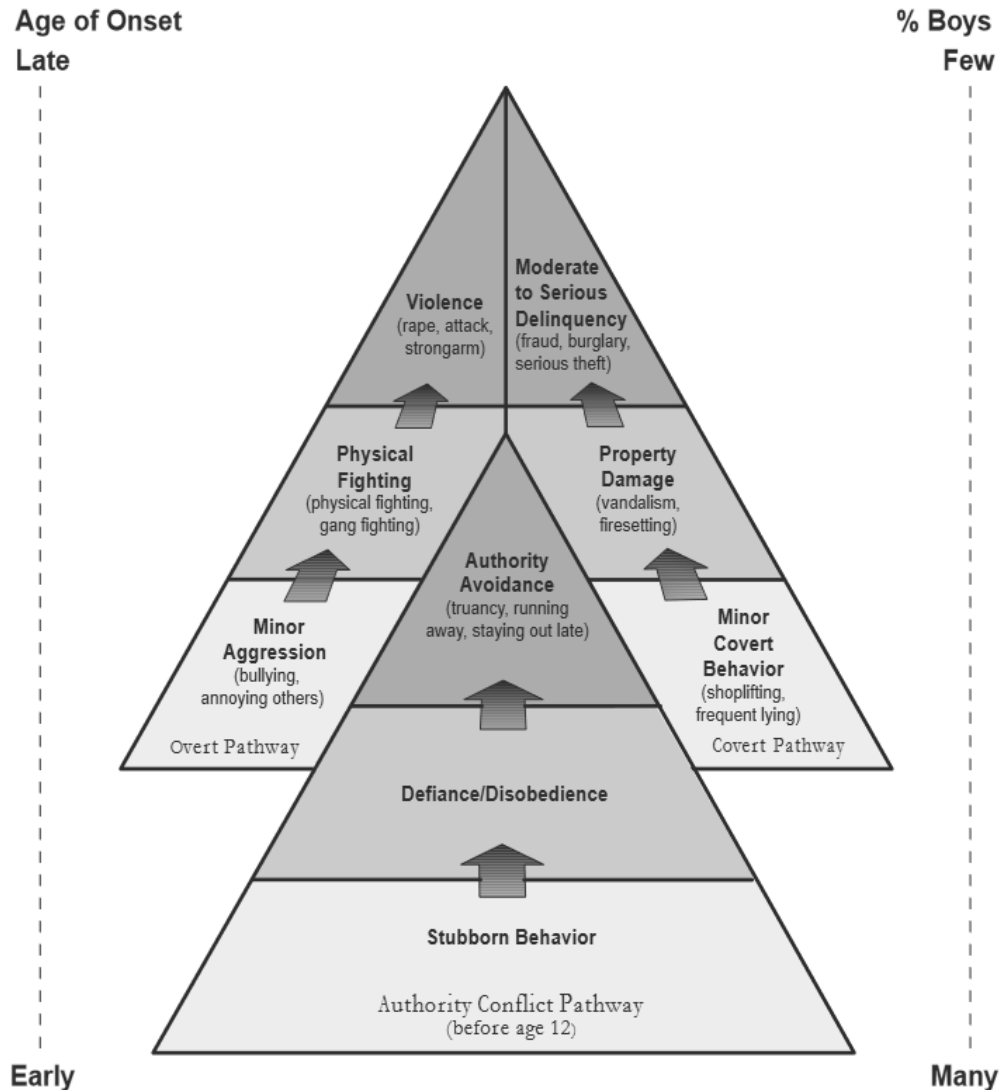


Figure 3-2. Three pathways to boys’ disruptive behavior and delinquency. Reprinted from “Developmental pathways in boys’ disruptive and delinquent behavior,” by B. T. Kelley, R. Loeber, K. Keenan, & M. DeLamatre, 1997, *Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention – Juvenile Justice Bulletin*, p. 9. In the public domain.

Clearly, the descriptions and offenses committed along these three pathways correspond, almost identically, to those originally introduced by Bagley (1915). Specifically, the three types falling into his “crimes” category—the stubborn pupil, the deceitful pupil, and the vicious pupil—resemble the authority conflict path, the covert path, and the overt path, respectively.

Effectively, there is compelling evidence and reason to suggest that teachers and educators, a century ago, were witness to—and *had identified*—a host of behaviors, temperaments, and personality traits that have since been verified as the fundamental antecedents to long-term antisocial behavior and criminal offending into adulthood (Beck, 1955; Colvin, 1917). For example, recent work by Rocque, Jennings, Piquero, Ozkan, and Farrington (2017) reported, in a 40-year follow-up involving 411 boys, that those who were truant at age 14 were over twice as likely to have a criminal conviction; however, “truancy did not independently predict violent convictions up to age 50” (p. 603). While limited, this research appears to support the historical assumption that the truant—while problematic, stubborn, and rebellious—was not necessarily a threatening or dangerous student in the classroom (USCE, 1889). More importantly, that the use of exclusionary punishment, particularly expulsion, was primarily reserved for the more violent, manipulative, aggressive, and “criminal” students is now clear. As a result, while the nature of “incurability” may have encompassed truancy at times, this was obviously not the most worrisome behavior. Indeed, the decision by Colvin (1917) to explicitly group together both the *deceitful* pupil and *vicious* pupil under the same banner (i.e., the vicious pupil) is truly remarkable in light of Loeber et al.’s (1993) covert and overt pathways to delinquency.

The Vicious Pupil

Relatedly, a relatively early factor analysis by Loeber and Schmalzing (1985) found that childhood antisocial behavior was both “unidimensional and bipolar” (p. 346). That is, it was a continuum of behaviors where, on one end, were found overt behaviors and, on the other, covert behaviors. While initially mundane, the itemized behaviors “anchoring one extreme of the dimension” were each found to be congruent with the official diagnostic criteria for conduct

disorder at the time (p. 349).³² In the present day, attempts have been made to trace the developmental sequences of certain diagnoses from ADHD to oppositional defiant disorder then to conduct disorder—eventually culminating into antisocial personality disorder as an adult (Loeber & Burke, 2011; Pardini, Frick, & Moffitt, 2010). Although progress along the externalizing, aggressive pathway is better understood, the evidence linking internalized, affective disorders (e.g., depression, anxiety) from ODD to CD is “not well supported” (Loeber & Burke, 2011, p. 42). According to some evidence, ODD by itself may present a good prognosis and merely be “a mild form of CD” (Ghosh & Sinha, 2012, p. 2). Yet when this condition overlaps with others, including ADHD, it appears that ODD, rather than simply being a personality grouping for defiance, may actually represent a stage of “increasing severity of the same disorder” (Frick et al., 1993, p. 336). In this manner, Frick et al. concluded, in a meta-analytic review of parent and teacher ratings of childhood behavior, that two orthogonal dimensions may exist: covert or overt and destructive or non-destructive. Each quadrant represents a type of behavior: aggression, property violations, status violations, or simple oppositional behavior—with the first three quadrants distinguishing CD.

Thus, conduct disorder, as a mental diagnosis, is defined as “a repetitive and persistent pattern of behavior that violates the rights of others or that violates major age-appropriate societal norms or rules” (Frick, 2016, p. 160). Key symptoms include aggression directed at people or animals, destruction of property, deceitfulness or theft, and serious rule violations. Within CD there also appear to be two ages of onset: those who exhibit symptoms as early as pre-school or elementary school and those who show signs beginning in adolescence after age 10. Congruent with prior research, those on the early-onset pathway are more likely to remain

³² Based upon the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM).

stable, persist over time in their offending, and to develop ASPD (Lahey et al., 1995; Moffitt et al., 2008). The risk factors for CD are numerous and although causal connections remain elusive, Murray and Farrington (2010) found, in review of longitudinal studies, that the most critical predictors are impulsiveness, low IQ, familial conflict, child abuse, single-motherhood, and having an antisocial parent. In addition, socioeconomic deprivation, poor school climate, and the influence of delinquent peers may exacerbate the behavior of children with CD, but questions remain about whether some of these relationships may be largely “mediated by family socialization practices” (p. 638; Kasen, Johnson, & Cohen, 1990). For instance, children with CD are significantly more likely to carry guns as teenagers, but increased parental monitoring can help to diminish this effect (Loeber et al., 2004). Some evidence has also shown that children with CD, especially early-onset CD, are more likely to have neuropsychological deficits or abnormalities that impair executive functioning and verbal reasoning (Moffitt, 1993b). That said, a sub-group of youth with CD display a clustering of so-called “callous-unemotional traits” that, based upon brain scans, may blunt or distort responses to threats, fear, or empathy (Blair et al., 2014; Christian, Frick, Hill, Tyler, & Frazer, 1997; Yoder, Lahey, & Decety, 2001).

Just as ODD, in some instances, may be considered a less severe form of CD, children with CU traits appear to suffer from a *more* severe form of CD. Recently, a specifier was added to the DSM-V’s definition of CD to acknowledge the types of children that possess these “limited prosocial emotions” (Cecil, McCrory, Barker, Guiney, & Viding, 2017, p. 1; see also Scheepers, Buitelaar, & Matthys, 2011). Though children with CU traits are a heterogeneous group, they are generally defined as exhibiting a callous disregard for others, an absence of empathy, a tendency to manipulate, and a lack of guilt or remorse (Frick & White, 2008). Moreover, many studies have pointed toward additional dispositions such as a “lower sensitivity

to punishment,” “under-arousal,” “disruptions in affective theory of mind,” and “difficulties in social-information processing” (Cecil et al., 2017, p. 1). To summarize, the literature is replete with large-scale, longitudinal studies suggesting that CD diagnosed children with CU traits are “more severe, aggressive, and stable” in their patterns of antisocial behavior over time (Frick & White, 2008, p. 369; Frick, Cornell, Barry, Bodin, & Dane, 2003; Pardini & Fite, 2011). They are also more likely to engage in multiple types of delinquency, to do so more frequently, and to display qualities consistent with the clinical diagnoses of psychopathy or ASPD (Fontaine, McCrory, Boivin, Moffitt, & Viding, 2011; Frick, Stickle, Dandreaux, Farrell, & Kimonis, 2005). Furthermore, it is possible for teachers to identify children with CU traits as early as pre-school and studies have linked CU traits to lower academic achievement, poor school readiness, increased school problems (i.e., repeated violations), reactive aggression, and antagonistic behaviors at school like bullying—as well as cyberbullying (Ciucci, Baroncelli, Franchi, Golmaryami, & Frick, 2014; Graziano et al., 2016; Zych, Ttofi, & Farrington, 2016). Undeniably, such children in the classroom personify the very nature of the *vicious pupil*.

To that effect, research conducted by Kerig and Stellwagen (2010), involving 252 middle school students rated by their teachers, found that the personality characteristics of impulsivity, narcissism, and CU traits all operated in a “psychopathy *trifecta*” to accurately identify those children who engaged in overt acts of “physical and proactive aggression” (p. 349, emphasis in original). Additionally, they noted the ability of the construct Machiavellianism to mediate the relationship between narcissism and relational aggression (i.e., covert acts of sophistication requiring knowledge of the victim)—by a type of manipulative, but socially functional child they call the “scoundrel on the schoolyard” (p. 349; see also Kerig & Sink, 2010). While the underlying foundations for CU traits remain under investigation, some studies

have proposed that they belong to a broader, hierarchy of general personality, potentially encompassing some of the aforementioned features of the Dark Triad (Latzman, Lilienfeld, Latzman, & Clark, 2013; Paulhus & Williams, 2002). Along these lines, several studies have begun to connect high CU traits in children to similar constructs of psychopathy in adults such as fearlessness, thrill-seeking, and a “reward-dominant response style” (Barry et al., 2000, p. 339). Though based on limited sample sizes, conduct disorder closely adheres to the two-factor model of psychopathy (i.e., interpersonal/affective, lifestyle/antisocial) and parallels trends of antisocial behavior into adulthood (Frick, O’Brien, Wootton, & McBurnett, 1994; Hare & Neumann, 2008; Hawes, Mulvey, Schubert, & Pardini, 2014). To some, this constellation of elements composing psychopathy could represent a “unified theory of crime” (DeLisi, 2009, p. 268).

Finally, harkening back to Healy (1915), a wealth of literature is emerging that indicates antisocial behavior is a result of an “interaction between the individual ... and the social environment” (Farrington, 2005, p. 186). As before, despite the number of risk factors that have been identified, the causal mechanisms leading to misbehavior are less well understood. However, comprehensive reviews, as well as twin and adoption studies, continue to demonstrate that substantial genetic forces are at work (Baker, Bezdjian, & Raine, 2006; Raine, 2002; Rhee & Waldman, 2002). This new biosocial perspective indicates that pervasive antisocial behavior may be highly heritable and detectable as early as age 5; moreover, some caution that research that does not account for these genetic influences may be misspecified (Arseneault et al., 2003; Barnes, Boutwell, Beaver, & Gibson, 2013). Multiple studies have also discovered that CU traits are under strong genetic pressure, especially among the worst behaved children (Henry, Pingault, Boivin, Rijdsdijk, & Viding, 2016; Viding, Blair, Moffit, & Plomin, 2005). For instance, school expulsions appear to have a considerable genetic basis while out-of-school suspensions may be

driven primarily by environmental factors (Beaver et al., 2016). The extent of this knowledge, therefore, does not neglect the potential influences of high-crime neighborhoods, severe childhood maltreatment, injury from traumatic experiences, or other comorbid environmental risks (Cecil et al., 2017; Farrington, 2005; Shaw, Gilliom, Nagin, & Ingoldsby, 2003). Indeed, given the significant genetic overlap between *vicious* CU traits and a variety of childhood conduct problems, as well as the difficulty involved in pinpointing specific genes via genome-wide analyses, it appears likely that the future prospects for identifying such incorrigible students and correcting their behaviors will largely remain the domain of the school and the teacher—as always (Viding, Frick, & Plomin, 2007; Viding et al., 2013).

Summary

To conclude, an abundant collection of historical texts and government documents appear to indicate that, since at least the 1900s, school officials have been able to identify several distinct types of troublesome students in the classroom. Although some students are potentially amendable through routine disciplinary measures, others are considered to be so wholly incorrigible that they necessitate immediate exclusion from the school—either through out-of-school suspension or expulsion. Broadly speaking, these categories include the socially disordered or neurotic, the defiantly truant, and the asocial, vicious pupil. However, concerning those in the latter category, unprovoked aggression, bullying, and deceitful manipulation typically characterize their interactions with peers and teachers, making their presence in the classroom not only a detriment to good order and instruction, but also a menacing terror. Studies over the last sixty years have gradually ascertained that traits and factors proximal to the student, rather than those forces external to the individual, such as the school itself, are likely responsible

for the genesis of this severely antisocial conduct. Moreover, longitudinal data has illustrated that this misbehavior is detectable even near infancy, that it peaks and persists throughout adolescence, and among the worst afflicted children will continue into adulthood. Yet only limited investigations have been conducted into the offending trajectories of these chronically incorrigible students and how the receipt of school discipline may affect them. Given the prior literature, it stands to reason that such students will exhibit the greatest rates of early-onset problem behaviors, come from the most dysfunctional families, present with the highest manifestation of malevolent traits, and will be those who not only get into fights at school, but start them. Such vicious conduct makes them the ideal recipient of exclusionary discipline—for wherever this behavior is encountered it must be swiftly punished.

Summary of the Literature

Across American history, schools and teachers have played a fundamental role not only in educating children, but also in the prevention of socially inappropriate behavior by penalizing classroom misconduct. During the colonial era, teachers regularly employed corporal punishment as their primary method of control (Cubberley, 1919; Currie, 1861). Although physical discipline is often viewed in retrospect as unnecessarily brutish, the prevailing religious attitudes of the time saw it as an entirely acceptable and expected technique for restoring order—whether at school or within the family. Society had thus chosen to transfer the natural authority of parents to the teachers, allowing them wide discretion in their ability to reprimand sinful behavior. Typically, corporal punishment fulfilled simple motives like retaliation or atonement that affixed an immediate consequence to a particular transgression with the expectation that it would impart self-control on the child (Morehouse, 1914). Similarly, it was selected for its effectiveness as a

blunt tool with which to impose a broader deterrent effect on the rest of the student body. More importantly, corporal punishment was considered a less severe penalty compared to expulsion because it at least kept the unruly child within the confines of the school, where they could be monitored, rather than placing them back on the street (Abbott, 1834; White, 1893). Indeed, expulsion was administered only to those students who were utterly incorrigible, habitually truant, or otherwise a nuisance and beyond the help of the school. That is to say, where corporal punishment had failed to restrain the rebellious student, expulsion was then chosen as a last resort. Alternatively, the most serious juvenile offenders faced the possibility of being sent to a “school prison” or state reformatory (Mann, 1844). In either case, the finality of expulsion or subsequent incarceration meant that these were not restorative acts or penalties levied to induce reformation; instead, they were forms of incapacitation designed to protect other students from a corrupting influence.

However, by the end of the 1800s, the frequent use of corporal punishment was called into question due to its degrading, violent, and brutalizing nature that appeared morally illogical following the abolition of slavery (Cobb, 1847). In addition, several other factors such as the feminization of the teaching workforce, the spread of egalitarian values in American society, and a belief in universal, compulsory education for all children contributed to its eventual demise as a preferred method of punishment (Morehouse, 1914). As a substitute, many educators began to advocate for out-of-school suspension as an effective replacement in order to reform the problematic student (Raichle, 1977; USCE, 1889). While theoretically well-intentioned, there were three major issues that negatively impacted how suspension was implemented. First, the expansion of compulsory education laws meant that students who had previously not gone to school or who were traditionally expelled were now obligated to attend. This further burdened

the instructional process by making the education of “defectives” a mandatory duty for teachers; thereby increasing the problems they had to deal with to such an extent that the creation of alternative classrooms and schools became necessary (Cubberley, 1919). Second, suspension operated under the isolating principle of reformation which meant that a student had to internalize the punishment and actively choose to behave appropriately as there was little external incentive to engage in good conduct. Morehouse (1914) noted this as suspension’s greatest weakness since the incorrigible student had already defied the school; thus, it was irrational to expect that they would suddenly become obedient. As a result, because suspension was a temporary measure, the student would inevitably return to the school regardless of whether or not their attitude had truly changed. Third, with the elimination of corporal punishment, suspension was now the only available intermediary between simple discipline (e.g., detention, demerits, office referrals) and expulsion—leaving teachers with few viable alternatives for punishing chronic misbehavior.

Following the end of World War II, concerns about the rising tide of juvenile delinquency triggered action by governmental agencies and community organizations to find a comprehensive solution (Hill et al., 1953). These implementations took many forms, but generally involved collaborations between police departments and schools given their complementary fit. School resource officers patrolled campuses to interact with children, administrators referred troublesome or truant students into social service agencies, and youth detention centers—the modern equivalent of school prisons—arose to divert juveniles away from the adult criminal justice system (Brandes, 1956; Cutts & Moseley, 1941; Kvaraceus, 1945). Alongside these changes, exclusionary discipline gained prominence as an effective method of punishment, leading to increases in its use for a variety of offenses (Dawson, 1965; Henning,

1949). Thus, over time, school districts and courts slowly began to carve out formal statutes, limitations, and procedures for reinstatement since even temporary exclusion from school could naturally have a deleterious effect on a child's education. Eventually, legal precedents validated by the Supreme Court would give students a de facto "right" to education as well as basic due process provisioning prior to suspension (Phay & Cummings, 1970). Exercising these newfound civil rights, child advocacy groups immediately emphasized the significant disparities uncovered in exclusionary discipline practices among the poor, the disabled, and racial minorities (Cottle, 1974; Haralson, 1979). Specifically, black students were found to be two to three times more likely to receive a suspension than whites, potentially a result, they argued, of racial discrimination (CDF, 1975). Such concerns would persist into the modern day, but the use of suspensions would continue largely unabated as schools shifted their focus to college readiness and higher academic standards (Kaesar, 1979; McDill et al., 1986). Furthermore, the explosive growth of crime during the 1980s led many schools to adopt zero tolerance policies that exacerbated disciplinary disparities and contributed to what some claimed was a "prison-like" environment, especially in urban areas (Adams, 2000; Kingery, 2000; Skiba & Peterson, 1999).

While exclusionary discipline did serve to remove troublesome students from the classroom, improving overall school climate, the inflexible penalties of zero tolerance may have contributed to the increased and unnecessary criminalization of some school misconduct (Cook et al., 2010). In addition, suspensions, whether utilized in or out-of-school, did nothing to address the underlying causes of problem behavior. This led several scholars to hypothesize that particular students, often racial minorities, were in essence being set up for failure, then pushed or made to dropout, and finally funneled into the "school-to-prison pipeline" (Wald & Losen, 2003). Alarming, much of the multivariate research of the time was unable to account for the

racial disparities between whites and non-whites, suggesting that systemic discrimination was a valid concern as well. In some cases, blame for the criminalization of students was directed toward the punitive policies of the school system, overzealous police officers, or even at teachers who were alleged to be exhibiting racial biases (Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock, 2017; Skiba et al., 2014b; Welch, 2017). Whether this contact with the criminal justice system came as a result of “get-tough” security measures, interactions with school resource officers, or from juvenile court referrals, the outcomes nonetheless foreshadowed negative long-term consequences for the student—including unemployment, victimization, serious offending, and incarceration (Rocque & Snellings, 2017; Skiba et al., 2014a). Given the consistency of the literature regarding the detrimental effects of suspension and expulsion, professional associations as well as the federal government were spurred into action, calling for an end to such practices in all but the most extreme cases (AAP, 2013). Yet these declarations, of course, raised the challenging question of what disciplinary alternative teachers would have left when it came to punishing repeated misbehavior.

Although still largely anecdotal, there is mounting evidence that, in the face of these controversial issues, teachers are becoming hesitant to reprimand children, that students are becoming more rebellious under anemic disciplinary procedures, and that the authority of the school as an institution has been delegitimized (Brent, 2017; Eden, 2017). Moreover, recent studies are beginning to demonstrate that exclusionary discipline may have a substantive deterrent effect, that administrators, rather than haphazardly punishing minority students, are attempting to maximize school-wide achievement, and that individual problem behavior can account for racial disparities in suspension (Hwang, 2017; Kinsler, 2013; Wright et al., 2014). Beyond this, an extensive body of research in criminology has established that chronic antisocial

behavior is characteristic of a small percentage of children, that this conduct tends to be stable over time into adulthood, and that juveniles may advance down different offending pathways—as predicted by educators a century ago (Colvin, 1917; Loeber et al., 1993; Moffitt, 1993a). In particular, children diagnosed with conduct disorder or callous-unemotional traits are more aggressive, manipulative, and persistent in their delinquent habits which represents the types of behaviors most likely to be met with exclusionary discipline (Frick & White, 2008).

Consequently, since exclusion cannot change the underlying nature of human behavior, teachers have been left obligated to deal with those students in the classroom who remain obstinate, disorderly, or even violent. Ultimately, whether defined by its severity or its repetitiveness, antisocial behavior is intractable in a segment of the juvenile population and schools lack not only the ability, but also any purpose in remedying it (Bagley, 1915; Beck, 1955). Formal schooling is designed to educate those who are capable of being educated. Accordingly, attempts to retain incorrigible children alongside their otherwise obedient peers is profoundly shortsighted for it further burdens the limited resources of the school and needlessly risks the academic achievement of the entire student body. To those students who persist in their misconduct and whose noxious presence is undesirable to all—they are, figuratively, “too cruel for school.”

If we are not greatly deceived in our own observation, and egregiously misled by others, our principal cities in this country are remarkable for the precocious depravity and bold lawlessness of youth. Lads from fourteen to twenty-one are the busiest instigators, the most active abettors, and the most daring perpetrators of offences against the peace and good order of society. In tumults, street fights, and riotous assemblages, in resistance to authority and contempt of law, they generally take the lead. (Pennsylvania Journal of Prison Discipline, as cited in Fowle, 1852, p. 312)

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

Study Overview

Within the literature, attempts to establish a direct connection between suspension or expulsion and contact with the criminal justice system, so as to confirm the existence of a “school-to-prison pipeline,” have received surprisingly little empirical attention. In part, this is because more focus has generally been directed towards explaining racial disparities in outcomes of exclusionary discipline itself (Skiba et al., 2000). Recently, Novak (2018) conducted a systematic review of the research, scouring nearly 7,000 articles, attempting to find studies that: (1) captured arrest or various types of justice system contact as a dependent variable, (2) included some form of exclusionary discipline as an independent variable, (3) incorporated a multivariate, inferential design, and (4) used student-level data as the unit of analysis. Her efforts uncovered only seven studies meeting these basic criteria. Although she notes that the “school-to-prison pipeline” could be rendered “purely metaphorical” through the “inclusion of relevant

confounders,” her ultimate conclusion on the subject is different (p. 5). Novak states that all of the analyzed studies suggest that the “experiences of exclusionary discipline have a direct, non-spurious, association with subsequent justice system contact” (p. 29). Such findings, however, if taken as evidence of exclusion’s iatrogenic effect, are likely premature for four main reasons.

First, some studies have been unable to accurately establish the temporal ordering of key variables; that is, it is difficult to determine if suspension actually precedes criminal involvement, arrest, or incarceration—including the more limited possibility that they could all be generated from the same precipitating event (Monahan et al., 2014). Second, measures assessing contact with the criminal justice system or outcomes within the system itself are of limited utility because they represent only those offenses which were detected by authorities (Mowen & Brent, 2016). For instance, Farrington, Jolliffe, Loeber, and Homish (2007) reported in a sample of 506 boys that for every juvenile offense referred to the court, another 80 went undetected. While true estimates of the amount of offending occurring within schools are difficult to determine and remain unknown, it is likely that what is punished represents only a small fraction of what is actually committed. Third, student conduct has been insufficiently measured in studies as these dependent variables are often rendered dichotomous which does not capture the actual frequency, severity, type of delinquency, or form of criminal offending committed by the individual. In addition, measures of suspension are also captured in a similar manner which neglects the well-documented and repetitive nature of school discipline administered to habitually problematic or vicious students (Hemphill, Toumbourou, Herrenkohl, McMorris, & Catalano, 2006; Piquero, Cardwell, Piquero, Jennings, & Reingle Gonzalez, 2016; Wolf & Kupchik, 2017). Fourth, the hypothesized relationship between exclusionary discipline and criminal justice system contact could be largely tautological. Specifically, the underlying

behavioral proclivities that lead to suspension are likely the same as those that lead to arrest given the evidence surrounding the stability of antisocial behavior and a variety of costly life-course outcomes related to low self-control (Caspi et al., 2016; Farrington et al., 2006; Moffitt et al., 2011). Hence, exclusionary discipline cannot be easily separated, empirically or theoretically, from the misbehavior or offending which causes it (see also Li, 2016). For example, a number of studies analyzed by Novak (2018), discussed below, used suspension or expulsion as their sole measure of individual misbehavior or even intentionally as a behavioral control (Arum & Beattie, 1999; Jagers, Robison, Rhodes, Guan, & Church, 2016; Katsiyannis et al., 2012).

