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Claremont McKenna College



**Justice That Heals: Transforming Discipline in Schools Through
Restorative Practices**

**Submitted to
Dr. Dionne Benson-Smith**

**By
Sophia Diomande**

**Senior Thesis
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**In Partial Fulfillment
for a Bachelor of Arts
in Public Policy**

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Key Words: Restorative Justice, Transformative Justice, School-to-Prison Pipeline, Education, Educational Equity, Police, Discipline, Justice

Content Warning: The following content contains written depictions of violence against children, specifically children of color and disabled children. This content may be distressing or triggering for some readers and is found on pages 12-15, 19-20, and 22. Reader discretion is advised.

I. Dedication

This is dedicated to all of the children whose traumatizing interactions with the school-to-prison pipeline were distilled into data on a spreadsheet for analysis. You matter, your stories and voices are so important, and you are so loved.

This is also dedicated to my family: my darling siblings Ayden and Adam, my sweetest Kaia, ma chère Mère, et my dear Papa. Je vous aime avec tout mon cœur.

II. Abstract

Discipline is not simply a tool but a weapon — one that American educators have wielded for generations to regulate children and enforce habits of self-control and accountability. In a world where institutionalized forms of discrimination continue to plague judicial and educational systems alike, vis-à-vis the school-to-prison pipeline, the question must be asked: When does discipline stray beyond its intended purpose and into the realm of punishment? This thesis discusses the historical and contemporary implications of punitive discipline and its effects on students, particularly students of color and disabled students. Retributive policies such as suspensions, expulsions, physical restraint, and seclusions are systematically weaponized against the community's most vulnerable students and continuously funnel them into the school-to-prison pipeline.

In place of punitive discipline, this thesis puts forth restorative and transformative justice frameworks to be adopted. These alternative forms of justice are centered around communication, harm reduction, and healing. This paper presents an analysis of a study that examines the impact of restorative justice on disciplinary policies in the seven largest school districts in each of the following eight states of study: Alaska, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas. The impact is measured by instances of suspensions, expulsions, mechanical and physical restraints, as well as seclusions. The findings from the study suggest that the relationship between restorative justice and non-carceral discipline policies is less linear than the hypothesis presumed and that more research is needed in

the field. Irrespective of quantitative results, punitive measures, when overused or misused, can be, and very often are, detrimental to the well-being and success of children. It is essential that disciplinary policies promote a culture of empathy, respect, and understanding, rather than punishment.

III. Background

A Legacy of Submission and Obedience: Corporal Punishment in Schools

The nexus between the American judicial and education systems has not always been as tightly intertwined as it has been in recent history. Nevertheless, since the nation's inception, there has been an enduring emphasis on subjugating children to lives of submission and obedience, especially with children that have behavioral challenges. This emphasis is illustrated in the manifestation of corporal punishment, which is the use of physical force (e.g., spanking, slapping, paddling) to discipline a child. The use of corporal punishment in American schools has been documented since the 1700s and was widely accepted in public schools across the nation through the 1960s (Adams, 2000; Mallett, 2016). Though New Jersey prohibited corporal punishment in 1867, many other states did not ban the practice until the late 1990s (Gershoff, 2016). All states did not widely share this interest in the physical protection of schoolchildren, given that corporal punishment is still legal in 21 states as of April 2023 (Gershoff, 2016). Shockingly, more than 220,000 students were subjected to corporal punishment at least once in the 2006-2007 school year, with nearly 50,000 instances being reported in Texas alone (Human Rights Watch, 2008; Cotton, 2016).

The Unequal Impact of Retributive Punishment: Discipline or Discrimination?

Discipline in America encompasses a plethora of practices that are intended to ensure that students behave appropriately and follow the established norms of the school community. These

practices include verbal warnings, detention, community services, corporal punishment, suspensions, expulsions, and more. This paper will focus on punitive forms of discipline like corporal punishment, suspensions, expulsions, seclusions, and uses of mechanical or physical restraints. Upon assessing the data from the Department of Education's (DOE) 2006 Civil Rights Data Collection, it becomes apparent that boys bear the brunt of corporal punishment in American schools, comprising 78.3% of students that have been paddled (OCR, 2021). A deeper dive into the data reveals a disturbing pattern in which Black boys, who have only constituted 17.1% of the total American student population in 2006, made up 35.6% of paddling victims, an alarming two times the rate that one would expect given their proportion of the student body (Human Rights Watch, 2008). In contrast, while girls are paddled less often than boys, the data demonstrates that Black girls are more than twice as likely to experience paddling compared to white girls (Human Rights Watch, 2008). This trend is replicated among children with disabilities, as over 40,000 disabled students were beaten in the 2006-2007 school year at 1.3x the rate of their able-bodied counterparts (Human Rights Watch). These figures, already concerning in their own right, likely represent only the tip of the iceberg due to poor data collection policies in most states. Testimonies from educators reveal a systemic aversion to documenting disciplinary actions, leading to a woeful underreporting of corporal punishment incidents. A 2008 study by the Human Rights Watch (HRW) uncovered several schools using constant levels of paddling as the primary vehicle of discipline, with reports of one Mississippi school dealing upwards of 60 paddlings daily (Human Rights Watch, 2008). A former high school teacher reported that "paddling was just a fast way to deal with [discipline] and not write it down," while another teacher shared that discipline was "completely haphazard... many

teachers don't even bother with writing referrals anymore." (Human Rights Watch, 2008) A major Mississippi school district superintendent disclosed to the HRW that they "probably do it twice as much as reported... [T]here is no documentation that you have to send to the central office to say that you did it... [It's] an option where you don't have to do so much documentation, it's much easier than signing the suspension form and giving it to the parents or any of that. I'm speaking realistically." (Human Rights Watch, 2008)

In states where corporal punishment is not permitted, school systems use other modes of punishment-based discipline, such as restraint, physical seclusion, suspensions, and expulsions. It is important to note, however, that these traditional forms of discipline were not without their own controversies and legal battles. Legal challenges to punitive discipline, particularly suspensions, came to a head in 1975 when a group of students from a public school in Ohio was suspended for misconduct without notice. Their families sought to dispute the decision in the highest court of the land. The Supreme Court case of *Goss v. Lopez* ruled that public school students have a constitutional right to due process before being suspended from school for more than a brief period of time (Mallett, 2016). This ruling established that students do not lose their constitutional rights when they go to school and that schools must give their students procedural protections before they can be suspended or expelled (*Goss v. Lopez*, 1975). Though *Goss v. Lopez* did not directly relate to corporal punishment, it has been cited in subsequent cases involving the use of corporal punishment, such as the 1977 case of *Ingraham v. Wright*, where the Supreme Court continued to allow the use of corporal punishment in schools under the condition that it did not constitute cruel and unusual punishment — *Goss v. Lopez* was cited as precedent for recognizing the rights of students' due process in disciplinary proceedings

(*Ingraham v. Wright*, 1977). After this landmark ruling, schools rearranged their discipline policies to facilitate more in-school suspensions, which would remove troublesome students from classrooms but keep them inside of school so that they may complete assigned work (Mallett, 2016). In-school suspensions, interpreted as a less punitive form of discipline in comparison to out-of-school suspensions, became more attractive to public schools throughout the 1980s — until the explosive push to mandatory disciplinary outcomes for students started gaining popularity towards the end of the decade (Jones, 1996).

The Evolution of Punitive Policies in Education: A Legacy of the War on Drugs

Though it officially began with the Nixon Administration (1969-1974), the Reagan Administration (1981-1989) is often credited with igniting the “War on Drugs.” (Advancement Project, 2021) President Ronald Reagan and his wife, Nancy, mobilized concentrated efforts to reduce drug use and trafficking in the U.S. The policies that they pursued, however, also had the effect of destabilizing and de-moralizing communities of color (Alexander, 2020). One of his initiatives advocated for aggressive strategies to combat drug-related crimes, which evolved into support for the *Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986*. This legislation notoriously implemented mandatory minimum sentences for drug offenses and increased penalties for drug-related crimes, particularly for crack cocaine, which disproportionately impacted communities of color (Keyes et al., 2022). These policies in the judicial system translated to more punitive policies in the education system. Just as administrations wished to “crack down” on drug use and crime in cities, they also sought to push harder punishments for disruptive behavior in schools (Sojoyner, 2014). This involved the introduction of ‘zero-tolerance’ policies, which demand severe

automatic consequences, like suspensions or expulsions, for specific kinds of behavior, such as substance use, possession of weapons, and violence (Heitzeg, 2014). Although these policies originally intended to address serious safety concerns, they have been used as punishment for the most minor of infractions, like tardiness, dress code violations, or even chewing gum. Other zero-tolerance policies include verbal harassment, disobedience, obscene language, and absenteeism. While ostensibly created to strengthen safety in schools, these policies have instead contributed to a host of negative implications that disproportionately impact marginalized communities. The rapid deployment of zero-tolerance policies had engendered a sharp rise in school-based arrests, particularly for minor offenses, and effectively greased the wheels of the school-to-prison pipeline (Advancement Project, 2021). Since these policies typically involve automatic punishments without consideration for individual circumstances, students of color and students with disabilities are frequently punished and criminalized disproportionately for minor infractions (Advancement Project, 2021).

The deleterious trends in punitive education and legal policies became intrinsically intertwined and interdependent in the 80s and 90s, with Reagan’s “tough on crime” approach profoundly impacting public schools throughout the country (Mallett, 2016). These punitive approaches were only fueled by sensationalized media reports of youth, often described as youth of color, roaming the streets in gangs, perpetuating gang violence, and being responsible for some of the city’s worst crimes (Heitzeg, 2014). The words used to describe these youths were “juvenile superpredators.” (Heitzeg, 2014) These dangerous and dehumanizing labels were employed by public figures and political leaders, including then-First Lady Hillary Clinton, who infamously stated, “They are often the kinds of kids that are called ‘superpredators’ — no

conscience, no empathy. We can talk about why they ended up that way, but first, we have to ***bring them to heel.***” (C-SPAN, 1996)

These sentiments had far-reaching consequences, with their impact reflected in decreases in school funding, increased use and federal funding of police officers (or “school resource officers”) in schools, as well as George W. Bush’s *No Child Left Behind Act*, which narrowly focused on raising standardized test scores and implementing punitive policies on schools that fell behind (Mallett, 2016). This particular legislation sought to equalize test performances for students with traditionally less institutional support and lower test scores, such as children who are lower-income, of color, have disabilities, or whose first language is English. The approach for this objective, however, severely misunderstood the needs of marginalized students. One of the numerous criticisms of the *No Child Behind Act* was that it compelled schools to narrow their focus on the subjects and skillsets being evaluated by the state, which frequently limited the depth and scope of what students were learning in the classroom (Heitzeg, 2014). This approach deprived students of skills that were not being tested but that would still be important for educational and social development. Solely emphasizing test preparation limits teachers’ potential for creative and flexible instruction, forcing them to “teach to the test.” (Heitzeg, 2014) The punitive nature of the law additionally strained relationships between school administration, teachers, and students, since schools could be forced to restructure their staff, lose funding, or even close down if test scores did not improve year after year (Heitzeg, 2014). The strained institutional relationships, however, had real negative impacts on the same students that the law was supposed to help. Several studies have found that disproportionate amounts of marginalized students were pushed out from school campuses by encouraging referrals to GED programs and

alternative schools, not including them in attendance roles, or even weaponizing zero-tolerance policies to inflate school arrests, suspensions, and expulsions (Mallett, 2016).

Throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, state and federal legislation escalated punitive consequences for most youths, such as trying more minors as adults, expanding the intensity of punishments, and significantly reducing rehabilitative practices in schools (Griffin, 2008; Mallett, 2013). In his article, “Preventing and Producing Violence,” Pedro Noguera argues that violence in schools undermines the power and influence of school officials. Since these administrators are considered responsible for safeguarding the well-being of their youth and are considered both legal and symbolic representatives of state authority, when violence runs rampant in schools, the administrators’ loss of authority becomes exposed (Noguera, 2010). Consequently, violence is not viewed as an isolated problem but as an element of broader issues of control. Violence in schools is then equated with insubordination, student misconduct, and the general challenge of maintaining order in schools (Noguera, 2010). The fusion of these issues is reflective of how school administrators see their role in upholding the function of social control that they have historically fulfilled. Contributing to this damaging habit of control, the development of the Broken Windows Theory operated to disseminate a culture of over-criminalization and over-punishment in schools (Advancement Project, 2021). This harmful ideology proposed that if administrators dealt with minor infractions harshly, such as a broken window in a local neighborhood, there would be a significant drop in crime (Advancement Project, 2021). The general move of discipline policies towards punishment and retribution, as well as fearful sentiments around youth of color, established a standard framework of control and compliance for schools to administrate within. This framework was fortified and expanded with

Congress' *1994 Gun-Free Schools Act* which guaranteed schools additional federal funding if they imposed zero-tolerance gun policies (Advancement Project, 2021). Many states, however, used this as an opportunity to include more non-violent offenses in their codes, such as loitering in hallways or talking back to administrators (Advancement Project, 2021).

After the disturbing events at Columbine High School in 1999 and other school shootings that followed, school districts, particularly in urban areas, flocked to acquire more school police officers and implemented security protocols resembling those of prisons (Cornell, 2006). The Department of Justice's Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) introduced the "COPS in Schools" grant, which hired more than 6,500 school police officers and granted more than \$750 million in funds (French-Marcelin et al., 2017). The Advancement Project notes in their "We Came To Learn" project that though the Columbine shooting happened at a predominately white, suburban school, primarily Black and brown students in urban areas were the ones left to suffer the aftermath of expanded school policing policies and practices (Advancement Project, 2021). In 2011, 26% of Black students reported having to walk through metal detectors when entering school, while only 5.4% of white students described similar experiences (Heitzeg, 2014). The National Association of School Resource Officers estimates that there are between 14,000 and 20,000 school resource officers (SROs) in the country, though these numbers markedly do not include the number of security guards, street police officers, and other figures of law enforcement that roam school properties (National Association of School Resource Officers, 2022).

While schools that have higher numbers of students of color are already facing increased security through police personnel, these students also have to reckon with K-9 units, metal

detectors, and military-grade weapons. Since the 1990s, the Defense Logistics Agency has been in charge of the 1033 program, which is a program that provides eligible law enforcement agencies to receive surplus military equipment from the Department of Defense (Advancement Project, 2021). The type of equipment can range from grenade launchers and ammunition to tanks and tactical gear. This militarization has resulted in a rise in school-based arrests, with Black students being arrested at more than two times the rate of their white counterparts (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). In Aaron Kupchik's 2010 study of crime and punishment in schools, he recounts a scenario where "a student was asked by a staff member to remove his during upon arriving at school prior to the start of the day. He resisted at first, but then removed it unhappily. He then cussed out the assistant principal, who wrote him a referral for doing so. Then he was sent to the office, and he wanted to leave, but Mr. Majors (another assistant principal) stood in his way and wouldn't let him leave. The student tried to push Mr. Majors aside, and as a result he was handcuffed by the school resource office and arrested for pushing a staff member." (Kupchik, 2010) Such situations may have been avoided if not for federal and state legislations like the *Safe Schools Act of 1994* and the '98 amendment to the *Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968*, which funded and advocated for the use of school resource officers in elementary and middle schools (Advancement Project, 2021). Nearly one billion federal dollars were spent during the 90s to implement SROs in schools around the U.S. and have led to countless instances of excessive force against Black children, exemplified by an attack on a Black high school student in Birmingham, Alabama, who was punched, choked, and kicked by an SRO inside of a locked room for wearing a hat indoors (Travis, 2016).

