

ZERO TOLERANCE AND EXCLUSIONARY DISCIPLINE

2012



Council for
Children's
Rights

Peer Reviewed Literature

Citation	Source	Summary	Recommendations
<p>American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations. <i>The American psychologist</i>, 63(9), 852-62.</p>	<p>The American Psychological Association (APA) commissioned the Zero Tolerance Task Force to examine the evidence concerning the effects of zero tolerance policies and offer recommendations to improve zero tolerance policies and viable alternatives.</p>	<p>The APA task force found that zero tolerance policies do not increase consistency of school discipline, that removal of students who violate school rules is negatively associated with school climate and academic achievement, and that those who have been suspended are more likely to be suspended again. Students of color and students with disabilities, especially those with emotional and behavioral disorders, are consistently overrepresented in suspension and expulsion data. Evidence shows that they are disciplined more severely for less serious or more subjective reasons. Zero tolerance may also be a developmentally inappropriate response to adolescent behavior resulting from developmental and neurological immaturity. The increase in referrals to the juvenile justice system as a result of zero tolerance has created what is known as “the school-to-prison pipeline” in which infractions previously handled by schools are being handed over to the juvenile justice system. Though little research on the impact of zero tolerance on students, families, and communities, has been conducted, concern has been raised regarding possible negative mental health outcomes for youth and cost effectiveness. The task force highlights three alternatives to zero tolerance policies: bullying prevention, threat assessment, and restorative justice.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Reforming Zero Tolerance: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Practice: apply zero tolerance policies with more flexibility, teachers should be first to contact parents about infractions, carefully define infractions and train staff, evaluate all school discipline strategies b. Policy: remove students only for the most severe behaviors, use a graduated system of discipline, require school police officers to have training in adolescent development. c. Research: study outcomes for students suspended or expelled, expand research on school-to-prison pipeline, examine impact on minorities, examine costs and benefits. 2. Alternatives to Zero Tolerance: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> a. Practice: improve sense of school community and belonging, seek to reconnect alienated youth to school, utilize threat assessment procedures, develop effective alternatives for students whose behaviors threaten school safety, improve system coordination (i.e., wraparound care). b. Policy: legislative initiatives to increase disciplinary alternatives, training in culturally responsive behavior management and instruction for teachers. c. Research: compare outcomes for programs with and without zero tolerance policies, increase attention to scaling up evidence based alternatives, research effects on families and children’s long term functioning.
<p>Arcia, E. (2006). Achievement and enrollment status of suspended students: Outcomes in a large, multicultural school district. <i>Education and Urban Society</i>, 38(3), 359-369.</p>	<p>Education and Urban Society: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This article presents the results of longitudinal analyses of suspensions, achievement, and long-term enrollment status of students in a large, urban school district. The pre- and post suspension reading achievements of suspended students were compared to those of a comparison group matched on grade, gender, race, participation in the free/reduced lunch program, and limited English proficiency. Findings indicate that suspension rates increase sharply in 6th grade. When compared to a similar group of non-suspended students, suspended students had lower achievement to start with; students with more days of suspension in the 3 years tracked started out with lower academic achievement scores. The</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Identify specific reasons for suspensions and how these can be prevented. 2. Reward positive behavior instead of punishing negative behavior. 3. Improve classroom management skills of teachers. 4. Address academic deficits early on.