Such critiques are not intended as an intellectual broadside against this body of research, rather these concerns are derived from a deeply-rooted, historical literature that has traditionally understood that exclusionary discipline was the school sanction of last resort—culminating only after a pattern of persistent or dangerous classroom misbehavior by the student (Bagley, 1915; Moore, 1914). Indeed, since the inception of public education in the United States, scholars and educators have recognized that some youth are exceedingly troublesome, incorrigible, or even violent. Consequently, measures of punitive or exclusionary discipline were viewed as the end result of student misconduct and not as a causal mechanism of future problem behavior. To reiterate, this means that students belonging to such a group pose a non-random selection effect (see also Cuellar & Markowitz, 2015; Kinsler, 2013). Forsyth et al.’s (2014) recent descriptive analysis of the relationship between exclusionary discipline and the commission of felony offenses in the same school year is instructive in this regard.³³ Evaluating over 685,000 students across nearly all Louisiana public schools, approximately 80% were never suspended or

³³ Louisiana defines suspension as a “temporary removal of a student from the regular education setting for at least one day” which means this measure encompasses disciplinary dispositions such in-school suspension, in-school expulsion, or exclusion to an alternative school setting (Forsyth, 2014, p. 153).

expelled, 16% were excluded one to three times, and only 4.5% were excluded four or more times. Interestingly, the never excluded group accounted for exactly zero of the 774 felony offenses committed during the year. Furthermore, despite being over three times smaller, the students in the four or more exclusions category were responsible for committing roughly half of all the felony offenses (47%) as compared to those in the one to three exclusions group (53%). As Forsyth and colleagues remarked, “this quickly supports the idea that only a small number of students commit most, albeit in this case all, of the offenses, including school infractions and felonies” (p. 153).

That said, it is also important to recognize that prior studies have sometimes inappropriately designated suspension and expulsion as predictor variables—essentially casting them as proxy indicators of actual delinquency when attempting to assess long-term outcomes. Arum and Beattie (1999), for instance, used dichotomous self-reports of suspension and expulsion (as legitimate control variables) to model “the extent to which *adolescent delinquency* is associated with adult incarceration” in a longitudinal sample of approximately 4,000 males (p. 523, emphasis added). Given that no other individual-level behavioral controls were used, they reported that students who had been suspended were over twice as likely to be at risk for incarceration. Similar findings were noted by Katsiyannis et al. (2012) who found that a binary measure of receiving an out-of-school suspension nearly tripled the likelihood of being charged with a violent crime thirteen years later as an adult. However, the only other behavioral controls involved in the study were measures related to academic achievement, truancy, and problems getting along with peers. Finally, Jagers et al. (2016) examined the effects of having ever been expelled from school across 16 years of data utilizing over 500,000 cases of youth who were now old enough to be convicted as an adult. They found that expulsion was a significant

predictor of contact with the state department of corrections, contact with the correctional system due to the commission of a violent crime, and of having ever been incarcerated—increasing the odds of each by over twice as much. Alongside expulsion, however, only school absences, being held back a grade, dropout status, and prior contact with the juvenile justice system were measured. Nevertheless, the authors concluded that “punishment-oriented approaches such as suspension, expulsion, and the juvenile justice system seem to encourage further deviant behavior among youth” (p. 89). Given the methodological issues raised in this section, such conclusions remain suspect due to omitted variable bias, if not entirely erroneous due to the problem of endogeneity.

Accordingly, the current study presents an investigation aimed at addressing or improving on the aforementioned criticisms by: (1) establishing the type and amount of exclusionary discipline received prior to evaluating longitudinal outcomes, (2) capturing actual self-reported offending, including various types of offending (e.g., aggressive or income-based), instead of a simplified indicator of contact with the criminal justice system, (3) reporting on the total frequency of offending over time rather than using dichotomous outcomes; additionally, evaluating suspension and expulsion categorically based upon the number of sanctions ever received, and (4) controlling for comprehensive assessments of early childhood problem behaviors, antisocial personality, family or social background, and aggressive conduct such as bullying or fighting at school. While comprising a homogenous source of convicted adolescent offenders—91% of whom had received at least one school suspension—the sample allows for the study of those individuals who have engaged in school misbehavior, are most likely to have received exclusionary discipline, and who were at-risk for becoming involved in further criminal activity (Healy, 1915; Forsyth et al., 2014; Moffitt, 1993a; Moore, 1961). The use of an

offender-based sample is particularly advantageous because recent national estimates show that only 6.4% of students in the 2011-2012 school year received an out-of-school suspension which represents an increase of just 2.2% since 1975 (CDF, 1975; USDOE, 2017b). Indeed, using the same dataset, Piquero et al. (2016) justified its utility by noting that much of what is known about the risk factors for criminality are “derived from samples of non-offenders and the general population”—potentially biasing the literature concerning long-term trends or trajectories (p. 190). Therefore, the current study can assess as to whether the “school-to-prison pipeline” is the result of exogenous factors such as school discipline or whether behaviors and time-stable differences intrinsic to the individual are responsible for school exclusion and subsequent criminal offending. To conclude, the analyses presented here represent a demonstration of how differences in the measurement of individual behaviors and disciplinary outcomes can affect findings related to the frequency of offending over time.

Data Source and Sample

The data for this analysis was taken from the Pathways to Desistance study which sought to examine serious adolescent criminal offenders via a multi-site, longitudinal panel design as they transitioned into early adulthood (Mulvey, Schubert, & Piquero, 2014; Schubert et al., 2004). The study was conducted in order to identify how antisocial youth develop over time, how they ultimately desist from engaging in criminal activity, and how criminal justice system interventions may play a role in this process. Initially, six potential metropolitan areas were considered for the project with Maricopa County, Arizona and Philadelphia County, Pennsylvania being selected due to a combination of factors related to rates of crime, sample diversity, criminal justice system operations, and stakeholder support. Through a review of court

files, recruitment focused on youth who were at least 14 or under 18 and who were adjudicated delinquent or found guilty of committing any serious offense, primarily a felony. There were a few exceptions where an included subject could have committed a misdemeanor property or weapon offense as well as misdemeanor sexual assault. However, to maintain sample heterogeneity, it was decided that the number of drug offenders at each site would be capped at 15% for males only. Either way, all eligible females and youth being considered for trial as an adult were at the outset accepted.

The study's initial enrollment period through November 2000 to January 2003 catalogued 10,461 juveniles who met the age and charge criteria in the court system. Slightly over half (5,382) of these juveniles were found not guilty or had their charges reduced below a felony level and were excluded. Additionally, there were 1,272 juveniles whose court data was unclear or unresolved and were excluded. As a result, this left 3,807 subjects who had been adjudicated on an eligible charge and of these 1,799 were excluded due to logistical constraints such as case overload for the local interviewer or surpassing the preset drug offender cap. The remaining 2,008 individuals were approached for initial enrollment with 1,354 juveniles accepting in the final count. Compared to all previously involved adjudicated juveniles, the final sample was slightly younger at adjudication and for their first petition, more likely to have had prior petitions (i.e., an average of 2.1 prior petitions), had a greater percentage of females, contained more whites and fewer African-Americans (as a significant relationship existed between African-Americans and the drug offending cap group), and were more likely at the time to be placed in residential treatment or to be incarcerated than placed on probation (Schubert et al., 2004).

After obtaining informed consent from the juvenile and their parents or guardians, a baseline interview was conducted. The interview consisted of two, two-hour sessions and

covered six broad domains of content: background characteristics, indicators of individual functioning, psychosocial development and attitudes, family context, personal relationships, and community context. This interview occurred within 75 days of the adjudication hearing for youth still in the juvenile system and within 90 days for those within the adult system. Follow-up interviews were conducted with the youths across a seven year period at the 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 48, 60, 72, and 84 month periods. Research staff attempted to locate and interview participants starting six weeks before the target date and lasting until eight weeks after. These interviews were conducted using computer assistance to emphasize privacy and honest reporting over a two-hour period in the participants' home, in public areas such as libraries, or even in secure facilities if the subject was incarcerated. Confidentiality protections were assured through official certificates obtained from the United States Department of Justice. Subjects were paid on a graduated payment schedule ranging from \$50 to \$115 and the average retention rate was 89.5% over time with 63.8% of respondents interviewed for all ten follow-up waves and another 22.8% for at least eight waves of the study (Mulvey, 2013; Mulvey et al., 2014).

While the data analyzed in this dissertation relies predominantly on these subject interviews, collateral interviews with a parent, family member, other adult, or nominated peer were also conducted by the original survey team to supplement and validate some of the subject's given information. These collateral interviews were conducted at baseline and annually for the first three years of the study. The research team also checked official arrest records with the Federal Bureau of Investigation, social services and treatments received via Medicaid claims, welfare information from child protective services, and juvenile or adult court records from each jurisdiction to supplement the study. In addition, release interviews with subjects were conducted within 30 days before or after their release from a residential facility. Overall, the study ran until

March 2010 using collaborative funding from federal, state, and private agencies and was released as publically available data to the Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research in 2013 (Mulvey, 2013).³⁴ Having described the purpose of the study and the sample, the following sections now turn to detailing the dependent variables measured at each of the aforementioned recall periods, the time-invariant independent variables, the time-variant independent variables, and concludes with the analytical strategy.

Dependent Variables

Total Offending

Total offending is a 22-item self-report measure originally constructed by the study team that inquired about a host of antisocial and illegal activities that the subject may have committed during each recall period (i.e., 6-month to 84-month waves). The items for this measure included various crimes such as (1) destroying or damaging property, (2) purposefully setting a fire, (3) breaking into a building to steal, (4) shoplifting, (5) buying, receiving, or selling stolen property, (6) using a check or credit card illegally, (7) stealing a car or motorcycle, (8) selling marijuana, (9) selling other drugs (e.g., cocaine, crack, heroin), (10) carjacking, (11) driving drunk or high, (12) being paid for having sex, (13) forcing someone to have sex, (14) killing someone, (15) shooting at someone where the bullet hit, (16) shooting at someone, (17) robbery with a weapon, (18) robbery without a weapon, (19) physically attacking someone resulting a serious injury, (20) threatening or physically attacking someone as part of a gang, (21) engaging in a fight, and (22)

³⁴ Further information on the study's design or procedures, relevant codebooks, and measures can be found on the official Pathways to Desistance website at <http://www.pathwaysstudy.pitt.edu/index.html> which is maintained by the Center for Research on Health Care Data Center affiliated with the University of Pittsburgh.

carrying a gun. Subjects reported the frequency of each crime they committed during the recall period and the total was summed. For three questions related to selling marijuana, selling other drugs, and carrying a gun the frequency was recorded as the number of days the subject engaged in the act. All other items reflect the actual number of times the event occurred. In subsequent analyses, a separate variety score measure of total offending, initially constructed by the study team as a proportion of the 22 possible offenses committed during each wave, is utilized to evaluate model outcomes on a bounded count. This measure was created by multiplying the proportion by 22 and then rounding each score to the nearest whole number.

Aggressive Offending

This measure is composed of a subset of the 22-item measure specifically capturing the frequency of aggressive offending. Included are 11 items involving damaging property, setting a fire, forcing someone to have sex, killing someone, shooting at someone, shooting at someone where the bullet hit, taking something by force with a weapon, taking something by force without a weapon, physically attacking someone resulting in a serious injury, fighting or threatening someone as a part of a gang, and getting into a fight.

Income Offending

This measure is composed of a subset of the 22-item measure specifically capturing the frequency of income offending. Included are 10 items involving breaking into a building to steal, shoplifting, buying, receiving, or selling stolen property, using a check or credit card illegally, stealing a car or motorcycle, selling marijuana, selling other drugs, being paid by someone for

sex, taking by force with a weapon, and taking by force without a weapon. It should be noted the last two items overlap with those on the aggressive offending measure since these crimes may also be motivated by monetary gain. Later analyses also evaluate a restricted “no drug” version of this measure where selling marijuana and selling other drugs are removed from the count as these two offenses can constitute a large share of the overall frequency.

Time-Invariant Independent Variables

Site

The study site variable indicates whether the subject resided in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania or Phoenix, Arizona (1 = Philadelphia, 2 = Phoenix). Approximately 52% of the youth were from Philadelphia (N = 700) and 48% from Phoenix (N = 654).

Gender

Gender was reported as male or female and the sample was composed of approximately 86% males and 14% females (1 = Male, 2 = Female).

Race / Ethnicity

Race or ethnicity of the subject was coded into one of four mutually exclusive groups: white, black, Hispanic, or other. The sample included approximately 20% whites, 41% blacks, 34% Hispanics, and 5% other youth. This measure is coded so that white represents the reference category.

Neighborhood Conditions

The subject's neighborhood environment was measured using two combined scales capturing physical and social disorder adapted from Sampson and Raudenbush (1999). Physical disorder included 12 items such as the presence of graffiti or cigarettes on the street, while social disorder included 9 items such as adults fighting or arguing and people using drugs in the neighborhood. These questions asked about the occurrence of these events on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = Never to 4 = Often) where higher scores indicate more disorder. According to analyses conducted by the study team, the physical disorder scale ($\alpha = .91$) and social disorder scale ($\alpha = .87$) were highly correlated ($r = .83$). The total scale score ($\alpha = .94$), when combined as an average, ranges from 1 to 4 and represents the overall degree of disorder within the community. In cases where the subject was in a secure facility at the time of the interview, the neighborhood of interest was where the youth resided prior to incarceration.

Parental Index of Social Position

Socioeconomic status of the subject was also captured at baseline by a measure of their biological parent's level of education and occupation. Values were coded using a 7-point scale ranging from 1 (professional degree; higher executives, proprietors, major professionals) to 7 (less than seven years of school; unskilled employees) based upon the subject's report (Hollingshead, 1957). This measure captures detail from both parents and is also supplanted by collateral reports in cases where parents provided their own information. Using a formula from Hollingshead (1971), the parental index of social position was computed as such: (Occupation Score x 7) + (Education Score x 4) where higher scores indicate lower social position. The mean

value for both parents was taken if available and for those with only one parent reporting, the single parent score was used. Additionally, in cases where information was missing for either education or occupation, the data for that category was derived from the available score. For instance, if a parent reported they were a high school graduate, but did not report their occupation, they were marked with the equivalent occupation for that level of education (i.e., clerical sales workers, technicians, and owners of small business). When the subject and collateral reports disagreed and the collateral report was not completed by the parent the lowest value was taken for either category.

IQ

Subjects were administered the Wechsler Abbreviated Scale of Intelligence (WASI; Wechsler, 1999) at baseline to capture full scale IQ. The test consists of 42 questions on vocabulary and 35 on matrix reasoning. The test was administered on paper by the interviewer in approximately 15 minutes and higher scores indicate greater intellectual ability. The mean score was 84.5 with a standard deviation of 13.

School Dropout

Subjects were asked at baseline if they had dropped out of school (0 = No, 1 = Yes). The dropout group contained 218 individuals or 16% of the sample.

Early Onset of Behavior Problems

To capture early onset behavioral issues, subjects were asked at baseline whether they had gotten into trouble for cheating, for disturbing class, for being drunk or stoned, for stealing, or for fighting—with all items using the qualifier before age 11. These items were summed into a count measure ranging from 0 to 5 with higher values indicting more problematic behavior.

Bullying

Subjects were asked a question at baseline if they had ever bullied anyone with approximately 23% responding that they had (0 = No, 1 = Yes).

Fighting

Subjects were asked at baseline if they had ever gotten into fights at school and, if so, how often. The original measure found that 76.5% of children reported fighting. Those who fought were then grouped into one of 7 separate categories by the study team: (1) daily, (2) 3 to 6 times per week, (3) 2 times per week, (4) 1 time per week, (5) less weekly, more than monthly, (6) 1 time per month, and (7) less than monthly. However, to aid interpretability, similar categories were combined into a 4-category measure (0 = Never fought, 1 = Fought less than monthly, 2 = Fought monthly, 3 = Fought weekly or daily) where the ambiguous original fifth category was assigned into the new fought monthly group. There was one case that responded they did not know how often they had fought and was assigned a value of 1 which was the median.

Starting Fights

Subjects who responded in the affirmative that they had fought at school were asked a follow-up question to determine how many of those fights they had started. The measure originally contained 5 categories, but the “most” or “all” categories were combined into a single category (0 = None, 1 = Some, 2 = About half, 3 = Most or all). There was one case that responded they did not know how many of the fights they had started and was assigned a value of 1 which was the median.

Suspension

Subjects were asked at baseline if they had “ever been suspended from school” and, if so, how many times they had been suspended. Given the terminology used, this measure is understood as an out-of-school rather than in-school suspension. The distribution of this measure was positively skewed and 91% of the sample reported at least one suspension. Although the measure can be evaluated as a continuous variable, several unrealistic outlier values were detected above the 90th percentile (i.e., 30 suspensions). To obtain a better understanding of the impact of repeated suspensions on long-term criminal offending the measure was categorized into five groups (0 = 0 to 1 time, 1 = 2 to 4 times, 2 = 5 to 10 times, 3 = 11 to 20 times, 4 = 21 times or more) in order to balance validity and case count. Visual binning techniques consistently identified the 21 times or more group as the uppermost category.

This measure provides a comprehensive look at the effect of multiple suspensions as well as capturing the presence of potentially chronic misbehavior at school. Additionally, there were 11 individuals who reported having been suspended, but did not know how many times they

were suspended. These cases were assigned a value of 6 suspensions (i.e., category 2) which was the median of those suspended. Secondary analyses evaluating suspension as a continuous measure, as a continuous measure with outliers greater than 2 standard deviations removed, and as a continuous measure capped at the 90th percentile are also presented to estimate the effect of one suspension on offending.

Age at First Suspension

Subjects who responded in the affirmative that they had ever been suspended were asked a contingency question to determine at what age they received their first suspension. This measure ranged from age 9 or younger, a minimum category, and then continuously to age 17. There were 15 individuals who did not know when they had first been suspended. These cases were assigned a value of age 12 which was the median.

Expulsion

Subjects were asked at baseline if they had ever been expelled from school and, if so, how many times. While nearly 40% of the sample reported being expelled, only 12.8% of the respondents reported multiple expulsions and so this measure was recoded (0 = Never expelled, 1 = 1 time, 2 = 2 or more times) in accordance with the case count.

Time-Variant Independent Variables

Days in the Recall Period

This measure indicates the total number of days involved in the recall period for the interview based upon the number of months covered. While the normal interview interval between waves was expected to be six months or one year, depending on the wave, some subjects were interviewed earlier or later than anticipated. As a result, this measure accounts for the potential that some subjects had more or less time (i.e., measured in days) to engage in offending during their recall period. Given that negative binomial regression allows the specification of an exposure variable over which the dependent variable is observed, this measure does not appear in the models as a covariate since it is constrained to 1 automatically.

Time in Secure Settings

Since some subjects were likely to be incarcerated or otherwise in a locked facility during the study, this measure collects the proportion of time they spent in such a facility without access to the community. This enables a potential control for the subject's criminal opportunity where higher values of the proportion indicate more time spent in a locked facility. Using a calendar approach, subjects reported how many days they spent in particular settings each month during the recall period. Secure settings included drug or alcohol treatment facilities, psychiatric hospitals, jails or prisons, detention centers, site specific secure juvenile facilities, and contracted residential facilities for general care, intervention, or mental health. Locations excluded from this measure include foster homes, shelters, or other settings (e.g., military-style high school, YMCA) where the youth may have resided, but still had access to the community.

Age

Youth ranged in age from 14 to 19 in the study at baseline with an average age of 16. During the final wave, after approximately seven years, the subjects ranged in age from 20 to 26 with an average age of 23.

Family Criminality

This dichotomous measure asked the subject whether anyone in their family had been involved in criminal activity during the recall period (0 = No, 1 = Yes).

Number of Friends Arrested

Subjects were asked information on their four closest friends during each wave and this measure specifically inquiries about how many of those friends were ever arrested. Over the course of the study, subjects were able to gain or lose friends, replacing those representing the closest four. Youth who did not report having any friends were marked as having zero friends who were arrested. Similarly, youth with fewer than four friends could only have a count value of those arrested corresponding to their maximum number, thus this measure can range from zero to four.

Gang Involvement

Subjects were asked whether or not they were involved with a gang during the recall period (0 = No, 1 = Yes).

Substance Dependency

Subjects were asked questions at each wave related to substance abuse, dependency, and social consequences using a modified version of a measure developed by Chassin, Rogosch, and Barrera (1991) for alcoholic children. As part of a greater inventory, this measure selects only those questions pertinent to dependency issues attributable to drugs, alcohol, or both. This measure contains 10 items the subject could endorse, and higher scores indicate more substance dependency symptoms during the recall period.

Youth Psychopathic Traits Inventory

Starting at the six-month wave, subjects were administered the Youth Psychopathic Traits Inventory (YPI) developed by Andershed, Kerr, Stattin, and Levander (2002) to assess psychopathy. This self-report measure contains ten subscales with five questions each, rated on a 4-point Likert scale (1 = Does not apply at all to 4 = Applies very well) with reverse coding on several items. The various subscales measure dishonest charm, grandiosity, lying, manipulation, remorselessness, unemotionality, callousness, thrill seeking, impulsivity, and irresponsibility. These scales were summed across the 50-items with higher values representing more psychopathic characteristics. This measure was collected at each follow-up point and was highly reliable across all waves (mean $\alpha = .94$) according to fit analyses conducted by the study team.

Analytical Strategy

Given the longitudinal design of the Pathways to Desistance study, a mixed-effects model using random-intercepts for subjects at level-2 was chosen because observations of the same individual over time are expected to be more highly correlated than those between subjects (Hilbe, 2011).³⁵ Moreover, the nature of the dependent variables—overdispersed count measures—guided the formation of the correct statistical procedure and so negative binomial regression was selected. This method is superior to standard Poisson regression because it incorporates an additional parameter to account for unobserved heterogeneity which could otherwise lead to underestimated standard errors and thus increased rates of Type I error (Walters, 2007). Although traditional methods such as log transforming a skewed dependent variable to normality in order to enhance model fit are still practiced, advanced statistical simulations have shown that these techniques perform poorly, render estimates largely uninterpretable, and thus should not be used (O’Hara & Kotze, 2010). Accordingly, the negative binomial has received increased attention in the last two decades as the method of choice for unbounded frequency counts of outcomes common to criminological data (Land, McCall, & Nagin, 1996; MacDonald & Lattimore, 2010).

The use of negative binomial regression also permits the use of an exposure variable, taking into account the possibility that some subjects had more or less time to commit offenses during their recall period.³⁶ The variable chosen for exposure was the numbers of days covered in the recall period survey. Although the proportional variable tapping time in secure settings could also be considered an additional exposure effect if it is assumed incarcerated individuals

³⁵ Across all models the likelihood ratio test indicated that the mixed-effects model was a significantly better fit.

³⁶ The exposure variable is also known as an offset variable.

have less opportunity to commit crime, this assumption may not necessary hold. For instance, forms of aggressive offending may be increased in detention facilities, thereby biasing estimates if exposure is used in this manner. As a result, time in secure settings is entered as a normal covariate. Importantly, it should also be noted that throughout every model, offending is captured starting at the 6-month wave, approximately six months after the initial baseline survey. This allows for a temporal separation between the time-invariant measures like suspension, fighting, or bullying that could be correlated with baseline offending, had it been used. Similarly, while the integration of lagged dependent variables was considered, their inclusion in longitudinal mixed models can lead to severe bias, where the coefficients of other independent variables in the model are biased downward, and so they were not utilized (Allison, 2015).

The presentation of the results are conducted in two separate ways to showcase the potential long-term and short-term effects of school exclusion on later offending. First, the 10-wave model following baseline, capturing the 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, 36, 48, 60, 72, and 84 month periods, estimates the overall effect across the entire seven-year study. Second, the 6-wave model following baseline, capturing the 6, 12, 18, 24, 30, and 36 month periods only, estimates the effect within a narrower three-year span when school discipline may be more meaningful. During the 10-wave model, the maximum number of potential observations, based on the 1,354 available individuals, is 13,540 and for the 6 wave model it is 8,124. The observation retention rate is 86% for the 10-wave model and 92% for the 6-wave model. Correlation matrixes and variance inflation factor (VIF) scores were checked for each model and showed no issues with multicollinearity. To summarize, the average VIF ranged from 1.55 to 1.70 depending on the model with only one variable exceeding 3, and no variable exceeding 4—the customary cut-off (O'Brien, 2007). The descriptive statistics for the sample are presented below in Table 4-1. For

clarity, race or ethnicity is displayed as a percentage and the number of observations is converted to the actual baseline case count for time-invariant variables. As discussed earlier, the various alternative measures of suspension, analyzed separately in distinct models, and offending based upon type or wave are also provided.

Table 4-1. Descriptive Statistics (N = 1,354)

<u>Variable</u>	<u>OBS</u>	<u>MEAN</u>	<u>SD</u>	<u>MIN</u>	<u>MAX</u>
Gender	1,354	1.13	-	1	2
Race / Ethnicity					
White	274	20.2%	-	-	-
Black	561	41.4%	-	-	-
Hispanic	454	33.5%	-	-	-
Other	65	4.8%	-	-	-
Age	12,188	19.21	2.35	14	26
Days in Recall Period	12,188	248.39	93.8	61	428
Time in Secure Settings	12,182	0.32	0.41	0	1
Site	1,354	0.49	-	1	2
School Dropout	1,353	0.16	-	0	1
Times Suspended					
Categorical	1,354	1.79	1.30	0	4
Continuous	1,354	14.26	39.93	0	900
Dropped (>2 SD)	1,324	9.96	12.69	0	90
Capped (90 th)	1,354	9.28	9.64	0	30
Times Expelled	1,354	0.52	0.71	0	2
Neighborhood Conditions	1,352	2.34	0.75	1	4
Parental Social Position	1,346	51.40	12.29	11	77
Family Criminality	12,074	0.15	0.36	0	1
Friends Arrested	12,180	1.01	1.12	0	4
Gang Involvement	12,160	0.08	0.28	0	1
Substance Dependency	12,171	0.59	1.66	0	10
IQ	1,342	84.52	13.02	55	128
Early Onset Behavior	1,354	1.51	1.19	0	5
YPI	11,972	102.84	23.41	21	197
Bullying	1,354	0.22	-	0	1
Fighting at School	1,354	1.25	0.99	0	3
Fights Started at School	1,036	1.22	1.03	0	3
Age First Suspended	1,232	11.75	2.08	9	17
Total Offending					
10 Waves	12,148	50.54	219.34	0	3986
10 Waves, Variety	12,148	1.33	2.34	0	19
6 Waves	7,443	45.93	225.81	0	3986
Aggressive Offending					
10 Waves	12,148	3.27	31.04	0	2001
6 Waves	7,443	3.31	30.12	0	2001
Income Offending					
10 Waves	12,148	34.31	172.60	0	2991
10 Waves, No Drug	12,148	4.56	49.05	0	2011
6 Waves	7,443	33.08	182.79	0	2991

Finally, taking into consideration a comprehensive view of the historical literature on school discipline, the current knowledge concerning student conduct, and the limitations of prior research, the main research questions to be addressed in this study are as follows:

1. Does school exclusion (i.e., suspension or expulsion) exert a significant effect on future offending? And, if so, does the quantity of exclusion received affect the rate of future offending?
2. Does the effect of school exclusion differ over time or based on the type of offending committed (i.e., total, aggressive, or income)?
3. Can variables related to individual characteristics, behavior, or social background account for the association between school exclusion and subsequent offending? And, if so, why?
4. What is the effect of a single suspension on the rate of future offending?
5. What type of behavior is removed from the classroom when a student is suspended or expelled and how might this affect school or teacher decision-making?