The Fallacy of “Safe Schools”: Unpacking the Militarization of School Discipline

In the 90s, there was a massive perception, albeit mythical, that disruption and violence were running rampant within schools, which provided the reasoning necessary to increase funding for school security; the reality was that overall juvenile offender crime rates, violent crimes, student drug use, and youth delinquency had been declining around the middle of the decade (Walker et al., 2012). Studies partly attribute this decline to the fact that, in recent history, children face greater risks of being victims of violence outside of school rather than in it (Mallett, 2016). It is essential to recognize that when there is an increase in school discipline and security, and consequently a sense of distrust between students and school administrators, as well as a lack of supportive structures, students are at an increased risk for failure — especially students of color, disabled students, and poor students (Sojoyner, 2014). Studies have shown that bringing police officers into school situations often elicits the over-criminalization of youth angst and significantly increased arrest rates for low-level offenses (Addington, 2009). These hostile environments can lead to negative responses from students, whether it be fear, anxiety, or resentment regarding the heavy surveillance and administrative overreach (Sipe, 2012). By holding students within a confrontational school environment, their probability of being engaged with the material and their surroundings substantially decreases, while their likelihood of having more absences or dropping out, and becoming involved with bullying, increases (Mayer et al., 1999). Schools implemented these policies to create safe spaces to learn, but real safety comes from cultivating and nurturing caring relationships between each individual within a school community.

Confrontational and militant schools are structured to increase both neurodivergent and marginalized student disengagement within the classroom and the educational community, which further stimulates troublesome behaviors and push-out from schools (Rudolph, 2023). Another issue that the *No Child Left Behind Act* sired was that it lacked any provision of funding that would counter the disparate distribution of resources across school districts in the country, though it did supply funds for SROs and even strengthened the officers' involvement in school discipline (Advancement Project, 2005). As a result, students of color are more likely to go to schools that have school resource officers but no school counselors, and Black children are three times more likely to attend a school that has more security personnel than it does mental health staff (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). In fact, 1.6 million students in America attend a school that has police but no counselors (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). This dire situation is compounded by the fact that Black students only represent 15% of the national student population but comprise 31% of students arrested or referred to law enforcement (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). Study after study has shown that police officers view Black boys as older than they are, "less childlike and less innocent than white boys of the same age suspected of the crimes." (Goff et al., 2014) In that same racist vein, adults, in general, have demonstrated in studies that they view Black girls as "less innocent and in need of less support and protection" than white girls. (Epstein et al., 2012) Though they make up 17% of students in public schools, Black girls constitute 43% of girls arrested in school, nearly three times the amount expected of their proportion to the student population (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). Disabled students face similar negative impacts, composing 12% of student enrollment but forming approximately 28% of students arrested on school grounds or referred to law enforcement (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). It is crucial to

acknowledge that school resource officers are not equipped with the training necessary to properly support students with disabilities, which frequently leads to disastrous and traumatic outcomes. The Advancement Project highlights, for example, a story where an SRO in Kentucky reacted to a stressed and traumatized 8-year-old boy by handcuffing him behind his back and above his elbow for 15 minutes while completely ignoring the child's pained screams (Advancement Project, 2021). Shortly after, the same officer handcuffed a 9-year-old student with ADHD in the same way (*S.R. v. Kenton City Sheriff's Office*, 2015). The Advancement Project also calls attention to a situation in Texas where a police officer tased and handcuffed a 7-year-old autistic student with ADHD and a mood disorder following his inquiry into a report of the child banging his head against the wall (*S.R. v. Kenton City Sheriff's Office*, 2015).

Since zero-tolerance policies have been enacted and police officers have been integrated into school communities, student arrests on school grounds have skyrocketed between 300 and 500% annually, the majority of which pertain to non-violent offenses (Advancement Project, 2005). In the 2009-2010 academic year, 96,000 students were arrested at schools and over 240,000 students were given referrals to juvenile court systems (McCurdy, 2014). In light of this information, Christopher Mallett poses, "With this level of impact, are the zero tolerance policies and *Safe Schools Act's* objectives of making schools and students safer being met?" (Mallett, 2016) The pervasive nature of the school-to-prison pipeline answers that question with a resounding 'No.' Involving SROs in school communities exacerbated suspensions, arrests, and expulsions for the slightest offenses, with disobedience being the most commonly cited reason for including school resource officers (Advancement Project, 2005). Having only a single suspension or expulsion from school will double a student's risk of repeating a grade, which is an

established predictor of student dropout rates (Kang-Brown et al., 2013). When a student has a suspension, arrest, or expulsion on their records, it follows them for the rest of their educational careers. This glaring stigma erects barriers that make it much more burdensome for students to integrate into their educational communities and finish their education. As the punitive education and judicial system work together in immoral tandem, rises in suspensions, instances of restraint and seclusion, and expulsions have risen with the likelihood for marginalized students to delay their graduation or exit the education system entirely (Justice Policy Institute, 2011). Kupchik and Monaghan's 2006 study reveals that severe discipline policies only provoke educational failures and social isolation, as well as institutionally limit economic opportunities for students later in their adult life (Kupchik et al., 2006). These consequences can stimulate recidivism in misbehavior and prevent students from continuing their education (Losen et al., 2014).

According to a comprehensive study of six million students in Texas, non-weapon-related offenses make juvenile court involvement three times more likely for students (Fabelo et al., 2011). Once involved in the system, students face a higher risk of further entanglement, leading to increased chances of detention and incarceration. These outcomes are amplified and intensified for students of color, as Black students are five times more likely to be jailed than white students (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). This highlights the urgent need for reform and greater attention to areas of injustice within the educational and judicial systems.

“Sorting” and “Fixing”: The Exclusion of Marginalized Students and the Weaponization of “Normality”

In the context of punitive discipline, exclusion assumes a central role. Deborah Youdell posits that an “implicit normal/abnormal dichotomy underpins the inclusion of the good student, the ideal or at least acceptable learner and the exclusion of the bad student, the unacceptable or even impossible learner.” (Youdell, 2006) Continuing on that path, Roger Slee argues that “normality” is weaponized as a tool to exclude children that are seen as different and that it “becomes the language and technology for defining and regulating people and their behavior, while simultaneously privileging the professions who fashion and police normality,” which are often white, able-bodied, neurotypical, cisgender institutions that perpetuate these ideas (Slee, 2004). As a result, some students are granted the advantage of being perceived as “normal,” and some students are punished for diverging from the norm. Slee’s 2004 article illuminated how institutions are compelled to maintain normalcy, which manifests in corrective impulses paired with social regulation that requires the differentiation, categorization, hierarchization, homogenization, and expulsion of students (Slee, 2004). This inherently develops a framework that positions the student as something to be sorted or fixed, which can arise in ‘gap’ discourse. These ‘gaps’ are what the *No Child Left Behind Act* sought to remove without considering why they were there in the first place. The racialized conversation around ‘gaps’ is translated to one of medical discrimination, where Black and brown children with special needs are perceived as radically different and needing to change (Rudolph, 2023).

According to Nelsen, Lott, and Glenn, research demonstrates that the greatest predictor of academic success is a student’s perception of “Does the teacher like me?” (Nelsen et al., 2013)

For children who are uncared for, safety can feel less tangible and motivation can be muted. As Sophie Rudolph articulates, “It is unsurprising then, that it is the same children across a range of settler colonial contexts that tend to be reported as receiving more disciplinary intervention... The educationally excluded student is thus seen as the one to be reformed, shifting a focus away from systemic problems that contribute to school exclusion.” (Rudolph, 2023) When punishment, surveillance, seclusion, and exclusion come together to address social and economic issues, they form the carceral state. In the carceral state, the state is used as a vehicle to support and maintain the systems of criminal law, justice, and policing (Rudolph, 2023). The carceral state will often abundantly invest resources into institutions and police operations that contain, control, and imprison, while simultaneously divesting from social institutions and welfare programs that were created to serve and care for its beneficiaries properly (Hernandez et al., 2015).

When a student’s behavior is perceived as dangerous or problematic, a possible avenue educators can take to address the behavior is one of restraint or seclusion. Restraint refers to the application of a device that uses physical or mechanical means to restrict a student’s freedom of movement, whereas seclusion can be defined as a practice that involves the involuntary isolation of a student, typically for several minutes (California Department of Education, n.d.). Unfortunately, no federal laws or regulations in the U.S. explicitly delineate appropriate limitations on the utilization of restraint and seclusion, nor mandate any specific reporting of the practices in public schools. A 2009 report from the Council of Parent Attorneys and Advocates disclosed almost 200 unique cases of traumatic uses of restraint and seclusion for students with disabilities (Butler, 2009). Some reported methods included students being tied down and taped

to chairs, being injured while in a prone (facedown) restraint, or being locked in a tiny storage closet (Butler, 2009). In a horrifying discovery, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) found that in 2010, students with disabilities were 20 times more likely to be restrained and secluded than abled-bodied students (Office of Civil Rights, 2010). When the Government Accountability Office investigated uses of restraint and seclusion, they reported that nearly the entirety of the hundreds of cases that they examined were centered around students with disabilities (Government Accountability Office, 2009). In 2013, the Senate Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions (HELP) Committee heard from a number of affected families whose children were traumatized by practices of restraint and seclusion, and they picked out several similarities in the families' stories (HELP, 2014):

- (1) They were frequently not told of their child's experience with restraint or seclusion,
- (2) They encountered significant barriers in uncovering how long, how intense, and how frequent their child's experience was with the school's use of restraint or seclusion,
- (3) They faced push-out from school districts and were often left with no option but to pull their child from the school in the only hope of stopping their child's abuse, many a time due to the extensive requirements of the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act* (IDEA), which forces families to exhaust all due process options available before being able to take an abuse case to court.

Studies have routinely articulated that using restraint and seclusion on students is generally ineffective and unhelpful (Lebel et al., 2012; May, 2011). The physically violent nature of the practices has been shown to increase the risk of nonsocial aggression in students and leave lasting physical and psychological damage on them (May, 2011). There have even been

documented cases of restraint and seclusion that have left children, most with disabilities, with the loss of their life (GAO, 2009).

Chaiken and Trope state that humans have two psychological mechanisms that process social constructs like race and ability: a conscious, explicit mechanism and an unconscious, implicit mechanism (Chaiken et al., 1999). Implicit bias mechanisms are reflexive mental associations between a marginalized group and stereotypic ideas (Chaiken et al., 1999). This results in the poor and discriminatory treatment of people in marginalized groups, even when the privileged individuals do not hold explicitly prejudicial thoughts. Though the greater half of teachers believe in racial equality, they are frequently subjected to high stress levels from their poor working conditions and competing demands for attention (Marcucci, 2019). This constant stress from their work can reduce teachers' capacities to override their implicit biases, which can have disparate effects on their students — particularly with discipline. Implicit bias remains a factor in teachers' identification of problematic behavior when evaluating its severity and assessments regarding appropriate consequences (Marcucci, 2019). Indeed, Okonofua and Eberhardt's study revealed that teachers were more concerned with Black students than white students in the cases of second offenses (Okonofua et al., 2015). They were also more likely to ascribe Black students' behavior to a pattern, designate them as "troublemakers," and subject them to harsher punishments. They described this phenomenon as the "Black escalation effect," where Black "repeat offenders" are given harsher punishments than their white counterparts (Okonofua et al., 2015). Punitive discipline policies like restraint, seclusion, suspension, and expulsion leave room for implicit biases to thrive (Marcucci, 2019). "Willful defiance" exemplifies a discipline classification that emerges from systemic racism and serves to police

and punish students of color in schools. This category, and others like it, are very vague and subjective, providing ample opportunity for administrators and teachers to use their own implicit (and explicit) biases to determine what constitutes defiance. The term “willful defiance” is racially coded and is frequently applied to conduct that is perceived as insubordinate or threatening, which is a characterization more commonly attributed to students of color — even when that behavior is seen to be normal for other students (Romero et al., 2020). These perceptions are rooted in the antiquated racist fear of Black and brown people being inherently dangerous, aggressive, and defiant. Apart from the term’s etymology, data from the DOE has shown that categories like “willful defiance” have indeed been applied to Black and brown students at a disproportionate rate to that of their peers (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). When these kinds of biases and injustices are perpetuated, the education system is wholly failing in its responsibility to provide a fair and equitable learning environment for all students.

Recent Advances in Educational Justice

During the summer of 2011, the Obama Administration created the Supportive School Discipline Initiative and School Discipline Guidance (Advancement Project, 2021). These initiatives sought to reduce the disparate suspension and expulsion rates for students with disabilities, queer students, and students of color. They encouraged the adoption of restorative justice practices and Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS), a proactive approach to discipline that centers student-teacher relationships. Comparatively speaking, however, these policies geared towards rehabilitative practices have significantly fewer incentives for states to adopt the policies — unlike the *Gun-Free Schools Act*, which doled out hundreds of millions of

dollars in funding to schools that could provide receipts of their compliance with the law (Advancement Project, 2021). While the Supportive School Discipline Initiative was not a law, increasing incentives could have potentially boosted participation in the program.

In June of 2012, the Black Organizing Project, a grassroots community organization, filed a complaint with the Department of Education's (DOE) Office of Civil Rights (OCR), reporting that California's Oakland Unified School District (OUSD) disciplinary policies were discriminatory and disproportionately harmed Black students (Advancement Project, 2021). After the OCR investigated the district, they released reported findings that OUSD had violated the *Civil Rights Act of 1964* by disproportionately disciplining Black students and failing to offer them educational opportunities that were equal to their non-Black counterparts (Advancement Project, 2021). Following the OCR's report, OUSD agreed to adopt a series of reformative policies that would target disparate treatment in the district. These changes included implementing restorative justice practices and PBIS to address misbehavior and other conflicts, as well as banning suspensions and expulsions for "willful defiance," which was frequently used to punish Black students. The Black Organizing Project's win came a year after the murder of 20-year-old Raheim Brown Jr. by OUSD Sgt. Barhin Bhatt (Advancement Project, 2021).

Beyond Punishment: From Harm to Healing

Restorative Justice

Restorative justice (RJ) is a process centered on repairing the harm caused by wrongdoing rather than solely punishing offenders (Community Justice Initiatives). It has been used to address the problems and limitations of the punitive nature of Western institutions. RJ

brings together the harmed, the harmer, and their communities to participate in a dialogue that strives to establish healing, understanding, and accountability. In “The Little Book of Restorative Justice,” Howard Zehr outlines six questions that convey the framework that RJ operates within (Zehr, 2002):

- (1) Who has been hurt?
- (2) What are their needs?
- (3) Whose obligations are they?
- (4) What are the causes?
- (5) Who has a “stake” in this?
- (6) What is the appropriate process to involve stakeholders in an effort to put things right?

Zehr’s definition of restorative justice, which was created within the context of the criminal justice system, is as follows: “Restorative justice is a process to involve, to the extent possible, those who have a stake in a specific offense and to collectively identify and address harms, needs, and obligations, in order to heal and put things as right as possible.” (Zehr, 2002) In this sense, RJ emphasizes the importance of community involvement and participation in the resolution of conflicts and recognizes that a crime affects not only the victim and the offender but also the wider community. By involving all stakeholders, RJ can foster a sense of collective responsibility and encourage social cohesion.

“Discipline” comes from the Latin word *disciplina*, which means “instruction and training.” *Disciplina* itself is rooted in the word *discere*, “to learn.” The purpose of discipline is to educate children on lessons that will be necessary throughout their lives and aid in their

cultural socialization. Part of that socialization is teaching kids how to control their impulses and develop social skills. Discipline can be categorized into two types (Amstutz et al., 2005):

- (1) Short-term discipline, which intends to stop a child's misbehavior while simultaneously educating them on why that misbehavior was not appropriate, and
- (2) Long-term discipline, which seeks to guide children on how they can take responsibility for their own behavior.