		same results were found for year 3. Additionally, students with more days suspended made smaller gains on measures of academic achievement. The percentage of students who dropped out also increased substantially with increases in suspension.	
Boyd, T. (2009). Confronting racial disparity: Legislative responses to the school-to-prison pipeline. <i>Harv. CR-CLL Rev.</i> 44, 571-580.	<i>Harv. CR-CLL Rev.</i> : peer reviewed journal	Zero tolerance policies push students out of school and into the juvenile justice system. Students affected are disproportionately students of color. Authors examined 2 legislative measures relating to school discipline. The Gang Abatement and Prevention Act (GAPA) of 2007 is a “tough on crime” approach that broadens the definition of “gang activity” and proposes tougher consequences for gang related crimes. Critics state that it fails to get at the root cause of gang activity through prevention and that it marginalizes minority youth, much like school zero tolerance policies. The Youth Promise Act (YPA) of 2007 offers an alternative to GAPA and “provide for evidence-based and promising practices related to juvenile delinquency and criminal street gang activity prevention and intervention to help build individual, family, and community strength and resiliency to ensure that youth lead productive, safe, healthy, gang-free, and law-abiding lives.”	NA
Bradshaw, C. P., Mitchell, M. M., O’Brennan, L. M., & Leaf, P. J. (2010). Multilevel exploration of factors contributing to the overrepresentation of black students in office disciplinary referrals. <i>Journal of Educational Psychology</i> , 102(2), 508-520.	<i>Journal of Educational Psychology</i> : peer reviewed journal	This study examines the contributions of students’ overall level of behavioral problems, characteristics of the classroom, and teacher ethnicity to the disparity in office discipline referral (ODR) rates between White and Black students in elementary school. Results indicated that Black students were more likely than White students to receive 4 of the 6 types of ODR’s (no differences were seen for defiance or major ODRs) even after controlling for teacher ratings of student behavioral problems. Students, particularly black males, in classrooms with black teachers were more likely to receive major ODRs but less likely to receive minor ODRs. Finally, students in classrooms with higher ratings of disruptive behavior were less likely to receive an ODR.	NA
Christle, C., Nelson, C. M., & Jolivette, K. (2004). School characteristics related to the use of suspension. <i>Education and Treatment of Children</i> , 27(4), 509-526.	<i>Education and Treatment of Children</i> : peer reviewed journal	This study examined the relationship between school level variables and suspension rates in 161 Kentucky middle schools. School level variables examined included: size, demographic characteristics of students, academic achievement, attendance rates, retention rates, dropout rates, school violations, and law violations. Correlational analyses found that all variables with the exception of gender and school size were significantly related to suspension rates in the expected direction. Further examination of 20 schools with the highest suspension rates and 20 schools with the lowest suspension rates found significant differences in attendance rates, academic achievement, percent Caucasian, dropout rates, school violations, law violations, percent of students from low SES backgrounds, and amount of spending per student. No differences between groups	NA

		were found for retention rates, size, teacher experience, student/teacher ratio, or gender. Surveys administered at 4 high suspending schools and 4 low suspending schools found that principals at high suspending schools had fewer years of experience, lower family involvement, and a need for resources to address student behavior, a less favorable school climate, and less administrative support.	
Fenning, P., & Rose, J. (2007). Overrepresentation of African American students in exclusionary discipline: The role of school policy. <i>Urban Education</i> , 42(6), 536-559.	Urban Education: peer reviewed journal	Authors assert that school factors, particularly a teacher's perception of loss of control and minority students who do not fit in the classroom norm, are plausible explanations for the overrepresentation of poor and minority students in school removals. They advocate for a shift in focus from issues related to students to a focus on school characteristics that impact discipline policies.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Review of discipline data to determine what infractions result in suspension and if certain groups are overrepresented 2. Create a collaborative discipline team to reevaluate discipline consequences 3. Provide school wide professional development to help promote cultural competence, particularly around issues of classroom management and teacher-to-student interchanges. 4. Develop of more proactive school discipline policies for all students, based on models of positive behavior support that directly teach expected behaviors.
Gregory, A., & Cornell, D. (2009). "Tolerating" adolescent needs: Moving beyond zero tolerance policies in high school. <i>Theory Into Practice</i> , 48(2), 106-113.	Theory into Practice: peer reviewed journal	Adolescents have developmental needs for both structure and support, while still being permitted to assert their independence and autonomy to some degree. High schools that pursue a zero tolerance approach run the risk of creating a highly structured but overly restrictive environment that ignores needs for support, similar to an authoritarian parenting style. Authoritarian parenting is associated with negative child outcomes such as lowered social competence and heightened psychological distress. Authoritative parents, on the other hand, combine rule enforcement with emotional support. Authors argue for authoritative discipline in the classroom and school. At the classroom level, "warm demanders" are those teachers who combine high structure and support. Studies have found links between structure and support at the classroom level and reduced disciplinary problems. Authoritative discipline at the school level is both more difficult to provide and measure. A study of school level authoritative discipline found that schools with more structure and support were safer and more secure.	NA
Gregory, A., Cornell, D., & Fan, X. (2011). The relationship of school structure and support to suspension rates for black and white high school students. <i>American Educational</i>	American Educational Research Journal: peer reviewed journal	Previous research has found that schools with high academic expectations, consistent rule enforcement, and a positive school environment, have positive academic outcomes. This study examines these characteristics as they relate to suspension rates. They examined school climate survey data from 199 high schools in Virginia. Researchers found that suspension rates were related to whether students perceived their teachers as having high	NA