In regard to the various evils and deficiencies, which I have specified in the progress of this Report, I have endeavored to suggest, in each case, some antidote or remedy for their prevention or removal. But in regard to the guilty agents in these acts of insubordination and violence, I am at a loss what measures to recommend, which shall, at once, arrest their course, and inspire them with a due sentiment of abhorrence for their misconduct. (Mann, 1841a, p. 88)

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

Total Offending Across 10 Waves

The results from the mixed-effects negative binomial regression predicting total offending across all 10 waves are presented in Table 5-1. The displayed column categories include the incidence rate ratio (IRR) which is the exponentiated parameter estimate for easier interpretation, the robust standard error (RSE), and the level of statistical significance (SIG). To maintain parsimony, the discussion of the findings in the following sections are constrained to the most relevant or prominent predictors. Turning to Model 1, the results indicated that both suspension and expulsion exerted significant effects on the rate of offending.³⁷ Moreover, as the number of suspensions increased, the rate of offending also increased. For example, those with 21 or more suspensions offended at over 4 times the rate (IRR = 4.53) compared to those in the 0

³⁷ Similar to odds ratios or risk ratios, incidence rate ratios reflect the percentage change in a 1 unit increase in the independent variable, adjusted for exposure, and are thus more precisely understood as a rate rather than a risk.

to 1 suspension category. As expected, girls were at a decreased risk for offending compared to boys and those who had spent more time in secure settings were also at a decreased risk.

Next, in Model 2, key control variables were added to the model. Their inclusion rendered the effect of suspension significant only for the uppermost categories (IRR = 1.52, 1.92) and substantially reduced the initial effects by approximately one-half. Interestingly, expulsion, the more severe form of school exclusion, remained significant, but only for those who were expelled once (IRR = 1.44). Consistent with expectations from the literature, family criminality, having close friends who had been arrested, gang involvement, and psychopathic personality traits were positively associated with offending—a persistent finding throughout the study. Although growing up in a disordered neighborhood and having substance dependency issues increased the risk offending, no effect was found for parental social status. Furthermore, those who reported fighting monthly (IRR = 1.52) or weekly or daily (IRR = 2.02) at school during baseline were significantly more likely to offend across the seven-year period.

To consider the potential effect of earlier suspensions on offending, Model 3 presents the results with the inclusion of the age first suspended variable. Naturally, because this required students to be suspended, those who had never been suspended were omitted (i.e., the reference category now reflects 1 suspension). However, this variable showed no significant effect. Finally, in Model 4, the sample is constrained to only those who fought at school to examine whether starting those fights could predict offending (i.e., less than monthly becomes the reference category). Note that at this step, the age of first suspension is no longer analyzed. Indeed, in Model 4, starting half (IRR = 1.61) or most or all (IRR = 1.75) of the fights at school was associated with an increased rate of offending. Additionally, among those who fought, suspension and expulsion exerted no significant effect.

Variable	Model 1 – Base (N = 1,335 / OBS = 12,137)			Model 2 – Controls (N = 1,313 / OBS = 11,653)			Model 3 – Age Suspended (N = 1,199 / OBS = 10,604)			Model 4 – Fights Started (N = 1,010 / OBS = 8,893)		
	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG
Time in Secure Settings	0.50	0.06	***	0.47	0.05	***	0.46	0.05	***	0.40	0.05	***
Site	1.03	0.15		0.65	0.10	**	0.59	0.09	**	0.70	0.11	*
Gender	0.16	0.03	***	0.16	0.02	***	0.15	0.02	***	0.12	0.02	***
Age	0.89	0.16	***	0.97	0.01		0.97	0.01		0.96	0.02	
Race / Ethnicity												
Black	0.67	0.11	*	1.04	0.17		0.95	0.16		1.19	0.21	
Hispanic	0.59	0.08	***	0.91	0.14		0.96	0.15		1.02	0.17	
Other	0.60	0.19		0.69	0.20		0.82	0.25		0.84	0.27	
School Dropout	1.54	0.24	**	1.08	0.16		1.05	0.16		0.99	0.17	
Times Suspended												
2 to 4	1.69	0.32	**	1.22	0.21		1.29	0.26		1.08	0.23	
5 to 10	2.46	0.46	***	1.27	0.23		1.29	0.29		1.05	0.22	
11 to 20	3.45	0.75	***	1.52	0.32	*	1.50	0.38		1.20	0.29	
21 or more	4.53	1.00	***	1.92	0.41	**	1.90	0.49	*	1.50	0.36	
Times Expelled												
1	2.07	0.27	***	1.44	0.18	**	1.40	0.18	**	1.30	0.18	
2 or more	1.88	0.31	***	1.16	0.21		1.16	0.21		1.07	0.21	
Neighborhood Conditions				1.30	0.10	**	1.30	0.11	**	1.27	0.11	**
Parental Social Position				0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00	
Family Criminality				2.32	0.21	***	2.31	0.22	***	2.24	0.23	***
Friends Arrested				1.26	0.04	***	1.28	0.04	***	1.24	0.04	***
Gang Involvement				2.50	0.38	***	2.46	0.39	***	2.30	0.36	***
Substance Dependency				1.59	0.03	***	1.59	0.03	***	1.56	0.03	***
IQ				1.00	0.00		1.01	0.00	*	1.00	0.00	
Early Onset Behavior				1.09	0.05		1.05	0.05		1.02	0.05	
YPI				1.02	0.00	***	1.02	0.00	***	1.02	0.00	***
Bullying				1.17	0.14		1.15	0.14		1.06	0.13	
Fighting at School												
Less than Monthly				1.17	0.18		1.10	0.18		-	-	
Monthly				1.52	0.28	*	1.45	0.28		1.27	0.20	
Weekly or Daily				2.02	0.38	***	1.84	0.37	**	1.68	0.27	**
Age First Suspended							0.95	0.03		-	-	
Fights Started at School												
Some										1.05	0.17	
About Half										1.61	0.30	*
Most or All										1.75	0.35	**

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Aggressive Offending Across 10 Waves

Table 5-2 presents the results using the same strategy and steps as above, but this time for the subset of crimes related specifically to aggressive offending. Similar to the previous table, across Model 1 to Model 2, the significant effect of suspension on offending is reduced and eliminated for all but the highest category (IRR = 1.67) and the effect of expulsion is rendered non-significant entirely. Congruent with expectations, fighting at school at least monthly or more showed a significant effect across every model. Notably, the proportion of time spent in secure settings was positively related to offending. While speculative, this finding could result from an increased risk of engaging in assaultive behaviors while incarcerated or because those who commit a multitude of violent criminal acts in the community are more likely to come to the attention of law enforcement—subsequently leading to detention in a secure facility. Concerning demographics, subjects who were black displayed one of the few racial effects observed in the entire study as they were less likely to commit aggressive offending. Furthermore, early onset problem behaviors (IRR = 1.15) and bullying (IRR = 1.29) measured at baseline were significantly associated with aggressive offending. However, within Model 3, age of first suspension again exhibited no significant effect. Lastly, in Model 4, amongst those who fought at school, starting most or all of those fights was associated with increased offending (IRR = 1.58).

Variable	Model 1 – Base (N = 1,335 / OBS = 12,137)			Model 2 – Controls (N = 1,313 / OBS = 11,653)			Model 3 – Age Suspended (N = 1,199 / OBS = 10,604)			Model 4 – Fights Started (N = 1,010 / OBS = 8,893)		
	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG
Time in Secure Settings	1.60	0.12	***	1.53	0.11	***	1.52	0.11	***	1.51	0.12	***
Site	1.49	0.19	**	1.04	0.12		1.04	0.13		1.08	0.14	
Gender	0.40	0.06	***	0.45	0.06	***	0.47	0.06	***	0.44	0.07	***
Age	0.74	0.00	***	0.80	0.01	***	0.80	0.01	***	0.78	0.01	***
Race / Ethnicity												
Black	0.65	0.10	**	0.73	0.09	*	0.74	0.10	*	0.74	0.10	
Hispanic	0.78	0.10		0.91	0.11		0.94	0.12		0.88	0.12	
Other	1.00	0.26		0.87	0.19		0.93	0.22		0.98	0.24	
School Dropout	1.26	0.18		0.95	0.11		0.91	0.10		1.03	0.13	
Times Suspended												
2 to 4	1.48	0.23	*	1.13	0.15		1.04	0.17		1.13	0.18	
5 to 10	1.79	0.29	***	1.02	0.13		0.93	0.16		0.98	0.16	
11 to 20	2.31	0.44	***	1.31	0.21		1.18	0.23		1.33	0.24	
21 or more	3.24	0.63	***	1.67	0.27	**	1.51	0.30	*	1.58	0.29	*
Times Expelled												
1	1.35	0.15	**	1.00	0.09		1.02	0.10		1.00	0.10	
2 or more	1.78	0.27	***	1.17	0.15		1.18	0.16		1.16	0.16	
Neighborhood Conditions				1.16	0.07	*	1.15	0.07	*	1.10	0.07	
Parental Social Position				0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00	
Family Criminality				1.76	0.11	***	1.17	0.12	***	1.76	0.12	***
Friends Arrested				1.12	0.02	***	1.13	0.02	***	1.11	0.02	***
Gang Involvement				1.99	0.21	***	2.03	0.22	***	1.93	0.21	***
Substance Dependency				1.26	0.02	***	1.26	0.02	***	1.25	0.02	***
IQ				1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00		0.99	0.00	
Early Onset Behavior				1.15	0.04	**	1.14	0.05	**	1.08	0.04	
YPI				1.01	0.00	***	1.01	0.00	***	1.01	0.00	***
Bullying				1.29	0.12	*	1.24	0.12	*	1.28	0.13	*
Fighting at School												
Less than Monthly				1.06	0.12		1.09	0.13		-	-	
Monthly				1.42	0.21	*	1.41	0.22	*	1.30	0.17	*
Weekly or Daily				1.54	0.21	**	1.52	0.22	**	1.39	0.16	**
Age First Suspended							0.98	0.02		-	-	
Fights Started at School												
Some										1.11	0.13	
About Half										1.19	0.16	
Most or All										1.58	0.24	**

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Income Offending Across 10 Waves

Table 5-3 displays the results for the subset of crimes related to income offending. Moving from Model 1 to Model 2, suspension retained its significant effect on offending, albeit substantially reduced, for all but the lowest category. In addition, both expulsion categories and school dropout (IRR = 1.80) were predictive for offending unlike in the aggressive offending model. In Model 3, no effect is found for age of first suspension. Although fighting at school or bullying exerted no significant effects in Model 2, among those who fought at school in Model 4 both the frequency of fighting and its instigation were significant at the highest category (IRR = 1.86). Black subjects also showed an increased risk (IRR = 1.76)—though the effect of suspensions was eliminated for this subsample. Overall, while these results suggest that, over time, income-based offending may indeed be affected by suspensions or expulsions received years earlier, it is possible that this finding is generated by the increased frequency of drug crime.

To account for this possibility, a “no drug” version of the income offending variable was created by removing two items—marijuana and other drug dealing. The results, shown in Model 5, indicated that suspension no longer exerted any significant effect, demonstrating that if suspension does affect income-based criminal offending, it likely does so predominately within the limited domain of drug dealing. Nevertheless, it is important to point out that the control variables added in Model 2, specifically, neighborhood conditions, family criminality, arrested friends, gang involvement, and substance dependency showed stronger effects than those in the aggressive offending model. Such findings may have implications for prevention since many of these factors are social forces that extend beyond the individual and are largely outside the purview of the school. Conversely, however, school dropout maintained a robust effect that was generally equivalent to expulsion across every model.

Variable	Model 1 – Base (N = 1,335 / OBS = 12,137)			Model 2 – Controls (N = 1,313 / OBS = 11,653)			Model 3 – Age Suspended (N = 1,199 / OBS = 10,604)			Model 4 – Fights Started (N = 1,010 / OBS = 8,893)			Model 5 – No Drugs (N = 1,313 / OBS = 11,653)		
	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG
Time in Secure Settings	0.35	0.05	***	0.29	0.05	***	0.29	0.05	***	0.24	0.04	***	0.58	0.08	***
Site	0.65	0.11	*	0.30	0.05	***	0.26	0.05	***	0.33	0.07	***	1.42	0.29	
Gender	0.08	0.02	***	0.07	0.01	***	0.07	0.01	***	0.04	0.01	***	0.44	0.10	**
Age	0.87	0.02	***	0.99	0.02		1.00	0.02		0.98	0.02		0.85	0.02	***
Race / Ethnicity															
Black	0.67	0.12	*	1.25	0.24		1.13	0.23		1.76	0.39	*	0.85	0.19	
Hispanic	0.50	0.08	***	0.95	0.18		1.04	0.20		1.29	0.28		0.98	0.20	
Other	0.48	0.17	*	0.59	0.22		0.79	0.31		0.87	0.37		0.68	0.25	
School Dropout	2.69	0.44	***	1.80	0.31	**	1.84	0.32	***	1.82	0.36	**	1.56	0.28	*
Times Suspended															
2 to 4	2.08	0.48	**	1.25	0.27		1.61	0.45		0.98	0.26		0.90	0.20	
5 to 10	3.72	0.84	***	1.59	0.37	*	1.96	0.58	*	1.17	0.32		0.89	0.21	
11 to 20	5.08	1.29	***	1.71	0.44	*	2.00	0.65	*	1.14	0.34		1.20	0.34	
21 or more	7.86	1.97	***	2.37	0.61	**	2.80	0.90	**	1.52	0.45		1.41	0.40	
Times Expelled															
1	3.11	0.44	***	1.92	0.28	***	1.82	0.27	***	1.74	0.28	**	1.39	0.23	*
2 or more	3.15	0.56	***	1.62	0.32	*	1.58	0.32	*	1.51	0.33		1.41	0.31	
Neighborhood Conditions				1.54	0.14	***	1.55	0.15	***	1.56	0.16	***	1.49	0.16	***
Parental Social Position				0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00	
Family Criminality				3.80	0.50	***	3.72	0.51	***	3.59	0.52	***	2.97	0.37	***
Friends Arrested				1.37	0.06	***	1.39	0.07	***	1.30	0.06	***	1.18	0.05	***
Gang Involvement				3.09	0.59	***	2.92	0.57	***	2.79	0.54	***	2.46	0.45	***
Substance Dependency				1.88	0.05	***	1.84	0.05	***	1.81	0.06	***	1.59	0.03	***
IQ				1.01	0.00	*	1.01	0.00	**	1.00	0.00		1.01	0.00	**
Early Onset Behavior				1.17	0.06	**	1.14	0.07	*	1.11	0.07		1.28	0.08	***
YPI				1.04	0.00	***	1.03	0.00	***	1.04	0.00	***	1.03	0.00	***
Bullying				1.20	0.17		1.19	0.17		1.09	0.17		1.51	0.24	*
Fighting at School															
Less than Monthly				0.85	0.16		0.81	0.16		-	-		0.87	0.17	
Monthly				1.27	0.27		1.25	0.28		1.44	0.25	*	1.07	0.26	
Weekly or Daily				1.48	0.33		1.32	0.30		1.63	0.30	**	0.80	0.20	
Age First Suspended							0.95	0.03		-	-		-	-	
Fights Started at School															
Some										1.18	0.23		-	-	
About Half										1.56	0.36		-	-	
Most or All										1.86	0.44	**	-	-	

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Total Offending Across 6 Waves

While the 10-wave (i.e., seven-year) investigation provides a useful, yet broad, assessment of offending over time, it is important to consider that the negative consequences of school exclusion might manifest themselves more saliently in closer temporal proximity to the baseline years. Accordingly, the former analyses are repeated this time using only the first 6 waves; that is, the initial 3 years of the study collected at 6-month intervals. Table 5-4 presents the results of this strategy for total offending. Like before, suspension and expulsion showed strong and significant effects in Model 1, but these were dampened considerably or eliminated in Model 2. Here, only suspension at its highest category (IRR = 1.84) and having received a single expulsion (IRR = 1.46) significantly increased the rate of offending. No effect was found for age of first suspension in Model 3. While the frequency of fighting, weekly or daily, is significant in Model 4 (IRR = 1.43), there was no effect for having started those fights despite trending in the expected direction. To summarize, compared to the effect of exclusion in Table 5-1, the results shown here are fairly consistent, though weakened slightly.

Variable	Model 1 – Base (N = 1,334 / OBS = 7,436)			Model 2 – Controls (N = 1,311 / OBS = 7,058)			Model 3 – Age Suspended (N = 1,198 / OBS = 6,439)			Model 4 – Fights Started (N = 1,008 / OBS = 5,392)		
	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG
Time in Secure Settings	0.41	0.05	***	0.44	0.05	***	0.44	0.05	***	0.37	0.05	***
Site	1.19	0.19		0.79	0.13		0.72	0.12		0.83	0.16	
Gender	0.18	0.04	***	0.19	0.03	***	0.18	0.03	***	0.14	0.03	***
Age	0.77	0.02	***	0.90	0.03	**	0.89	0.03	**	0.87	0.03	**
Race / Ethnicity												
Black	0.62	0.11	*	0.91	0.16		0.87	0.16		1.13	0.23	
Hispanic	0.56	0.08	***	0.75	0.12		0.79	0.13		0.85	0.16	
Other	0.90	0.28		0.82	0.23		0.96	0.28		0.91	0.30	
School Dropout	1.87	0.31	***	1.18	0.19		1.20	0.20		1.18	0.22	
Times Suspended												
2 to 4	1.31	0.27		0.83	0.15		0.88	0.19		0.65	0.15	
5 to 10	2.33	0.47	***	1.08	0.21		1.15	0.27		0.83	0.19	
11 to 20	3.22	0.78	***	1.38	0.31		1.44	0.38		1.05	0.27	
21 or more	4.84	1.11	***	1.84	0.42	**	1.92	0.52	*	1.38	0.35	
Times Expelled												
1	2.21	0.31	***	1.46	0.20	**	1.41	0.19	*	1.28	0.19	
2 or more	2.56	0.46	***	1.38	0.26		1.37	0.26		1.37	0.28	
Neighborhood Conditions				1.28	0.11	**	1.25	0.11	*	1.21	0.12	
Parental Social Position				1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00	
Family Criminality				2.43	0.25	***	2.40	0.26	***	2.28	0.26	***
Friends Arrested				1.26	0.04	***	1.26	0.05	***	1.24	0.05	***
Gang Involvement				2.78	0.42	***	2.80	0.45	***	2.60	0.43	***
Substance Dependency				1.62	0.04	***	1.63	0.04	***	1.60	0.05	***
IQ				1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00	
Early Onset Behavior				1.11	0.05	*	1.08	0.06		1.08	0.06	
YPI				1.02	0.00	***	1.02	0.00	***	1.02	0.00	***
Bullying				1.14	0.15		1.12	0.15		1.02	0.14	
Fighting at School												
Less than Monthly				1.29	0.21		1.20	0.21		-	-	
Monthly				1.25	0.25		1.16	0.24		0.96	0.16	
Weekly or Daily				1.89	0.38	**	1.73	0.36	**	1.43	0.25	*
Age First Suspended							0.98	0.03		-	-	
Fights Started at School												
Some										0.88	0.16	
About Half										1.47	0.30	
Most or All										1.48	0.32	

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Aggressive Offending Across 6 Waves

Table 5-5 repeats the previous analyses, this time for aggressive offending over the 3-year period. Moving from Model 1 to Model 2, the significant effects of suspension and expulsion are again reduced or eliminated completely. Indeed, suspension showed a significant effect only at the highest category (IRR = 1.76), while bullying (IRR = 1.33) and fighting weekly or daily (IRR = 1.56) were also significant as expected. Age of first suspension showed no significant effect in Model 3. Turning to Model 4, starting most or all of the fights at school was predictive of offending (IRR = 1.41), but suspension at the highest category nonetheless remained significant as well (IRR = 1.78). Similar to the 10-wave analysis, black subjects were also less likely to commit aggressive offending until Model 4. Consistently, it should be noted, the key time-variant covariates and time-invariant controls do exhibit significant effects, suggesting that social factors are relevant to aggressive behavior, but that these are generally minimized in their influence compared to those witnessed with total offending or income offending.

Variable	Model 1 – Base (N = 1,334 / OBS = 7,436)			Model 2 – Controls (N = 1,311 / OBS = 7,058)			Model 3 – Age Suspended (N = 1,198 / OBS = 6,439)			Model 4 – Fights Started (N = 1,008 / OBS = 5,392)		
	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG
Time in Secure Settings	1.47	0.13	***	1.43	0.12	***	1.41	0.12	***	1.36	0.12	**
Site	1.59	0.21	**	1.16	0.14		1.16	0.15		1.20	0.16	
Gender	0.46	0.08	***	0.50	0.07	***	0.51	0.07	***	0.49	0.08	***
Age	0.67	0.18	***	0.74	0.01	***	0.75	0.02	***	0.74	0.02	***
Race / Ethnicity												
Black	0.66	0.10	*	0.72	0.10	*	0.74	0.10	*	0.76	0.11	
Hispanic	0.78	0.10		0.82	0.10		0.87	0.11		0.85	0.12	
Other	1.33	0.36		1.01	0.22		1.09	0.24		1.13	0.27	
School Dropout	1.41	0.21	*	1.00	0.12		0.96	0.12		1.07	0.14	
Times Suspended												
2 to 4	1.40	0.23	*	1.02	0.14		0.91	0.16		1.04	0.18	
5 to 10	1.90	0.32	***	1.01	0.14		0.89	0.16		1.00	0.17	
11 to 20	2.37	0.46	***	1.27	0.21		1.12	0.22		1.31	0.25	
21 or more	3.72	0.75	***	1.76	0.30	**	1.56	0.33	*	1.78	0.35	**
Times Expelled												
1	1.38	0.16	**	1.04	0.10		1.05	0.10		1.01	0.10	
2 or more	1.68	0.27	**	1.09	0.14		1.11	0.15		1.12	0.16	
Neighborhood Conditions				1.18	0.07	*	1.17	0.07	*	1.11	0.08	
Parental Social Position				1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00		0.99	0.00	
Family Criminality				1.82	0.14	***	1.85	0.14	***	1.80	0.15	***
Friends Arrested				1.15	0.03	***	1.15	0.03	***	1.14	0.03	***
Gang Involvement				2.13	0.25	***	2.15	0.26	***	2.10	0.27	***
Substance Dependency				1.26	0.02	***	1.26	0.02	***	1.23	0.03	***
IQ				0.99	0.00		1.00	0.00		0.99	0.00	
Early Onset Behavior				1.13	0.04	**	1.12	0.05	**	1.09	0.05	
YPI				1.01	0.00	***	1.01	0.00	***	1.01	0.00	***
Bullying				1.33	0.13	**	1.27	0.12	*	1.27	0.13	*
Fighting at School												
Less than Monthly				1.12	0.13		1.17	0.14		-	-	
Monthly				1.31	0.20		1.34	0.21		1.13	0.15	
Weekly or Daily				1.56	0.22	**	1.59	0.23	**	1.34	0.16	*
Age First Suspended							0.98	0.02		-	-	
Fights Started at School												
Some										1.10	0.14	
About Half										1.24	0.18	
Most or All										1.41	0.21	*

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Income Offending Across 6 Waves

Lastly, income offending over the first 3 years is examined in Table 5-6. However, unlike in the 10-wave analysis, nearly all of the groups of suspension are rendered non-significant except for the highest category (IRR = 1.89) across Model 1 to Model 2. Still, expulsion at both levels and school dropout (IRR = 2.02) remained significant predictors for increased offending. No effect was found for age of first suspension in Model 3 nor was the frequency of fighting relevant at any point. Looking specifically at those who did fight at school in Model 4, only starting most or all of the fights was significant (IRR = 1.85). Interestingly, in this model, being suspended 2 to 4 times was also associated with a *decreased* rate of income offending (IRR = 0.51) compared to those in the 0 to 1 category. While unexpected, this may indicate the presence of a deterrent effect. It could be that individuals who fight at school and are suspended multiple times—though not egregiously so—come under increased surveillance by teachers or parents, limiting their ability to offend within this narrower time frame. Yet why this deterrent effect would apply only to income offending is not clear. To conclude, once again, the contextual forces at work in this table showcase the relative importance of family, friends, and the social environment in which the subject resides as they exert considerably stronger effects here than in the tables involving other forms of criminal offending.