If a child notices that their environment and behaviors are too regulated, they are less inclined to control themselves since other people can do it for them (Amstutz et al., 2005). In this context, long-term objectives of self-discipline are critical to a child's development. Discipline, however, was not always used to aid in the development of children. Pedro Noguera calls attention to the history in which school administrators insisted on a standardized socialization process to prevent "societal" fragmentation and preserve the dominance of "American" values in their unadulterated form (Noguera, 2010). This regulated process of assimilation involved adherence to policies that governed student behavior and enforced values of hard work, punctuality, and obedience. These values were deemed crucial for developing a successful society, though they often came at the cost of individual freedom and expression. Noguera ventures, "to explore alternative ways of responding to violent, or potentially violent, the behavior would necessarily require a fundamental change in how the institution and the provision of educational services were conceptualized by those in authority." (Noguera, 2010)

Lorraine Amstutz and Judy Mullet's "Little Book of Restorative Discipline for School" lists the key goals of restorative discipline as the following (Amstutz et al., 2005):

- (a) To understand the harm and develop empathy for both the harmed and the harmer,
- (b) To listen and respond to the needs of the person harmed and the person who harmed,

- (c) To encourage accountability and responsibility through personal reflection within a collaborative planning process,
- (d) To reintegrate the harmer (and, if necessary, the harmed) into the community as valuable, contributing members,
- (e) To create caring climates to support healthy communities, and
- (f) To change the system when it contributes to the harm.

They assert that restorative discipline is about providing a new framework for teachers and administrators, as well as introducing new practices (Amstutz et al., 2005). Restorative discipline is characterized by creativity and flexibility — punitive disciplines lack both by solely providing avenues for quick resolutions and regulation rather than enhancing children’s socialization skills. One of the benefits of restorative discipline is that it opens up the opportunity for administrators to create new policies that can mold to each student’s needs instead of a one-policy-fits-all response to misbehavior (Amstutz et al., 2005).

An important aspect of restorative discipline is that it does not dismiss the repercussions of misconduct. On the contrary, it focuses on helping children understand the impact of their harmful behavior and take responsibility for their actions and commit to positive change.

Amstutz and Mullet outline the tenets of restorative discipline here (Amstutz et al., 2005):

- (1) Acknowledge that relationships are central to building community,
- (2) Build “systems” that address misbehavior and harm in a way that strengthens relationships,
- (3) Focus on the harm done rather than only on rule-breaking,
- (4) Give a voice to the person harmed,
- (5) Engage in collaborative problem-solving,
- (6) Empower change and growth, and
- (7) Enhance responsibility.

If a community centers rules rather than relationships when addressing harm, everyone has been done a disservice. Lack of care from the school can lead families to reduce their efforts and contributions to the school, while bystanders are demoralized and discouraged from speaking out since there will likely be no tangible changes. School administrators and instructors are left feeling drained and dejected due to their limited pathways in dealing with such situations — meanwhile, the offending child is not allowed the opportunity to understand the gravity of their actions nor the resources needed to engage in the accountability process (Amstutz et al., 2005).

Transformative Justice

Transformative justice (TJ) is a practice that relies on community members to address acts of harm, as opposed to relying on the police or the government (Tran, 2018). As an abolitionist framework, TJ recognizes that institutions like prisons and police are sites where enormous amounts of violence occur and are systems created to be inherently violent to maintain social control (Nocella, 2011). TJ is not simply the absence of the state and its violence but the presence of the values, practices, relationships, and world that benefits everyone equitably. One of the limitations of RJ is that it is reactive — it responds to trauma rather than prevents it at its root (Nocella, 2011). Transformative justice, on the other hand, moves beyond the consideration of isolated incidents to examine the deeper harms caused by social injustices such as cultural imperialism, exploitation, and structural violence. TJ, in a sense, opposes restorative justice by asking the question, “Restoration to what?” (Souto-Manning et al., 2019) Rather than being reactive, transformative justice practices are both creative and proactive by actively working toward a vision of a society that includes and empowers each of its members. It recognizes that

harm is often a result of systemic injustices and endeavors to create a world where harm is less likely to occur by changing the structures and systems that perpetuate harm.

Where restorative justice concerns itself with a specific situation, transformative justice seeks to use the situation as an opportunity to grapple with larger socio-political injustices. TJ requires an analysis of power dynamics, which is not always necessary in RJ. Restorative justice considers that, while prison should not be used as a result of the process, prison might need to be used in situations where the offender is a risk to themselves and others until the time comes when they are willing to meet with the victims voluntarily (Nocella, 2011). Transformative justice juxtaposes this aspect of RJ by explicitly opposing the arrest, imprisonment, repression, or oppression of any person. While RJ can be implemented within the existing criminal justice & punitive disciplinary systems and can be interpreted as a reformist approach to addressing harm, TJ works to fundamentally transform the systems and create alternatives to the retributive systems in place now. Transformative justice, while addressing oppression and the role that individuals, groups, and institutions have in upholding it, does not perceive any person as an enemy but instead asserts that each person needs to be involved in a constructive, critical dialogue that provides the opportunity for people to take accountability, responsibility, and the initiative to heal (Nocella, 2011).

Non-carceral justice practices, like RJ and TJ, prioritize the healing and restoration of the harmer, the harmed, and their communities, instead of focusing on punishment and retribution. This type of justice has been shown to be more effective at reducing recidivism rates than our current carceral justice system, as incarceration has been proven to be ineffective at reducing recidivism for people that are caught in the system (Nocella, 2011). One of the most important

pillars of non-carceral justice is its separation from colonial values and systems by intentionally challenging the underlying institutional structures that can elicit harm and violence, such as ability-based inequities and racial inequities (Souto-Manning et al., 2019). RJ can be more carceral than TJ by nature because it can still operate within a punitive framework. While it does try to encourage healing and repairing of harm, RJ still relies on the state or institution to mediate the process and enforce agreements made between the harmed and the harmer. TJ, conversely, ventures to work beyond the scope of the criminal justice system and create alternative models of accountability and healing that are not dependent on state intervention.

If the desire is to move away from the carceral nature of America's systems, transformative justice would be the preferred choice since its ethos is geared towards moving away from harm and incarceration. By implementing TJ in schools, communities can be a part of a culture of accountability and healing that is based on community involvement, shared decision-making, and collective responsibility. Administering transformative justice in schools now, however, will be challenging in the current American political landscape because it requires a fundamental shift away from punitive approaches to discipline and a willingness to invest in confronting the systemic factors that create and contribute to harm. TJ also demands a willingness to challenge existing power dynamics in schools and create new structures that empower students, families, and communities, which may intimidate many, if not most, school districts in the country. As a relatively new and typically community-led practice, as well as our society's bond to carceral justice, transformative justice initiatives can struggle to attract funding for research and evaluation, thus limiting the amount of available data on its effectiveness. Conversely, restorative justice has gained popularity as an alternative to punitive discipline, and

many schools have tried out RJ programs with success. **Therefore, this study will evaluate restorative justice** in schools rather than transformative justice because it has been much more widely implemented in schools and can be much more easily studied through a data analytic lens.

Defining Disabilities for Students: IDEA and Section 504

The *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act* (IDEA) is a federal law that oversees all special education services in the U.S. IDEA supplies state and local schools with federal funds intended to guarantee special education and related services for the students that qualify as IDEA-eligible students. The categories of disabilities covered under IDEA is as follows (IDEA, 2023):

- (1) Autism
- (2) Specific learning disability
- (3) Speech or language impairments
- (4) Emotional disturbance
- (5) Traumatic brain injury
- (6) Visual impairment
- (7) Hearing impairment
- (8) Deafness
- (9) Developmental disability
- (10) Deaf-blindness
- (11) Multiple disabilities
- (12) Orthopedic impairments
- (13) Other health impairments

Related services provided under IDEA include occupational therapy, physical therapy, counseling, social services, and transportation. Each category details specific criteria for

articulating the existence of the disability, and the condition must negatively impact the student's academic performance. Schools usually use a student's failure as the basis for denoting a disability as negatively impacting academic performance (deBettencourt, 2002). Section 504, conversely, is a civil rights law, rather than a federal one, so it does not receive the federal funding that IDEA students get. Section 504 requires that all schools that receive federal aid for educational purposes may not discriminate against children with disabilities. These schools must provide reasonable accommodations for these students that enable them to have an education comparable to their classmates. In order to be eligible under Section 504, students must have a physical or mental condition that substantially limits one or more major life activities, such as asthma, ADHD, traumatic brain injuries, visual impairments, mobility impairments, etc. (Department of Education, 2023).

IV. Methodology

This study analyzes the seven biggest school districts in each of the following eight states of study: Alaska, California, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, New York, Pennsylvania, and Texas. The six states with the highest populations were selected to encompass the largest possible proportion of the national population while focusing on a small number of states. California has the largest state population in the U.S., followed by Texas, Florida, New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois. Georgia is included in the data collection because it has one of the largest populations of Black people in the country, a demographic crucial to this study. Alaska, having the largest proportion of Native American and Alaska Native residents, is also included in the study. The eight states of study cover the five regions of the U.S., which aids in the robustness of the data analysis, and are hosts to varying political climates. Table 5 lists the school districts analyzed in the study, aggregated by state. As a result of this methodology, over 7,000 schools were examined.

Table 4: School Districts Studied by State

Alaska	California	Florida	Georgia
Anchorage School District	Corona-Norco Unified School District	Broward County Public Schools	Atlanta Public Schools
Fairbanks North Star Borough School District	Elk Grove Unified School District	Duval County Public Schools	Clayton County Schools
Galena City School District	Fresno Unified School District	Hillsborough County Public Schools	Cobb County Schools
Juneau Borough School District	Long Beach Unified School District	Miami-Dade County Public Schools	Dekalb County Schools
Kenai Peninsula Borough School District	Los Angeles Unified School District	Orange County Public Schools	Forsyth County Schools
Matanuska-Susitna Borough School District	San Diego Unified School District	Palm Beach County School District	Fulton County Schools

Alaska	California	Florida	Georgia
Yukon-Koyukuk School District	San Fransisco Unified School District	Polk County Public Schools	Gwinnett County Public Schools

Table 4: School Districts Studied, contd. by State

Illinois	New York	Pennsylvania	Texas
Chicago Public Schools	NYC Geographic District #2	Allentown City School District	Cypress-Fairbanks Independent School District
Community Unit School District No. 300	NYC Geographic District #10	Bethlehem Area School District	Dallas Independent School District
Indian Prairie Community Unit School District No. 204	NYC Geographic District #20	Central Bucks School District	Fort Bend Independent School District
Oswego Community Unit School District No. 308	NYC Geographic District #24	Downington Area School District	Fort Worth Independent School District
Plainfield School District No. 202	NYC Geographic District #27	Philadelphia City School District	Houston Independent School District
Rockford School District No. 205	NYC Geographic District #28	Pittsburgh Public Schools	Katy Independent School District
School District U-46	NYC Geographic District #31	Reading School District	Northside Independent School District

The data utilized in this study was obtained from the Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights Data Collection for the 2017-2018 school year, the most recent school year available for analysis. This dataset is part of a comprehensive survey conducted by the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) to examine data on the various facets of civil rights in schools. The data used for this project examines the seven biggest school districts in each state of study and analyzes enrollment patterns categorized by race and ethnicity, sex, disability status, and English language proficiency (LEP). This study uses data on out-of-school suspensions, expulsions with and without educational services, expulsions under zero-tolerance policies, and instances of

mechanical restraint, physical restraint, and seclusion. Stata OLS regressions were used to measure the impact of restorative justice on student discipline. All the data used for the calculations were pulled from the OCR Data collection.

Hypothesis and Variables

This thesis' hypothesis postulates that the presence of restorative justice (RJ) in school district codes of conduct and disciplinary policies will lead to decreased utilization rates of punitive disciplinary practices, including suspension, expulsion, mechanical restraint, physical restraint, and seclusion. Furthermore, this thesis proposes that the lower rates of punitive discipline will provide more substantial benefits for marginalized students, particularly Black and brown students and the members of those communities with disabilities. The dependent variable is the Restorative Justice Score (y), which evaluates the general presence and implementation of RJ in a school district, while the following categories represent the independent variables (x): expulsions with/without educational services, two or more out-of-school suspensions, instances of mechanical restraint, physical restraint, & seclusion.¹ These independent variables were all disaggregated by race, sex, and disability status (IDEA & Section 504). The study includes several confounding variables to bolster the quality of the research to account for other reasons that could impact punitive discipline rates. The confounding variables consist of the political party of the state governor, the political party of the State Superintendent or Commissioner of Education, as well as the expenditures of the school district disaggregated

¹ Corporal punishment was not included in the study since it is only legal in three out of the eight states of study (Florida, Georgia, and Texas).

by total salary spending for all personnel, solely teachers, and non-personnel expenditures.

Truancy would have been included in the study as a confounding variable since it is a significant factor in many students' interaction with punitive discipline but was ultimately left out of the study due to a lack of absenteeism data in the OCR Data collection for the 2017-2018 school year. Political parties of state representatives are evaluated as dummy variables with a base value of 0 for Democrats and are assigned a value of 1 if they are Republicans.

Restorative Justice Score

In this study, the Restorative Justice Score serves as the dependent variable and comprises of two components: the existence of restorative justice in a district's code of conduct and the evaluation of the district's efforts to implement RJ in their schools.

For the first component, schools are either given 1 point if they have made any effort to list restorative justice or other alternative forms of discipline that have similar frameworks to RJ, such as positive behavioral intervention supports (PBIS), or 0 points if they solely adhere to traditional forms of discipline.

For the second component of the RJ Score, school districts can score 5 points if they made stellar and concerted efforts to use alternative forms of discipline, namely restorative justice, in place of punitive discipline, specified to .25-points. Table 5 details each school district's RJ score in conjunction with their associated state. 20 out of the 56 school districts scored 0 out of 6 points on the RJ scale, signifying their failure to outline any form of alternative discipline in their codes of conduct or acknowledge the impacts of punitive discipline on their most vulnerable students. While no district received the maximum score of 6, three school

districts scored a 5.5, seven districts scored within the 5-point range, and 19 districts scored a 4 or above. Overall, the average score was 2.5/6.

Table 5: Restorative Justice Scores by School District

State	School District	Restorative Justice Score
Alaska	Anchorage School District	3
Alaska	Fairbanks North Star Borough School District	0
Alaska	Galena City School District	0
Alaska	Juneau Borough School District	4.5
Alaska	Kenai Peninsula Borough School District	4.5
Alaska	Matanuska-Susitna Borough School District	0
Alaska	Yukon-Koyukuk School District	0
California	Corona-Norco Unified School District	0
California	Elk Grove Unified School District	3
California	Fresno Unified School District	4.25
California	Long Beach Unified School District	4.75
California	Los Angeles Unified School District	5.5
California	San Diego Unified School District	5.5
California	San Fransisco Unified School District	5
Florida	Broward County Public Schools	4.5
Florida	Duval County Public Schools	5
Florida	Hillsborough County Public Schools	3.25

State	School District	Restorative Justice Score
Florida	Miami-Dade County Public Schools	5
Florida	Orange County Public Schools	5.5
Florida	Palm Beach County School District	4
Florida	Polk County Public Schools	0
Georgia	Atlanta Public Schools	3
Georgia	Clayton County Schools	3.25
Georgia	Cobb County Schools	0
Georgia	Dekalb County Schools	0
Georgia	Forsyth County Schools	0
Georgia	Fulton County Schools	0
Georgia	Gwinnett County Public Schools	4.5
Illinois	Chicago Public Schools	3.75
Illinois	Community Unit School District No. 300	0
Illinois	Indian Prairie Community Unit School District No. 204	0
Illinois	Oswego Community Unit School District No. 308	3.75
Illinois	Plainfield School District No. 202	3
Illinois	Rockford School District No. 205	0
Illinois	School District U-46	4
New York	NYC Geographic District #2	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #10	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #20	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #24	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #27	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #28	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #31	3

State	School District	Restorative Justice Score
Pennsylvania	Allentown City School District	0
Pennsylvania	Bethlehem Area School District	4
Pennsylvania	Central Bucks School District	0
Pennsylvania	Downington Area School District	0
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia City School District	5
Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh Public Schools	4
Pennsylvania	Reading School District	3
Texas	Cypress-Fairbanks Independent School District	0
Texas	Dallas Independent School District	0
Texas	Fort Bend Independent School District	0
Texas	Fort Worth Independent School District	2.25
Texas	Houston Independent School District	0
Texas	Katy Independent School District	4.5
Texas	Northside Independent School District	4

Limitations

This study faced several limitations that likely impacted the quality of the results, including; incapacity to measure student and faculty satisfaction with their current disciplinary policies, unavailability of absenteeism data, exclusive focus on policy and not the holistic dimensions of a school community, absence of federally standardized data, lack of data that specifies the types and intensity of the disabilities of students that have interacted with their school's disciplinary system, presence of data gray areas (e.g., pushout by the district), failure to

compare against other school years, as well as the large number of school districts and independent variables included in the calculation (n=354) all hindered the strength of the study.