<p><i>Research Journal</i>, 48(4), 904-934.</p>		<p>expectations and student perceptions of teachers as caring and respectful. Student perceptions of school rules as fair and strictly enforced were not related to suspension rates. Schools with low structure and low support had higher suspension rates and a larger gap between African American and white students' suspension rates on average. Additionally schools with high Black student enrollment tended to suspend more white and black students and have higher suspension gaps.</p>	
<p>Gregory, A., Skiba, R. J., & Noguera, P. a. (2010). The achievement gap and the discipline gap: Two sides of the same coin? <i>Educational Researcher</i>, 39(1), 59-68.</p>	<p>Educational Researcher: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>The use of school exclusion as a discipline practice may contribute to the well-documented racial gaps in academic achievement. Studies consistently find disproportionality in discipline for African American students. There are less consistent findings of disproportionality for Latino and American Indian students. One of the most consistent findings of modern education research is the strong positive relationship between time engaged in academic learning and student achievement. Because exclusionary discipline impacts minority students, particularly African Americans, at a higher rate, it may be contributing to the achievement gap. Suspended students may also become less engaged in school and are at increased risk of future antisocial behavior. While demographic factors associated with minorities (low SES, neighborhood factors) contribute to the racial discipline gap- they alone cannot account for it. In addition, studies have found no evidence that minority students misbehave more than white students. Teacher and school factors need to be considered as possible contributors. Explanations for the over selection of certain students for discipline may include cultural mismatch, implicit bias, or negative expectations in classrooms and schools. Promising alternative programs are those that increase student problem solving, improve classroom management skills, emphasize student learning and self regulation, and encourage school connectedness and relationships.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. We need comprehensive studies that disentangle the unique effects of student, teacher, school, and family and neighborhood factors to the racial discipline gap. 2. We need to identify characteristics of resilient schools, particularly strategies that these schools use. 3. We need to pay explicit attention to issues of race and culture for sustained change in discipline disparities. 4. Increase awareness in teachers and administrators of the potential for bias when issuing discipline referrals. 5. Utilize a range of consequences in response to discipline issues and make exclusionary discipline a last resort.
<p>Gregory, A., & Weinstein, R. S. (2008). The discipline gap and African Americans: Defiance or cooperation in the high school classroom. <i>Journal of school psychology</i>, 46(4), 455-75.</p>	<p>Journal of School Psychology: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This study, conducted in one large high school, examined whether defiance was the most common reason for suspension referrals for African American students and whether students exhibited defiant behavior across different situations (i.e., in multiple classrooms) or whether defiant behavior was situation specific. Results showed that African American students were significantly over represented in the defiance referrals. Most of these students were referred by 1-2 adults, indicating a situation specific pattern of referral. A second study with a small subsample of students (n=30) found that teacher qualities of care and high academic expectations predicted student willingness to trust and cooperate with them. This indicates that students' variability in defiant behavior may be related to their perceptions of teacher behavior.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. This research shows that defiant behavior does not occur across all classroom contexts. There is opportunity to identify classroom contexts and teacher qualities that elicit cooperative behavior from these same students.

<p>Hemphill, S. A., Toumbourou, J. W., Herrenkohl, T. I., McMorris, B. J., & Catalano, R. F. (2006). The effect of school suspensions and arrests on subsequent adolescent antisocial behavior in Australia and the United States. <i>The Journal of adolescent health, 39</i>(5), 736-44.</p>	<p>Journal of Adolescent Health: Peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This study examined the effect of school suspensions and arrests on future antisocial behavior for students in Victoria Australia and Washington State. Findings indicated that school suspensions predict future antisocial behavior even after controlling for previous antisocial behavior, demographic variables, and other risk and protective factors. Similar results were found for arrests- but the effect was just below statistical significance.</p>	<p>1. Conduct additional research into why school suspension exacerbates antisocial behavior.</p>
<p>Insley, A. (2001). Suspending and expelling children from educational opportunity: Time to reevaluate zero tolerance policies. <i>American University Law Review, 50</i>, 1039-1074.</p>	<p>American University Law Review: Peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This report examined key problems in relation to zero tolerance policies. 1) The excessive amount of media coverage surrounding school violence has created the misconception that violence pervades our schools. 2) No data shows that zero tolerance policies have increased school safety 3) Zero tolerance undermines education: "Policymakers, educators and parents should be very concerned with the long-term implications of denying educational opportunities to millions of children particularly when the effectiveness of these policies in ensuring school safety is highly suspect.". Students fall behind academically, and are more likely to drop out. 4) The guarantee of alternative education: not all states guarantee rights to public education so alternative programs are not always mandated. 5) Psychological effects: alienation, increase chances of engaging in risky behavior while out of school, adversarial feelings and lowered trust in adults, 6) Criminalization of behaviors that were once handled in the schools</p>	<p>NA</p>
<p>Krezmien, M. P., Leone, P. E., Zablocki, M. S., & Wells, C. S. (2010). Juvenile Court Referrals and the Public Schools: Nature and Extent of the Practice in Five States. <i>Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice, 26</i>(3), 273-293.</p>	<p>Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice: Peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between school referrals to juvenile justice across 5 states (AZ, HI, SC, MO, WV). Researchers examined referral rates over time, by race, and gender. There was variability in the findings across states. Three states experienced a net increase in school referrals to juvenile justice over time while 2 experienced a decrease. Similarly, some states experienced a decrease in referral rates for minority students while some experienced an increase. Most states evidenced an upward trend across time in referrals to juvenile justice from schools. One state (SC) evidenced an upward trend until 1999, followed by yearly decreases in school referrals.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Examine of the types of offenses resulting in referrals from schools and from other sources. 2. Examine school effects in referral rates using multilevel modeling. 3. Look at the policies and practices within states and jurisdictions to understand the relationship between policies and referral rates.
<p>Krezmien, M., & Leone, P. (2006). Suspension, race, and disability: Analysis of statewide practices and reporting. <i>Journal of</i></p>	<p>Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disabilities: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This study examined school suspension practices in Maryland from 1995 to 2003. In that time the percent of students suspended increased from 6.6% to 8.9%. The odds of being suspended increased over time for African Americans. Students with disabilities, particularly emotional disabilities were also more likely to be</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Comprehensive and preventive approaches for maintaining school safety and discipline need to replace punitive and exclusionary procedures currently in place. 2. Accurate collection and reporting of suspension