Variable	Model 1 – Base (N = 1,334 / OBS = 7,436)			Model 2 – Controls (N = 1,311 / OBS = 7,058)			Model 3 – Age Suspended (N = 1,198 / OBS = 6,439)			Model 4 – Fights Started (N = 1,008 / OBS = 5,392)		
	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG
Time in Secure Settings	0.21	0.04	***	0.19	0.03	***	0.19	0.03	***	0.16	0.03	***
Site	0.97	0.19		0.45	0.09	***	0.39	0.08	***	0.47	0.11	**
Gender	0.09	0.02	***	0.09	0.02	***	0.09	0.02	***	0.05	0.01	***
Age	0.74	0.03	***	0.88	0.04		0.88	0.04	*	0.82	0.04	**
Race / Ethnicity												
Black	0.47	0.10	**	0.96	0.22		0.95	0.22		1.43	0.36	
Hispanic	0.43	0.08	***	0.80	0.17		0.93	0.20		1.08	0.26	
Other	0.73	0.27		0.81	0.31		1.04	0.41		1.06	0.47	
School Dropout	3.55	0.67	***	2.02	0.39	***	2.12	0.41	***	2.21	0.48	***
Times Suspended												
2 to 4	1.45	0.39		0.76	0.19		0.85	0.24		0.51	0.15	*
5 to 10	4.02	1.03	***	1.42	0.36		1.52	0.47		0.93	0.27	
11 to 20	5.30	1.55	***	1.50	0.43		1.53	0.53		0.95	0.31	
21 or more	7.96	2.29	***	1.89	0.54	*	1.92	0.66		1.09	0.36	
Times Expelled												
1	2.99	0.51	***	1.76	0.30	**	1.60	0.28	**	1.43	0.26	
2 or more	4.52	0.95	***	1.86	0.42	**	1.76	0.41	*	2.04	0.50	**
Neighborhood Conditions				1.60	0.18	***	1.55	0.18	***	1.55	0.19	***
Parental Social Position				1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00	
Family Criminality				3.99	0.58	***	3.90	0.60	***	3.58	0.56	***
Friends Arrested				1.43	0.08	***	1.45	0.08	***	1.36	0.08	***
Gang Involvement				3.28	0.68	***	3.21	0.68	***	2.95	0.64	***
Substance Dependency				1.94	0.06	***	1.95	0.07	***	1.90	0.07	***
IQ				1.01	0.00		1.01	0.00	*	1.00	0.00	
Early Onset Behavior				1.17	0.07	*	1.13	0.07		1.12	0.08	
YPI				1.04	0.00	***	1.04	0.00	***	1.04	0.00	***
Bullying				1.24	0.20		1.21	0.20		1.16	0.20	
Fighting at School												
Less than Monthly				1.02	0.21		0.94	0.21		-	-	
Monthly				0.93	0.23		0.89	0.23		0.89	0.19	
Weekly or Daily				1.29	0.32		1.17	0.30		1.19	0.25	
Age First Suspended							0.95	0.04		-	-	
Fights Started at School												
Some										0.90	0.21	
About Half										1.46	0.39	
Most or All										1.85	0.50	*

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

The Effect of a Single Suspension

Throughout the majority of the findings, the effect of suspension was only significant when the subject had accumulated 21 or more suspensions—an amount already far above the 80th percentile when inspecting the continuous measure. Consequently, while the categorical measure may provide a more valid assessment of school exclusion, since individuals may have a difficult time remembering the exact amount of suspensions received (especially at higher counts), it does restrict our ability to determine the effect of a single suspension on offending.

To remedy this issue, the continuous measure of suspension was substituted in Table 5-7 to evaluate the total offending outcome across all 10 waves. The result of this replacement is presented in Model 1. However, suspension did not exert any significant effect (IRR = 1.00, $p = 0.28$). As shown in Table 4-1, the continuous suspension measure is positively skewed and potentially influenced by outlier values. How to treat outliers is a notoriously subjective and complex process, but recent studies have recommended that researchers should, at the very least, be more transparent in their methodology by reporting results with and without them if removed (Aguinis, Gottfredson, & Joo, 2013).

Following these suggestions, in Model 2, values on the suspension measure greater than 2 standard deviations were dropped (i.e., 30 cases). Critically, simulations have shown that removing outlier values greater than 2 standard deviations can increase the rate of Type I error and that, in skewed distributions, even removing outliers above 3 standard deviations may not be advisable (Bakker & Wicherts, 2014; Van Selst & Jolicoe, 1994). Thus, the results presented in Model 2 showcasing a significant effect of suspension (IRR = 1.01) should be interpreted with caution. Likewise, in Model 3, a more radical step is taken to truncate the suspension measure and cap all values above the 90th percentile at 30. Here, suspension again exerts a significant

effect (IRR = 1.02), though in both instances its magnitude is comparatively weak, even cumulatively, compared to other variables in the model. For instance, if suspension is indeed a significant factor, at most, a single suspension would increase the rate of offending by only 1% to 2%. This is equivalent to changing a response category from “does not apply at all” to “does not apply well” on just one question of the 50-item YPI (IRR = 1.02). Assuming the maximum value of 2%, in essence, it would take over ten suspensions to potentially equal the longitudinal criminal offending impact of having a single close friend who had been arrested (IRR = 1.26).

Variable	Model 1 – Continuous (N = 1,313 / OBS = 11,653)			Model 2 – Dropped (N = 1,284 / OBS = 11,394)			Model 3 – Capped (N = 1,313 / OBS = 11,653)		
	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG
Time in Secure Settings	0.48	0.05	***	0.49	0.05	***	0.47	0.05	***
Site	0.58	0.08	***	0.66	0.10	**	0.65	0.10	**
Gender	0.15	0.02	***	0.15	0.02	***	0.15	0.02	***
Age	0.97	0.01		0.97	0.01		0.97	0.01	
Race / Ethnicity									
Black	1.03	0.17		1.04	0.17		1.04	0.17	
Hispanic	0.91	0.14		0.92	0.14		0.91	0.14	
Other	0.67	0.19		0.69	0.19		0.68	0.19	
School Dropout	1.09	0.16		1.05	0.16		1.08	0.16	
Times Suspended	1.00	0.00		1.01	0.00	***	1.02	0.00	**
Times Expelled									
1	1.53	0.19	**	1.49	0.19	**	1.45	0.18	**
2 or more	1.31	0.23		1.14	0.21		1.17	0.21	
Neighborhood Conditions	1.31	0.10	**	1.33	0.11	**	1.30	0.10	**
Parental Social Position	0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00	
Family Criminality	2.33	0.21	***	2.36	0.22	***	2.32	0.21	***
Friends Arrested	1.26	0.04	***	1.26	0.04	***	1.26	0.04	***
Gang Involvement	2.49	0.38	***	2.44	0.38	***	2.50	0.38	***
Substance Dependency	1.59	0.03	***	1.61	0.03	***	1.59	0.03	***
IQ	1.00	0.00	*	1.01	0.00	*	1.00	0.00	
Early Onset Behavior	1.11	0.05	*	1.08	0.05		1.09	0.05	
YPI	1.02	0.00	***	1.02	0.00	***	1.02	0.00	***
Bullying	1.19	0.14		1.15	0.14		1.17	0.14	
Fighting at School									
Less than Monthly	1.21	0.18		1.20	0.18		1.19	0.18	
Monthly	1.65	0.30	**	1.55	0.29	*	1.55	0.28	*
Weekly or Daily	2.16	0.40	***	2.06	0.40	***	2.03	0.38	***

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Total Offending Variety Across 10 Waves

Another possible way to measure offending is to use a variety score where each separate offense is a dichotomous item summed to a total. Sweeten (2012), for example, in a review of a century of criminological research, recommended the use of variety scales since they are highly reliable, highly valid, and are not influenced by disproportionate frequency counts of less serious forms of offending (e.g., drug use). The total offending variety measure created from this dataset allowed for a maximum of 22 offenses and followed an overdispersed Poisson distribution conducive to negative binomial regression. To determine whether this type of outcome could potentially affect the current findings related to suspension, the same analyses conducted using the continuous measure in Table 5-7 are repeated in Table 5-8. However, suspension exerted no significant effect in any of the models presented. Expulsion, on the other hand, did exhibit a consistent effect and the coefficients for the other key covariates, while generally significant in the prior tables, were dampened as a result of the smaller range of the scale. Here, receiving at least one expulsion was associated with an approximate 20% increase in the rate of committing another variety of offense compared to those who were never expelled.

Variable	Model 1 – Continuous (N = 1,313 / OBS = 11,653)			Model 2 – Dropped (N = 1,284 / OBS = 11,394)			Model 3 – Capped (N = 1,313 / OBS = 11,653)		
	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG	IRR	RSE	SIG
Time in Secure Settings	0.79	0.03	***	0.80	0.03	***	0.79	0.03	***
Site	0.93	0.06		0.96	0.07		0.96	0.07	
Gender	0.48	0.04	***	0.48	0.04	***	0.49	0.04	***
Age	0.84	0.00	***	0.84	0.00	***	0.84	0.00	***
Race / Ethnicity									
Black	0.94	0.07		0.95	0.07		0.94	0.07	
Hispanic	0.95	0.07		0.96	0.07		0.96	0.07	
Other	0.93	0.14		0.94	0.14		0.94	0.14	
School Dropout	1.14	0.08		1.13	0.08		1.14	0.08	
Times Suspended	0.99	0.00		1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00	
Times Expelled									
1	1.18	0.07	**	1.19	0.07	**	1.17	0.07	*
2 or more	1.21	0.09	*	1.16	0.09		1.18	0.09	*
Neighborhood Conditions	1.13	0.04	**	1.14	0.04	**	1.13	0.04	**
Parental Social Position	0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00		0.99	0.00	
Family Criminality	1.51	0.05	***	1.51	0.05	***	1.51	0.05	***
Friends Arrested	1.12	0.01	***	1.12	0.01	***	1.12	0.01	***
Gang Involvement	1.54	0.09	***	1.51	0.09	***	1.54	0.09	***
Substance Dependency	1.21	0.00	***	1.22	0.00	***	1.21	0.00	***
IQ	1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00		1.00	0.00	
Early Onset Behavior	1.09	0.02	***	1.08	0.02	**	1.08	0.02	***
YPI	1.01	0.00	***	1.01	0.00	***	1.01	0.00	***
Bullying	1.15	0.07	*	1.14	0.07	*	1.14	0.07	*
Fighting at School									
Less than Monthly	1.07	0.07		1.07	0.07		1.07	0.07	
Monthly	1.28	0.11	**	1.24	0.11	*	1.26	0.11	*
Weekly or Daily	1.32	0.12	**	1.30	0.12	**	1.30	0.11	**

* p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001

Summary of the Findings

Overall, the results from these analyses show that when school exclusion does have a significant effect on offending, it is limited to those individuals who have acquired an excessive amount of suspensions or to those that have been expelled—which represents a much more serious form of disciplinary action comparatively. Constriction to these higher suspension categories appears to be a direct result of the inclusion of control variables related to fighting at school, gang involvement, psychopathic traits, substance dependency, and prominent environmental or social forces like having criminal friends or family. Temporally, however, the estimates for school exclusion deviated only slightly which may indicate the presence of time-stable problem behavior. Moreover, when examined directly on a per unit change basis, suspension showed only a weak effect that was inconsistently significant and potentially affected by outliers or high frequency offense counts such as drug dealing.

Consequently, the drastic reduction in or the elimination of the effect of suspension throughout these models suggests that the relationship between suspension and offending may be spurious, calling into question the fundamental assumptions underlying the “school-to-prison pipeline.” To be clear, if prior suspensions are not significantly associated with future offending then one of the essential causal mechanisms of the “school-to-prison pipeline” does not exist or does not operate as anticipated. Considering the substantial impact of the aforementioned covariates in these models, in such a case, what may be of more interest to scholars is the role that these individual or social factors play, longitudinally, in mediating this relationship. Accordingly, it is logical to infer that additional control variables could serve to further diminish this statistical association, especially since higher categories of suspension likely reflect a greater amount of unmeasured misbehavior. These findings, of course, will require further replication to

confirm this possibility; nonetheless, this study does raise methodological concerns regarding the results of past research based upon limited, dichotomous indicators of school discipline, offending, or criminal justice system involvement.

Still, the cumulative effect of suspension should not be entirely discounted as it is not uncommon for suspensions to accumulate over a youth's educational career. Specifically, suspensions remove juveniles from the positive environment and influence of the school, potentially harming their long-term academic achievement, and affording them a greater opportunity to commit crimes away from adult monitoring.³⁸ As a result, it is not surprising that suspension and expulsion showed stronger effects for increased involvement in income offending. Similarly, the robustness of expulsion across nearly all models except for aggressive offending is clear, but what is less certain is why multiple expulsions did not exert a consistent or stronger effect on offending. Given these findings, the final chapter serves to situate them, to illustrate exactly what type of behavior is being removed from the classroom through exclusion, and how this could affect future school disciplinary policy.

³⁸ This, of course, relies on the assumption that the school represents a positive experience for such troubled youth, that they willingly attend, and that they benefit from academic instruction. Indeed, it could be that these students hold a hostile attitude toward the school, that attending serves only to exacerbate their misbehavior, and that their antagonistic presence negatively affects the educational opportunities of others. Future research in this area should closely examine this possibility as it relates to the utilitarian application of school discipline.

It is very easy to point out deformities of character, as they exhibit themselves glaringly and hideously in manhood; but it requires great perspicacity to detect the early tendencies to deformity, and the utmost delicacy and felicity of touch to correct them. If a full-grown tree is ugly or misshapen, anybody can see it, but it is only the skillful cultivator who can foretell and forestall its irregular tendencies while it is yet young. It is this duty which makes the office of a teacher a sacred office. (Mann, 1845, p. 316)

But the school is not a hospital—or an institution for the mentally and emotionally disturbed. The good school tries to maintain its unique function as a place where children are taught, a place where learning and teaching are primary concerns. Many schools have deflected from their original function.... Although the good school maintains a therapeutic climate, treatment of the emotionally disturbed and the socially maladjusted is better assigned to a community agency set up for this purpose. (Kvaraceus, 1959b, pp. 213-214)

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

Making Sense of School Exclusion

Taken together, the results indicate that an individual that has received 11 to 20 suspensions is approximately 50% more likely to offend over time, although somewhat inconsistently, while those with 21 or more suspensions are roughly 90% more likely offend with

higher rates for income-based crime that also includes drug dealing. Likewise, only once, when examining income offending over a seven-year period, did the 5 to 10 suspensions category reach significance during the study. Moreover, it is clear that expulsion, as a more severe school punishment, shows a consistent effect amounting to about a 60% increase in the rate of committing a criminal act except in the case of aggressive offending. Given that the magnitude of a single suspension is relatively weak (or not significant at all) and that the categorization of suspensions is better able to display a consistent trend, it is worthwhile to explore the variety of misbehaviors that are contained within these extreme groups.³⁹ For instance, it could be that those who score highly on measures of school exclusion are simply reflecting a disproportionate share of violence and disorder. To investigate this possibility, Table 6-1 presents a breakdown of several school-related baseline control measures by suspension.

Table 6-1. Problem Behavior by Suspensions

Suspensions	Early Onset Behaviors (2 or more)	Fighting at School (Weekly or daily)	Fights Started (Most or all)	Ever Bullied Someone (Yes)
0 to 1	28%	6%	7%	16%
2 to 4	41%	11%	14%	21%
5 to 10	57%	21%	17%	24%
11 or more	65%	25%	20%	27%

Table 6-1 shows quite clearly that as the number of suspensions increase, so too does the corresponding type of misbehavior across every category. In particular, those in the 11 or more suspensions group (which now includes those in the “21 or more” category), when compared to those in the 0 to 1 group, were over twice as likely to exhibit two or more early onset behaviors,

³⁹ Suspensions in this chapter are to be understood as out-of-school suspensions unless otherwise noted.

four times more likely to fight at school on a weekly or daily basis, three times more likely to start most or all of those fights, and nearly twice as likely to have bullied someone. Considering that 25% of these individuals reported fighting at school on at least a weekly basis would seem sufficient evidence to justify their continual suspension. Such assaultive behavior, of course, might naturally lead to expulsion after multiple suspensions and so Table 6-2 presents the misbehaviors common to each category of expulsion. Similar to suspension, those who had been expelled two or more times also showed higher rates of early onset behaviors, fighting, and bullying—including one-third who fought weekly or more. Although these numbers are not dramatically different from suspensions, it is important to recall that zero tolerance policies, covering drug or weapon possession, might also account for a larger share of expulsions that do not necessarily reflect the aggressive behaviors captured here.

Table 6-2. Problem Behavior by Expulsions

Expulsions	Early Onset Behaviors (2 or more)	Fighting at School (Weekly or daily)	Fights Started (Most or all)	Ever Bullied Someone (Yes)
0	40%	12%	12%	20%
1	59%	19%	20%	27%
2 or more	78%	33%	23%	29%

However, despite this information in Table 6-2, it remains uncertain why those in the 2 or more expulsions category often showed no significant effect on offending as might be expected. Perhaps those with only one expulsion are most negatively affected by zero tolerance policies that punish a single inappropriate action (e.g., bringing a weapon to school) rather than exhibiting a true, repetitive disposition toward classroom disruption (e.g., fighting every day). As

a result, children who have not engaged in a serious pattern of criminal activity might find themselves separated from the positive influences of the school, cast out “into the streets” along with other unruly juveniles, and thus afforded greater opportunities for delinquency upon their removal. Either way, expulsions are an incredibly rare event, affecting just 0.22% of all students yearly according to national estimates (USDOE, 2017b). However, in this sample of adjudicated youth, 27% had been expelled once and another 13% had been expelled two or more times—a truly unusual finding. For example, during the 2016-2017 school year, the Office of the State Superintendent of Education located in Washington, D.C. found that there were 106 expulsions in a district serving nearly 100,000 students of which only 6 were repeat expulsions. Not surprisingly, the most common reasons for these 106 expulsions were “attacks, threats, [or] fighting” (OSSE, 2017, p. 51). In sum, given that expulsions are so rare and their consequences so striking (i.e., permanent removal for an entire term or calendar year), it is certainly predictable that they would exert *some* significant influence on offending. Yet that the effect of such a rare punishment remains relatively modest compared to that of multiple suspensions is worthy of further investigation. Indeed, an offense that results in disciplinary action only a fraction of a percent of the time begs the question about whether or not expulsion is merely a proxy for the worst possible misconduct.

Along these lines, there are two competing narratives regarding school suspension and expulsion. The first, emphasizes the educational rights of children, the potential for racial discrimination within a “school-to-prison pipeline,” and the detrimental long-term consequences of school removal. This perspective asserts that exclusion serves, predominately, to unjustly penalize and harm the suspended student (Bowditch, 1993; Carter et al., 2017; Kaesar, 1979; Rocque & Snellings, 2017; Welch, 2017). Alternatively, the second draws on the historical

literature regarding troublesome student characteristics, a knowledge of the practical limitations of what school discipline can achieve, the modern research on the stability of antisocial behavior from an early age, and the necessity of protecting the order of the school (Bagley, 1915; Cook et al., 2010; Felson & Staff, 2006; Frick, 2016; Morehouse, 1914). Under this later perspective, however, rather than accentuating the harm to the suspended student, it allows for this attention to be shifted onto the harm caused by that particular student's presence in the classroom. Although often overlooked, this is an important distinction for those teachers who are forced to deal with disruptive students on a daily basis, as Erickson (1976) notes:

No one questions the fact that an appropriate atmosphere is necessary for the surgeon in an operating room. No one questions the fact that "good conditions" must prevail if a dentist or a chef is going to be held accountable for good results. No one would disagree that good working conditions must exist in the cockpit of passenger planes for the physical well-being of all passengers. (p. 46)

The choice is simple, Erickson continues, either unruly students are to be held accountable for their actions or "the preferential treatment" bestowed upon them will inevitably come "at the expense of the learning opportunities of the majority" (p. 47).

Calculating the effect a disruptive student might have on his classmates would seem to be an easy and commonsense matter, nonetheless, there is relatively little research dedicated to this topic and especially in relation to school exclusion. To begin, Kellam, Ling, Merisca, Brown, and Ialongo (1998) found in a study of nearly 700 children followed over several years that children who were rated as aggressive in first-grade by their teachers and placed in a classroom with disruptive classmates became even more aggressive by middle school, suggesting a potential interactive, reinforcing, or learned response to behavior. Similarly, using a sample of

over 11,000 kindergarteners, Fletcher (2010) reported that having a classmate with a serious emotional problem decreased math test scores by 5% of a standard deviation. Since just one psychological disturbed student could affect an entire class, Fletcher notes that, “the aggregate effects of inclusion are likely quite large” (p. 82). Cross-nationally, from a sample of 2,422 Israeli eighth-graders, Blank and Shavit (2016) also noted that being in a classroom with disruptive peers lowered reading, writing, and grammar test scores by an amount equivalent to having a “mild behavioral disengagement”—such as chronic tardiness or absenteeism (p. 10). They underscore that “what seem to be considered ‘mild’ infractions by some students in a classroom—talking during class and disrespect for teachers—can accumulate and harm the achievements of all the students” (p. 11). Accordingly, a healthy school climate, they reiterate, is irrelevant to school effectiveness unless there is first effective classroom management.

Costenbader and Markson (1998) describe the practice of suspension as an “expedient, short-term response to student aggression and violence [that] serves to protect school staff and other students from abuse” (p. 75). As shown in Table 6-1 above, it is clear that physically assaultive behavior is common to those suspended and that this type of conduct is much worse than the mild disruptions mentioned by Blank and Shavit (2016). Thus, what potential positive benefits occur in a classroom or school when a student is suspended and why? Kinsler (2013), for instance, wrote that it exerts a deterrent effect on the rest of the student body and such evidence has been further supported by work from Li (2016) who found that harsher policies could “significantly deter students from committing first offenses” (p. 45). Using a longitudinal sample containing over 1.6 million students from North Carolina, Li remarked that a higher likelihood of suspension could help to improve the math scores of well-behaved middle school students either by deterring problem behavior in their peers or by incapacitating them. These

findings comport with research conducted in a sample of 15,521 Californian secondary school students by Hwang (2017) who reported that a single suspension for violent or disruptive behavior also improved peer math scores because “isolating students with behavioral challenges from the classroom helps other students to learn” (p. 93).⁴⁰ Taking his findings into account, Li (2016) warned that “policies that reduce or remove suspension options from schools should carefully consider these benefits of the disciplinary practice” and that such effects may be more salient among minority groups (p. 45).

Another way to ascertain the possible effect of suspension, therefore, is to evaluate what happens to a school after a disciplinary reform is implemented. Fortuitously, several major districts have made such changes in recent years as a response to federal government recommendations or as a result of legal revisions at the state or local level. Steinberg and Lacoé (2017), for instance, examined changes to the School District of Philadelphia where the length of out-of-school suspension was shortened, banned completely for low-level conduct offenses (i.e., profanity or rule disobedience), and expulsion for serious offenses was replaced instead with suspension. They found that although compliance was lacking, overall, the policy change backfired causing an increase in the rate of serious offenses by 1.3 per 100; moreover, suspensions eventually returned to normal driven primarily by three causes: harassment or bullying, threatening staff or students with assault, and fighting (Lacoé & Steinberg, 2018). These problems were also accompanied by an 8% rise in truancy over the three-year post-policy period, district-level decreases in math and English language arts proficiency, and unintended increases in racial disproportionality. Similar reforms have led to problems in New York City,

⁴⁰ Li (2016) reported a 0.02 standard deviation increase in math scores. Additionally, Hwang (2017) found a 0.04 standard deviation increase in math achievement which, in an average classroom of 19 students, she suggested could lead to a 0.76 standard deviation increase in total.

Chicago, and other large cities where teachers perceive a worsening school climate and report feeling less safe due to the presence of more crime, violence, or disorder. Students, too, also report declining peer relationships and mutual respect (Eden, 2017; Sartain et al., 2015). To conclude, Sartain et al. (2015) remark that these unfortunate consequences are “consistent with the beliefs expressed by teachers and administrators ... that because suspensions removed a disruptive student from the classroom they allowed teachers to be more effective, even if they felt suspensions did not seem to solve underlying problems” (pp. 30-31).

Forces Beyond the School

From the results, some of the most consistent findings across nearly every model predicting offending revolve around having a criminal family or delinquent friends, being involved in a gang, reporting issues of substance dependency, and growing up in a disadvantaged neighborhood. Like early scholars had recognized, a child’s home or broader social environment will “play the greatest part in the creation of a delinquent, but the school is largely powerless to correct these conditions” (Lowry, 1936, p. 11; see also Cultice, 1969). Morehouse (1914), for example, strongly emphasized his concern about the influence of “uncivilized parents” and what he saw as the “close and vital connection between disorder and misconduct, and the ethical ideals of all the people from whom pupils learn their code of life” (pp. 136-137). Since schools and teachers are already burdened with the fundamental goal of educating and socializing children, their workload cannot easily be extended to encompass that of a full-fledged social service agency. Consequently, rather being able to truly remedy these issues, educators are left to contend with them in the classroom—until the child becomes so unmanageable that they must be excluded. Effectively then, attempts to “tie the hands of teachers” in order to prevent the

disproportionate suspension of minority youth will always be unsuccessful because policymakers “radically underestimate the severity of the challenges a school faces” and are unwilling to consider the possibility that these same minority students misbehave at disproportionate rates as a result of their poorer social conditions (Kinsler, 2013; Steinberg & Lacoë, 2017, p. 4).

Throughout history, schools have dealt with a host of unique “outside” challenges thrust upon them by the government including monumental social transformations like compulsory education, the provision of services for mentally or physically disabled youth, and racial integration. As discussed in the previous chapters, these events, like compulsory education, led to an influx of disorderly and “defective” juveniles that otherwise would not have attended school (Cubberley, 1919). Indeed, schools are still grappling with how best to handle developmentally disabled children as their rates of suspension remain disproportionately higher (Losen & Martinez, 2013; McFadden et al., 1992). Another such example is the cultural clash between white and black values in the school system following desegregation—a problem that also persists today in the form of racialized views regarding school discipline and the “school-to-prison pipeline” (Carter et al., 2017; Larkin, 1979; Yudof, 1975). Of interest, is that the problem of racially disproportionate suspension existed long before the zero tolerance era (Skiba & Knesting, 2001). Despite its inherently noble goals, Arnez (1978) remarked that, “the desegregation of schools has had deleterious results” for black students in the form of increased rates of punishment and exclusion, more “low-track” special education classrooms, and the dismissal or demotion of black teachers in a consolidated system (p. 28).

Notably, one of the original precedents for the integration of schools in the 1954 ruling of *Brown v. Board of Education* was that racial separation engendered feelings of inferiority in black children, harming them psychologically (Schofield, 1989; Bergner, 2009). Early

assumptions, for instance, cast blame on white administrators for failing to connect with black youth leading to poor school performance, as Kern (1975) stated, “the black man has been educated to think white, and he acquires the prejudices of whites, and so he hates his blackness” (p. 36). However, later empirical research found that black children actually have higher self-esteem than whites, especially in racially homogenous schools as compared to mixed-race schools, and that their higher self-esteem helped to prevent their involvement in delinquency (Ross, 1994, 1995). More recently, studies have reported that “resegregated” school districts show significantly lower levels of school violence (Eitle & Eitle, 2003), even though crime and disorder increases with a greater percentage of minority students overall (USDOE, 2017a). Hanusek and Rivkin (2009), however, note that children in schools with higher concentrations of black students still face poorer academic prospects and a widening black-white achievement gap over time, partly due to the presence of new, inexperienced teachers in urban areas (see also Frankenberg, 2009). Thus, it is not surprising that schools, in accordance with Kinsler’s (2013) achievement maximizing hypothesis, appear to suspend a greater number of poorly performing students during high-stakes testing windows as a “response to accountability pressures” (Figlio, 2006, p. 837).