The salience of community satisfaction with school disciplinary policies cannot be overstated, as it carries significant weight in validating a study's quantitative results, particularly with anecdotal evidence. Including anecdotal evidence of satisfaction alongside data-driven findings would substantially bolster the quality of the study, as it would reflect a broader and more nuanced understanding of the effectiveness of a policy. When there is a lack of happiness or trust with alternative programs, from either the students' or administrators' end, that leaves cracks in the foundation of the implementation, with the effectiveness and reach of the programs being substantially undermined without the full, voluntary participation of the community. Without measuring community satisfaction, blindspots are created when it comes to improvements to the programs. The voices of the students and teachers are crucial for shaping these programs into ones that best fit the needs of the school and its constituents.

Although including truancy data in the study was not possible, it could have contributed significantly to the research. Truancy is usually an indicator or manifestation of other problems that may be affecting a student's performance or behavior, such as family issues, health troubles, or a host of other difficulties. Moreover, truancy is often criminalized by schools across the country and is likely to be a driving factor in high suspension and expulsion rates. If truancy had been included in the study, it would have allowed for better control in the study with a substantial controlling variable. Regrettably, the OCR Data Collection did not include absentee data in its survey for the 2017-2018 school year, which prevented its incorporation into this study.

Although the study analyzes disciplinary policies across school districts, its inability to delve into the experiences of school communities through interviews and a rigorous analysis of satisfaction and quantitative data constitutes a significant disadvantage. This study's focus on policies available to the public, rather than on the school communities themselves, means that it only considered one of the many factors that shape a school community's approach to discipline. Having the school districts' policies as the primary tool to evaluate the prevalence of RJ or other forms of alternative discipline, as well as news articles dedicated to highlighting schools running pilot RJ programs, operates as a limitation since it offers a narrow perspective of the realities of discipline at these schools and does not speak to the efficiency nor efforts of the applications of RJ, as well as how it impacts students — particularly students of color and disabled students. This extends to limitations with the Restorative Justice Score used to evaluate school districts' performance with the alternative justice framework, given that the score is based on the existence of restorative justice in the district code of conduct rather than contextual anecdotal evidence. Future research should consider the broad range of factors that create a school community, such as student demographics, teacher training on restorative justice frameworks, and school culture that impacts student outcomes. A holistic perspective can help identify the root causes of systemic discipline issues and develop more effective policies to address them.

The absence of federally mandated and standardized school data poses a significant challenge for researchers as it renders their calculations vulnerable to unreliability. In the U.S., education is primarily the responsibility of states and local school districts, and the federal government's role is limited. The lack of national standards for data reports on disciplinary practices represents a substantial challenge for obtaining reliable and consistent data across

states. School disciplinary policies vary widely across both states and districts. Local control over district policies leads to a wide range of disciplinary approaches, which can be difficult to capture in data that has not been standardized. Various districts also may use different definitions for their disciplinary infractions, which makes the challenge of state-by-state comparisons all the more formidable.

One of the pitfalls of using data from the OCR Data Collection is that it fails to specify the type and intensity of disabilities for students with disabilities that interact with the disciplinary system. This omission deprives the study, as well as the general public, of a comprehensive understanding of the needs of students with different disabilities. Different kinds and intensities of disabilities have a range of implications for behavior and resulting discipline. Students with certain disabilities, for instance, may have difficulty processing information or communicating with school administrators, which can lead to behavior that can be misconstrued as disruptive or defiant. It is necessary to have data that details the type and intensity of the disability, as well as the important elements of disciplinary procedure used against a student, such as time spent in seclusion or types of restraints used and how long they were kept on a student — neither of which are mandated by the federal government to be reported. Without data on these specific characteristics, there lie significant challenges to accurately analyze rates of discipline on students with disabilities. Students with certain disabilities may be more likely to receive punitive disciplinary action than others, so it is difficult to identify these kinds of patterns without specific data.

The existence of data gray areas, particularly when it comes to pushouts from school districts, presents a plethora of obstacles when analyzing the outcomes of suspensions and

expulsions for students. ‘Data gray areas’ are defined as data that lack clarity or completeness. The term ‘pushout’ refers to the process where students are forced to leave a school or its district due to disciplinary measures (Morris, 2016). One of the most substantial barriers associated with data gray areas is the lack of transparency they hold. When a school district pushes out a family from its constituency, the outcomes for the student are not recorded, and the student essentially disappears from their records. This lack of transparency permits the persistence of systemic injustices, as punitive discipline is allowed to go unchecked and unchallenged. The absence of standardized data across school districts presents the additional challenge of comparing disciplinary outcomes for different schools. Criteria used for pushouts can vary between districts, making it difficult to compare the outcomes and effectiveness of disciplinary policies (Morris, 2016). These types of inconsistencies make vulnerable student populations all the more vulnerable. The exclusion of context for disciplinary procedures and outcomes exacerbates this lack of transparency regarding the reasoning behind pushouts, which makes it effectively impossible to evaluate the impact of both punitive and rehabilitative practices properly.

The states included in this study encompassed a plethora of political ideologies, which likely muddied the clarity of the calculations. Each state has distinct a history, traditions, and values that shape how they approach education, particularly discipline. California is known for its progressive politics and has been at the forefront of efforts to establish educational equity, whereas Texas, conversely, is renowned for its conservative emphasis on traditional values, having focused on punitive measures like zero-tolerance policies. The differences in political cultures across these states have a significant influence on how they interpret and implement instructions from the Department of Education (DOE). While the DOE can offer guidelines and

recommendations for disciplinary policies, each state has the flexibility to implement these policies in a way that aligns with their political values and priorities. A state like New York, for example, may administer disciplinary policies in a way that prioritizes less retributive consequences, while a state like Georgia could impose policies that are centered around punishment. The variation in political cultures also affects the extent to which states and their school districts comply with DOE directives, as the federal government may be more likely to face resistance from conservative states than they would from liberal ones, which creates an assortment of policies across the country that could be interpreted as either punitive or rehabilitative. This thesis' analysis of the data was unable to take into account these differences in interpretation and implementation during analysis, which likely erased fluctuations in policy implementation and dampened the results.

This study initially intended to compare the results of the 2017-2018 school year against the 2011-2012 school year, given that these two years had the most similar survey questions in the Civil Rights Data Collection survey. Due to time constraints, however, the earlier school year was dropped from the study. Unfortunately, the sheer enormity of one year's dataset — 354 variables across 56 districts and 7,000 schools — prevents additional analysis from taking place. The scale of the calculations is the largest ever completed by this study's researcher, which speaks to the difficulties had during the regression process. However challenging the results are, this study provides valuable insights into the challenges and complexities of conducting research on educational equity and the importance of taking these limitations into account when interpreting the results.

Results

Tables 6-13 in Appendix C detail the Restorative Justice Score's regression results on various suspensions and expulsions, as well as instances of mechanical/physical restraint and seclusion, controlling for state politics and school finances. Due to collinearity issues, many coefficients were not statistically significant, meaning that the relationship between the dependent and independent variables is not strong enough to be interpreted as significant. A non-significant coefficient indicates that the calculation's result happened by chance and is not a reliable indicator of the relationship between the variables being studied. This happens for several reasons, including measurement errors or small sample sizes. Just because a coefficient is not statistically significant, however, does not mean that there is not a relationship between the two variables. It means that the robustness of the relationship is not strong enough to be considered statistically significant. Interestingly, the impact of the Restorative Justice Score is only considered universally statistically significant on the confounding variables: state politics and school finances. This suggests that the connection between restorative justice in policy and student outcomes in discipline policy is not as straightforward as initially hypothesized. When confounding variables like state politics and district expenditures are considered statistically significant, it illustrates that the regression has found a significant correlation between the confounding variables and the dependent variable, restorative justice. Having most of the study's statistically significant coefficients be associated with the confounding variables could suggest that state politics and district expenditures could be the driving force behind the connection between the independent and dependent variables.

Table 14 focuses on the few statistically significant coefficients for the independent variables throughout the study, separated by students with disabilities and those without. Curiously, some of the coefficients support the hypothesis of this thesis, and others refute it. The first five coefficients in the table stipulate that each individual point increase in the Restorative Justice score is associated with an, at a minimum, 1 student decrease in their respective punitive discipline outcome totals (specifically expulsions for LEP male students without disabilities and instances of mechanical restraint for Black and brown students). The most considerable impact is marked for Black girls with an IDEA classification subjected to mechanical restraint. The following four coefficients, however, propose that RJ would increase the use of physical restraint for non-disabled female students when disaggregated by race, but when all female students without disabilities are accounted for, the coefficient suggests that a one-point increase in the RJ score would result in a decrease of two female students being subjected to physical restraint, as with Section 504 male students that were subjected to physical restraint. The next three variables that measure various student demographics' interactions with physical restraint assert that an individual point increase in a district's RJ score is associated with a near 1-student increase in subjections to physical restraint, particularly for disabled Asian girls. When it comes to seclusion, the regressions find that better implementations of restorative justice are associated with lower rates of seclusion for multiracial girls with disabilities and girls without disabilities but may raise instances of seclusion for Black and brown girls without disabilities.

Table 14: Statistically Significant Coefficients

Restorative Justice	Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
LEP Male Students Expelled <u>without</u> Educational Services	-1.038** (0.505)	—
Non-IDEA Section 504 Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-1.798*** (0.675)
IDEA Black Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-2.727* (1.549)
IDEA Black Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-5.612* (2.930)
IDEA LEP Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-1.909** (0.938)
Non-IDEA Hispanic Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.367** (1.087)	—
Non-IDEA Asian Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	3.903** (1.804)	—
Non-IDEA Black Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.148** (1.079)	—
Non-IDEA White Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.385** (1.159)	—
Non-IDEA Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-2.164** (1.072)	—
Non-IDEA Section 504 Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	-0.483** (0.225)
Non-IDEA Section 504 Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	0.709* (0.408)
IDEA Asian Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	2.098* (1.071)
IDEA Two or More Race Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	0.768*** (0.290)
IDEA LEP Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	-0.856** (0.380)
IDEA Two or More Race Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	—	-4.990* (2.772)
Non-IDEA Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	-2.230* (1.268)	—
Non-IDEA Hispanic Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.585** (1.781)	—

Restorative Justice	Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Non-IDEA Black Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.505** (1.560)	—

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

The overall results of this study discovered that while there is a significant relationship between school districts' representations of restorative justice, state politics, and district expenditures, the relationship between RJ and student outcomes in punitive discipline is more ambiguous than presumed. This contends that state politics and school finances are primary factors of a school's ability and desire to incorporate restorative justice within its teachings.

The interpretations for the coefficients in Table 10 are as follows:

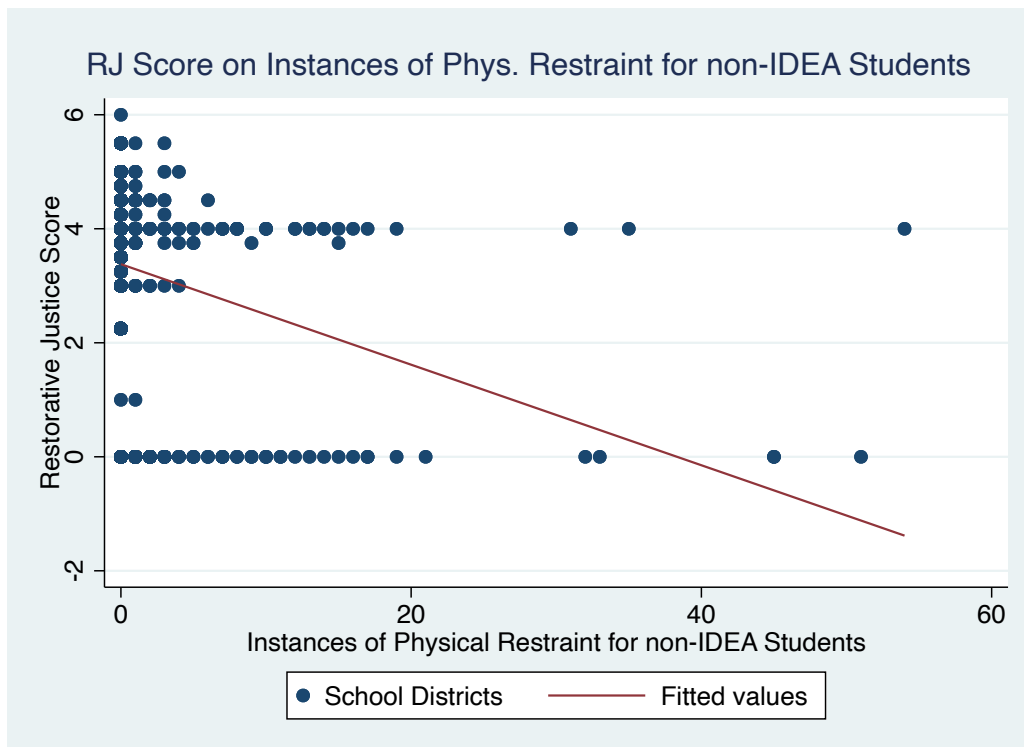
- The coefficient for 'LEP Male Students Expelled without Educational Services' is -1.038, which means that for each individual point increase in the Restorative Justice Score, the number of boys with limited English proficiency without disabilities that are expelled without educational services can be expected to drop by approximately 1 student per school.
- The coefficient for 'Non-IDEA Section 504 Male Students Subjected to Mechanical Restraint' is -1.798, which indicates that each point increase in the RJ Score is associated with a 1.798 student decrease in the number of Section 504-identified boys that are subjected to mechanical restraint.
- The three statistically significant coefficients for IDEA students subjected to mechanical restraint are -2.727 for Black boys, -5.612 for Black girls, and -1.909 for boys with limited English proficiency. That means that each singular point increase in a school district's RJ Score is associated with a decrease in the use of mechanical restraint by approximately 3 Black boys, 6 Black girls, and 2 boys that are limited in their English proficiency.