<p><i>Emotional and Behavioral Disabilities, 14 (4), 217-226.</i></p>		<p>suspended. The authors argue that disparity in suspension rates in the aggregate may be due to higher rates of suspensions in low-income schools and schools with predominantly minority populations. Several school-related risk factors may contribute to this, including high student-teacher ratios, insufficient curricular and course relevance, and weak, inconsistent adult leadership.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. Involvement of those in special education in the development of school discipline policies. 4. Examine parity in offenses among students of different races and disability status. 5. Use multilevel designs to examine the interaction between individual and school factors that influence patterns of suspensions. 6. Examine relationship between suspensions of students and long term problems such as involvement with the juvenile justice system.
<p>Mendez, L. M. (2003). Predictors of suspension and negative school outcomes: a longitudinal investigation. <i>New directions for youth development, (99)</i>, 17-33.</p>	<p>New Directions for Youth Development: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This study examines student demographics, academics, behavior, self-perceptions, and perceptions of school to predict the number of suspensions that students receive in sixth grade. It also examines the relationship between sixth graders' frequency of suspensions and high school suspensions and graduation. Sixth grade suspensions were best predicted by 4th and 5th grade suspensions and 3rd grade teacher ratings of behavior. Sixth grade suspensions were also correlated with later suspensions and dropping out of school.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Create positive school climate that supports students and families needs. 2. Intervene early by providing support services for at risk students. 3. Provide intensive intervention that is culturally appropriate for students with chronic behavior problems.
<p>Mendez, L. M. R., & Knoff, H. M. (2003). Who gets suspended from school and why: A demographic analysis of schools and disciplinary infractions in a large school district. <i>Education and Treatment of Children, 26(1)</i>, 30-51.</p>	<p>Education and Treatment of Children: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This study examined a) the percentage of student suspensions by race, gender, and school level, and b) the types of incidents for which suspensions were given by race, gender, and school level in one Florida school district. Findings indicated that black students were much more likely to be suspended, the highest suspension rates occurred in middle school, and males were about twice as likely to be suspended as females. Students were suspended most often for disobedience, followed by disruption, fighting, and inappropriate behavior. Black males were over represented in all categories except tobacco, narcotics, and alcohol possession. White males were underrepresented in all categories except weapon possession and tobacco, narcotics, and alcohol possession.</p>	<p>NA</p>
<p>Mendez, L. M. R., Knoff, H. M., & Ferron, J. M. (2002). School demographic variables and out-of-school suspension rates: A quantitative and qualitative analysis of a large, ethnically diverse school district. <i>Psychology in the Schools, 39(3)</i>, 259-277.</p>	<p>Psychology in the Schools: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This study analyzed student suspension patterns across elementary, middle, and high schools in one Florida school district. Follow up interviews were then conducted at 12 schools with the highest suspension rates and 12 schools with the lowest suspension rates. Findings indicated that the highest rates of suspension were seen in middle school, that black males were the most likely to be suspended, and disobedience/insubordination was the most frequently cited infraction. Serious infractions (weapons, drugs, violence) comprised less than 1% of infractions resulting in suspensions. In elementary school, variables such as family involvement and achievement test scores did not account for variability in OSS rates beyond what is accounted for by race and socioeconomic status. In middle and high school, after</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Further research is needed to explore how some high poverty/high minority schools are able to effectively manage students' behavior. Some variables that should be explored further include social skills training for children, behavior management training for teachers, parent involvement, and administrator attitudes. 2. Future research linking school climate to OSS rates also is needed to further understand how the tone set by administrators at a school is linked to student behavior and discipline.