Given that schools are often at the mercy of government policy as to who enters the school, their best available solution is to alter to the makeup of the student body through disciplinary means so that they can adjust the “load” on teachers in order to optimize student achievement (Cook et al., 2010). It could be then, that the exhaustive focus on racial discrimination is essentially a “red herring” in the search for the causes of racial disproportionality in school discipline (Heriot & Somin, 2018). Rather, schools are simply cognizant of the fact that children differ in their criminal propensities and that “the school crime

rate of a student body with high crime propensity may be greater than the sum of the parts,” as may be the case in socioeconomically disadvantaged minority communities (Cook et al., 2010, p. 387). For example, longitudinal geospatial analyses conducted in Charlotte, North Carolina have shown that, during the day, crime increases by facilitating the convergence of crime perpetrators and potential crime victims at school. This effect, Billings and Phillips (2017) assert, indicates that “in schools with many high risk students, negative social interactions dominate, making the school a place that enhances criminal outcomes” (p. 24).

Similar research on the timing of delinquency by Soulé, Gottfredson, and Bauer (2008) reported that while substance use was most common on the weekends, simple assaults or thefts were elevated during the school day, and that serious violent acts (i.e., aggravated assault, robbery) were more likely to occur directly after school. They surmise that because crime is partially a result of opportunity, afterschool programs are not likely to be effective for prevention. Additionally, another study by Gottfredson, Gottfredson, and Weisman (2001) found that both the time before and after school can see an increase in delinquency. More importantly, they note that delinquent-prone youths will often avoid or reject adult supervision and so will be less likely to seek out prosocial afterschool programming—meaning that such strategies will not reach the children who need it the most. Unfortunately, in contrast to expectations, an investigation by Hoffmann and Xu (2002) found that for black children attending a predominately minority school, participating in after school activities actually resulted in significantly *more* delinquent behavior. Indeed, whether this “higher incidence of norm violating behavior” among black youth is the result of structural or cultural forces is still debated and will not be easily resolved (Kvaraceus, 1959a, p. 192; Latzer, 2018). Qualitative interviews with suspended black children and their teachers, nonetheless, suggest that some students may adopt

an “oppositional identity” leading them to be defensive, prone to violence, and willing to fight for fictive kin (i.e., non-blood-related “family”) when they are disrespected (Gibson, Wilson, Haight, Kayama, & Marshall, 2014).

Along these lines, Marsh and Cornell (2001) examined nearly 8,000 secondary school students to determine whether high-risk behaviors, like fighting, gang involvement, or weapon possession, differed by race or ethnicity. They found that blacks were significantly more likely to report fighting compared to whites, while both blacks and Hispanics were more likely to carry weapons, and that adverse school experiences like exposure to threats of violence, drug use, low grades, and a lack of social support could render all groups more vulnerable to delinquent behavior (see also Huang & Cornell, 2017). Forsyth et al. (2013), in a large-scale study of infractions leading to school discipline in the state of Louisiana, reported that while defiance and truancy were the primary offense categories for whites and Hispanics, defiance and violence represented the largest categories for black youth. Indeed, similar to the information presented in prior chapters, the most recent national estimates show that 5.6% of whites, 12.6% of blacks, and 8.9% of Hispanics self-reported fighting on school property over a one-year period (USDOE, 2018). Noting this, it may be helpful to view the current study’s baseline behavioral problems by race or ethnicity in the same manner.

Shown in Table 6-3 are the percentages for each group, but surprisingly there is little variation across each column.⁴¹ Although whites were slightly less likely to fight at school, they were much more likely to report bullying. Hispanics, on the other hand, appeared to start more of their fights and to have engaged in more bullying. Moreover, while blacks reported a greater

⁴¹ The “other” racial category was omitted from the table since it contained only 65 cases.

amount of suspensions, they were less likely to receive multiple expulsions from school. During the initial waves, an inspection of measures not presented here also found that whites were more likely to report a higher average number of substance dependency issues and that Hispanics reported more gang involvement. Given that this sample was composed of a group of serious adolescent offenders with an average of two prior convictions, this undoubtedly places them at the extreme end of the distribution compared to most delinquent juveniles. Accordingly, they may simply represent the “worst of the worst” and, as such, their misbehavior is largely uniform at the highest possible level.

Table 6-3. Problem Behavior and School Discipline by Race / Ethnicity

Race / Ethnicity	Early Onset Behaviors (2 or more)	Fighting at School (Weekly or daily)	Fights Started (Most or all)	Ever Bullied Someone (Yes)	Suspensions (11 or more)	Expulsions (2 or more)
White	52%	14%	15%	30%	26%	14%
Black	49%	17%	14%	18%	37%	9%
Hispanic	49%	17%	19%	25%	22%	16%

Another dynamic force that remains partially outside the control of the school is a child’s personality, captured in this study through the use of the YPI. Across every model and criminal outcome, increases in psychopathic traits resulted in significantly higher rates of offending. Qualities like callousness, remorselessness, and impulsivity are related to aggressive behavior, so it is predictable that suspended students would also possess some of these antisocial characteristics (Andershed et al., 2002). Costenbader and Markson (1998), for example, state that most externally suspended juveniles have engaged in acts of physical aggression and that nearly one-third report feeling “happy to get out of the situation” after being suspended (p. 70).

Furthermore, 25% reported feeling angry toward the person who suspended them and 33% admitted that they expected to be suspended again in the future. When asked, specifically, what the underlying problem was that led to their suspension, 40% responded that they had trouble controlling their behavior, while others voluntarily indicated temperamental issues such that when another student makes you angry, “you punch them” (p. 72). Therefore, it is not surprising when Pei, Forsyth, Teddlie, Asmus, and Stokes (2013) remark that “a large portion of [juvenile offenders] view schools as hostile places that are irrelevant to their lives” (p. 8).

Much like arrest has been linked to negative long-term outcomes such as poor educational achievement, unemployment, failed relationships, and ill-health, so too may suspension or expulsion represent a “turning point” on the life-course as it relates to the generality of failure (Mowen & Brent, 2016; Pratt, Barnes, Cullen, & Turanovic, 2016). However, since events like school exclusion are often viewed as the precipitating cause, rather than as a culminating result of bad behavior, it is difficult to determine what role it may play. Compounding this problem in traditional research is the fact that only 1 in 3 juvenile offenders are ever referred to court, equivalent to only 1 in 30 offenses ever being referred, and only 1 in 34 offenses ever leading to a conviction through adulthood (Farrington et al., 2003; Farrington, Ttofi, Crago, & Coid, 2014). Nevertheless, studies of children exhibiting extreme behavioral issues, symptomatic of conduct disorder, have shown that their persistent problems follow them over many decades where they eventually account for a disproportionate share of criminal convictions, emergency room visits, prescription fills, injury claims, and welfare benefits (Rivenbark et al., 2017). For instance, bullying at age 14, even after controlling for other key covariates, appears to significantly predict drug use, violent offending, and criminal convictions by age 48 (Farrington & Ttofi, 2011; Ttofi, Farrington, Lösel, & Loeber, 2011).

Given the plethora of predictors for violent crime (Ahonen Loeber, & Pardini, 2016), it is instructive to recall that victimization is also higher in dense, antisocial peer networks and, as Schreck, Fisher, and Miller (2004) note, it may be beneficial to isolate serious delinquents from one another—reflecting one of the oldest historical objectives fulfilled by out-of-school suspension (Morehouse, 1914). This is particularly important since victims of violence suffer both socially and academically; thus, efforts to avert victimization may also serve to thwart subsequent delinquency (Eisenbraun, 2007; Hay & Evans, 2006). According to a meta-analytic review involving 294 studies, the most promising programs to prevent aggressive and disruptive behavior in schools are universal implementations where the content is delivered to all students at the same time (Hahn et al., 2007; Wilson & Lipley, 2007). In the best care scenario, these programs could reduce the prevalence of misconduct by 25% to 33% and these effects appear to be stronger among high-risk students from disadvantaged backgrounds. Zimmerman and Rees (2014) have also shown that strict school policies can indirectly lead to a reduction in smoking, alcohol use, and fighting by attenuating the influence of delinquent peers. Finally, for other schools, simple practices of risk management and situational crime prevention may prove useful, although more research is needed (Mulvey & Cauffman, 2001; O’Neill & McGloin, 2007).

Current Strategies and Disciplinary Alternatives

Early attempts in the 1970s to design an alternative to out-of-school suspension naturally focused on the simple substitute of in-school suspension (Harvey & Moosha, 1977). However, even prior to this, educators had emphasized special, targeted out-of-school suspensions that ideally worked together with parents, school staff, and treatment professionals to envision school suspension as a type of therapy (Chapman, 1962). This “systematic suspension” process operated

under a shock deterrent effect by calmly removing the student from the school if they violated their behavioral contract (Brown & Shields, 1967). These methods do not appear to have been widely adopted, but over time similar techniques culminated in a perception that schools needed a new strategy of humane, social worker-style advocacy—yet no panacea ever materialized (Radin, 1988). Consequently, in the face of exclusionary discipline reforms, Stevens et al. (2015) remark that, within Chicago’s schools, administrators simply replaced out-of-school suspension with in-school suspension “in the absence of clear alternatives,” shifting the burden (i.e., classroom space, staff time) from parents back onto the school (p. 32). Unfortunately, recent research has indicated that even these purportedly less extreme disciplinary alternatives like in-school suspension can still lower academic achievement, increase the chances of school dropout, and reinforce racial disparities (Cholewa, Hull, Babcock, Smith, 2018; Hwang, 2018).

Across the country, disciplinary policies differ widely and some states still use out-of-school suspension as a punishment for relatively minor infractions, such as truancy or tardiness, leading modern scholars to issue a “call for action” against these excessively punitive practices (Fenning et al., 2012). Osher, Bear, Sprague, and Doyle (2010) have argued that one way to improve school discipline is to consider the implementation of what is now known as school-wide positive behavioral interventions and supports (SWPBIS). This program involves defining and rewarding appropriate, expected behavior school-wide, multi-tiered approaches to prevention (e.g., problematic students receive greater focus and intensity), and data-driven decision-making to make sure enforcement is fair and consistent (see also Sugai & Horner, 2008).⁴² Despite its dissemination into several major school districts, Cook et al. (2010) state that “the research on the effectiveness of [SWPBIS] is not as sophisticated as it should be” (p. 376).

⁴² These recent advancements aside, the concept of “positive discipline” is not new to educators (Cultice, 1969).

For instance, a review by Gage, Sugai, Lewis, and Brzozowy (2015) found that SWPBIS had no significant impact on improving academic achievement. However, it may still help to reduce the rates of disruption, fighting, and associated problem behaviors—even if this effect is somewhat weak overall (Bradshaw, Mitchell, & Leaf, 2010; McCurdy, Mannella, & Eldridge, 2003; Solomon, Klein, Hintze, Cressey, & Peller, 2012). More importantly, a recent meta-analysis conducted by Gage, Whitford, and Katsiyannis (2018) reported that SWPBIS was associated with a strong and significant reduction in suspensions, but not office disciplinary referrals. Nevertheless, this meta-analysis had a fail-safe N of 1, meaning that only one conflicting study could reject these assumptions. Indeed, in a rigorous, multilevel investigation of a randomized controlled trial, not included in their meta-analysis, it was reported that SWPBIS had no significant effect on reducing out-of-school suspension (Bradshaw, Waasdorp, & Leaf, 2012).

Clearly, these findings, while promising, have yet to conclusively solve the exclusionary discipline dilemma. Wiley et al. (2018), for example, share this sentiment by acknowledging the technical, normative, and political dimensions (and limitations) that can influence the effectiveness of disciplinary reform. Similarly, Feuerborn, Wallace, and Tyre (2016) found in teacher statements regarding SWPBIS that many staff do not follow it with fidelity, that there are concerns over resource allocation or administrator support, and that its effectiveness among older students in middle or high school was questionable because students “are insulted and offended by a plan of bribery to behave” (p. 6). Should these strategies hope to have a true impact, they will need to prove their ability to augment behavior beyond the elementary school years at the middle school transition where suspensions are most prevalent (OSSE, 2017). Budgetary issues are also a salient feature of most educational reforms and SWPBIS is not different, as Blonigen et al. (2008) calculate that start-up costs are approximately \$60,000 per school. Given that only

about 2% to 4% of the variance in aggressive student behavior can be explained by the school or community itself, the cost effectiveness of SWPBIS may be called into question, especially for preventing rare events like suspension or expulsion (Gottfredson et al., 1991; Reis, Trockel, & Mulhall, 2007; Welsh et al., 1999).

Another avenue of interest is that of school climate, social bonds, and student perceptions of how rules are enforced. In particular, Thapa, Cohen, Guffey, and Higgins-D'Alessandro (2013) note that, for decades, terms related to a positive school “climate” have been ill-defined, making modeling this multidimensional concept difficult. Either way, a wealth of research has documented that school attachment, involvement, commitment, but particularly a belief in school rules serves to reduce misbehavior and crime (Jenkins, 1997; Payne, 2008; Stewart, 2003; Welsh, 2000). Naturally, children who adhere to rules should evidence lower delinquency, but Welsh (2001) also proposes that this measure captures something more—the belief “that rules can and will be upheld by responsible adults to maintain a safe learning environment” (p. 939). In this sense, discipline is most effective amongst students who view school authority as legitimate and fair (Way, 2011). Arum (2003), for instance, finds that black students benefit academically from strict—but fair—discipline more than from an overly lenient atmosphere. Additionally, schools that are both strict and fair show lower levels of fighting and arrest (see also Bottiani, Bradshaw, & Mendelson, 2017). Though limited, a new vein of research has shown that this type of “authoritative discipline,” combining both structure and support, can significantly reduce bullying and victimization (Gerlinger & Wo, 2016; Gregory et al., 2010a).

Finally, although often criticized, the connection between schools, police, and the criminal justice system may prove beneficial. Jennings, Khey, Maskaly, and Donner (2011) have found that school resource officers serve to reduce serious violence compared to security guards

and that weapon detection systems (e.g., metal detectors, cameras) also limit violence in school. Likewise, principals view these officers positively and report that they can decrease fighting, marijuana use, and theft at school (May, Fessel, & Means, 2004). While referrals or suspensions for drug violations may increase in some instances, overall there is a deterrent effect for crime and disorder when officers are present (Zhang, 2018). Consistent with prior research, Pigott, Stearns, and Khey (2018), using a national survey, conclude that “there is zero evidence that the presence of police officers ... creates a problem for high school students in the form of increased likelihood of official criminal justice processing or ... removal from school” (p. 137; see also Na & Gottfredson, 2013). School resource officers, as Rhodes (2017) remarks, may also take on numerous roles such as a mentor, social worker, or traditional law enforcement officer depending on the context of their environment. However, some unique roles like being a surrogate parent for neglected children transcends our current understanding and speaks to the continuing expansion of the police-school relationship (McKenna, Martinez-Prather, & Bowman, 2016). Even regarding contact with the juvenile court, systemic racial disparities in both referrals and court processing appear to be unsupported and, when they are found, are likely to vary contextually, especially at the local level (Krezmien, Leone, Zablocki, & Wells, 2010; Leiber, Peck, & Rodriguez, 2016; Marchbanks, Peguero, Varela, Blake, & Eason, 2018; Ramey, 2016).

Limitations and Future Directions

There are several areas for improvement and, as in all research, potential limitations with the current study design that require a brief discussion. First, suspension and expulsion were captured only at baseline by the total ever received. As a result, this study can only speak to the trends found in criminal offending beyond this starting point. It could be, for instance, that earlier

forms of school exclusion substantially affected students before the baseline measurement, leading to additional suspensions over time, further failure at school, increased delinquency, and thus a different long-term trajectory (Bowditch, 1993; Brown, 2007). However, it is worthwhile to point out that the age of first suspension variable, which may tap into this assumption, was never significant in any model. Similarly, other forms of exclusionary discipline received after the baseline measure could have occurred, but were not included. Indeed, the data show that 11.5% of students received an additional suspension after the first year, according to collateral reports, but modeling this directly is difficult because not all subjects were still in school. Complicating this issue further was the fact that some subjects had dropped out or graduated from school, been placed in an alternative education setting, and still others may have been incarcerated. Clearly, there is a need to further investigate the reciprocal nature of school sanctioning, offending patterns, and contact with the criminal justice system.

Second, the nature of the suspension and expulsion measures themselves are also limiting. For example, the data do not tell us how long the student was suspended or for what type of offense the punishment was given. The use of the fighting, bullying, and behavioral controls serve to capture this potential—though, of course, they remain imperfect. Likewise, while the average number of days missed from a single out-of-school suspension is around 2 to 5 days, a finding that has not changed considerably since the 1970s, there is still great variation in its application (CDF, 1975; OSSE, 2017; Stevens et al., 2015). Woolard (2017) reports that, in Virginia, a short-term suspension can range to up to 10 days, a long-term suspension up to an entire year, and a form of permanent expulsion might be modified down later to a shorter, long-term suspension. This makes it hard to compare forms of exclusion directly to one another and it could also potentially mask severe punishments received from just a “single” suspension. Such

concerns, therefore, extend all the way into the numerous schools the student attended and the disciplinary policies enforced by their administrative staff. Along these lines, future research might consider examining interactions with school discipline by race or ethnicity, keeping in mind that, at least in this dataset, race was closely tied to each study site which undoubtedly affected school policy (e.g., nearly all of the sampled black subjects resided in Philadelphia).

Third, the analytical strategy employed here was guided predominately by the distribution of the dependent variable, but other corresponding statistical methods may be useful. Britt, Rocque, and Zimmerman (2018), for instance, remark that count data could potentially benefit from the use of zero-inflation modeling, since offending variables often contain a substantial amount of zeroes, although this type of analysis generally assumes that some individuals had a latent disposition to not offend. More specifically, they suggest the use of binomial rather than negative binomial regression for bounded count data (i.e., variety scores), which was not done in this study, since negative binomial regression could generate predicted values larger than the maximum allowed. Notably, since the Pathways to Desistance survey was remarkable for its longitudinal retention, missing data was not a major concern, however, the use of multiple imputation should still be considered in any future work (Brame, Turner, & Paternoster, 2010). Another omission from this analysis was the presence of lagged dependent variables or any baseline control for prior offending. Although a baseline control was considered, it was thought that this variable would overlap too closely with suspension or expulsion and many of the key predictors (e.g., fighting at school). Furthermore, the use of lagged dependent variables may have helped to account for the significant effect of school exclusion over time but, as previously mentioned, their use can cause severe bias in a mixed-effects model (Allison, 2015; see also Brame, Bushway, & Paternoster, 1999).

Lastly, a number of other variables or topics, like the increasing prevalence of cyberbullying, may be of interest to researchers when examining school exclusion (Patchin & Hinduja, 2006). In this study, a broader measure of peer delinquency was substituted for the number of close friends arrested. Given that peer delinquency is one of the most powerful predictors of criminal offending, its inclusion may have further dampened the effects of suspension. Concerning the significance of suspensions as they relate to income offending, while the YPI captured a dimension of impulsivity and irresponsibility, it may be advantageous to examine the effect of a more comprehensive measure of self-control directly. Since the primary variables of interest in this study were most closely associated to aggressive offending, future research should evaluate minor forms of school disobedience like truancy, skipping class, or chronic absenteeism and their relationship to impulsive, opportunistic crimes like theft. There is also a paucity of information on what happens to excluded children in alternative schools or juvenile detention facilities despite figures suggesting that about 2% of youth nationwide attend them (Van Acker, 2007). These programs, according to Woolard (2017, p. 8), constitute a “shadow school system” with widely varying educational standards, treatment abilities, and other intervention services that are ripe for empirical observation (USDOE, 2016).

Conclusion

The presence of disruptive, incorrigible, or even violent children within the school setting is nothing new to teachers or to history. Such displays of hostility, Tremblay (2006) notes, are a natural development during which most children will gradually learn to regulate their behavior. However, when this does not occur successfully, the school becomes a “proving ground” that will “provoke many children to overt and aggressive behavior that frequently takes on the color

of delinquency” (Kvaraceus, 1954b, p. 214). The school, in such a case, may indeed represent the first time an unruly juvenile has encountered the frustrating demands of adult authority. Accordingly, to resolve this, the teacher imposes classroom discipline that is ideally positive—firm, but fair—in an attempt to impart a respect for other students and the common good. However, should the child continue to defy these rules by ignoring legitimate commands, mistaking a teacher’s courtesy for weakness, and rebelling against all restraint—then “they are in for a rude awakening” (Cultice, 1969, p. 58).

Compared to prior centuries, what has dramatically changed over time is not necessarily student behavior, but the potential disciplinary responses that a youth can receive as punishment. For instance, within the last several decades, practices of physical discipline yielded to exclusionary penalties like suspension or expulsion. Unlike corporal punishment, however, these methods serve the primary purposes of incapacitating the student and protecting the school. Consequently, for an educator, suspension is the historic tool of last resort, signaling to the student and the parents that the child’s behavior has reached an unmanageable threshold (Morehouse, 1914). Still, due to findings linking it to a host of negative life outcomes, concerns over the unwarranted or discriminatory use of school exclusion have led to recent calls for its elimination or reduction without proposing a viable alternative for dealing with the most problematic or disorderly juveniles. Arum (2003), recognizing this dilemma, states that, “today schools must accept greater responsibility for the socialization of youth; yet, simultaneously, their authority to assume such a role has been seriously undermined” (p. 34).

Taking these controversies into account, this study sought to determine whether suspension, a temporary removal from the school, could predict long-term offending over a seven-year period. Using a series of relevant control variables including fighting, bullying,

psychopathic personality traits, and other detrimental social characteristics the results suggest that suspension exhibits a significant effect only when the individual has acquired an excessive amount, that expulsion is generally an undesirable penalty, and that the overall magnitude of a single suspension is weak or irrelevant. Although these findings must be tempered due to the sample of serious adolescent offenders involved, it appears that concerns over the iatrogenic effect of suspension are likely overstated. Compellingly then, in the vast majority of cases, suspension reflects the culmination of a persistent pattern of misconduct at school rather than a destructive life-course turning point. As such, students who are excluded from the school are removed for good reason—in order to maintain a safe learning environment for the rest of the student body.

To that end, while suspension is not normally intended to “help” the suspended student or make them better, it may not necessarily harm them as severely as once thought. Moreover, there is increasing evidence that other students benefit academically from the exclusion of their seriously misbehaved peers. Thus, from a teacher’s point of view, the rationale is clear—suspension is the inevitable outcome of a utilitarian, cost-benefit analysis serving to maximize the achievement of the remaining students. Nevertheless, further research will be necessary to confirm these findings in samples of the general population where exclusionary discipline occurs less frequently and may be more salient. To conclude, while the widespread social changes occurring in our schools are once again causing discontent, it is important that we consider the nuanced nature of school discipline in future developments, as Spalding and Kvaraceus (1943) remind us, “whenever an institution does not change in order to meet the changing demands of society, society will find a new institution to meet its needs and will discard the one which has failed” (p. 611).

REFERENCES

- Abbott, J. (1834). *The duties of parents*. Boston, MA: Tuttle and Weeks.
- Abram, K. M., Azores-Gococo, N. M., Emanuel, K. M., Aaby, D. A., Welty, L. J., Hershfield, J. A., ... & Teplin, L. A. (2017). Sex and racial/ethnic differences in positive outcomes in delinquent youth after detention: A 12-year longitudinal study. *JAMA Pediatrics*, *171*(2), 123-132.
- Adams, A. T. (2000). The status of school discipline and violence. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, *567*(1), 140-156.
- Aguinis, H., Gottfredson, R. K., & Joo, H. (2013). Best-practice recommendations for defining, identifying, and handling outliers. *Organizational Research Methods*, *16*(2), 270-301.
- Ahonen, L., Loeber, R., & Pardini, D. (2016). The prediction of young homicide and violent offenders. *Justice Quarterly*, *33*(7), 1265-1291.
- Ainsworth, L., & Stapleton, J. C. (1976). Discipline at the junior high school level. *NASSP Bulletin*, *60*(397), 54-59.
- Allen, J. E. (1925). The legal rights of school authorities regarding admission and expulsion of pupils. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *2*(4), 175-189.
- Allison, P. (2015). *Don't put lagged dependent variables in mixed models*. Retrieved from: <https://statisticalhorizons.com/lagged-dependent-variables>.
- American Academy of Pediatrics. (2003). Out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *Pediatrics*, *112*(5), 1206-1209.
- American Academy of Pediatrics. (2013). Out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *Pediatrics*, *131*(3), E1000-E1007.
- American Psychological Association. (1975). *Corporal punishment*. Retrieved from: <https://www.apa.org/about/policy/corporal-punishment.aspx>.
- American Psychological Association. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations. *The American Psychologist*, *63*(9), 852-862.
- Andershed, H. A., Kerr, M., Stattin, H., & Levander, S. (2002). Psychopathic traits in non-referred youths: A new assessment tool. In E. Blauuw & L. Sheridan (Eds.), *Psychopaths: Current international perspectives* (pp. 131-158). The Hague, Netherlands: Elsevier.
- Anderson, E. (1999). *Code of the street*. New York, NY: W. W. Norton and Company.

- Anderson, K., Ritter, G., & Zamarro, G. (2017). *Understanding a vicious cycle: Do out-of-school suspensions impact student test scores?* Fayetteville, AR: College of Education and Health Professionals, Department of Education Reform.
- Arnez, N. L. (1978). Implementation of desegregation as a discriminatory process. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 47(1), 28-45.
- Arseneault, L., Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Taylor, A., Rijdsdijk, F. V., Jaffee, S. R., ... & Measelle, J. R. (2003). Strong genetic effects on cross-situational antisocial behaviour among 5-year-old children according to mothers, teachers, examiner-observers, and twins' self-reports. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 44(6), 832-848.
- Arum, R. (2003). *Judging school discipline: The crisis of moral authority*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Arum, R., & Beattie, I. R. (1999). High school experience and the risk of adult incarceration. *Criminology*, 37(3), 515-540.
- Aud, S., Fox, M., & KewalRamani, A. (2010). *Status and trends in the education of racial and ethnic groups* (NCES 2010-015). Washington, DC: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.
- Bagley, W. C. (1915). *School discipline*. New York, NY: Macmillan Company.
- Baker, L. A., Bezdjian, S., & Raine, A. (2006). Behavioral genetics: The science of antisocial behavior. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 69(1-2), 7-46.
- Bakker, M., & Wicherts, J. M. (2014). Outlier removal, sum scores, and the inflation of the Type I error rate in independent samples t tests: The power of alternatives and recommendations. *Psychological Methods*, 19(3), 409-427.
- Bal, A., Betters-Bubon, J., & Fish, R. E. (2017). A multilevel analysis of statewide disproportionality in exclusionary discipline and the identification of emotional disturbance. *Education and Urban Society*, 1-22.
- Barnes, J. C., Boutwell, B. B., Beaver, K. M., & Gibson, C. L. (2013). Analyzing the origins of childhood externalizing behavioral problems. *Developmental Psychology*, 49(12), 2272-2284.
- Barry, C. T., Frick, P. J., DeShazo, T. M., McCoy, M., Ellis, M., & Loney, B. R. (2000). The importance of callous-unemotional traits for extending the concept of psychopathy to children. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 109(2), 335-340.
- Bear, G. G. (2012). Both suspension and alternatives work, depending on one's aim. *Journal of School Violence*, 11(2), 174-186.