- The five statistically significant coefficients for ‘Non-IDEA Female Students Subjected to Physical Restraint’ are 2.367 for Hispanic girls, 3.903 for Asian girls, 2.148 for Black girls, 2.385 for white girls, and, surprisingly, -2.164 for all non-disabled girls. These coefficients illustrate that for every point-rise in a district’s RJ Score, their schools can each expect to see an increase in the instances of non-disabled students subjected to physical restraint by approximately 2 Hispanic girls, 4 Asian girls, 2 Black girls, and 3 white girls, but an overall decline of 2 girls. These conflicting coefficients will be discussed later on.
- The coefficients for ‘Non-IDEA Section 504 Male Students Subjected to Physical Restraint’ and ‘Non-IDEA Section 504 Female Students Subjected to Physical Restraint’ are -0.483 and 0.709, respectively. These coefficients convey that every additional point increment in a district’s RJ Score is associated with an approximate student or less decrease in instances of physical restraint for boys and an approximate student increase in instances of physical restraint for girls.
- There are three statistically significant coefficients for IDEA-identified students that are subjected to physical restraint: 2.098 for Asian girls, 0.768 for multiethnic boys, and -0.856 for girls with limited English proficiency. These suggest that every individual point increase in a district’s Restorative Justice Score is associated with an upwards jump in instances of physical restraint for disabled students by approximately 2 Asian girls and 1 multiracial boy, but a reduction of those instances by 1 girl with limited English proficiency.
- The last three statistically significant coefficients interrogate the impact of RJ in a district’s policy on instances of non-disabled female students being involuntarily secluded. The three coefficients are -2.230 for all non-IDEA female students, 3.585 for Hispanic girls, and 3.505 for Black girls. This information implies that a point rise in a school district’s RJ score is associated with an overall decrease in the use of seclusion for all non-disabled female students by 2 girls but an increase in the use of seclusion for Black and brown girls by 4 Hispanic girls and 4 Black girls.

Discussion

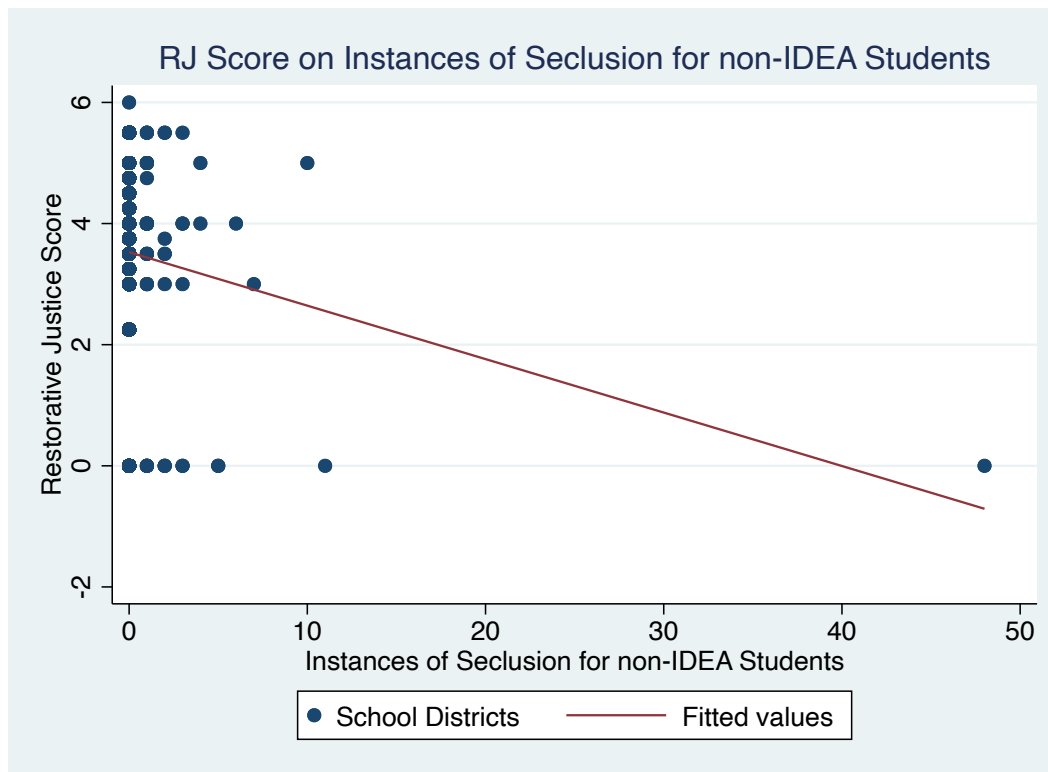
The regression of the RJ score onto ‘Non-IDEA Female Students Subjected to Physical Restraint’ yields results contrary to this study’s hypothesis. The coefficients articulate that each individual point increase in a district’s RJ Score is associated with an increase in the use of physical restraint for non-disabled female students by 2 Hispanic girls, 4 Asian girls, 2 Black girls, and 3 white girls, but the results also suggest an overall decrease in those instances by 2 girls. This overall decrease is seen in Figure 4, which demonstrates a decline in instances of physical restraint for IDEA students. This scatterplot accounts for all IDEA students, with all genders and ethnicities, so its inclusive nature clouds how the Restorative Justice Score impacts students of various demographics. Nevertheless, it is still useful for interpreting the general estimations of the RJ Score’s relationship to instances of physical restraint.

Figure 4: Regression Scatterplot of RJ Score on Instances of Physical Restraint for non-IDEA Students



The regression results for the impacts of the RJ Score on instances of seclusion for non-disabled girls present conflicting conclusions. While the coefficients for Black and brown girls contend that an increase in a school district's RJ Score is associated with an increase in the use of seclusion for girls of color, the overall coefficients argue that higher RJ Scores are associated with lower rates of seclusion for all girls. This interpretation is supported by Figure 6's presentation of school districts' RJ scores in connection with overall instances of seclusion for non-disabled students. The scatterplot depicts a negative association between the dependent and independent variables, emphasizing a positive impact of restorative justice on rates of student seclusion. This suggests that higher RJ scores are associated with lower instances of seclusion, though the graph only paints part of the story. The scatterplots provide a surface-level analysis of the data, merely presenting the linear relationship between the two variables — it does not control for any other variables or take any other circumstances into account. While the graphs provide valuable information about the relationship between these two variables, it is important to consider other factors that may impact the relationship and not rely solely on the information presented in the graph.

Figure 6: Regression Scatterplot of RJ Score on Instances of Seclusion for non-IDEA Students



Though some of the regression coefficients point to different results than the theoretical evidence presented in this study has articulated, it is vital to consider the additional limitations and potential confounding factors that may have affected these findings. Interestingly, the overall coefficients of the study are disproportionately statistically significant for instances of physical restraint, particularly for non-disabled girls of various races. This may have happened for a slew of reasons: there is a legitimate disparity in non-disabled girls getting subjected to physical restraint, which leaves room for further disparities in the presence of alternative discipline; there is an error in calculations, or potential confounding variables that were left out of the study; non-disabled girls could have been over- or underrepresented in the data; or a mix of all of the above. One of the main limitations of the calculations is that it solely considers the application of district

policies in schools rather than investigating the schools holistically. While these assessments produced unexpected results, they do not necessarily disprove the hypothesis of the study, as there are likely other factors at play that should have been taken into account. Correlations in coefficients do not necessarily guarantee causation but are helpful for estimating the impacts of dependent variables on different independent variables. Even if the coefficients are not accurate to reality, they are still helpful in analyzing room for improvement when it comes to policy changes — with this study, it seems as though the areas with the most need for improvement are utilizations of physical restraint.

There are several variables in the regressions that directly contradict the initial assumptions of the study; instances of physical restraint for girls of different ethnicities and abilities, and instances of seclusion for Black and brown girls. This study's findings suggest that the existence of restorative justice and its comprehensive implementation in school districts would increase the utilization rates of physical restraint and involuntary isolation for non-disabled girls, which wholly challenges the evidence presented throughout this thesis. These challenging results are hardly the first that have puzzled researchers. This occurs in Olivia Marcucci's 2019 study examining restorative approaches to discipline and implicit bias. While her study hypothesized that teachers' implicit bias would result in more punitive outcomes for students of color, Marcucci found that the teachers in her study were harsher against white students than they were against their Black counterparts — which is completely counterintuitive to what had been established in her study (Marcucci, 2019). She attributes these findings to social desirability, positing that the phenomenon impacts the teachers' unconscious decision-making processes. She argues that “social desirability is an unconscious process more likely to

be found in the post-Civil Rights era and perhaps among moderates and liberals in the Trump era. As the popular awareness of implicit bias and concerns about being perceived as racist grow, white Americans are unconsciously overcorrecting their anti-Black implicit biases when interacting with a Black individual.” (Marcucci, 2019) It is probable that Marcucci's phenomenon is replicated in some areas in this study, as this study observes over 6,000 schools, likely representing tens of thousands of teachers. The unexpected results found in both studies emphasize the complexity of addressing both individual and systemic issues of bias and discrimination in education. The sole definitive answer that both studies provide is that additional research is necessary to better understand how rehabilitative and restorative practices can be implemented in schools. Only by persistently challenging assumptions and exploring new approaches can truly equitable and inclusive educational communities be established.

V. Policy Recommendations

Evidence repeatedly demonstrates how alarmingly pervasive and omnipresent institutional disciplinary wrongdoings are in American schools, and it is clear that these wrongdoings are disproportionately hurting disabled students and students of color (Boccanfuso et al., 2011; Kang-Brown et al., 2013; Okonofua et al., 2015). These prejudiced disciplinary practices represent one of the most pressing issues of contemporary education politics, but there are several paths that may be taken in order to reach educational equity. Though restorative justice may be a more feasible task in the country's current political climate, implementing transformative justice in schools would be a substantial first step in repairing relationships between students, teachers, and administrators. TJ is a revolutionary framework that emphasizes accountability and healing over punishment and exclusion, while unreservedly recognizing the disproportionate impact of disciplinary measures on marginalized students. Given its non-carceral nature, this thesis supports the utilization of transformative justice over restorative justice in order to truly step away from the carceral perils of the American punitive system. The following recommendations only begin to scratch the surface of transformative justice and are intended solely to provide examples of practices to use instead of punitive discipline.

Eliminating Punitive Discipline

To create a nurturing and supportive educational climate that truly cares for the development and well-being of its students, it is imperative that all punitive forms of discipline be eliminated, particularly in-school and out-of-school suspensions, as well as expulsions, for

non-violent offenses. Restraint and seclusion, especially for students with disabilities, must be abolished entirely. These forms of discipline are based on punishment and exclusion, and fail to adequately support the child's development or their understanding of their actions. In place of these policies, a popular pillar of both TJ and RJ may be used: circles. Derived from indigenous problem-solving approaches, circles provide an inclusive space for dialogue and community problem-solving while reinforcing positive values in an orderly and reflective process that is inclusive for all community members (Amstutz et al., 2005). Circles are used not only in cases of wrongdoing but also as a way to dialogue on difficult issues and create innovative solutions for the community. When severe misbehavior occurs, in lieu of retributive methods like suspensions and expulsions, conferencing could be used as a forum to explore what happened, how participants felt about it, what needs to be done to make things right, and how the situation might be prevented in the future.

Lessening Opportunities for Implicit Bias

Removing “willful defiance” as a discipline category must be accomplished to significantly reduce disciplinary malpractice in educational communities. “Willful defiance” is frequently employed to justify suspensions and expulsions, is improperly used to police the bodies of marginalized students, and is an essential vehicle for transporting these students through the school-to-prison pipeline (Mallett, 2016). By extracting “willful defiance” and categories like it from the equation, schools are given fewer opportunities to enforce their implicit bias through discipline. The elimination of these broad and subjective categories will push administrators to provide more specific and objective reasons for disciplinary actions,

which will reduce the likelihood of the use of unjust discipline based on implicit biases.

Similarly, actions must be taken to decriminalize age-appropriate student behavior, such as policies that make it a crime to “disturb the school” or “act in an obnoxious manner.” By doing away with these policies and enforcing the use of transformative discipline, the school-to-prison pipeline will begin to corrode and deteriorate.

Removing Police in Schools and Investing in Data & Evidence

Solely changing disciplinary policies is not enough to mitigate the massive presence of security and police in our schools. Though the existence of school resource officers (SROs) is meant to make students feel safer and reduce conflict in schools, overwhelming empirical and anecdotal evidence show that this is not the case at all (Advancement Project, 2021; Addington, 2009; Justice Policy Institute, 2011). In place of SROs, community counselors should be employed. Their jobs actually encompass the holistic safety of students and instructors, which can strengthen the cohesion and comfort of the community. Community counselors can serve as positive role models for the children and may be much more cost-effective in comparison to school police (Advancement Project, 2021). The lack of standardized data on the roles of SROs, their actions, and the absence of any standard certification for becoming an SRO makes their very presence in schools hazardous. Without rigorously-tested evidence for their benefit, having police and SROs in schools only exacerbates the vulnerability of the country’s most vulnerable students. Additionally, having schools participate in the 1033 program — the federal program that dispenses excess military equipment to local law enforcement agencies — only increases the hostility and aggressive perception of school police and worsens tensions between them and the

student body (Advancement Project, 2021). To protect both students and school personnel, it would be much more sustainable and equitable to remove school districts from eligibility in the 1033 program and disarm school security officers. Qualitative and quantitative data can both help illustrate what happens when schools are over-policed. By sharing the voices and stories of youths' experiences with school police, the reality of school environments dominated by fear and control becomes clear and impossible to ignore.

In the interest of fundamentally changing disciplinary policies, policymakers are in need of additional quantitative evidence that supports the unequivocal utilization of alternative frameworks like TJ or RJ. Unfortunately, data regarding discipline policies in general, let alone the impacts of TJ and RJ, are scarce. Since the fields are relatively new to Western audiences, the practices are difficult to fit within Western traditional research methods and often need help attracting funding for research opportunities, which additionally limits the amount of available data on its effectiveness. Given that the practices are also typically community-led, data collection and analysis may be a low priority for those involved. Community-led approaches prioritize the lived experiences and narratives of their participants rather than the collection of quantitative data. That being the case, it is critical that resources be devoted to investigating the benefits of transformative justice and other alternative forms of discipline, as well as collecting evidence regarding the dangers of punitive discipline. Analyzing data from current state reports is already difficult since, outside of the OCR Civil Rights Data Collection, there is no federal mandate for schools to report the details of their disciplinary actions, such as the type of discipline administered, the person administering it, the severity & length of the discipline, and the social attributes of the child (Office of Civil Rights, 2016). Considering that states are likely

to only enforce policies if they are asked and incentivized, the federal government should also require all school districts to release detailed discipline reports each year in order to qualify for an Alternative Discipline Grant. This detailed report should highlight nearly every aspect of each disciplinary action taken against a student in the school, and, in return, school districts would receive grant money to alleviate disparities in their disciplinary policies, such as the hiring of a Transformative or Restorative Justice coordinator or the purchase of an alternative discipline pilot program.

VI. Future Research

While the damaging effects of punitive policies on students of color and disabled students have long been documented by community members and supportive researchers, there is a pressing need for further research to fully understand the long-term impacts of disciplinary retribution on marginalized students, as well as identify evidence-based solutions. Future research could delve into the specific mechanisms by which punitive discipline contributes to poor outcomes, such as higher dropout rates or participation in the criminal justice system. Other research should also investigate the effect of alternative frameworks like transformative justice on student outcomes and then compare the effectiveness of the different approaches to traditionally punitive discipline.

The results of this study suggest that the additional presence of restorative justice may negatively impact non-disabled girls of all kinds of ethnicities, which are startling findings for a study focused on eliminating inequities of all forms in education. These calculations serve as clear indications for additional research to comprehend how RJ policies can be adapted to best serve the needs of its participants in schools of all sizes or demographic compositions. Further evidence is necessary to comprehensively understand the relationships between RJ and the experiences of different student populations. This may involve adjusting programs to better address the unique experiences and challenges faced by girls and other marginalized students, as well as addressing any unintended consequences that may arise from the implementation of RJ.

To effectively combat the intersectional oppression faced by students of color with disabilities, it is essential to gather more quantitative data to unmask the challenges of their

unique experiences. Past studies have suggested that students with intersecting identities face more discrimination in life and are associated with more negative outcomes — more research is necessary to determine where resources are needed the most (Rudolph, 2023; Marcucci, 2020; Selman et al., 2019). Educational advocates can play a crucial role in investigating the impact of implicit biases on the disparate use of exclusionary and physical discipline on students of color and students with disabilities. By collecting sufficient data, it becomes possible for policymakers to widely adopt alternative frameworks that address these implicit biases at their root, such as transformative justice.