		controlling for race and SES, schools with a higher percent of new staff and lower academic achievement had higher OSS rates. Follow up interviews found that at the elementary level, schools with low OSS rates tended to have more parent involvement, use positive reinforcement for positive behaviors, and use social skills training. At middle schools, low OSS schools tended to report greater emphasis on training teachers in classroom management and involve teachers in mentoring or new educator programs. Administrators at low OSS middle schools also tended to report more varied ways to reduce problematic behaviors. In high schools, differences in parent involvement, discipline plans, and staff perceptions of student were found to differ between high and low OSS schools.	
Monroe, C. R. (2005). Understanding the discipline gap through a cultural lens: implications for the education of African American students. <i>Intercultural Education</i> , 16(4), 317-330.	Intercultural Education: peer reviewed journal	Educators often view parenting practices of parents of low income black students more negatively than those of white middle class parents. This may lead to differential student treatment and marginalization of minority students. Research has found cultural differences in the ways that African Americans and whites interact. Close to 90% of teachers in the nations 100 largest school districts are white and 70% of students are minority, it is likely that cultural incongruities exist between teachers and students. Culturally responsive teachers have been categorized as “warm demanders”, who use humor in student interactions.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Adapt classroom practice to utilized culturally responsive discipline. 2. Recruit minorities into teacher education programs. 3. Community immersion programs for teachers (visiting students’ homes, speaking with community leaders, etc.)
Noguera, P. (2003). Schools, prisons, and social implications of punishment: Rethinking disciplinary practices. <i>Theory Into Practice</i> , 42(4), 341-351.	Theory Into Practice: peer reviewed journal	There is a preoccupation with order and control in urban high schools, at the expense of academic engagement and rigor. Students, particularly African American males, internalize labels given to them as “trouble makers”, and a self fulfilling prophecy plays out in which a child has difficulty in school, is punished through school exclusion, falls farther behind, and acts out again. Furthermore, removing disruptive students from the classroom was not found to improve teaching and learning for the rest of the class. Rather new students emerged to take their place.	NA
Payne, A. A., & Welch, K. (2010). Modeling the effects of racial threat on punitive and restorative school discipline practices. <i>Criminology</i> , 48(4), 1-45.	Criminology: peer reviewed journal	This study explores associations between the percentage of Black students in schools and the use of punitive and restorative disciplinary responses in 294 secondary schools. Findings indicated that a greater proportion of Black students in schools is related to a greater use of harsh school discipline practice and lowered likelihood of using restorative practices. Additionally, schools with more effective principals and trained personnel are more likely to use both types of disciplinary responses and the use of harsher forms of punishment is unrelated to a school’s level of crime and delinquency. Authors concluded that the size of schools’ minority populations is related to harsher school discipline, thus leading to the increasing “prisonization” of schools and criminalization of students.	NA
Petras, H., Masyn, K. E., Buckley,	Journal of Educational	This paper examined the association between 1 st grade aggression	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. These results argue for more research that