- Beaver, K. M., Schwartz, J. A., Barnes, J. C., Nedelec, J. L., Wright, J. P., Boutwell, B. B., & Connolly, E. J. (2016). Genetic and environmental influences on being expelled and suspended from school. *Personality and Individual Differences, 90*, 214-218.
- Beck, B. M. (1955). The school and delinquency control. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 302*(1), 60-67.
- Bekkerman, A., & Gilpin, G. (2015). On understanding inconsistent disciplinary behaviour in schools. *Applied Economics Letters, 22*(10), 772-776.
- Bekkerman, A., & Gilpin, G. (2016). Crime and punishment: the role of student body characteristics in schools' disciplinary behaviours. *Applied Economics, 48*(15), 1402-1415.
- Bekkerman, A., & Gilpin, G. A. (2014). Can equitable punishment be mandated? Estimating impacts of sentencing guidelines on disciplinary disparities. *International Review of Law and Economics, 40*, 51-61.
- Bennett, C., & Harris, J. J. (1982). Suspensions and expulsions of male and Black students: A study of the causes of disproportionality. *Urban Education, 16*(4), 399-423.
- Bergner, G. (2009). Black children, White preference: Brown v. Board, the doll tests, and the politics of self-esteem. *American Quarterly, 61*(2), 299-332.
- Billings, S. B., & Phillips, D. C. (2017). Why do kids get into trouble on school days? *Regional Science and Urban Economics, 65*, 16-24.
- Björkqvist, K. (1994). Sex differences in physical, verbal, and indirect aggression: A review of recent research. *Sex Roles, 30*(3-4), 177-188.
- Björkqvist, K., Lagerspetz, K. M., & Kaukiainen, A. (1992). Do girls manipulate and boys fight? Developmental trends in regard to direct and indirect aggression. *Aggressive Behavior, 18*(2), 117-127.
- Blair, R. J. R., Leibenluft, E., & Pine, D. S. (2014). Conduct disorder and callous-unemotional traits in youth. *New England Journal of Medicine, 371*(23), 2207-2216.
- Blank, C., & Shavit, Y. (2016). The association between student reports of classmates' disruptive behavior and student achievement. *AERA Open, 2*(3), 1-17.
- Blonigen, B. A., Harbaugh, W. T., Singell, L. D., Horner, R. H., Irvin, L. K., & Smolkowski, K. S. (2008). Application of economic analysis to school-wide positive behavior support (SWPBS) programs. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions, 10*(1), 5-19.

- Bottiani, J. H., Bradshaw, C. P., & Mendelson, T. (2017). A multilevel examination of racial disparities in high school discipline: Black and white adolescents' perceived equity, school belonging, and adjustment problems. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 109*(4), 532-545.
- Bowditch, C. (1993). Getting rid of troublemakers: High school disciplinary procedures and the production of dropouts. *Social Problems, 40*(4), 493-509.
- Bowman, H. J. (1959). A review of discipline. *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, 43*(248), 147-156.
- Boylan, F. T. (1932). *Concepts of discipline in the public schools of the United States for the past sixty years* (Master's thesis). Loyola University Chicago, Chicago, IL.
- Bradshaw, C. P., Mitchell, M. M., & Leaf, P. J. (2010). Examining the effects of schoolwide positive behavioral interventions and supports on student outcomes: Results from a randomized controlled effectiveness trial in elementary schools. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions, 12*(3), 133-148.
- Bradshaw, C. P., Mitchell, M. M., O'Brennan, L. M., & Leaf, P. J. (2010). Multilevel exploration of factors contributing to the overrepresentation of black students in office disciplinary referrals. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 102*(2), 508.
- Bradshaw, C. P., Waasdorp, T. E., & Leaf, P. J. (2012). Effects of school-wide positive behavioral interventions and supports on child behavior problems. *Pediatrics, E1136-E1145*.
- Bradshaw, C. P., Waasdorp, T. E., Goldweber, A., & Johnson, S. L. (2013). Bullies, gangs, drugs, and school: Understanding the overlap and the role of ethnicity and urbanicity. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 42*(2), 220-234.
- Brame, R., Bushway, S., & Paternoster, R. (1999). On the use of panel research designs and random effects models to investigate static and dynamic theories of criminal offending. *Criminology, 37*(3), 599-642.
- Brame, R., Mulvey, E. P., Schubert, C. A., & Piquero, A. R. (2018). Recidivism in a sample of serious adolescent offenders. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology, 34*(1), 167-187.
- Brame, R., Turner, M. G., & Paternoster, R. (2010). Missing data problems in criminological research. In A. Piquero & D. Weisburd (Eds.), *Handbook of quantitative criminology* (pp. 273-288). New York, NY: Springer.
- Brandes, L. G. (1956). Meeting the discipline problems of our high school. *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, 40*(221), 104-116.

- Brent, J. J. (2017). Enduring dispositions: Examining punitive logics in the context of disciplinary reform. *Theoretical Criminology*, 1-21.
- Brezina, T., Agnew, R., Cullen, F. T., & Wright, J. P. (2004). The code of the street: A quantitative assessment of Elijah Anderson's subculture of violence thesis and its contribution to youth violence research. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 2(4), 303-328.
- Brezina, T., Piquero, A. R., & Mazerolle, P. (2001). Student anger and aggressive behavior in school: An initial test of Agnew's macro-level strain theory. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 38(4), 362-386.
- Britt, C. L., Rocque, M., & Zimmerman, G. M. (2018). The analysis of bounded count data in criminology. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 34(2), 591-607.
- Brown, E. R., & Shields, E. (1967). Results with systematic suspension: A guidance technique to help children develop self control in public school classrooms. *The Journal of Special Education*, 1(4), 425-437.
- Brown, R. A., Novak, K. J., & Frank, J. (2009). Identifying variation in police officer behavior between juveniles and adults. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37(2), 200-208.
- Brown, T. M. (2007). Lost and turned out: Academic, social, and emotional experiences of students excluded from school. *Urban Education*, 42(5), 432-455.
- Bryant, A. L., Schulenberg, J. E., O'Malley, P. M., Bachman, J. G., & Johnston, L. D. (2003). How academic achievement, attitudes, and behaviors relate to the course of substance use during adolescence: A 6-year, multiwave national longitudinal study. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 13(3), 361-397.
- Burke, E., & Herbert, D. (1996). Zero tolerance policy: Combating violence in schools. *NASSP Bulletin*, 80(579), 49-54.
- Burton, C. S. (2016). Schools and delinquency in the early 20th century: Rethinking the origins of school policing. *British Journal of Criminology*, 57(3), 532-550.
- Burton, W. (1897). *The district school as it was*. Boston, MA: Lee and Shepard.
- Butts, J., & Travis, J. (2002). *The rise and fall of American youth violence: 1980 to 2000*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute.
- Carr, L. J. (1949). Organization for delinquency control. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 261(1), 64-76.

- Carter, P. L., Skiba, R., Arredondo, M. I., & Pollock, M. (2017). You can't fix what you don't look at: Acknowledging race in addressing racial discipline disparities. *Urban Education*, 52(2), 207-235.
- Casella, R. (2003). Punishing dangerousness through preventive detention: Illustrating the institutional link between school and prison. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2003(99), 55-70.
- Casella, R. (2003). Punishing dangerousness through preventive detention: Illustrating the institutional link between school and prison. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2003(99), 55-70.
- Caspi, A. (2000). The child is father of the man: Personality continuities from childhood to adulthood. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 78(1), 158-172.
- Caspi, A., Begg, D., Dickson, N., Harrington, H., Langley, J., Moffitt, T. E., & Silva, P. A. (1997). Personality differences predict health-risk behaviors in young adulthood: Evidence from a longitudinal study. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 73(5), 1052-1063.
- Caspi, A., Houts, R. M., Belsky, D. W., Harrington, H., Hogan, S., Ramrakha, S., ... & Moffitt, T. E. (2017). Childhood forecasting of a small segment of the population with large economic burden. *Nature Human Behaviour*, 1(1), 1-10.
- Caspi, A., Lynam, D., Moffitt, T. E., & Silva, P. A. (1993). Unraveling girls' delinquency: Biological, dispositional, and contextual contributions to adolescent misbehavior. *Developmental Psychology*, 29(1), 19-30.
- Caspi, A., Moffitt, T. E., Silva, P. A., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., Krueger, R. F., & Schmutte, P. S. (1994). Are some people crime-prone? Replications of the personality-crime relationship across countries, genders, races, and methods. *Criminology*, 32(2), 163-196.
- Cecil, C. A., McCrory, E. J., Barker, E. D., Guiney, J., & Viding, E. (2017). Characterising youth with callous-unemotional traits and concurrent anxiety: Evidence for a high-risk clinical group. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 1-14.
- Cernkovich, S. A., & Giordano, P. C. (1992). School bonding, race, and delinquency. *Criminology*, 30(2), 261-291.
- Cerrone, K. M. (1999). The Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994: Zero tolerance takes aim at procedural due process. *Pace Law Review*, 20, 131-188.
- Chapman, R. W. (1962). School suspension as therapy. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 40(8), 731-732.

- Chassin, L., Rogosch, F., & Barrera, M. (1991). Substance use and symptomatology among adolescent children of alcoholics. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 100*(4), 449-463.
- Children's Defense Fund. (1975). *School suspensions: Are they helping children?* Cambridge, MA: Washington Research Project.
- Children's Defense Fund. (1974). *Children out of school in America*. Cambridge, MA: Washington Research Project.
- Cholewa, B., Hull, M. F., Babcock, C. R., & Smith, A. D. (2018). Predictors and academic outcomes associated with in-school suspension, *School Psychology Quarterly, 33*(2), 191-199.
- Christian, R. E., Frick, P. J., Hill, N. L., Tyler, L., & Frazer, D. R. (1997). Psychopathy and conduct problems in children: Implications for subtyping children with conduct problems. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry, 36*(2), 233-241.
- Ciucci, E., Baroncelli, A., Franchi, M., Golmaryami, F. N., & Frick, P. J. (2014). The association between callous-unemotional traits and behavioral and academic adjustment in children: Further validation of the Inventory of Callous-Unemotional Traits. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment, 36*(2), 189-200.
- Clark, E. J. (1951). Teacher reactions toward objectionable pupil behavior. *The Elementary School Journal, 51*(8), 446-449.
- Cobb, L. (1847). *The evil tendencies of corporal punishment as a means of moral discipline in families and schools*. New York, NY: Mark H. Newman and Company.
- Cobb-Clark, D., Kassenboehmer, S., Le, T., McVicar, D., & Zhang, R. (2013). *"High"-school: The relationship between early marijuana use and educational outcomes*. Bonn, Germany: Institute for the Study of Labor.
- Coleman, M. C., & Gilliam, J. E. (1983). Disturbing behaviors in the classroom: A survey of teacher attitudes. *The Journal of Special Education, 17*(2), 121-129.
- Colvin, S. S. (1917). *An introduction to high school teaching*. New York, NY: Macmillan Company.
- Cook, P. J., Gottfredson, D. C., & Na, C. (2010). School crime control and prevention. *Crime and Justice, 39*(1), 313-440.
- Costenbader, V., & Markson, S. (1998). School suspension: A study with secondary school students. *Journal of School Psychology, 36*(1), 59-82.

- Cottle, T. J. (1974). Dying a different sort of death: The exclusion of children from school. *The School Review*, 83(1), 145-149.
- Craig, A. R. (1847). *The philosophy of training*. London, England.
- Craig, M. M., & Glick, S. J. (1968). School behavior related to later delinquency and non-delinquency. *Criminology*, 5(4), 17-27.
- Crawford, C., & Burns, R. (2016). Reducing school violence: Considering school characteristics and the impacts of law enforcement, school security, and environmental factors. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 39(3), 455-477.
- Cremin, L. A. (1959a). John Dewey and the progressive-education movement, 1915-1952. *The School Review*, 67(2), 160-173.
- Cremin, L. A. (1959b). What was progressive education: What happened to it? *Vital Speeches of the Day*, 25(23), 721-725.
- Cremin, L. A. (1970). *American education: The colonial experience, 1607-1783*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.
- Cubberley, E. P. (1919). *Public education in the United States*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Cuellar, A. E., & Markowitz, S. (2015). School suspension and the school-to-prison pipeline. *International Review of Law and Economics*, 43, 98-106.
- Cultice, W. W. (1969). *Positive discipline for a more productive educational climate*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Currie, J. (1861). *The principles and practice of common-school education*. London, England: W. Stewart and Company.
- Curtis, A. J. (2014). Tracing the school-to-prison pipeline from zero-tolerance policies to juvenile justice dispositions. *Georgetown Law Journal*, 102, 1251-1277.
- Cutts, N. E., & Moseley, N. (1941). *Practical school discipline and mental hygiene*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Danforth, S., & Smith, T. J. (2004). *Engaging troubling students: A constructivist approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.
- Dawson, D. A. (1965). *An historical and comparative aspect of suspension and expulsion* (Master's thesis). Drake University, Des Moines, IA.

- Deardorff, N. R. (1926). Some aspects of juvenile delinquency. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 125(1), 68-78.
- DeLisi, M. (2009). Psychopathy is the unified theory of crime. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 7(3), 256-273.
- Dinkes, R., Cataldi, E. F., Lin-Kelly, W., & Snyder, T. D. (2007). *Indicators of school crime and safety: 2007* (NCES 2008-021/NCJ 219553). Washington, DC: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, and US Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs.
- Dolan, M. C., & Fullam, R. (2010). Emotional memory and psychopathic traits in conduct disordered adolescents. *Personality and Individual Differences*, 48(3), 327-331.
- Dresher, R. H. (1957). Seeds of delinquency. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 35(9), 595-598.
- Duke, D. L. (1976). Who misbehaves? A high school studies its discipline problems. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 12(3), 65-85.
- Duke, D. L. (1978a). The etiology of student misbehavior and the depersonalization of blame. *Review of Educational Research*, 48(3), 415-437.
- Duke, D. L. (1978b). Why don't girls misbehave more than boys in school? *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 7(2), 141-157.
- Duke, D. L. (1980). Making school discipline policy in the eighties: Options, illusions, and dreams. *Contemporary Education*, 52(1), 24-29.
- Edelman, M. W. (2007). The cradle to prison pipeline: An American health crisis. *Preventing Chronic Disease*, 4(3), 1-2.
- Eden, M. (2017). *School discipline reform and disorder: Evidence from New York City public schools, 2012-16*. New York, NY: Manhattan Institute.
- Eisenbraun, K. D. (2007). Violence in schools: Prevalence, prediction, and prevention. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 12(4), 459-469.
- Eitle, D., & Eitle, T. M. (2003). Segregation and school violence. *Social Forces*, 82(2), 589-616.
- Eitle, T. M., & Eitle, D. J. (2004). Inequality, segregation, and the overrepresentation of African Americans in school suspensions. *Sociological Perspectives*, 47(3), 269-287.
- Elliott, D. S. (1966). Delinquency, school attendance and dropout. *Social Problems*, 13(3), 307-314.

- Erickson, K. A. (1976). Disruptive youth: How they waste the minds of millions. *NASSP Bulletin*, 60(397), 44-47.
- Ewald, H. H. (1934). *A handbook of facts concerning Kansas public schools*. Topeka, KS: W. C. Austin.
- Farrington, D. P. (2005). Childhood origins of antisocial behavior. *Clinical Psychology & Psychotherapy*, 12(3), 177-190.
- Farrington, D. P., & Ttofi, M. M. (2011). Bullying as a predictor of offending, violence and later life outcomes. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 21(2), 90-98.
- Farrington, D. P., & West, D. J. (1971). A comparison between early delinquents and young aggressives. *The British Journal of Criminology*, 11(4), 341-358.
- Farrington, D. P., Barnes, G. C., & Lambert, S. (1996). The concentration of offending in families. *Legal and Criminological Psychology*, 1(1), 47-63.
- Farrington, D. P., Coid, J. W., Harnett, L., Jolliffe, D., Soteriou, N., Turner, R., & West, D. J. (2006). *Criminal careers up to age 50 and life success up to age 48: New findings from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development*. London, England: Home Office Research, Development and Statistics Directorate.
- Farrington, D. P., Jolliffe, D., Hawkins, J. D., Catalano, R. F., Hill, K. G., & Kosterman, R. (2003). Comparing delinquency careers in court records and self-reports. *Criminology*, 41(3), 933-958.
- Farrington, D. P., Jolliffe, D., Loeber, R., & Homish, D. L. (2007). How many offenses are really committed per juvenile court offender? *Victims and Offenders*, 2(3), 227-249.
- Farrington, D. P., Jolliffe, D., Loeber, R., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., & Kalb, L. M. (2001). The concentration of offenders in families, and family criminality in the prediction of boys' delinquency. *Journal of Adolescence*, 24(5), 579-596.
- Farrington, D. P., Ttofi, M. M., Crago, R. V., & Coid, J. W. (2014). Prevalence, frequency, onset, desistance and criminal career duration in self-reports compared with official records. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 24(4), 241-253.
- Fasching-Varner, K. J., Mitchell, R. W., Martin, L. L., & Bennett-Haron, K. P. (2014). Beyond school-to-prison pipeline and toward an educational and penal realism. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 47(4), 410-429.
- Feierman, J., Levick, M., & Mody, A. (2009). The school-to-prison pipeline... and back: Obstacles and remedies for the re-enrollment of adjudicated youth. *New York Law School Review*, 54, 1115-1129.

- Feldhusen, J. F., Thurston, J. R., & Benning, J. J. (1970). Longitudinal analyses of classroom behavior and school achievement. *The Journal of Experimental Education*, 38(4), 4-10.
- Felson, R. B., & Staff, J. (2006). Explaining the academic performance-delinquency relationship. *Criminology*, 44(2), 299-320.
- Felson, R. B., Liska, A. E., South, S. J., & McNulty, T. L. (1994). The subculture of violence and delinquency: Individual vs. school context effects. *Social Forces*, 73(1), 155-173.
- Fenning, P. A., Pulaski, S., Gomez, M., Morello, M., Maciel, L., Maroney, E., ... & Wilson, R. (2012). Call to action: A critical need for designing alternatives to suspension and expulsion. *Journal of School Violence*, 11(2), 105-117.
- Fenning, P., & Rose, J. (2007). Overrepresentation of African American students in exclusionary discipline: The role of school policy. *Urban Education*, 42, 536-559.
- Feuerborn, L. L., Wallace, C., & Tyre, A. D. (2016). A qualitative analysis of middle and high school teacher perceptions of schoolwide positive behavior supports. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions*, 18(4), 219-229.
- Figlio, D. N. (2006). Testing, crime and punishment. *Journal of Public Economics*, 90(4-5), 837-851.
- Fisher, B. W., & Hennessy, E. A. (2016). School resource officers and exclusionary discipline in US high schools: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Adolescent Research Review*, 1(3), 217-233.
- Fletcher, J. (2010). Spillover effects of inclusion of classmates with emotional problems on test scores in early elementary school. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 29(1), 69-83.
- Fontaine, N. M., McCrory, E. J., Boivin, M., Moffitt, T. E., & Viding, E. (2011). Predictors and outcomes of joint trajectories of callous-unemotional traits and conduct problems in childhood. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 120(3), 730-742.
- Forsyth, C. J., Asmus, G., Howat, H., Pei, L. K., Forsyth, Y. A., & Stokes, B. R. (2014). Examining the relationship between school suspensions/expulsions and felonies. *Criminal Justice Studies*, 27(2), 149-158.
- Forsyth, C. J., Howat, H., Pei, L. K., Forsyth, Y. A., Asmus, G., & Stokes, B. R. (2013). Examining the infractions causing higher rates of suspensions and expulsions: Racial and ethnic considerations. *Laws*, 2(1), 20-32.
- Fowle, W. B. (1852). *The common school journal and educational reformer*. Boston, MA: Morris Cotton.

- Frick, P. J. (2016). Current research on conduct disorder in children and adolescents. *South African Journal of Psychology, 46*(2), 160-174.
- Frick, P. J., & White, S. F. (2008). Research review: The importance of callous-unemotional traits for developmental models of aggressive and antisocial behavior. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 49*, 359-375.
- Frick, P. J., & White, S. F. (2008). Research review: The importance of callous-unemotional traits for developmental models of aggressive and antisocial behavior. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 49*(4), 359-375.
- Frick, P. J., Cornell, A. H., Barry, C. T., Bodin, S. D., & Dane, H. E. (2003). Callous-unemotional traits and conduct problems in the prediction of conduct problem severity, aggression, and self-report of delinquency. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 31*(4), 457-470.
- Frick, P. J., Lahey, B. B., Loeber, R., Tannenbaum, L., Van Horn, Y., Christ, M. A. G., ... & Hanson, K. (1993). Oppositional defiant disorder and conduct disorder: A meta-analytic review of factor analyses and cross-validation in a clinic sample. *Clinical Psychology Review, 13*(4), 319-340.
- Frick, P. J., O'Brien, B. S., Wootton, J. M., & McBurnett, K. (1994). Psychopathy and conduct problems in children. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 103*(4), 700-707.
- Frick, P. J., Stickle, T. R., Dandreaux, D. M., Farrell, J. M., & Kimonis, E. R. (2005). Callous-unemotional traits in predicting the severity and stability of conduct problems and delinquency. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 33*(4), 471-487.
- Gage, N. A., Sugai, G., Lewis, T. J., & Brzozowy, S. (2015). Academic achievement and school-wide positive behavior supports. *Journal of Disability Policy Studies, 25*(4), 199-209.
- Gage, N. A., Whitford, D. K., & Katsiyannis, A. (2018). A review of schoolwide positive behavior interventions and supports as a framework for reducing disciplinary exclusions. *The Journal of Special Education, 1-10*.
- Galloway, D. (1982). A study of pupils suspended from schools. *British Journal of Educational Psychology, 52*(2), 205-212.
- Galloway, D., Martin, R., & Wilcox, B. (1985). Persistent absence from school and exclusion from school: The predictive power of school and community variables. *British Educational Research Journal, 11*(1), 51-61.
- Garibaldi, A. M. (1979). In-school alternatives to suspension: Trendy educational innovations. *The Urban Review, 11*(2), 97-103.

- Garnier, H. E., Stein, J. A., & Jacobs, J. K. (1997). The process of dropping out of high school: A 19-year perspective. *American Educational Research Journal*, 34(2), 395-419.
- Gerlinger, J., & Wo, J. C. (2016). Preventing school bullying: Should schools prioritize an authoritative school discipline approach over security measures? *Journal of School Violence*, 15(2), 133-157.
- Ghosh, S., & Sinha, M. (2012). ADHD, ODD, and CD: Do they belong to a common psychopathological spectrum? A case series. *Case Reports in Psychiatry*, 1-4.
- Gibson, P. A., Wilson, R., Haight, W., Kayama, M., & Marshall, J. M. (2014). The role of race in the out-of-school suspensions of black students: The perspectives of students with suspensions, their parents and educators. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 47, 274-282.
- Gilliam, W. S., Maupin, A. N., Reyes, C. R., Accavitti, M., & Shic, F. (2016). *Do early educators' implicit biases regarding sex and race relate to behavior expectations and recommendations of preschool expulsions and suspensions?* New Haven, CT: Yale University Child Study Center.
- Glenn, M. C. (1981). School discipline and punishment in Antebellum America. *Journal of the Early Republic*, 1(4), 395-408.
- Glueck, S. (1960). Ten years of unraveling juvenile delinquency. *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 51, 283-308.
- Glueck, S., & Glueck, E. (1950). *Unraveling juvenile delinquency*. New York, NY: Commonwealth Fund.
- Glueck, S., & Glueck, E. (1963). Potential juvenile delinquents can be identified: What next? *British Journal of Criminology*, 4, 215-226.
- Gnagey, W. J. (1956). Do our schools prevent or promote delinquency? *The Journal of Educational Research*, 50(3), 215-219.
- Gold, V. E., & Chamberlin, L. J. (1996). School/student violence: A primer. *American Secondary Education*, 24(3), 27-32.
- Gordon, R., Piana, L. D., & Keleher, T. (2000). Facing the consequences: An examination of racial discrimination in US public schools. Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.
- Gottfredson, D. C., Gottfredson, G. D., & Weisman, S. A. (2001). The timing of delinquent behavior and its implications for after-school programs. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 1(1), 61-86.

- Gottfredson, D. C., McNeil, R. J., & Gottfredson, G. D. (1991). Social area influences on delinquency: A multilevel analysis. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 28(2), 197-226.
- Gottfredson, G. D., Gottfredson, D. C., Payne, A. A., & Gottfredson, N. C. (2005). School climate predictors of school disorder: Results from a national study of delinquency prevention in schools. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 42(4), 412-444.
- Graziano, P. A., Ros, R., Haas, S., Hart, K., Slavec, J., Waschbusch, D., & Garcia, A. (2016). Assessing callous-unemotional traits in preschool children with disruptive behavior problems using peer reports. *Journal of Clinical Child & Adolescent Psychology*, 45(2), 201-214.
- Gregory, A., Cornell, D., Fan, X., Sheras, P., Shih, T. H., & Huang, F. (2010a). Authoritative school discipline: High school practices associated with lower bullying and victimization. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 102(2), 483-496.
- Gregory, A., Skiba, R. J., & Noguera, P. A. (2010b). The achievement gap and the discipline gap: Two sides of the same coin? *Educational Researcher*, 39(1), 59-68.
- Hagstrom, W. O., & Gardner, L. L. H. (1969). *Characteristics of disruptive high school students*. Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, Wisconsin Research and Development, Center for Cognitive Learning.
- Hahn, R., Fuqua-Whitley, D., Wethington, H., Lowy, J., Crosby, A., Fullilove, M., ... & Snyder, S. (2007). Effectiveness of universal school-based programs to prevent violent and aggressive behavior: A systematic review. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 33(2), S114-S129.
- Hanushek, E. A., & Rivkin, S. G. (2009). Harming the best: How schools affect the black-white achievement gap. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 28(3), 366-393.
- Haralson, E. (1979). Advocacy groups and school discipline. *Education and Urban Society*, 11(4), 527-546.
- Hare, R. D., & Neumann, C. S. (2008). Psychopathy as a clinical and empirical construct. *Annual Review of Clinical Psychology*, 4, 217-246.
- Harris, P. E. (1928). *Changing concepts of school discipline*. New York, NY: Macmillan Company.
- Hart, J. E., & Lordon, J. F. (1978). School discipline: yesterday, today, and tomorrow. *The Clearing House*, 52(2), 68-71.
- Harvey, D. L., & Moosha, W. G. (1977). In-school suspension: Does it work? *NASSP Bulletin*, 61(405), 14-17.