One of the greatest limitations of this study is the expansiveness of its observations. While bigger national studies hold more sway with political scientists and policymakers, their size tends to allow precise interpretations to fall through the cracks. Future researchers can learn from this study and conduct smaller, meticulous studies that can evaluate aspects of the schools that cannot be measured in comparative state-by-state studies. A more focused and in-depth qualitative approach to research can yield a more comprehensive understanding of the policies and issues at hand. By following this focused method, researchers can obtain results that can better inform their communities on how to address issues of inequity and work towards improved outcomes for all students.

VII. Conclusion

Discipline, in its original form, was designed as a vehicle for teaching. Yet, both anecdotal and empirical evidence suggest that it is often used as a means of punishment, especially against marginalized children (Selman et al., 2019; Mayer et al., 1999; Advancement Project, 2021). Moreover, these punishments are not effective at resolving misconduct such as absenteeism, defiance, and violence (Mallett, 2016; Heitzeg, 2014). To break free from the carceral nature of American institutions, school communities throughout the nation must adopt new systems based on harm reduction, healing, and anti-colonialism to better serve and lift up students that have been left vulnerable by the state. The results of this study confirm that merely reforming disciplinary policies is not enough to enact change in areas that have been saturated with centuries-long white supremacy, patriarchy, and institutional ableism. To echo the wisdom of Audre Lorde, “the master’s tools will never dismantle the master’s house.” (Lorde, 1984) It is beyond time to adopt new frameworks centered around compassion, inclusion, and transformative justice that holistically serve the needs of the youth.

VIII. Researcher's Note

Though the results of this study were different from what the hypothesis expected, they did shed light on the challenges that come with running a large study. In an effort to include a large portion of the population while analyzing a limited number of states, the study became too expansive to yield precise results, and the calculations were left with too much information, resulting in convoluted and indistinct coefficients. Nonetheless, the shortcomings of the study should pave the way for future researchers' success — small studies are better equipped to evaluate big effects. Future studies should focus on one district, or even just one school, and dissect the interpretation and implementations of disciplinary policies in that one location. This approach will expose weaknesses in generalized data analysis and call attention to effective or destructive policies.

IX. Acknowledgements

First, I would like to express my eternal gratitude to the incomparable Dr. Dionne Bensonsmith, whose guidance and instruction were the lifeblood of this project. Her enlightening scholarship taught me more about the world in a semester than I have learned throughout my entire college career. My experience with Prof. B was truly unforgettable, and I will always treasure the invaluable lessons I learned under their tutelage. I am filled with envy for future students that will be able to sit in their classroom and bask in the brilliance of their classroom, and I can only hope to, one day, sit in their class once more.

Next, I must extend my deepest appreciation to everyone who offered their unwavering support throughout this grueling journey. I would like to express my profound appreciation to an exceptional group of individuals whose warmth has truly made my last year at CMC my best one yet. Ayden, Kaia, Mary Jane, Willa, Meghna, Shay, Jessica, Adamaris, Bernice, and Nicole, your unwavering kindness, intellect, and fortitude have inspired me beyond words. I appreciate each of you so much!

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X. Appendices

Appendix A

Terms and Definitions

Carceral Justice: A framework of justice that is centered on the use of punishment and incarceration as a means of addressing social harms (Purdue University).

Corporal Punishment: A discipline method in which a supervising adult deliberately inflicts pain upon a child in response to a child's unacceptable behavior and/or inappropriate language (American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry).

(School) Discipline: Rules and strategies applied in school to manage student behavior and practices used to encourage self-discipline (National Center on Safe Supportive Learning Environments).

Equality: Universal resource distribution that does not take into account current and historical barriers.

Equity: A process and outcome of resources being distributed — in some cases, re-distributed — to communities and individuals in a way that ensures that everyone is getting the resources and support that they need with current and historical barriers taken into account.

Expulsion: Permanent removal or dismissal from a school.

IDEA: An acronym for the *Individuals with Disabilities Education Act*, which is a law that makes available a free appropriate public education to eligible children with disabilities throughout the nation and ensures special education and related services to those children. It is used to describe students with IDEA-specific disabilities (e.g. IDEA student) (IDEA).

Incarceration: The act of keeping someone in a closed place and preventing them from leaving it (e.g., prison).

In-School Suspension: Practices that involve temporarily removing the student from the classroom.

Limited English Proficiency: A description for people who do not speak English as their primary language and who have a limited ability to read, speak, write, or understand English.

Mechanical Restraint: The application of a device or object, which the person cannot remove, to the person's body that restricts the person's freedom of movement (Restraints Policy).

Non-Carceral Justice: A framework of justice that focuses on addressing the root causes of social issues and repairing, as well as reducing, harm, instead of relying on incarceration as the primary means of enforcing the law.

Out-of-School Suspension: Practices that involve temporarily removing the child from the school .

Physical Restraint: A personal restrict that immobilizes or reduces the ability of a pupil to move his or her torso, arms, legs, or head freely (with exceptions) (California Department of Education).

Punitive: Inflicting a punishment (Vocabulary.Com).

Recidivism: A relapse or return to a specific behavior, generally in a negative context. Criminal recidivism is a return to illegal behavior following release from prison. If an individual returns to criminal behavior and gets arrested or sent back to prison, theirs is considered a case of recidivism (Study.Com).

Rehabilitation: The process of assisting those who have engaged in problematic behavior to address the underlying causes of their behavior and develop the skills necessary to thrive.

Restorative Discipline: A prevention-oriented approach that fosters consensus-based decisions to resolve school conflict such as bullying, fighting, or disruptive behavior (ESC 20).

Restorative Justice: A way of addressing conflict and crime that enables the person who caused the harm, people who were affected by the harm, and the community to create a meaningful solution (Community Justice Initiatives).

Retributive Justice: Repair of justice through unilateral imposition of punishment.

School Administration: A person/group designated by the governing body of a school as ultimately responsible for the ordinary operations of a school (Law Insider).

School Resource Officer: A school resource officer is a sworn law-enforcement officer with arrest powers who works, either full or part time, in a school setting (EducationWeek).

Seclusion: The involuntary confinement of a pupil alone in a room or area from which the pupil is physically prevented from leaving.

Section 504: A civil rights law that requires districts to provide a “free appropriate public education” (FAPE) to each qualified person with a disability who is in the school district’s jurisdiction, regardless of the nature or severity of the person’s disability. It protects the rights of individuals with disabilities in programs and activities that receive federal financial assistance. Section 504 is used to describe students with Section 504-specific disabilities (e.g. Section 504 student) (Section 504).

Transformative Discipline: An approach to discipline that focuses on cultivating a positive and supportive school culture by addressing the root causes of student misbehavior and encouraging personal growth and development. It differs from restorative discipline in that it goes beyond repairing harm and seems to transform the underlying beliefs and systems that lead to misbehavior in the first place.

Transformative Justice: A way of addressing an individual act of harm that relies on community members instead of the police, the law, or the government (Tran, 2018).

Truancy: Any absence that is considered unexcused by the school (National Center for School Engagement).

“Willful Defiance”: A behavior that is perceived as openly challenging, disrespectful, or defiant towards authority figures, such as teachers, school administrators, or school resource officers.

Zero-Tolerance Policy: School discipline policies and practices that mandate predetermined consequences, typically severe, punitive and exclusionary (e.g., out-of-school suspension and expulsion), in response to specific types of student misbehavior — regardless of the context or rationale for the behavior (School Discipline Support Initiative).

Appendix B

Comparisons of State Disciplinary Policies

Table 1: State Comparison of Alternative Approaches to Discipline

State	Which non-punitive approaches, if any, are outlined as alternatives to suspension and/or expulsion?
Alaska	Non-punitive supports may include conflict resolution and mental health/substance use programs.
California	Alternatives to discipline may include community services, conferences, counselor referrals, study and guidance team plans, anger management/prosocial behavior programs, restorative justice, positive behavioral interventions and supports, and after school programs.
Florida	Schools are encouraged to use alternatives to expulsion by addressing behavior through restitution, civil citation, teen court, neighborhood restorative justice or similar programs.
Georgia	Local boards of education are encouraged to implement response-to-intervention and positive behavioral interventions and supports in their schools and the State Board of Education is authorized to provide funds to support those programs. Multi-tiered systems of support and response-to-intervention programs are required for students in prekindergarten through grade 3.
Illinois	School officials shall limit the number and duration of expulsions and suspensions to the greatest extent practicable, and it is recommended that they use them only for legitimate educational purposes. To ensure that students are not excluded from school unnecessarily, it is recommended that school officials consider forms of non-exclusionary discipline prior to using out-of-school suspensions or expulsions.
New York	Not specified in statute or regulation.
Pennsylvania	Not specified in statute or regulation.
Texas	Districts may develop positive behavior programs that provide alternatives to discipline for students below grade 3. The programs may include: positive behavioral intervention and support, trauma-informed practices, social-emotional learning, restorative practices and a referral for services as necessary.

Questions and responses pulled from J. Wilkins' 2021 report "50-State Comparison: School Discipline Policies." Information was gathered from state statutes and regulations only.

Table 2: State Comparison of Punitive Discipline Limitations

State	What limitations are placed on the use of suspension and/or expulsion?
Alaska	Not specified in statute or regulation.

State	What limitations are placed on the use of suspension and/or expulsion?
California	<p>Grade level: Students in K-3 may not be suspended.</p> <p>Length: The total number of days for which a pupil may be suspended from school shall not exceed 20 cumulative school days in a school year, with exceptions. Students may not be kept in school for more than one hour after the end of the school day. Students may not be kept from lunch or recess.</p> <p>Violation type: Non-punitive approaches are required for truancy/absenteeism.</p>
Florida	<p>Violation type: No student shall be suspended for unexcused tardiness, lateness, absence, truancy, or membership in a fraternity, sorority, or secret society.</p>
Georgia	<p>Grade level: No student in public preschool through third grade shall be expelled or suspended from school for more than five consecutive or cumulative days during a school year without first receiving a multi-tiered system of supports, such as response to intervention, unless such student possessed a weapon, illegal drugs, or other dangerous instruments or such student's behavior endangers the physical safety of other students or school personnel.</p>
Illinois	<p>Length: Expulsions may not exceed two calendar years.</p> <p>Violation type: No punitive action, including out-of-school suspensions, expulsions or court action, shall be taken against truant minors for such truancy unless appropriate and available supportive services have been provided to the student.</p>
New York	<p>Length: Short-term suspensions may not exceed 5 school days.</p>
Pennsylvania	<p>Not specified in statute or regulation.</p>
Texas	<p>Grade level: Students below grade 3, and students who are younger than 10 years old, may not be placed in out-of-school suspension, with exceptions.</p> <p>Length: Code of conduct violation suspensions may not exceed 3 days.</p> <p>Student characteristic: Students experiencing homelessness may not be placed in out-of-school suspension, with exceptions.</p> <p>Violation type: Consideration must be given to a number of factors, including if the student involved is experiencing homelessness, and if a student acted in self-defense.</p>

Questions and responses pulled from J. Wilkins' 2021 report "50-State Comparison: School Discipline Policies." Information was gathered from state statutes and regulations only.

Table 3: State Comparison of Prohibited Behaviors by the School District

State	What may a student be suspended or expelled for?
Alaska	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bullying • Conviction of felony • Defiant or disruptive behavior • Harassment • Intimidation • Physical harm or threat of physical harm
California	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bullying • Controlled substance possession/sale/use • Defiant or disruptive behavior • Firearm/weapon possession/sale • Harassment • Hazing • Hate violence • Intimidation • Physical harm or threat of physical harm • Profanity/vulgarity • Sexual assault • Sexual harassment • Theft/Robbery • Threat to educational institution • Vandalism
Florida	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Controlled substance possession/sale/use • Defiant or disruptive behavior • Dress code violation • Physical harm or threat of physical harm • Firearm/weapon possession • Inappropriate use of technology • Sexual harassment • Violation of transportation policy
Georgia	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Assault
Illinois	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Threat to educational institution
New York	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Behavior detrimental to morals or welfare of others • Defiant or disruptive behavior • Physical harm or threat of physical harm
Pennsylvania	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Defiant or disruptive behavior

State	What may a student be suspended or expelled for?
Texas	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Assault• Bullying• Certain criminal offenses• Controlled substance possession/sale/use• Defiant or disruptive behavior• Firearm/weapon possession• Harassment• Inappropriate use of technology• Public indecency• Robbery• Threatening behavior

Questions and responses pulled from J. Wilkins’ 2021 report “50-State Comparison: School Discipline Policies.” Information was gathered from state statutes and regulations only.

*Appendix C***State Profiles****Table 4: School Districts Studied (by State)**

Alaska	California	Florida	Georgia
Anchorage School District	Corona-Norco Unified School District	Broward County Public Schools	Atlanta Public Schools
Fairbanks North Star Borough School District	Elk Grove Unified School District	Duval County Public Schools	Clayton County Schools
Galena City School District	Fresno Unified School District	Hillsborough County Public Schools	Cobb County Schools
Juneau Borough School District	Long Beach Unified School District	Miami-Dade County Public Schools	Dekalb County Schools
Kenai Peninsula Borough School District	Los Angeles Unified School District	Orange County Public Schools	Forsyth County Schools
Matanuska-Susitna Borough School District	San Diego Unified School District	Palm Beach County School District	Fulton County Schools
Yukon-Koyukuk School District	San Francisco Unified School District	Polk County Public Schools	Gwinnett County Public Schools

Table 4: School Districts Studied, contd. (by State)

Illinois	New York	Pennsylvania	Texas
Chicago Public Schools	NYC Geographic District #2	Allentown City School District	Cypress-Fairbanks Independent School District
Community Unit School District No. 300	NYC Geographic District #10	Bethlehem Area School District	Dallas Independent School District
Indian Prairie Community Unit School District No. 204	NYC Geographic District #20	Central Bucks School District	Fort Bend Independent School District
Oswego Community Unit School District No. 308	NYC Geographic District #24	Downington Area School District	Fort Worth Independent School District
Plainfield School District No. 202	NYC Geographic District #27	Philadelphia City School District	Houston Independent School District
Rockford School District No. 205	NYC Geographic District #28	Pittsburgh Public Schools	Katy Independent School District

Illinois	New York	Pennsylvania	Texas
School District U-46	NYC Geographic District #31	Reading School District	Northside Independent School District

Table 5: Restorative Justice Scores (by School District)

State	School District	Restorative Justice Score
Alaska	Anchorage School District	3
Alaska	Fairbanks North Star Borough School District	0
Alaska	Galena City School District	0
Alaska	Juneau Borough School District	4.5
Alaska	Kenai Peninsula Borough School District	4.5
Alaska	Matanuska-Susitna Borough School District	0
Alaska	Yukon-Koyukuk School District	0
California	Corona-Norco Unified School District	0
California	Elk Grove Unified School District	3
California	Fresno Unified School District	4.25
California	Long Beach Unified School District	4.75
California	Los Angeles Unified School District	5.5
California	San Diego Unified School District	5.5
California	San Francisco Unified School District	5
Florida	Broward County Public Schools	4.5
Florida	Duval County Public Schools	5
Florida	Hillsborough County Public Schools	3.25
Florida	Miami-Dade County Public Schools	5
Florida	Orange County Public Schools	5.5
Florida	Palm Beach County School District	4
Florida	Polk County Public Schools	0
Georgia	Atlanta Public Schools	3
Georgia	Clayton County Schools	3.25