<p>J. a., Ialongo, N. S., & Kellam, S. (2011). Who is most at risk for school removal? A multilevel discrete-time survival analysis of individual- and context-level influences. <i>Journal of Educational Psychology, 103</i>(1), 223-237.</p>	<p>Psychology: Peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>and the risk of school removal across grades 1-7. Findings showed that African Americans, males, and low SES students were at increased risk of school removal. So were students who exhibited higher levels of aggression in first grade. However, when first grade aggression was controlled for, African Americans who lived in poverty were still more likely to be removed from school.</p>	<p>specifically investigates the reasons for disproportionality in school removal for minority youth.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. Early intervention aimed at students who show aggressive behavior early on. 3. Preventative interventions during the transition to middle school targeting student behavior and teachers' classroom management skills. 4. Further investigation on the influence of contextual variables on school removal practices
<p>Skiba, R.J. (2000). School discipline at a crossroads: From zero tolerance to early response. <i>Exceptional Children</i>.</p>	<p>Exceptional Children: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>There is a relationship between minor disruptions in schools and more serious violent incidents. The authors argue for implementing comprehensive programs to improve school climate and reduce minor disruptions which may reduce the risk for more serious incidents. However, though there are research supported strategies to improve the behavioral climate, they are underutilized in public schools. Examples include positive consequences, conflict resolution, and classroom management training for teachers. Research on zero tolerance and exclusionary discipline is sparse. Research on school security measures finds that they are associated with increased risk of school disorder and emotional backlash from students. School characteristics are more predictive of school suspensions than student behavior and attitudes. Additionally, research in juvenile delinquency finds that the strength of the school social bond is a predictor of delinquency; suspending students serves to break that bond. Authors propose an early response model rather than a zero tolerance approach to school discipline.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Conflict resolution/social instruction 2. Classroom strategies for disruptive behavior 3. Parent involvement 4. Early warning signs and screening 5. School and district wide data systems 6. School wide discipline and behavioral planning 7. Functional assessments and individual behavior plans
<p>Skiba, R.J. (2001). Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice. <i>New Directions for Mental Health</i>. Retrieved from http://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/10.1002/ymd.23320019204/abstract</p>	<p>New Directions for Mental Health: peer reviewed journal</p>	<p>This report considers the effectiveness of security measures relating to zero tolerance and the effects of suspensions and expulsions. A review of the literature around school security measures found relatively few studies. These studies found that an increased reliance on school security measures were actually associated with more school violence, suggesting that such measures do not increase school safety. School expulsion and suspensions are another cornerstone of zero tolerance. A review of relevant studies found that teacher attitudes, administrative centralization, quality of school governance, teacher perception of student achievement, and racial makeup of the school accounted for more of the variance in school suspension rates than student attitudes or behaviors. Racial disproportionality (independent of income) in school suspensions is a highly consistent finding. While there is no study that directly relates suspensions to school safety or student behavior, some indicators such as repeat offenders show that suspension may be working as a</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Utilize school violence prevention model that emphasizes intervention at three levels: creating a more positive school climate, attending to early warning signs, and effectively responding to disruption and violence with a broad array of strategies.

		reinforcer rather than a punisher. Dropouts are more likely to have been suspended, suspension may be used as a “pushout” tool.	
Skiba, R., & Horner, R. (2011). Race is not neutral: A national investigation of African American and Latino disproportionality in school discipline. <i>School Psychology Review</i> , 40(1), 85-107.	School Psychology Review: peer reviewed journal	The purpose of this investigation was to explore racial and ethnic disparities in office referrals and administrative discipline decisions in a nationally representative sample. Researchers found that African American students were overrepresented in office referrals across all infraction types, with the largest differences in tardies/truancy, disruption, and noncompliance. Hispanic/Latino students were overrepresented across all infractions at the middle school level, but underrepresented across most infractions at the elementary level. Once referred to administration, elementary African American students were more likely than white students to be suspended/expelled across all discipline infractions. Similar results were seen for Hispanic elementary school students with the exception of disruption. At the middle school level, African Americans were only overrepresented for suspensions for disruption, moderate infractions, and tardy/truancy. Hispanic middle school students were overrepresented across all categories. Authors concluded that “both differential selection at the classroom level and differential processing at the administrative level make significant contributions to the disproportionate representation of African American and Latino students in school discipline”.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Report data on discipline by rate monthly at the school level. 2. Enact policies focused on prevention and culturally responsive practice. 3. Positive discipline- help students develop appropriate social behaviors before resorting to exclusionary discipline. 4. District and state policies that address disciplinary inequity.
Skiba, R.J, Michael, R., & Nardo, A. (2002). The color of discipline sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. <i>The Urban Review</i> , 34(4), 317-342.	The Urban Review: peer reviewed journal	This study explored gender, racial, and socioeconomic disparities in school discipline. Findings indicated disproportionality by gender, race, and socioeconomic status. When SES was controlled for, racial disparities remained. Findings also indicated that the disproportionality originates at the classroom level in office referrals, not in punishment given by administration. Once referred to the office, administrative action taken in response to the referral was almost identical. Black students were significantly more likely than white students to be referred to the office for less serious, more subjective behaviors.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Teacher training in appropriate and culturally competent methods of classroom management.
Theriot, M. T., Craun, S. W., & Dupper, D. R. (2010). Multilevel evaluation of factors predicting school exclusion among middle and high school students. <i>Children and Youth Services Review</i> , 32(1), 13-19	Children and Youth Services Review: peer reviewed journal	This study examines suspensions and predictive factors for middle and high school students in one Southeastern school district. Predictors included student demographics, previous suspensions, and school level demographics. Researchers found that when both student and school level variables are included in the model, a student’s race no longer significantly predicts suspensions. Neither the school level percentage of minorities or the percentage of children in poverty related to the likelihood of school exclusion. Instead, this study finds that a student’s poverty level, previous number of in-school and out-of- school suspensions, and the severity of the last infraction predict being removed from school.	NA