- Hawes, S. W., Mulvey, E. P., Schubert, C. A., & Pardini, D. A. (2014). Structural coherence and temporal stability of psychopathic personality features during emerging adulthood. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology, 123*(3), 623-633.
- Hawkins, D. F., Laub, J. H., Lauritsen, J. L., & Cothorn, L. (2000). *Race, ethnicity, and serious and violent juvenile offending*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Hay, C., & Evans, M. M. (2006). Violent victimization and involvement in delinquency: Examining predictions from general strain theory. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 34*(3), 261-274.
- Haynie, D. L., Steffensmeier, D., & Bell, K. E. (2007). Gender and serious violence: Untangling the role of friendship sex composition and peer violence. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 5*(3), 235-253.
- Healy, W. (1915). *The individual delinquent*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown, and Company.
- Heath, G. L. (1970). *Portrait of the high school rebel*. Normal, IL: Illinois State University.
- Heaven, P. C. (1996). Personality and self-reported delinquency: A longitudinal analysis. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 37*(6), 747-751.
- Hemphill, S. A., Kotevski, A., Herrenkohl, T. I., Smith, R., Toumbourou, J. W., & Catalano, R. F. (2013). Does school suspension affect subsequent youth non-violent antisocial behaviour? A longitudinal study of students in Victoria, Australia and Washington State, United States. *Australian Journal of Psychology, 65*(4), 236-249.
- Hemphill, S. A., Plenty, S. M., Herrenkohl, T. I., Toumbourou, J. W., & Catalano, R. F. (2014). Student and school factors associated with school suspension: A multilevel analysis of students in Victoria, Australia and Washington State, United States. *Children and Youth Services Review, 36*, 187-194.
- Hemphill, S. A., Toumbourou, J. W., Herrenkohl, T. I., McMorris, B. J., & Catalano, R. F. (2006). The effect of school suspensions and arrests on subsequent adolescent antisocial behavior in Australia and the United States. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 39*(5), 736-744.
- Henning, C. J. (1949). Discipline: Are school practices changing? A study of reports from 225 high schools. *The Clearing House, 23*(5), 266-273.
- Henry, J., Pingault, J. B., Boivin, M., Rijdsdijk, F., & Viding, E. (2016). Genetic and environmental aetiology of the dimensions of callous-unemotional traits. *Psychological Medicine, 46*(2), 405-414.

- Heriot, G. L., & Somin, A. (2018). The Department of Education's Obama-era initiative on racial disparities in school discipline: Wrong for students and teachers, wrong on the law. *Texas Review of Law & Politics*, 1-72.
- Hilbe, J. M. (2011). *Negative binomial regression*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Hill, A. S., Miller, L. M., & Gabbard, H. F. (1953). Schools Face the Delinquency Problem. *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, 37(198), 181-221.
- Hinojosa, M. S. (2008). Black-white differences in school suspension: Effect on student beliefs about teachers. *Sociological Spectrum*, 28, 175-193.
- Hirschfield, P. J. (2008). Preparing for prison? The criminalization of school discipline in the USA. *Theoretical Criminology*, 12(1), 79-101.
- Hirschfield, P. J. (2017). Schools and crime. *Annual Review of Criminology*, 1(1), 12-28.
- Hirschi, T. (1977). Causes and prevention of juvenile delinquency. *Sociological Inquiry*, 47(3-4), 322-341.
- Hirschi, T., & Hindelang, M. J. (1977). Intelligence and delinquency: A revisionist review. *American Sociological Review*, 571-587.
- Hoffmann, J. P., & Xu, J. (2002). School activities, community service, and delinquency. *Crime & Delinquency*, 48(4), 568-591.
- Holder, E., & Duncan, A. (2011). *Effort to respond to school-to-prison pipeline by supporting good discipline practices*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice; US Department of Education.
- Hollingshead, A. B. (1957). Two factor index of social position. New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University.
- Hollingshead, A. B. (1971). Commentary on the indiscriminate state of social class measurement. *Social Forces*, 49(4), 563-267.
- Huang, F. L., & Cornell, D. G. (2017). Student attitudes and behaviors as explanations for the Black-White suspension gap. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 73, 298-308.
- Hubbard, D. J., & Pratt, T. C. (2002). A meta-analysis of the predictors of delinquency among girls. *Journal of Offender Rehabilitation*, 34(3), 1-13.
- Huesmann, L. R., Eron, L. D., Lefkowitz, M. M., & Walder, L. O. (1984). Stability of aggression over time and generations. *Developmental Psychology*, 20(6), 1120.

- Hwang, N. (2017). *Suspension and its consequences: Individual and classroom effects* (Doctoral dissertation). University of California, Irvine, Irvine, CA.
- Hwang, N. (2018). Suspensions and achievement: Varying links by type, frequency, and subgroup. *Educational Researcher*, 1-12.
- Jacobsen, G. R. (1953). *Juvenile delinquency—can it be measured?* (Master's thesis). Central Washington University, Ellensburg, WA.
- Jagers, J. W., Robison, S. B., Rhodes, J. L., Guan, X., & Church, W. T. (2016). Predicting adult criminality among Louisiana's urban youth: Poverty, academic risk, and delinquency. *Journal of the Society for Social Work and Research*, 7(1), 89-116.
- James, C. E. (2012). Students "at risk": Stereotypes and the schooling of black boys. *Urban Education*, 47(2), 464-494.
- Jang, S. J. (1999). Age-varying effects of family, school, and peers on delinquency: A multilevel modeling test of interactional theory. *Criminology*, 37(3), 643-686.
- Jarjoura, G. R. (1993). Does dropping out of school enhance delinquent involvement? Results from a large-scale national probability sample. *Criminology*, 31(2), 149-172.
- Jenkins, P. H. (1997). School delinquency and the school social bond. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 34(3), 337-367.
- Jennings, W. G., Khey, D. N., Maskaly, J., & Donner, C. M. (2011). Evaluating the relationship between law enforcement and school security measures and violent crime in schools. *Journal of Police Crisis Negotiations*, 11(2), 109-124.
- Jewett, J. P. (1952). The fight against corporal punishment in American schools. *History of Education Journal*, 4(1), 1-10.
- Johnson, T., Boyden, J. E., & Pittz, W. J. (2001). *Racial profiling and punishment in US public schools: How zero tolerance policies and high stakes testing subvert academic excellence and racial equity*. Oakland, CA: ERASE Initiative, Applied Research Center.
- (1) Cross, B. (2001). Introduction: A time for action.
- (2) Mizell, L. (2001). Horace had it right: The stakes are still high for students of color.
- (3) Skiba, R. J., & Leone, P. E. (2001). Zero tolerance and school security measures: A failed experiment.
- Jolliffe, D., & Farrington, D. P. (2004). Empathy and offending: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 9(5), 441-476.

- Jolliffe, D., & Farrington, D. P. (2006). Examining the relationship between low empathy and bullying. *Aggressive Behavior, 32*(6), 540-550.
- Jones, S. E., Miller, J. D., & Lynam, D. R. (2011). Personality, antisocial behavior, and aggression: A meta-analytic review. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 39*(4), 329-337.
- Kaesar, S. C. (1979). Suspensions in school discipline. *Education and Urban Society, 11*(4), 465-484.
- Kaestle, C. F. (1978). Social change, discipline, and the common school in early nineteenth-century America. *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History, 9*(1), 1-17.
- Kasen, S., Johnson, J., & Cohen, P. (1990). The impact of school emotional climate on student psychopathology. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology, 18*(2), 165-177.
- Katsiyannis, A., Thompson, M. P., Barrett, D. E., & Kingree, J. B. (2012). School predictors of violent criminality in adulthood: Findings from a nationally representative longitudinal study. *Remedial and Special Education, 34*(4), 205-214.
- Kellam, S. G., Ling, X., Merisca, R., Brown, C. H., & Ialongo, N. (1998). The effect of the level of aggression in the first grade classroom on the course and malleability of aggressive behavior into middle school. *Development and Psychopathology, 10*(2), 165-185.
- Kelley, B. T., Loeber, R., Keenan, K., & DeLamatre, M. (1997). *Developmental pathways in boys' disruptive delinquent behavior*. Washington, DC: US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Kelly, D. H. (1971). School failure, academic self-evaluation, and school avoidance and deviant behavior. *Youth and Society, 2*(4), 489.
- Kelly, D. H., & Pink, W. T. (1973). School commitment, youth rebellion, and delinquency. *Criminology, 10*(4), 473-485.
- Kerig, P. K., & Sink, H. E. (2010). The new scoundrel on the schoolyard: Contributions of Machiavellianism to the understanding of youth aggression. In C. T. Barry et al. (Eds.), *Narcissism and Machiavellianism in youth* (pp. 193-212). Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.
- Kerig, P. K., & Stellwagen, K. K. (2010). Roles of callous-unemotional traits, narcissism, and Machiavellianism in childhood aggression. *Journal of Psychopathology and Behavioral Assessment, 32*(3), 343-352.
- Kern, C. R. (1975). White principal, black student. *NASSP Bulletin, 59*(389), 34-38.
- Kiernan, O. B. (1975). *School violence and vandalism*. Reston, VA: National Association of Secondary School Principals.

- King, J. B. (2016). *Letter to states calling for an end to corporal punishment in schools*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education.
- Kingery, P. M. (2000). *Suspension and expulsion: New directions*. Washington, DC: George Washington University, Hamilton Fish Institute.
- Kingston J. R., & Gentry, H. W. (1961). Discipline problems and practices in the secondary schools of a Southern state. *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, 45(268), 34-44.
- Kinsler, J. (2011). Understanding the black-white school discipline gap. *Economics of Education Review*, 30(6), 1370-1383.
- Kinsler, J. (2013). School discipline: A source or salve for the racial achievement gap? *International Economic Review*, 54(1), 355-383.
- Krezmien, M. P., Leone, P. E., & Achilles, G. M. (2006). Suspension, race, and disability: Analysis of statewide practices and reporting. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, 14, 217-226.
- Krezmien, M. P., Leone, P. E., & Wilson, M. G. (2014). Marginalized students, school exclusion, and the school-to-prison pipeline. In W. T. Church, D. W. Springer, & A. R. Roberts (Eds.), *Juvenile justice sourcebook* (2nd ed., pp. 267-289). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- Krezmien, M. P., Leone, P. E., Zablocki, M. S., & Wells, C. S. (2010). Juvenile court referrals and the public schools: Nature and extent of the practice in five states. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 26(3), 273-293.
- Krueger, R. F., Schmutte, P. S., Caspi, A., Moffitt, T. E., Campbell, K., & Silva, P. A. (1994). Personality traits are linked to crime among men and women: evidence from a birth cohort. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 103(2), 328-338.
- Kupchik, A., & Ward, G. (2014). Race, poverty, and exclusionary school security: An empirical analysis of US elementary, middle, and high schools. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 12(4), 332-354.
- Kupchik, A., Green, D. A., & Mowen, T. J. (2015). School punishment in the US and England: Divergent frames and responses. *Youth Justice*, 15(1), 3-22.
- Kvaraceus, W. C. (1945). *Juvenile delinquency and the school*. Yonkers, NY: World Book Company.
- Kvaraceus, W. C. (1959a). The nature of the problem of juvenile delinquency in the United States. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 28(3), 191-199.

- Kvaraceus, W. C. (1959b). The school as a catalyst in precipitating delinquency. *The Elementary School Journal*, 59(4), 211-214.
- Lacoe, J., & Steinberg, M. P. (2018). Rolling back zero tolerance: The effect of discipline policy reform on suspension usage and student outcomes. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 93(2), 207-227.
- LaFree, G., & Arum, R. (2006). The impact of racially inclusive schooling on adult incarceration rates among US cohorts of African Americans and whites since 1930. *Criminology*, 44(1), 73-103.
- Lahey, B. B., Loeber, R., Hart, E. L., Frick, P. J., Applegate, B., Zhang, Q., ... & Russo, M. F. (1995). Four-year longitudinal study of conduct disorder in boys: Patterns and predictors of persistence. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 104(1), 83-93.
- Lammers, C. C. (1965). The right to attend school. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 43(5), 475-481.
- Land, K. C., McCall, P. L., & Nagin, D. S. (1996). A comparison of Poisson, negative binomial, and semiparametric mixed Poisson regression models: With empirical applications to criminal careers data. *Sociological Methods & Research*, 24(4), 387-442.
- Larkin, J. (1979). School desegregation and student suspension: A look at one school system. *Education and Urban Society*, 11(4), 485-495.
- Latzer, B. (2018). Subcultures of violence and African American crime rates. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 54, 41-49.
- Latzman, R. D., Lilienfeld, S. O., Latzman, N. E., & Clark, L. A. (2013). Exploring callous and unemotional traits in youth via general personality traits: An eye toward DSM-5. *Personality Disorders: Theory, Research, and Treatment*, 4(3), 191-202.
- Lefevre, C. (1966). Inner-city school—as the children see it. *The Elementary School Journal*, 67(1), 8-15.
- Leiber, M. J., Peck, J. H., & Rodriguez, N. (2016). Minority threat and juvenile court outcomes. *Crime & Delinquency*, 62(1), 54-80.
- Lewis, C. W., Butler, B. R., Bonner, F. A., & Joubert, M. (2010). African American male discipline patterns and school district responses resulting impact on academic achievement: Implications for urban educators and policy makers. *Journal of African American Males in Education*, 1(1), 7-25.
- Li, C. (2016). *The effectiveness and consequences of exclusionary school discipline* (Working paper). Retrieved from: <http://chunxiao.web.unc.edu/files/2016/11/Li2016.pdf>.

- Loeber, R., & Burke, J. D. (2011). Developmental pathways in juvenile externalizing and internalizing problems. *Journal of Research on Adolescence*, 21(1), 34-46.
- Loeber, R., & Hay, D. (1997). Key issues in the development of aggression and violence from childhood to early adulthood. *Annual review of Psychology*, 48(1), 371-410.
- Loeber, R., & Schmaling, K. B. (1985). Empirical evidence for overt and covert patterns of antisocial conduct problems: A metaanalysis. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 13(2), 337-353.
- Loeber, R., Burke, J. D., Mutchka, J., & Lahey, B. B. (2004). Gun carrying and conduct disorder: A highly combustible combination? *Archives of Pediatrics & Adolescent Medicine*, 158(2), 138-145.
- Loeber, R., Keenan, K., & Zhang, Q. (1997). Boys' experimentation and persistence in developmental pathways toward serious delinquency. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 6(3), 321-357.
- Loeber, R., Menting, B., Lynam, D. R., Moffitt, T. E., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., Stallings, R., ... & Pardini, D. (2012). Findings from the Pittsburgh Youth Study: Cognitive impulsivity and intelligence as predictors of the age-crime curve. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 51(11), 1136-1149.
- Loeber, R., Wung, P., Keenan, K., Giroux, B., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., Van Kammen, W. B., & Maugham, B. (1993). Developmental pathways in disruptive child behavior. *Development and Psychopathology*, 5(1-2), 103-133.
- Losen, D. J., & Martinez, T. E. (2013). *Out of school and off track: The overuse of suspensions in American middle and high schools*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California, Los Angeles, Civil Rights Project, Center for Civil Rights Remedies.
- Lowry, W. J. (1936). Does school discipline contribute to delinquency? *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 19(1), 5-13.
- Luo, W., Hughes, J. N., Liew, J., & Kwok, O. (2009). Classifying academically at-risk first graders into engagement types: Association with long-term achievement trajectories. *The Elementary School Journal*, 109(4), 380-405.
- Lynam, D., Moffitt, T., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1993). Explaining the relation between IQ and delinquency: Class, race, test motivation, school failure, or self-control? *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 102(2), 187-196.
- Lynn, R. (2009). Race differences in school exclusions and anti-social behavior. *Mankind Quarterly*, 50(1/2), 95-105.

- Lyons, D. J., & Powers, V. (1963). Follow-up study of elementary school children exempted from Los Angeles city schools during 1960–1961. *Exceptional Children*, 30(4), 155-162.
- MacDonald, J. M., & Lattimore, P. K. (2010). Count models in criminology. In A. Piquero & D. Weisburd (Eds.), *Handbook of quantitative criminology* (pp. 683-698). New York, NY: Springer.
- Mann, H. (1838). *First annual report of the Board of Education together with the first annual report of the Secretary of the Board*. Boston, MA: Dutton and Wentworth.
- Mann, H. (1840). *The common school journal for the year 1840*. Boston, MA: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb.
- Mann, H. (1841a). *Fourth annual report of the Board of Education together with the fourth annual report of the Secretary of the Board*. Boston, MA: Dutton and Wentworth.
- Mann, H. (1841b). *The common school journal for the year 1841*. Boston, MA: Marsh, Capen, Lyon, and Webb.
- Mann, H. (1844). *Seventh annual report of the Board of Education together with the seventh annual report of the Secretary of the Board*. Boston, MA: Dutton and Wentworth.
- Mann, H. (1845). *Lectures on education*. Boston, MA: WM. B. Fowle and N. Capen.
- Marchbanks, M. P., Peguero, A. A., Varela, K. S., Blake, J. J., & Eason, J. M. (2018). School strictness and disproportionate minority contact: Investigating racial and ethnic disparities with the “school-to-prison pipeline.” *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 16(2), 241-259.
- Marsh, T. Y., & Cornell, D. G. (2001). The contribution of student experiences to understanding ethnic differences in high-risk behaviors at school. *Behavioral Disorders*, 26(2), 152-163.
- Massachusetts Board of Education. (1844). *Remarks on the seventh annual report of the honorable Horace Mann*. Boston, MA: Charles C. Little and James Brown.
- May, D. C., Barranco, R., Stokes, E., Robertson, A. A., & Haynes, S. H. (2015). Do school resource officers really refer juveniles to the juvenile justice system for less serious offenses? *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 1-17.
- May, D. C., Fessel, S. D., & Means, S. (2004). Predictors of principals’ perceptions of school resource officer effectiveness in Kentucky. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 29(1), 75-93.
- Mayer, M. F., & Wolfenstein, C. M. (1954). Diagnostic criteria for intramural and extramural schooling of disturbed children in a residential treatment center. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 24(2), 351-367.

- McCarthy, J. D., & Hoge, D. R. (1987). The social construction of school punishment: Racial disadvantage out of universalistic process. *Social Forces*, 65(4), 1101-1120.
- McCoy, W. D. (1951). Public education in Pittsburgh, 1835-1950. *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, 34(4), 219-238.
- McCurdy, B. L., Mannella, M. C., & Eldridge, N. (2003). Positive behavior support in urban schools: Can we prevent the escalation of antisocial behavior? *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions*, 5(3), 158-170.
- McDill, E. L., Natriello, G., & Pallas, A. M. (1986). A population at risk: Potential consequences of tougher school standards for student dropouts. *American Journal of Education*, 94(2), 135-181.
- McFadden, A. C., Marsh, G. E., Price, B. J., & Hwang, Y. (1992). A study of race and gender bias in the punishment of handicapped school children. *The Urban Review*, 24(4), 239-251.
- McGrew, K. (2016). The dangers of pipeline thinking: How the school-to-prison pipeline metaphor squeezes out complexity. *Educational Theory*, 66(3), 341-367.
- McKenna, J. M., Martinez-Prather, K., & Bowman, S. W. (2016). The roles of school-based law enforcement officers and how these roles are established: A qualitative study. *Criminal Justice Policy Review*, 27(4), 420-443.
- Mendez, R., & Sanders, S. G. (1981). An examination of in-school suspension: Panacea or Pandora's box? *NASSP Bulletin*, 65(441), 65-69.
- Messina, D. J. (1988). Corporal punishment v. classroom discipline: A case of mistaken identity. *Loyola Law Review*, 34, 35-110.
- Miller, J. D., & Lynam, D. (2001). Structural models of personality and their relation to antisocial behavior: A meta-analytic review. *Criminology*, 39(4), 765-798.
- Mizell, M. H. (1978). Designing and implementing effective in-school alternatives to suspension. *The Urban Review*, 10(3), 213-226.
- Moffitt, T. E. (1993). The neuropsychology of conduct disorder. *Development and Psychopathology*, 5(1-2), 135-151.
- Moffitt, T. E. (1993a). Adolescence-limited and life-course-persistent antisocial behavior: a developmental taxonomy. *Psychological review*, 100(4), 674-701.
- Moffitt, T. E., Arseneault, L., Belsky, D., Dickson, N., Hancox, R. J., Harrington, H., ... & Sears, M. R. (2011). A gradient of childhood self-control predicts health, wealth, and public safety. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 108(7), 2693-2698.

- Moffitt, T. E., Arseneault, L., Jaffee, S. R., Kim-Cohen, J., Koenen, K. C., ... & Viding, E. (2008). Research review: DSM-V conduct disorder: Research needs for an evidence base. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 49(1), 3-33.
- Monahan, K. C., VanDerhei, S., Bechtold, J., & Cauffman, E. (2014). From the school yard to the squad car: School discipline, truancy, and arrest. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 43(7), 1110-1122.
- Monroe, C. R. (2005). Understanding the discipline gap through a cultural lens: Implications for the education of African American students. *Intercultural Education*, 16(4), 317-330.
- Moore, A. L. (2002). African-American early childhood teachers' decisions to refer African-American students. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 15(6), 631-652.
- Moore, B. M. (1961). The schools and the problems of juvenile delinquency: Research studies and findings. *Crime & Delinquency*, 7(3), 201-212.
- Morehouse, F. M. (1914). *The discipline of the school*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company.
- Morgan, M. A., & Wright, J. P. (2017). Beyond black and white: Suspension disparities for Hispanic, Asian, and white youth. *Criminal Justice Review*, 1-22.
- Morison, S. E. (1936). *Three centuries of Harvard, 1636-1936*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Morrison, G. M., & D'Incau, B. (1997). The web of zero-tolerance: Characteristics of students who are recommended for expulsion from school. *Education and Treatment of Children*, 20, 316-335.
- Morrison, G. M., Anthony, S., Storino, M., & Dillon, C. (2001). An examination of the disciplinary histories and the individual and educational characteristics of students who participate in an in-school suspension program. *Education and Treatment of Children*, 24, 276-293.
- Morrison, G. M., D'Incau, B., Couto, E., & Loose, S. (1997). Understanding pathways to student expulsion: Consideration of individual and system indicators. *The California School Psychologist*, 2(1), 53-61.
- Mowen, T. J., & Parker, K. F. (2017). Minority threat and school security: Assessing the impact of Black and Hispanic student representation on school security measures. *Security Journal*, 30(2), 504-522.
- Mowen, T., & Brent, J. (2016). School discipline as a turning point: The cumulative effect of suspension on arrest. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 53(5), 628-653.

- Mulvey, E. P. (2013) *Research on Pathways to Desistance [Maricopa County, AZ and Philadelphia County, PA]: Subject measures, 2000-2010*. (ICPSR29961-v2). Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research [Distributor], 2013-01-07. Retrieved from: <http://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR29961.v2>.
- Mulvey, E. P., & Cauffman, E. (2001). The inherent limits of predicting school violence. *American Psychologist*, 56(10), 797-802.
- Mulvey, E. P., Schubert, C. A., & Piquero, A. (2014). *Pathways to desistance: Final technical report*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice.
- Murray, J., & Farrington, D. P. (2010). Risk factors for conduct disorder and delinquency: Key findings from longitudinal studies. *The Canadian Journal of Psychiatry*, 55(10), 633-642.
- Na, C. (2017). The Consequences of school dropout among serious adolescent offenders: More offending? More arrest? Both? *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 54(1), 78-110.
- Na, C., & Gottfredson, D. C. (2013). Police officers in schools: Effects on school crime and the processing of offending behaviors. *Justice Quarterly*, 30(4), 619-650.
- Nagin, D. S., & Tremblay, R. E. (2005). Developmental trajectory groups: Fact or a useful statistical fiction? *Criminology*, 43(4), 873-904.
- Nagin, D. S., Farrington, D. P., & Moffitt, T. E. (1995). Life-course trajectories of different types of offenders. *Criminology*, 33(1), 111-139.
- Nagin, D., & Tremblay, R. E. (1999). Trajectories of boys' physical aggression, opposition, and hyperactivity on the path to physically violent and nonviolent juvenile delinquency. *Child Development*, 70(5), 1181-1196.
- Nance, J. P. (2016). Students, police, and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Washington University Law Review*, 93, 919-987.
- National Education Association. (2010). *Letter to the House Education and Labor Committee on corporal punishment in schools*. Retrieved from: <http://www.nea.org/home/38946.htm>.
- Neill, S. B. (1976). *Suspensions and expulsions: Current trends in school policies and programs*. Arlington, VA: National School Public Relations Association.
- Newbold, N. C. (1928). Common schools for Negroes in the South. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 140(1), 209-223.
- Nicholson-Crotty, S., Birchmeier, Z., & Valentine, D. (2009). Exploring the impact of school discipline on racial disproportion in the juvenile justice system. *Social Science Quarterly*, 90(4), 1003-1018.

- Nielsen, L. (1979). Let's suspend suspensions: Consequences and alternatives. *The Personnel and Guidance Journal*, 57(9), 442-445.
- Noltemeyer, A. L., Ward, R. M., & Mcloughlin, C. (2015). Relationship between school suspension and student outcomes: A meta-analysis. *School Psychology Review*, 44(2), 224-240.
- Northend, C. (1859). *The teacher's assistant*. Boston, MA: Crosby, Nichols, and Company.
- Novak, A. (2018). The association between experiences of exclusionary discipline and justice system contact: A systematic review. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 1-39.
- O'Brien, R. M. (2007). A caution regarding rules of thumb for variance inflation factors. *Quality & Quantity*, 41(5), 673-690.
- O'Hara, R. B., & Kotze, D. J. (2010). Do not log-transform count data. *Methods in Ecology and Evolution*, 1(2), 118-122.
- Office of the State Superintendent of Education. (2017). *State of discipline: 2016-17 school year*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Ohlsen, M. M. (1947). Guidance and school discipline. *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, 31(144), 108-112.
- O'Neill, L., & McGloin, J. M. (2007). Considering the efficacy of situational crime prevention in schools. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 35(5), 511-523.
- Osher, D., Bear, G. G., Sprague, J. R., & Doyle, W. (2010). How can we improve school discipline? *Educational Researcher*, 39(1), 48-58.
- Owens, E. G. (2017). Testing the School-to-Prison Pipeline. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 36(1), 11-37.
- Pardini, D. A., & Fite, P. J. (2010). Symptoms of conduct disorder, oppositional defiant disorder, attention-deficit/hyperactivity disorder, and callous-unemotional traits as unique predictors of psychosocial maladjustment in boys: Advancing an evidence base for DSM-V. *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 49(11), 1134-1144.
- Pardini, D. A., Frick, P. J., & Moffitt, T. E. (2010). Building an evidence base for DSM-5 conceptualizations of oppositional defiant disorder and conduct disorder: Introduction to the special section. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 119(4), 683-688.
- Patchin, J. W., & Hinduja, S. (2006). Bullies move beyond the schoolyard: A preliminary look at cyberbullying. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 4(2), 148-169.