State	School District	Restorative Justice Score
Georgia	Cobb County Schools	0
Georgia	Dekalb County Schools	0
Georgia	Forsyth County Schools	0
Georgia	Fulton County Schools	0
Georgia	Gwinnett County Public Schools	4.5
Illinois	Chicago Public Schools	3.75
Illinois	Community Unit School District No. 300	0
Illinois	Indian Prairie Community Unit School District No. 204	0
Illinois	Oswego Community Unit School District No. 308	3.75
Illinois	Plainfield School District No. 202	3
Illinois	Rockford School District No. 205	0
Illinois	School District U-46	4
New York	NYC Geographic District #2	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #10	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #20	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #24	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #27	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #28	3
New York	NYC Geographic District #31	3
Pennsylvania	Allentown City School District	0
Pennsylvania	Bethlehem Area School District	4
Pennsylvania	Central Bucks School District	0
Pennsylvania	Downington Area School District	0
Pennsylvania	Philadelphia City School District	5
Pennsylvania	Pittsburgh Public Schools	4
Pennsylvania	Reading School District	3

State	School District	Restorative Justice Score
Texas	Cypress-Fairbanks Independent School District	0
Texas	Dallas Independent School District	0
Texas	Fort Bend Independent School District	0
Texas	Fort Worth Independent School District	2.25
Texas	Houston Independent School District	0
Texas	Katy Independent School District	4.5
Texas	Northside Independent School District	4

Appendix D

OLS Regression Results

Table 6: Restorative Justice on Expulsions with Educational Services

Restorative Justice	Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Hispanic Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	0.331 (0.529)	1.340 (1.127)
Hispanic Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	-0.768 (0.651)	-0.951 (0.922)
American Indian/Alaska Native Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	0.0393 (0.774)	—
American Indian/Alaska Native Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	—	—
Asian Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	0.629 (0.575)	1.709 (1.245)
Asian Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	-0.352 (0.741)	—
Native Hawaiian Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	—	0.781 (2.129)
Native Hawaiian Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	0.643 (1.070)	—
Black Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	0.297 (0.527)	1.434 (1.118)
Black Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	-0.723 (0.651)	-0.993 (0.924)
White Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	0.196 (0.528)	1.039 (1.126)
White Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	-0.746 (0.660)	-0.626 (1.008)
Two or More Race Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	0.412 (0.557)	1.556 (1.167)
Two or More Race Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	-1.689** (0.705)	-0.274 (1.430)
Total Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	-0.257 (0.526)	-1.231 (1.115)

Restorative Justice	Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Total Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	0.840 (0.651)	0.868 (0.906)
LEP Male Students Expelled with Educational Services	-0.115 (0.0979)	0.0800 (0.0922)
LEP Female Students Expelled with Educational Services	-0.0852 (0.201)	0.155 (0.191)
State Governor Party	0.895*** (0.120)	0.873*** (0.119)
State Commissioner of Education Party	-2.401*** (0.123)	-2.368*** (0.123)
Total School Personnel Salary Expenses	-6.04e-07*** (4.61e-08)	-6.17e-07*** (4.63e-08)
Total School Teacher Salary Expenses	3.55e-07*** (3.55e-08)	3.76e-07*** (3.55e-08)
Total School Non-Personnel Salary Expenses	9.71e-09 (8.82e-09)	1.35e-08 (8.88e-09)
Intercept	4.734*** (0.0534)	4.704*** 0.5033

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 7: Restorative Justice on Expulsions without Educational Services

Restorative Justice	Expulsions without Educational Services for Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Expulsions without Educational Services for Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Hispanic Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	-1.371 (1.531)	-0.120 (3.178)
Hispanic Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	-1.730 (1.538)	—
American Indian/Alaska Native Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	-1.280 (2.521)	—
American Indian/Alaska Native Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	-3.139 (2.362)	—
Asian Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	-2.337 (1.826)	—

Restorative Justice	Expulsions without Educational Services for Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Expulsions without Educational Services for Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Asian Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	—	—
Native Hawaiian Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	—	—
Native Hawaiian Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	—	—
Black Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	-1.809 (1.506)	0.229 (3.203)
Black Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	-0.622 (1.508)	-1.290 (1.972)
White Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	-2.010 (1.515)	-1.102 (3.186)
White Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	-1.681 (1.567)	-3.844 (2.556)
Two or More Race Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	-1.487 (1.563)	0.0556 (3.288)
Two or More Race Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	-0.699 (1.729)	—
Total Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	1.742 (1.508)	-1.169 (3.177)
Total Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	0.584 (1.505)	1.164 (1.807)
LEP Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	-1.038** (0.505)	1.053 (0.986)
LEP Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	-0.622 (0.605)	1.178 (2.753)
Section 504 Male Students Expelled without Educational Services	—	0.371 (0.375)
Section 504 Female Students Expelled without Educational Services	—	1.805 (1.849)
State Governor Party	0.847*** (0.118)	0.867*** (0.118)

Restorative Justice	Expulsions without Educational Services for Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Expulsions without Educational Services for Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
State Commissioner of Education Party	-2.313*** (0.122)	-2.327*** (0.122)
Total School Personnel Salary Expenses	-6.04e-07*** (4.61e-08)	-6.01e-07*** (4.60e-08)
Total School Teacher Salary Expenses	3.80e-07*** (3.54e-08)	3.78e-07*** (4.60e-08)
Total School Non-Personnel Salary Expenses	1.75e-08** (8.76e-09)	1.83e-08** (8.88e-09)
Intercept	4.653*** (0.0526)	4.649*** (0.0526)

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 8: Restorative Justice on Expulsions under Zero-Tolerance Policies

Restorative Justice	Expulsions under Zero-Tolerance Policies for Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Expulsions under Zero-Tolerance Policies for Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Hispanic Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-0.393 (0.684)	0.375 (1.898)
Hispanic Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-0.139 (0.894)	—
American Indian/Alaska Native Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	—	—
American Indian/Alaska Native Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	—	—
Asian Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	—	—
Asian Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	—	—
Native Hawaiian Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-3.527* (1.949)	—
Native Hawaiian Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	—	—

Restorative Justice	Expulsions under Zero-Tolerance Policies for Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Expulsions under Zero-Tolerance Policies for Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Black Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-0.711 (0.674)	0.153 (1.839)
Black Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-0.494 (0.834)	0.624 (1.489)
White Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-0.725 (0.666)	-0.925 (1.867)
White Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	—	1.566 (1.180)
Two or More Race Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-0.402 (0.762)	-0.215 (2.603)
Two or More Race Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-2.787* (1.475)	—
Total Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	0.440 (0.643)	-0.482 (1.809)
Total Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	0.384 (0.792)	-0.163 (0.810)
LEP Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-1.653*** (0.466)	-1.113 (1.094)
LEP Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	-2.117** (0.877)	—
Section 504 Male Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	—	-1.452*** (0.491)
Section 504 Female Students Expelled under Zero-Tolerance Policies	—	0.459 (1.809)
State Governor Party	0.880*** (0.117)	0.874*** (0.118)
State Commissioner of Education Party	-2.336*** (0.121)	-2.335*** (0.122)
Total School Personnel Salary Expenses	-5.88e-07*** (4.61e-08)	-5.98e-07*** (4.61e-08)
Total School Teacher Salary Expenses	3.69e-07*** (3.55e-08)	3.74e-07*** 3.54e-08
Total School Non-Personnel Salary Expenses	1.86e-08*** (8.68e-09)	1.86e-08** (8.69e-09)

Restorative Justice	Expulsions under Zero-Tolerance Policies for Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Expulsions under Zero-Tolerance Policies for Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Intercept	4.649*** (0.0525)	4.654*** (0.0525)

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 9: Restorative Justice on 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions

Restorative Justice	Suspensions for Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Suspensions for IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Hispanic Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	0.0568 (0.0899)	0.273*** (0.0978)
Hispanic Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.274 (0.188)	-0.0215 (0.243)
American Indian/Alaska Native Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	—	0.575*** (0.117)
American Indian/Alaska Native Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.476 (0.293)	-0.163 (0.267)
Asian Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	0.202* (0.119)	0.412** (0.187)
Asian Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	—	0.434 (0.444)
Native Hawaiian Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	0.317* (0.152)	0.711*** (0.273)
Native Hawaiian Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.0356 (0.321)	0.608 (0.943)
Black Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	0.0398 (0.0897)	0.235** (0.0919)
Black Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.298 (0.186)	-0.165 (0.229)
White Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.0197 (0.0924)	0.143 (0.0954)
White Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.280 (0.191)	-0.151 (0.242)

Restorative Justice	Suspensions for Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Suspensions for IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Two or More Race Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	0.0704 (0.104)	0.441*** (0.0925)
Two or More Race Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.295 (0.197)	0.000646 (0.219)
Total Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.0663 (0.0893)	-0.259*** (0.0908)
Total Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	0.314* (0.186)	0.166 (0.227)
LEP Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.0743*** (0.0227)	-0.174*** (0.0358)
LEP Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	-0.0565 (0.0446)	-0.0675 (0.0946)
Section 504 Male Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	—	-0.0776*** (0.0223)
Section 504 Female Students Given 2 or More Out-of-School Suspensions	—	-0.125** (0.0513)
State Governor Party	0.911*** (0.125)	1.019*** (0.124)
State Commissioner of Education Party	-2.255*** (0.128)	-2.362*** (0.127)
Total School Personnel Salary Expenses	-5.85e-07*** (4.62e-08)	-8.00e-07*** (5.30e-08)
Total School Teacher Salary Expenses	3.86e-07*** (3.53e-08)	5.47e-07*** (4.06e-08)
Total School Non-Personnel Salary Expenses	2.03e-08** (8.62e-09)	1.94e-08** (8.58e-09)
Intercept	4.573*** (0.0521)	4.597*** (0.0524)

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 10: Restorative Justice on Subjections to Mechanical Restraint

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students without Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint	Non-IDEA Students with Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint	IDEA Students with Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint
Hispanic Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	0 (0)	—	-1.088 (1.550)
Hispanic Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	0 (0)	—	-5.461 (4.285)
American Indian/Alaska Native Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	-1 (0)	—	—
American Indian/Alaska Native Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	—	—
Asian Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	-1 (0)	—	—
Asian Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	—	—
Native Hawaiian Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	—	—
Native Hawaiian Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	—	—
Black Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	-1 (0)	—	-2.727* (1.549)
Black Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	0 (0)	—	-5.612* (2.930)
White Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	-1 (0)	—	-1.469 (1.792)

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students <u>without</u> Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint	Non-IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint	IDEA Students with Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint
White Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	0 (0)	—	-4.566 (3.220)
Two or More Race Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	-1 (0)	—	—
Two or More Race Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	0 (0)	—	—
Total Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	1 (0)	—	1.615 (1.535)
Total Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	-0 (0)	—	3.748 (2.828)
LEP Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	0 (0)	—	-1.909** (0.938)
LEP Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	0 (0)	—	-0.829 (2.172)
Section 504 Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-1.798*** (0.675)	—
Section 504 Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-0.785 (1.162)	—
State Governor Party	-0 (0)	0.848*** (0.121)	0.818*** (0.121)
State Commissioner of Education Party	0 (0)	-2.379*** (0.126)	-2.661*** (0.126)
Total School Personnel Salary Expenses	0 (0)	-6.27e-07*** (4.86e-08)	-6.69e-07*** (4.89e-08)
Total School Teacher Salary Expenses	0 (0)	4.02e-07*** (3.75e-08)	4.53e-07*** (3.80e-08)

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students <u>without</u> Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint	Non-IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint	IDEA Students with Disabilities Subjected to Mech. Restraint
Total School Non-Personnel Salary Expenses	-0 (0)	1.95e-08** (8.95e-09)	1.71e-08* (8.92e-09)
Intercept	-0 (0)	4.683*** (0.0579)	4.927*** (0.0581)

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 11: Restorative Justice on Subjections to Physical Restraint

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students <u>without</u> Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint	Non-IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint	IDEA Students with Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint
Hispanic Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	0.399 (0.634)		0.387 (0.266)
Hispanic Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.367** (1.087)		1.135 (0.821)
American Indian/Alaska Native Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—		0.348 (0.362)
American Indian/Alaska Native Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—		—
Asian Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	0.0901 (0.839)		—
Asian Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	3.903** (1.804)		2.098* (1.071)
Native Hawaiian Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	1.922 (1.989)		0.393 (1.727)

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students <u>without</u> Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint	Non-IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint	IDEA Students with Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint
Native Hawaiian Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—		—
Black Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-0.114 (0.637)		0.409 (0.265)
Black Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.148** (1.079)	—	0.816 (0.813)
White Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-0.0178 (0.646)	—	0.270 (2.71)
White Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.385** (1.159)	—	0.796 (0.827)
Two or More Race Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-0.227 (0.720)	—	0.768*** (0.290)
Two or More Race Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	1.532 (1.217)	—	0.928 (0.998)
Total Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-0.313 (0.629)	—	-0.410 (0.259)
Total Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-2.164** (1.072)	—	-0.824 (0.808)
LEP Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-0.310 (0.285)	—	0.0420 (0.136)
LEP Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-0.670 (0.463)	—	-0.856** (0.380)
Section 504 Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	-0.483** (0.225)	—

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students <u>without</u> Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint	Non-IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint	IDEA Students with Disabilities Subjected to Phys. Restraint
Section 504 Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	0.709* (0.408)	—
State Governor Party	0.813*** (0.123)	0.878*** (0.120)	0.885*** (0.121)
State Commissioner of Education Party	-2.229*** (0.128)	-2.322*** (0.125)	-2.373*** (0.125)
Total School Personnel Salary Expenses	-6.10e-07*** (4.86e-08)	-6.06e-07*** (4.80e-08)	-6.25e-07*** (4.82e-08)
Total School Teacher Salary Expenses	3.82e-07*** (3.71e-08)	3.78e-07*** (3.68e-08)	3.93e-07*** (3.71e-08)
Total School Non-Personnel Salary Expenses	1.30e-08 (9.21e-09)	2.00e-08** (8.90e-09)	1.91e-08** (8.81e-09)
Intercept	4.636*** (0.0571)	4.638*** (0.0563)	4.690*** (0.0537)

Standard errors in parentheses

*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 12: Restorative Justice on Subjections to Seclusion

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students <u>without</u> Disabilities Subjected to Seclusion	IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities Subjected to Seclusion
Hispanic Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.231 (2.551)	-3.492 (2.728)
Hispanic Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.585** (1.781)	—
American Indian/Alaska Native Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.386 (3.974)	-4.146 (3.064)
American Indian/Alaska Native Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	—	-2.207 (1.892)
Asian Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	1.068 (3.562)	—

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students <u>without</u> Disabilities Subjected to Seclusion	IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities Subjected to Seclusion
Asian Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	—	—
Native Hawaiian Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	—	-3.198 (2.553)
Native Hawaiian Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	—	—
Black Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.157 (2.556)	-3.184 (2.867)
Black Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.505** (1.560)	-2.008 (1.823)
White Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	2.308 (2.605)	-3.910 (2.871)
White Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	1.513 (1.632)	-2.149 (1.803)
Two or More Race Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	1.727 (2.586)	-2.800 (2.864)
Two or More Race Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	1.456 (1.778)	-4.990* (2.772)
Total Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	-2.589 (2.527)	3.595 (2.856)
Total Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	-2.230* (1.268)	1.609 (1.750)
LEP Male Students Subjected to Seclusion	1.569 (1.473)	0.406 (0.597)
LEP Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	-0.273 (2.427)	-0.772 (2.474)
State Governor Party	0.998*** (0.118)	1.035*** (0.118)
State Commissioner of Education Party	-2.229*** (0.123)	-2.324*** (0.121)
Total School Personnel Salary Expenses	-7.88e-07*** (5.64e-08)	-5.06e-07*** (4.58e-08)
Total School Teacher Salary Expenses	5.18e-07*** (4.31e-08)	3.03e-07*** (3.50e-08)
Total School Non-Personnel Salary Expenses	1.27e-08 (8.52e-09)	1.20e-08 (8.43e-09)