Grey Literature

Citation	Source	Summary	Recommendations
<p>ACLU of Florida, Advancement Project, & Florida State Conference of the NAACP. (2011). <i>Still haven't shut off the School-to-Prison Pipeline: Evaluating the impact of Florida's new zero-tolerance law</i>. Miami, FL: ACLU of Florida, Washington, DC: Advancement Project, Orlando, FL: Florida State Conference of the NAACP.</p>	<p>ACLU of Florida: non partisan, non-profit organization dedicated to protecting rights and liberties under the Constitution and US laws.</p> <p>Advancement Project: civil rights law, policy, and communications reform group</p> <p>Florida State Conference of the NAACP: civil rights organization</p>	<p>In 2009 the Florida state legislature amended the state's zero-tolerance law to reduce referrals to the juvenile justice system and inequality in implementation for minorities. This study examines changes in disciplinary actions as a result of these changes. Data from 55 out of 67 Florida school districts were collected. Researchers found that while, on the whole, the number of referrals to DJJ dropped by 8.7%, approximately half of the districts reported either the same or more referrals, and 67% of referrals were for misdemeanor offenses. Additionally, 43 of the school districts failed to rewrite their school discipline policies to define infractions that constitute "serious threats to school safety", a direct violation of the state law. Racial disparities in school-based referrals also worsened in 2010-11. Issues related to this finding include not collecting or reporting discipline data disaggregated by race, allowing severe punishments for highly subjective offenses like "insubordination" or "defiance", and giving excessive discretion to school officials to impose harsh punishment for minor offenses.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strengthen the amendment to the state's zero-tolerance law to expressly prohibit harsh punishment for those offenses that do not pose a serious ongoing threat to safety. 2. Implement an accountability structure under which state funding can be withheld from districts that a) repeatedly refer students to DJJ for minor offenses that do not pose a threat to school safety, b) demonstrate a continuing over-reliance on expulsion, OSS, and referral to disciplinary alternative schools, c) have persistent racial disparities and have not developed a plan to address them. 3. Hold law enforcement officials accountable for reducing the number of school based arrests for school disciplinary matters. 4. Provide resources for the formation of community councils charged with developing strategies to address the School-to-Prison pipeline. 5. Allocate funding to support proven and promising school discipline frameworks such as PBIS and restorative justice. 6. Prohibit the use of corporal punishment. 7. Enhance the public reporting system for school discipline data. 8. Provide training to school staff and school law enforcement regarding the adverse effects of zero tolerance, child development, effective classroom management, alternatives to zero-tolerance, and cultural responsiveness.
<p>Advancement Project, The Civil Rights Project (2000). <i>Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline. Report from a national summit on zero tolerance, June 15-16, 2000</i>. Washington, DC: Advancement Project, Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project, Harvard</p>	<p>Advancement Project: civil rights law, policy, and communications reform group</p> <p>The Civil Rights Project: research and policy think tank focused on issues of racial justice</p>	<p>Rigid and inflexible discipline policies conflict with youths' developmental needs to develop strong, trusting relationships and the formation of positive attitudes towards fairness and justice. Overly harsh punishment often has the effect of pushing out at-risk children. Schools that use zero tolerance policies are still less safe than those who do not. Researchers examined the discipline philosophies of 4 middle school principals in Miami-Dade County Public Schools. Those with zero tolerance philosophies had much higher suspension rates than similar schools with less rigid discipline policies.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. The Department of Education should require more comprehensive disciplinary data reporting from school districts receiving federal aid. 2. Research is needed on quality of alternative education programs, extent of unfair treatment of minority children. 3. Suspension rates should impact school rankings. 4. Discipline referrals should be monitored and teachers referred to appropriate professional development for excessive referrals. 5. Schools and communities should establish disciplinary committees to review discipline issues.