- Paulhus, D. L., & Williams, K. M. (2002). The dark triad of personality: Narcissism, Machiavellianism, and psychopathy. *Journal of Research in Personality, 36*(6), 556-563.
- Payne, A. A. (2008). A multilevel analysis of the relationships among communal school organization, student bonding, and delinquency. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, 45*(4), 429-455.
- Payne, A. A., & Welch, K. (2010). Modeling the effects of racial threat on punitive and restorative school discipline practices. *Criminology, 48*, 1019-1062.
- Payne, A. A., Gottfredson, D. C., & Gottfredson, G. D. (2003). Schools as communities: The relationships among communal school organization, student bonding, and school disorder. *Criminology, 41*(3), 749-778.
- Pei, L. K., Forsyth, C. J., Teddlie, S. K., Asmus, G., & Stokes, B. R. (2013). Bad behavior, ethnicity, and level of school diversity. *Deviant Behavior, 34*(1), 1-10.
- Peil, A. A. (1958). Old Oregon school days. *Oregon Historical Quarterly, 59*(3), 196-207.
- Perlman, I. R. (1959). Delinquency prevention: the size of the problem. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 322*(1), 1-9.
- Perry, A. C. (1915). *Discipline as a school problem*. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Petras, H., Masyn, K. E., Buckley, J. A., Ialongo, N. S., & Kellam, S. (2011). Who is most at risk for school removal? A multilevel discrete-time survival analysis of individual-and context-level influences. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 103*(1), 223-237.
- Phay, R. E. (1971). *Suspension and expulsion of public school students*. Washington, DC: National Center for Educational Research and Development.
- Phay, R. E., & Cummings, J. L. (1970). *Student suspensions and expulsions: Proposed school board codes prohibiting serious student misconduct and establishing procedures for dealing with alleged violations*. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Institute of Government.
- Phillips, J. C., & Kelly, D. H. (1979). School failure and delinquency. Which causes which? *Criminology, 17*(2), 194-207.
- Pigott, C., Stearns, A. E., & Khey, D. N. (2018). School resource officers and the school to prison pipeline: Discovering trends of expulsions in public schools. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(1), 120-138.
- Piquero, A. (2001). Testing Moffitt's neuropsychological variation hypothesis for the prediction of life-course persistent offending. *Psychology, Crime & Law, 7*(3), 193-215.

- Piquero, A. R., Cardwell, S. M., Piquero, N. L., Jennings, W. G., & Reingle Gonzalez, J. M. (2016). How well do the adolescent risk factors predict re-arrest frequency across race/ethnicity among serious adolescent offenders? *Journal of Crime and Justice*, 39(1), 189-209.
- Polk, K. (1969). Class, strain and rebellion among adolescents. *Social Problems*, 17(2), 214-224.
- Pratt, T. C., Barnes, J. C., Cullen, F. T., & Turanovic, J. J. (2016). "I suck at everything": Crime, arrest, and the generality of failure. *Deviant Behavior*, 37(8), 837-851.
- Punke, H. H. (1958). Exclusion of pupils from public schools. *The Bulletin of the National Association of Secondary School Principals*, 42(239), 41-59.
- Rader, H. (1975). The child as terrorist: Seven cases. *The School Review*, 84(1), 5-41.
- Radin, N. (1988). Alternatives to suspension and corporal punishment. *Urban Education*, 22(4), 476-495.
- Raffaele Mendez, L. M. (2003). Predictors of suspension and negative school outcomes: A longitudinal investigation. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2003(99), 17-33.
- Raffaele Mendez, L. M., Knoff, H. M., & Ferron, J. M. (2002). School demographic variables and out-of-school suspension rates: A quantitative and qualitative analysis of a large, ethnically diverse school district. *Psychology in the Schools*, 39, 259-277.
- Raible, J., & Irizarry, J. G. (2010). Redirecting the teacher's gaze: Teacher education, youth surveillance and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 26(5), 1196-1203.
- Raichle, D. R. (1977). School discipline and corporal punishment: An American retrospect. *Interchange*, 8(1-2), 71-83.
- Raine, A. (2002). Biosocial studies of antisocial and violent behavior in children and adults: A review. *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 30(4), 311-326.
- Ramey, D. M. (2016). The influence of early school punishment and therapy/medication on social control experiences during young adulthood. *Criminology*, 54(1), 113-141.
- Rappaport, N., & Thomas, C. (2004). Recent research findings on aggressive and violent behavior in youth: Implications for clinical assessment and intervention. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 35(4), 260-277.
- Redl, F. (1975). Disruptive behavior in the classroom. *The School Review*, 83(4), 569-594.
- Reis, J., Trockel, M., & Mulhall, P. (2007). Individual and school predictors of middle school aggression. *Youth & Society*, 38(3), 322-347.

- Rexford, E. N. (1959). Some meanings of aggressive behavior in children. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 322(1), 10-18.
- Rhee, S. H., & Waldman, I. D. (2002). Genetic and environmental influences on antisocial behavior: a meta-analysis of twin and adoption studies. *Psychological Bulletin*, 128(3), 490-529.
- Rhodes, T. (2017). School resource officer perceptions and correlates of work roles. *Policing*, 1-19.
- Rivenbark, J. G., Odgers, C. L., Caspi, A., Harrington, H., Hogan, S., Houts, R. M., ... & Moffitt, T. E. (2017). The high societal costs of childhood conduct problems: Evidence from administrative records up to age 38 in a longitudinal birth cohort. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry*, 1-8.
- Robins, L. N., & Ratcliff, K. S. (1978). Risk factors in the continuation of childhood antisocial behavior into adulthood. *International Journal of Mental Health*, 7(3-4), 96-116.
- Rocque, M. (2010). Office discipline and student behavior: Does race matter? *American Journal of Education*, 116(4), 557-581.
- Rocque, M. (2017). [Book review]. *The prison school: Educational inequality and school discipline in the age of mass incarceration*, by L. Simmons. *Journal of Criminal Justice Education*, 1-4.
- Rocque, M., & Paternoster, R. (2011). Understanding the antecedents of the “school-to-jail” link: The relationship between race and school discipline. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 633-665.
- Rocque, M., & Snellings, Q. (2017). The new disciplinology: Research, theory, and remaining puzzles on the school-to-prison pipeline. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 1-9.
- Rocque, M., Jennings, W. G., Piquero, A. R., Ozkan, T., & Farrington, D. P. (2017). The importance of school attendance: Findings from the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development on the life-course effects of truancy. *Crime & Delinquency*, 63(5), 592-612.
- Ross, L. E. (1994). The impact of race-esteem and self-esteem on delinquency. *Sociological Focus*, 27(2), 111-129.
- Ross, L. E. (1995). School environment, self-esteem, and delinquency. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 23(6), 555-567.
- Roy, L. (2001). Corporal punishment in American public schools and the rights of the child. *Journal of Law and Education*, 30, 554.

- Rudd, T. (2014). *Racial disproportionality in school discipline: Implicit bias is heavily implicated*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University, Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity.
- Rumberger, R. W., & Losen, D. J. (2016). *The high cost of harsh discipline and its disparate impact*. Los Angeles, CA: University of California, Los Angeles, Civil Rights Project, Center for Civil Rights Remedies.
- Sampson, R. J., & Laub, J. H. (2003). Life-course desisters? Trajectories of crime among delinquent boys followed to age 70. *Criminology*, 41(3), 555-592.
- Sampson, R. J., & Raudenbush, S. W. (1999). Systematic social observation of public spaces: A new look at disorder in urban neighborhoods. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105(3), 603-651.
- Sartain, L., Allensworth, E. M., Porter, S., Levenstein, R., Johnson, D. W., Huynh, M. H., & Steinberg, M. P. (2015). *Suspending Chicago's students: Differences in discipline practices across schools*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, Consortium on Chicago Research.
- Scheepers, F. E., Buitelaar, J. K., & Matthys, W. (2011). Conduct disorder and the specifier callous and unemotional traits in the DSM-5. *European child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 20(2), 89-93.
- Schept, J., Wall, T., & Brisman, A. (2014). Building, staffing, and insulating: An architecture of criminological complicity in the school-to-prison pipeline. *Social Justice*, 41(4) (138), 96-115.
- Schofield, J. W. (1989). *Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students*. Hartford, CT: Connecticut State Department.
- Schreck, C. J., Fisher, B. S., & Miller, J. M. (2004). The social context of violent victimization: A study of the delinquent peer effect. *Justice Quarterly*, 21(1), 23-47.
- Schubert, C. A., Mulvey, E. P., Steinberg, L., Cauffman, E., Losoya, S. H., Hecker, T., ... & Knight, G. P. (2004). Operational lessons from the pathways to desistance project. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 2(3), 237-255.
- Schwartz, E. E. (1949). Statistics of juvenile delinquency in the United States. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 261(1), 9-20.
- Selst, M. V., & Jolicoeur, P. (1994). A solution to the effect of sample size on outlier elimination. *The Quarterly Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 47(3), 631-650.
- Shaw, D. S., Gilliom, M., Ingoldsby, E. M., & Nagin, D. S. (2003). Trajectories leading to school-age conduct problems. *Developmental Psychology*, 39(2), 189-200.

- Sheets, R. H. (1996). Urban classroom conflict: Student-teacher perception: Ethnic integrity, solidarity, and resistance. *The Urban Review*, 28(2), 165-183.
- Shell, W. H. (1934). *Discipline in Negro secondary schools* (Master's thesis). Atlanta University, Atlanta, GA.
- Shollenberger, T. L. (2015). Racial disparities in school suspension and subsequent outcomes: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Study of Youth. In D. J. Losen (Ed.), *Closing the school discipline gap: Equitable remedies for excessive exclusion* (pp. 31-43). New York, NY: Teachers College Press.
- Short, P. M., & Noblit, G. W. (1985). Missing the mark in in-school suspension: An explanation and proposal. *NASSP Bulletin*, 69(484), 112-116.
- Siennick, S. E., & Staff, J. (2008). Explaining the educational deficits of delinquent youths. *Criminology*, 46(3), 609-635.
- Skiba, R. J., & Knesting, K. (2001). Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2001(92), 17-43.
- Skiba, R. J., & Williams, N. T. (2014). *Are Black kids worse? Myths and facts about racial differences in behavior*. Bloomington, IN: The Equity Project, Center for Evaluation and Education Policy.
- Skiba, R. J., Arredondo, M. I., & Williams, N. T. (2014a). More than a metaphor: The contribution of exclusionary discipline to a school-to-prison pipeline. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 47(4), 546-564.
- Skiba, R. J., Chung, C. G., Trachok, M., Baker, T. L., Sheya, A., & Hughes, R. L. (2014b). Parsing disciplinary disproportionality: Contributions of infraction, student, and school characteristics to out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *American Educational Research Journal*, 51(4), 640-670.
- Skiba, R. J., Horner, R. H., Chung, C. G., Rausch, M. K., May, S. L., & Tobin, T. (2011). Race is not neutral: A national investigation of African American and Latino disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Review*, 40(1), 85-107.
- Skiba, R. J., Michael, R. S., Nardo, A. C., & Peterson, R. (2000). *The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana Education Policy Center.
- Skiba, R. J., Michael, R. S., Nardo, A. C., & Peterson, R. L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The Urban Review*, 34(4), 317-342.

- Skiba, R., & Peterson, R. (1999). The dark side of zero tolerance: Can punishment lead to safe schools? *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 80(5), 372-382.
- Snapp, S. D., Hoenig, J. M., Fields, A., & Russell, S. T. (2015). Messy, butch, and queer: LGBTQ youth and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 30(1), 57-82.
- Snodgrass, J. (1984). William Healy (1869-1963): Pioneer child psychiatrist and criminologist. *Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences*, 20(4), 332-339.
- Snyder, T. D. (1993). *120 years of American education: A statistical portrait*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics.
- Society for Adolescent Medicine. (2003). Corporal punishment in schools: Position paper of the Society for Adolescent Medicine. *Journal of Adolescent Health*, 32(5), 385-393.
- Solomon, B. G., Klein, S. A., Hintze, J. M., Cressey, J. M., & Peller, S. L. (2012). A meta-analysis of school-wide positive behavior support: An exploratory study using single-case synthesis. *Psychology in the Schools*, 49(2), 105-121.
- Soulé, D., Gottfredson, D., & Bauer, E. (2008). It's 3 pm do you know where your child is? A study on the timing of juvenile victimization and delinquency. *Justice Quarterly*, 25(4), 623-646.
- Spalding, W. B., & Kvaraceus, W. C. (1943). The secondary schools in transition: 1635-1943. *The School Review*, 51(10), 610-613.
- Steinberg, M. I. (1975). Student suspension and expulsion proceedings in tax supported institutions: What process is due? *St. Mary's Law Journal*, 7, 319-332.
- Steinberg, M. P., & Lacoë, J. R. (2017). *The academic and behavioral consequences of discipline policy reform: Evidence from Philadelphia*. Washington, DC: The Fordham Institute.
- Stevens, W. D., Sartain, L., Allensworth, E. M., Levenstein, R., Gultinan, S., Mader, N., ... & Porter, S. (2015). Discipline practices in Chicago schools: Trends in the use of suspensions and arrests. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, Consortium on Chicago Research.
- Stewart, E. A. (2003). School social bonds, school climate, and school misbehavior: A multilevel analysis. *Justice Quarterly*, 20(3), 575-604.
- Stewart, E. A., & Simons, R. L. (2006). Structure and culture in African American adolescent violence: A partial test of the "code of the street" thesis. *Justice Quarterly*, 23(1), 1-33.

- Stinchcombe, A. L. (1964). *Rebellion in a high school*. Chicago, IL: Quadrangle.
- Stone, D. H. (1993). Crime and punishment in public schools: An empirical study of disciplinary proceedings. *American Journal of Trial Advocacy*, 17, 351-398.
- Stouffer, G. A., & Owens, J. (1955). Behavior problems of children as identified by today's teachers and compared with those reported by E. K. Wickman. *The Journal of Educational Research*, 48(5), 321-332.
- Stullken, E. H. (1953). The schools and the delinquency problem. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 43(5), 563-577.
- Stullken, E. H. (1956). Misconceptions about juvenile delinquency. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 46(6), 833-842.
- Sugai, G., & Horner, R. H. (2008). What we know and need to know about preventing problem behavior in schools. *Exceptionality*, 16(2), 67-77.
- Sullivan, A. L., Klingbeil, D. A., & Van Norman, E. R. (2013). Beyond behavior: Multilevel analysis of the influence of sociodemographics and school characteristics on students' risk of suspension. *School Psychology Review*, 42(1), 99-114.
- Sumption, M. R. (1955). The control of pupil conduct by the school. *Law & Contemporary Problems*, 20, 80-90.
- Sweeten, G. (2012). Scaling criminal offending. *Journal of Quantitative Criminology*, 28(3), 533-557.
- Sweeten, G., Bushway, S. D., & Paternoster, R. (2009). Does dropping out of school mean dropping into delinquency? *Criminology*, 47(1), 47-91.
- Tenenbaum, H. R., & Ruck, M. D. (2007). Are teachers' expectations different for racial minority than for European American students? A meta-analysis. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 99(2), 253-273.
- Thapa, A., Cohen, J., Guffey, S., & Higgins-D'Alessandro, A. (2013). A review of school climate research. *Review of Educational Research*, 83(3), 357-385.
- Theriot, M. T. (2009). School resource officers and the criminalization of student behavior. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 37(3), 280-287.
- Thompson, R. E. (1952). A validation of the Glueck Social Prediction Scale for proneness to delinquency. *The Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, 43(4), 451-470.

- Thornberry, T. P., Lizotte, A. J., Krohn, M. D., Farnworth, M., & Jang, S. J. (1994). Delinquent peers, beliefs, and delinquent behavior: A longitudinal test of interactional theory. *Criminology*, 32(1), 47-83.
- Thornberry, T. P., Moore, M., & Christenson, R. L. (1985). The effect of dropping out of high school on subsequent criminal behavior. *Criminology*, 23(1), 3-18.
- Tobin, T., Sugai, G., & Colvin, G. (1996). Patterns in middle school discipline records. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, 4(2), 82-94.
- Toby, J. (1998). Getting serious about school discipline. *The Public Interest*, 133, 68-83.
- Tolan, P. H., Gorman-Smith, D., & Loeber, R. (2000). Developmental timing of onsets of disruptive behaviors and later delinquency of inner-city youth. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 9(2), 203-220.
- Tolan, P. H., Guerra, N. G., & Kendall, P. C. (1995). A developmental-ecological perspective on antisocial behavior in children and adolescents: Toward a unified risk and intervention framework. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*, 63(4), 579-584.
- Tonsor, C. A. (1950). Discipline or psychotherapy? The pupils who give principals gray hair. *The Clearing House*, 24(8), 471-474.
- Townsend, B. L. (2000). The disproportionate discipline of African American learners: Reducing school suspensions and expulsions. *Exceptional Children*, 66(3), 381-391.
- Travers, P. D. (1980). An historic view of school discipline. *Educational Horizons*, 58(4), 184-187.
- Tremblay, R. E. (2006). Prevention of youth violence: Why not start at the beginning? *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 34(4), 480-486.
- Ttofi, M. M., Farrington, D. P., Lösel, F., & Loeber, R. (2011). The predictive efficiency of school bullying versus later offending: A systematic/meta-analytic review of longitudinal studies. *Criminal Behaviour and Mental Health*, 21(2), 80-89.
- Tyack, D. B. (1972). *From village school to urban system: A political and social history*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University.
- United States Commissioner of Education. (1872). *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1871*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- United States Commissioner of Education. (1875). *Report of the Commissioner of Education made to the Secretary of the Interior for the year 1870*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

- United States Commissioner of Education. (1889). *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the year 1887-88*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.
- United States Department of Education. (2016). Protecting the civil rights of students in the juvenile justice system. Washington, DC: US Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights.
- United States Department of Education. (2017a). *Crime, violence, discipline, and safety in US public schools*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics.
- United States Department of Education. (2017b). *Indicators of school crime and safety: 2016*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics; US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.
- United States Department of Education. (2018). *Indicators of school crime and safety: 2017*. Washington, DC: US Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics; US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs.
- United States Department of Health and Human Services, & United States Department of Education. (2014). *Policy statement on expulsion and suspension policies in early childhood settings*. Washington, DC: Authors.
- United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (1954). *Juvenile court statistics, 1950-52*. Washington, DC: Social Security Administration, Children's Bureau.
- United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. (1978). *Violent schools—safe schools*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Education.
- Van Acker, R. (2007). Antisocial, aggressive, and violent behavior in children and adolescents within alternative education settings: Prevention and intervention. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth, 51*(2), 5-12.
- Vaughn, M. G., & DeLisi, M. (2008). Were Wolfgang's chronic offenders psychopaths? On the convergent validity between psychopathy and career criminality. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 36*(1), 33-42.
- Vazsonyi, A. T., & Jiskrova, G. K. (2018). On the development of self-control and deviance from preschool to middle adolescence. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 56*, 60-69.
- Viding, E., Blair, R. J. R., Moffitt, T. E., & Plomin, R. (2005). Evidence for substantial genetic risk for psychopathy in 7-year-olds. *Journal of Child Psychology and Psychiatry, 46*(6), 592-597.

- Viding, E., Frick, P. J., & Plomin, R. (2007). Aetiology of the relationship between callous-unemotional traits and conduct problems in childhood. *The British Journal of Psychiatry*, *190*(S49), S33-S38.
- Viding, E., Price, T. S., Jaffee, S. R., Trzaskowski, M., Davis, O. S., Meaburn, E. L., ... & Plomin, R. (2013). Genetics of callous-unemotional behavior in children. *PloS One*, *8*(7), 1-9.
- Waits, H. E. (1920). *Practical problems of the school*. Chicago, IL: Benj. H. Sanborn and Company.
- Wald, J., & Losen, D. J. (2003). Defining and redirecting a school-to-prison pipeline. *New Directions for Youth Development*, *2003*(99), 9-15.
- Wallace, J. M., Goodkind, S., Wallace, C. M., & Bachman, J. G. (2008). Racial, ethnic, and gender differences in school discipline among US high school students: 1991-2005. *Negro Educational Review*, *59*(1-2), 47-62.
- Walters, G. D. (2007). Using Poisson class regression to analyze count data in correctional and forensic psychology: A relatively old solution to a relatively new problem. *Criminal Justice and Behavior*, *34*(12), 1659-1674.
- Way, S. M. (2011). School discipline and disruptive classroom behavior: The moderating effects of student perceptions. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *52*(3), 346-375.
- Weber, T. R., & Sloan, C. A. (1986). How does high school discipline in 1984 compare to previous decades? *The Clearing House*, *59*(7), 326-329.
- Wechsler, D. (1999). *Wechsler abbreviated scale of intelligence*. New York, NY: The Psychological Corporation, Harcourt Brace and Company.
- Weis, K. (1974). The Glueck Social Prediction Table—An unfulfilled promise. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 397-404.
- Weishew, N. L., & Peng, S. S. (1993). Variables predicting students' problem behaviors. *The Journal of Educational Research*, *87*(1), 5-17.
- Welch, K. (2017). The effect of minority threat on risk management and the “new disciplinology” in schools. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 1-6.
- Welch, K., & Payne, A. A. (2010). Racial threat and punitive school discipline. *Social Problems*, *57*, 25-48.
- Welch, K., & Payne, A. A. (2012). Exclusionary school punishment: The effect of racial threat on expulsion and suspension. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, *10*, 155-171.

- Wells, C. O. (1927). Judicial decisions relating to suspension and expulsion from school. *The Elementary School Journal*, 27(8), 573-584.
- Welsh, W. N. (2000). The effects of school climate on school disorder. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 567(1), 88-107.
- Welsh, W. N. (2001). Effects of student and school factors on five measures of school disorder. *Justice Quarterly*, 18(4), 911-947.
- Welsh, W. N., Greene, J. R., & Jenkins, P. H. (1999). School disorder: The influence of individual, institutional, and community factors. *Criminology*, 37(1), 73-116.
- White, E. E. (1893). *School management*. New York, NY: American Book Company.
- White, H. R., Loeber, R., Stouthamer-Loeber, M., & Farrington, D. P. (1999). Developmental associations between substance use and violence. *Development and Psychopathology*, 11(4), 785-803.
- White, J. L., Moffitt, T. E., Caspi, A., Bartusch, D. J., Needles, D. J., & Stouthamer-Loeber, M. (1994). Measuring impulsivity and examining its relationship to delinquency. *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, 103(2), 192.
- Wickman, E. K. (1928). *Children's behavior and teacher's attitudes*. New York: NY: Commonwealth Fund.
- Wilcox, P., & Clayton, R. R. (2001). A multilevel analysis of school-based weapon possession. *Justice Quarterly*, 18(3), 509-541.
- Wiley, K. E., Anyon, Y., Yang, J. L., Pauline, M. E., Rosch, A., Valladares, G., ... & Pisciotta, L. (2018). Looking back, moving forward: technical, normative, and political dimensions of school discipline. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 54(2), 275-302.
- Wilson, S. J., & Lipsey, M. W. (2007). School-based interventions for aggressive and disruptive behavior: Update of a meta-analysis. *American Journal of Preventive Medicine*, 33(2), S130-S143.
- Winthrop, J. (1908). *Winthrop's journal: History of New England, 1630-1649*. New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Wise, J. H. (1977). *Conference on corporal punishment in the schools: A national debate*. Washington, DC: US Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Institute of Education.
- (1) Bongiovanni, A. F. (1977). A review of research on the effects of punishment: Implications for corporal punishment in the schools.

- (2) Friedman, R. H., & Hyman, I. A. (1977). An analysis of state legislation regarding corporal punishment in the schools.
- (3) Howard, F. A. (1977). A legal defense for corporal punishment in the schools.
- (4) Hyman, I. A., McDowell, E., & Raines, B. (1977). Corporal punishment and alternatives in the schools: An overview of theoretical and practical issues.
- (5) Reinholz, L. K. (1977). A practical defense of corporal punishment in the schools.
- (6) Reitman, A. (1977). Corporal punishment in the schools: The civil liberties objection.
- Wolf, K. C. (2014). Arrest decision making by school resource officers. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 12(2), 137-151.
- Wolf, K. C., & Kupchik, A. (2017). School suspensions and adverse experiences in adulthood. *Justice Quarterly*, 34(3), 407-430.
- Wolfgang, M. E. (1973). Crime in a birth cohort. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 117(5), 404-411.
- Woolard, A. (2017). *Suspended progress 2017: An update on the state of exclusionary discipline in Virginia's public schools*. Charlottesville, VA: Legal Aid Justice Center.
- Wright, J. A., & Dusek, J. B. (1998). Compiling school base rates for disruptive behaviors from student disciplinary referral data. *School Psychology Review*, 27, 138-147.
- Wright, J. P., Morgan, M. A., Almeida, P. R., Almosaed, N. F., Moghrabi, S. S., & Bashatah, F. S. (2017). Malevolent forces: Self-control, the Dark Triad, and crime. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 15(2), 191-215.
- Wright, J. P., Morgan, M. A., Coyne, M. A., Beaver, K. M., & Barnes, J. C. (2014). Prior problem behavior accounts for the racial gap in school suspensions. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42(3), 257-266.
- Wu, S. C., Pink, W., Crain, R., & Moles, O. (1982). Student suspension: A critical reappraisal. *The Urban Review*, 14(4), 245-303.
- Yoder, K. J., Lahey, B. B., & Decety, J. (2016). Callous traits in children with and without conduct problems predict reduced connectivity when viewing harm to others. *Scientific Reports*, 6, 1-9.
- Yudof, M. G. (1975). Suspension and expulsion of black students from the public schools: Academic capital punishment and the Constitution. *Law and Contemporary Problems*, 39(2), 374-411.

- Zhang, G. (2018). The effects of a school policing program on crime, discipline, and disorder: A quasi-experimental evaluation. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 1-18.
- Zimmerman, G. M., & Rees, C. (2014). Do school disciplinary policies have positive social impacts? Examining the attenuating effects of school policies on the relationship between personal and peer delinquency. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 42(1), 54-65.
- Zych, I., Ttofi, M. M., & Farrington, D. P. (2016). Empathy and callous–unemotional traits in different bullying roles: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Trauma, Violence, & Abuse*, 1-19.