Restorative Justice	Non-IDEA Students <u>without</u> Disabilities Subjected to Seclusion	IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities Subjected to Seclusion
Intercept	4.598*** (0.0550)	4.712*** (0.0519)

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 13: Restorative Justice on Instances of Mech. Restraint, Phys. Restraint, and Seclusion

Restorative Justice	Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Section 504 Students <u>with</u> Disabilities	IDEA Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Instances of Mechanical Restraint	-0.196*** (0.0503)	-0.271 (0.577)	0.00468 (0.0110)
Instances of Physical Restraint	-0.0514*** (0.0132)	0.185*** (0.0387)	-0.00104 (0.00203)
Instances of Seclusion	-0.0367 (0.0341)	0.0375 (0.464)	0.00145 (0.00260)
State Governor Party	0.812*** (0.123)	0.826*** (0.121)	1.095*** (0.118)
State Commissioner of Education Party	-2.625*** (0.129)	-2.263*** (0.126)	-2.319*** (0.123)
Total School Personnel Salary Expenses	-6.63e-07*** (5.02e-08)	-6.13e-07*** (4.82e-08)	-5.13e-07*** (4.65e-08)
Total School Teacher Salary Expenses	4.53e-07*** (3.89e-08)	3.82e-07*** (3.70e-08)	3.08e-07*** (3.56e-08)
Total School Non-Personnel Salary Expenses	1.73e-08* (9.08e-09)	1.79e-08** (9.11e-09)	1.24e-08 (8.56e-09)
Intercept	4.885*** (0.0622)	4.645*** (0.068)	4.652*** (0.0549)

Standard errors in parentheses
 *** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Table 14: Statistically Significant Coefficients for RJ Score

Restorative Justice	Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
LEP Male Students Expelled <u>without</u> Educational Services	-1.038** (0.505)	—

Restorative Justice	Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Non-IDEA Section 504 Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-1.798*** (0.675)
IDEA Black Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-2.727* (1.549)
IDEA Black Female Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-5.612* (2.930)
IDEA LEP Male Students Subjected to Mech. Restraint	—	-1.909** (0.938)
Non-IDEA Hispanic Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.367** (1.087)	—
Non-IDEA Asian Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	3.903** (1.804)	—
Non-IDEA Black Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.148** (1.079)	—
Non-IDEA White Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	2.385** (1.159)	—
Non-IDEA Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	-2.164** (1.072)	—
Non-IDEA Section 504 Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	-0.483** (0.225)
Non-IDEA Section 504 Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	0.709* (0.408)
IDEA Asian Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	2.098* (1.071)
IDEA Two or More Race Male Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	0.768*** (0.290)
IDEA LEP Female Students Subjected to Phys. Restraint	—	-0.856** (0.380)
IDEA Two or More Race Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	—	-4.990* (2.772)
Non-IDEA Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	-2.230* (1.268)	—
Non-IDEA Hispanic Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.585** (1.781)	—

Restorative Justice	Students <u>without</u> Disabilities	Students <u>with</u> Disabilities
Non-IDEA Black Female Students Subjected to Seclusion	3.505** (1.560)	—

Standard errors in parentheses
*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1

Figure 2: Regression Scatterplot of RJ Score on Instances of Mechanical Restraint for non-IDEA Students

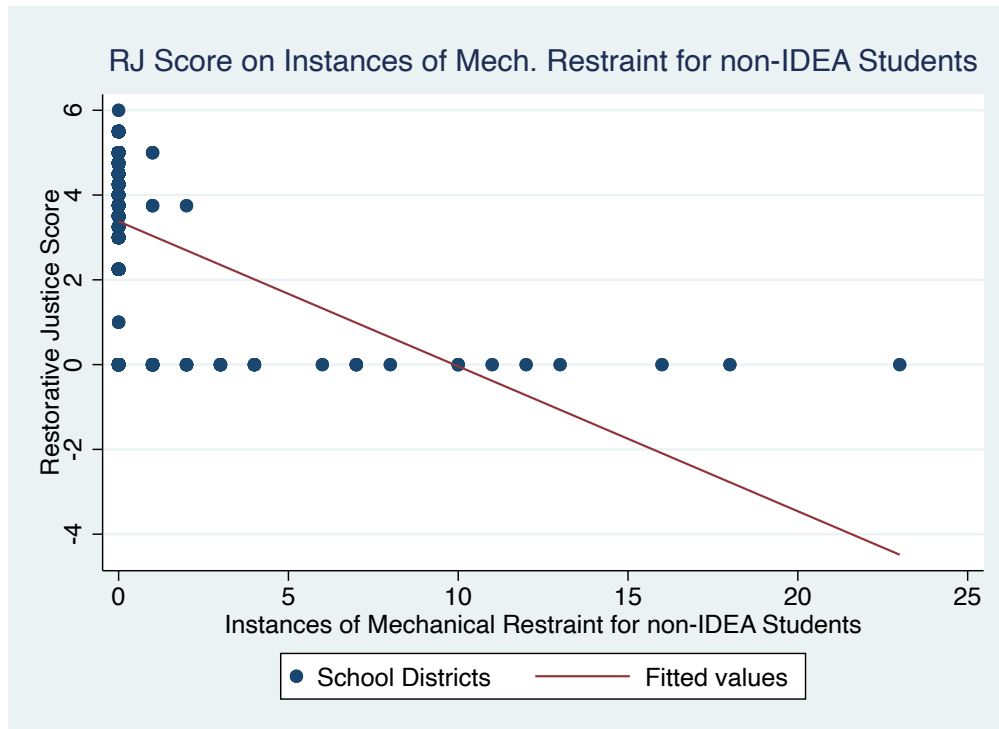


Figure 3: Regression Scatterplot of RJ Score on Instances of Physical Restraint for IDEA Students

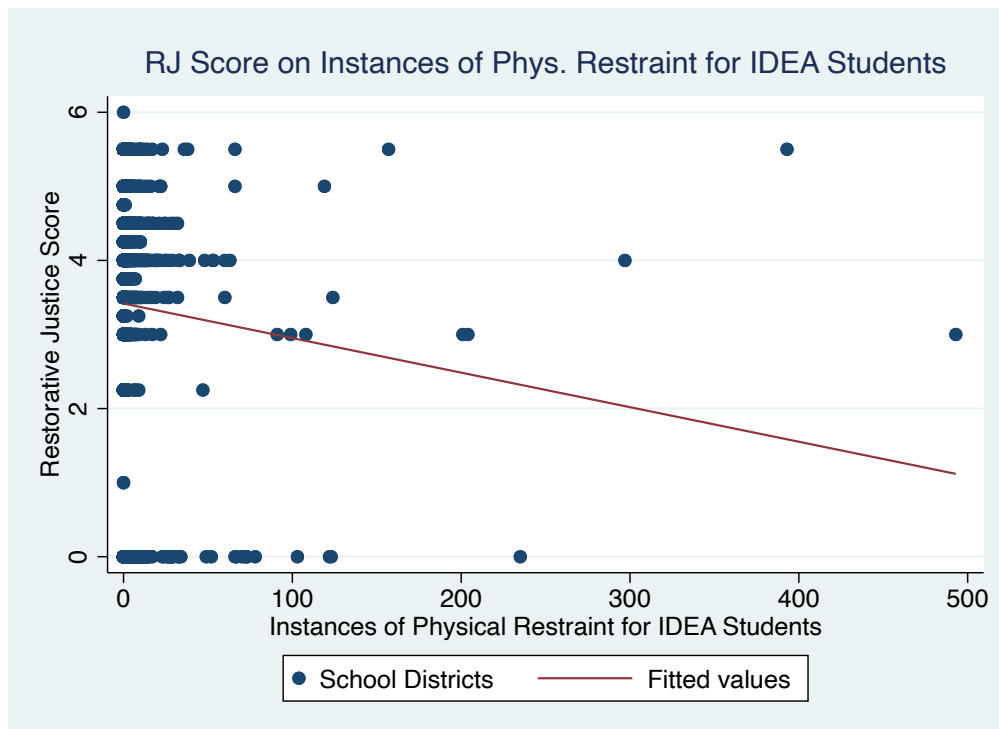


Figure 4: Regression Scatterplot of RJ Score on Instances of Physical Restraint for non-IDEA Students

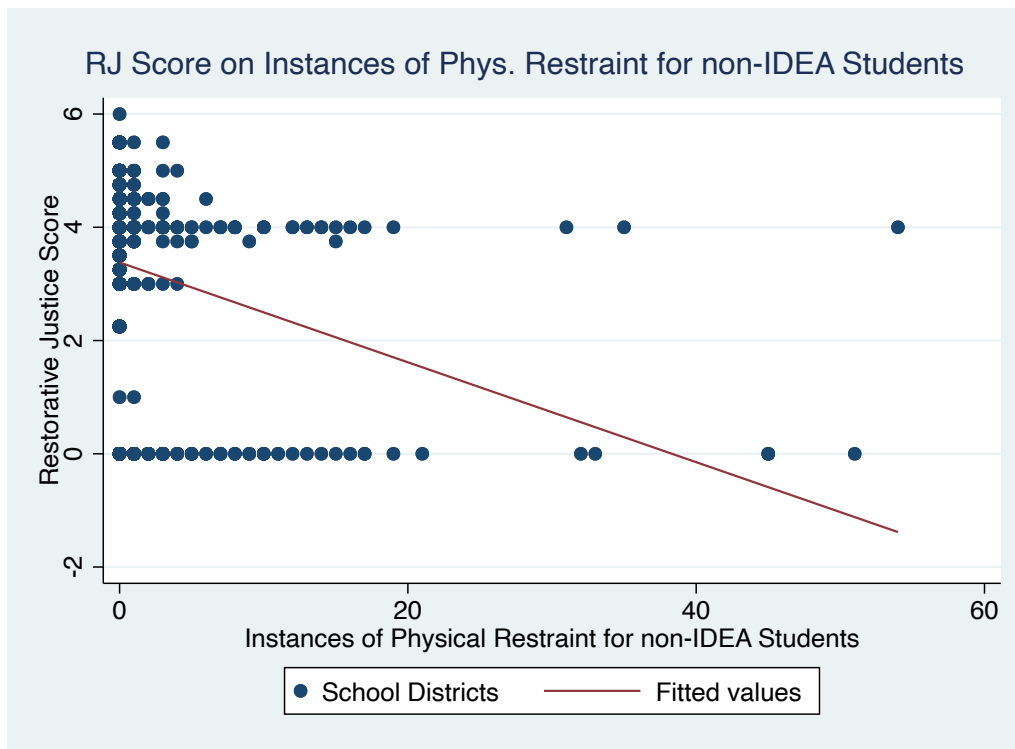


Figure 5: Regression Scatterplot of RJ Score on Instances of Seclusion for IDEA Students

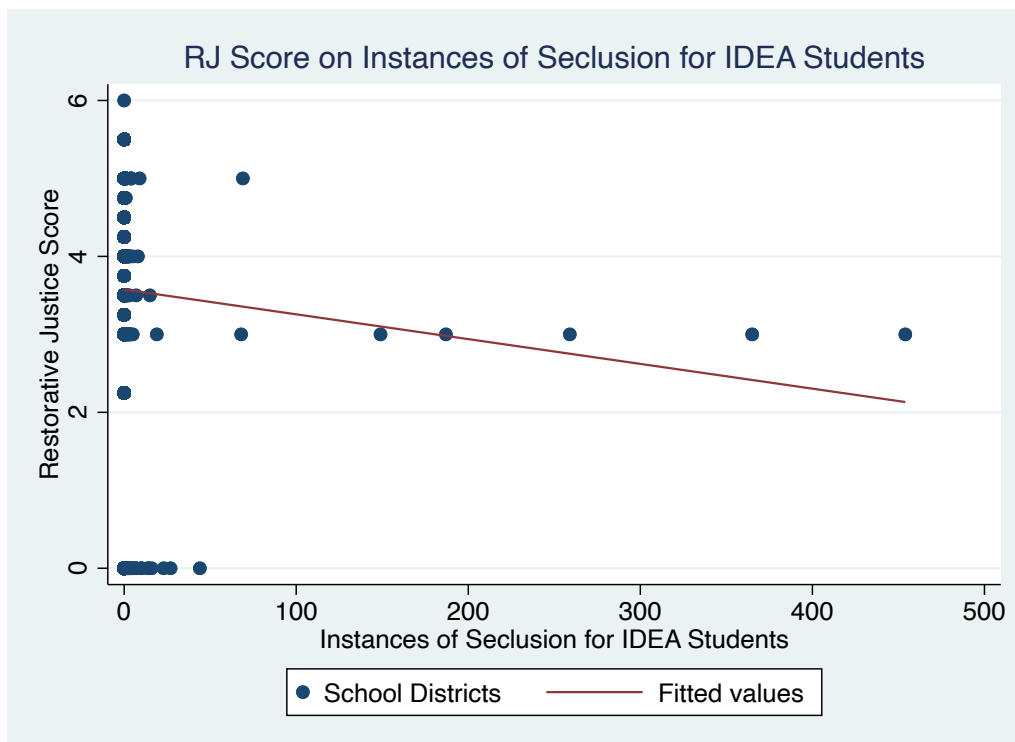
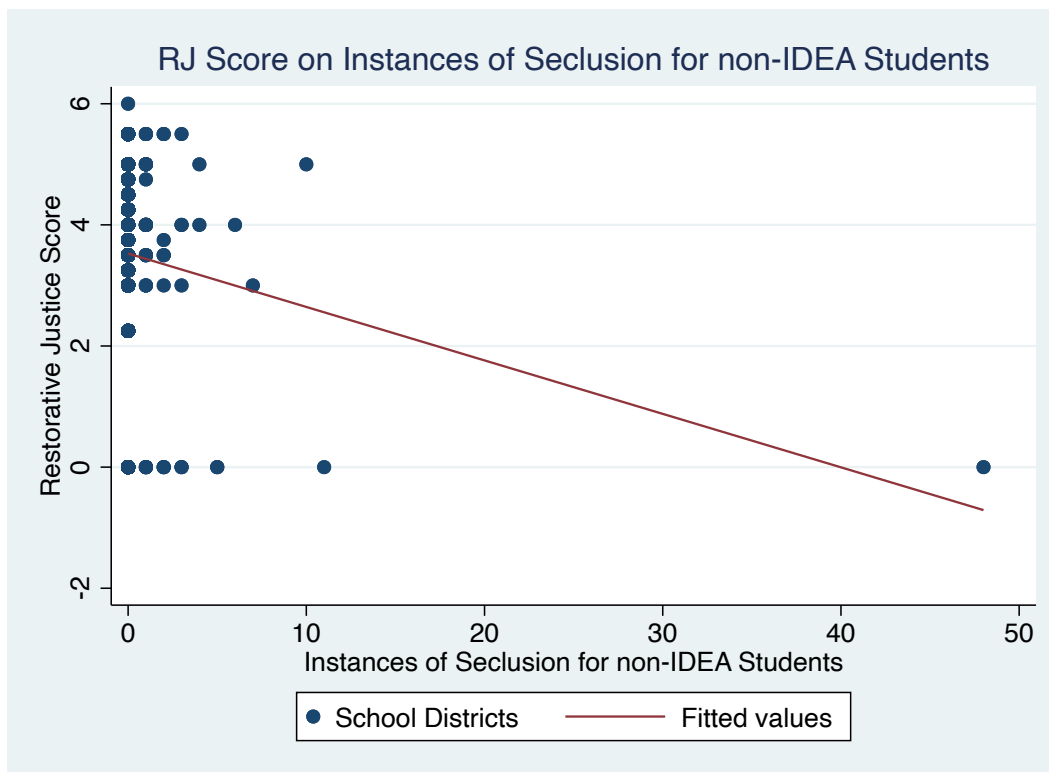


Figure 6: Regression Scatterplot of RJ Score on Instances of Seclusion for non-IDEA Students



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