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<p>Advancement Project. (2010). Test, punish, and push out: How “zero tolerance” and high-stakes testing funnel youth into the school-to-prison pipeline.</p>	<p>Advancement Project: civil rights law, policy, and communications reform group</p>	<p>This report explores the relationship between “zero tolerance” discipline policies and high stakes testing. Common origins and ideological roots (i.e., punitive use of both policies), zero tolerance discipline policies, and the effects of high stakes testing are examined. Authors argue that high stakes testing pushes educators to push struggling students out in order to boost test scores. School districts that have eliminated zero tolerance and/or high stakes testing include: Denver (2008-2009), Los Angeles (2006-2007), Connecticut, Indiana, Milwaukee, Pennsylvania, and Baltimore.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Create more caring and supportive learning environments for students by eliminating policies and practices that push students out of school. 2. Limit the involvement of law enforcement and security personnel in schools 3. Replace high-stakes testing with policies that will encourage schools to keep students in the learning environment
<p>Advancement Project, Youth United for Change, & Education Law Center. (2011). <i>Zero Tolerance in Philadelphia: Denying educational opportunities and creating a pathway to prison.</i> New York.</p>	<p>Advancement Project: civil rights law, policy, and communications reform group</p> <p>Youth United for Change: an organization comprised of high school students acting on their own behalf to improve the quality of public education</p> <p>Education Law Center: law advocacy organization</p>	<p>Despite a national movement away from zero tolerance policies, the School District of Philadelphia continues to promote the use of zero tolerance. Students in Philadelphia were arrested at a much higher rate than students across the state for comparable behaviors. It also appears more likely that the police will be notified for incidents involving Black or Latino students. When asked, most students in the district feel that zero tolerance is not enforced fairly. Philadelphia also utilizes far more police and security officers than other Pennsylvania districts. More is spent on school security than nurses, parent/community support personnel, and school psychologists. Student reports and correlational data also indicate a relationship between increased security forces and negative school climate/ increased violence. Out of school suspensions in the district are increasing, particularly for younger students. Suspension rates varied by school and by disability status as well. Students with disabilities were twice as likely to be suspended. Philadelphia sends more students to alternative schools than all other Pennsylvania school districts except Pittsburgh, often for seemingly minor offenses. Once in the alternative school setting, students are exposed to extremely negative school environments, with little academic focus or support. Less than 1/3 of students transferred to alternative schools return to traditional public schools. Blacks, Latinos and students with disabilities were more likely than whites to receive disciplinary transfers to alternative schools. Expulsions have increased since 2008-2009 when a new superintendent came on board, particularly for students between the ages of 8-14. In fact, of those expelled, the most common ages were 11-12. Also, 95% of those expelled were Black or Latino.</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Create a working group of stakeholders in the community to rewrite the district’s discipline policy. 2. Reallocate funding from school security to guidance counselors, school psychologists, and social workers. 3. Implement evidence based discipline alternatives in schools. 4. Professional development for classroom management, adolescent development, student engagement through culturally relevant curricula. 5. Implement an accountability structure that holds schools responsible for reducing suspensions, arrests, etc and eliminating racial disparities in school discipline. 6. Clarify roles and responsibilities of police through MOU. 7. Create a public reporting system for school discipline data. 8. Establish a school discipline oversight committee.
<p>Boylan, E. M., & Weiser, J. (2002). Survey of key educational stakeholders on zero tolerance. <i>Juvenile Justice</i> (pp. 1-11).</p>	<p>Education Law Center: law advocacy organization</p>	<p>The authors surveyed key stakeholder groups (teachers, administrators, state level administrators, parents, service providers, and law enforcement) regarding their views on zero tolerance discipline policies. Most groups do not have an official position on zero tolerance. Teachers appear to be the strongest supporters of zero tolerance policies.</p>	<p>NA</p>

<p>Fabelo, T., Thompson, M., & Plotkin, M. (2011). <i>Breaking schools' rules: a statewide study of how school discipline relates to students' success and juvenile justice involvement</i>. New York, NY: Council of State Governments Justice Center.</p>	<p>The Council of State Governments Justice Center: national nonprofit organization that serves policymakers at the local, state, and federal levels from all branches of government.</p>	<p>Researchers examined secondary school data and juvenile justice data for three cohorts of 7th grade students attending Texas public school between 2000-2002. These students were then tracked over an eight-year period.</p> <p><u>Research Questions:</u></p> <p>1. How many students are affected by disciplinary actions? More than half (59.6%) of students experience some form of suspension or expulsion in middle or high school. For most students this was not a one time event. Half of students suspended or expelled were involved in at least 4 violations; the average number of violations was 8.4. Of students who received a disciplinary action, 54.4% received ISS, 31% received OSS, 15.5% were sent to alternative education programs, and 8.3% were sent to Juvenile Justice programs or expelled.</p> <p>2. Are these actions discretionary or mandated by law? Less than 3% of suspensions or expulsions were mandated by law. The overwhelming majority of disciplinary actions were at the discretion of the school.</p> <p>3. Who is being removed from the classroom or school? African American students are more likely to be disciplined than students of other races, even after controlling for other factors (such as poverty). A much larger percentage of African American (26.2%) and Hispanic (18%) students were placed in OSS for their first offense than White students (9.9%). African American students were less likely than White or Hispanic students to commit serious offenses that resulted in mandatory disciplinary actions.</p> <p>4. Are students with disabilities more likely to be suspended/expelled? Approximately 75% of students with disabilities experienced some form of suspension or expulsion in middle or high school. Youth with emotional disturbances had a 23.9% higher probability of being suspended or expelled, after controlling for other study variables.</p> <p>5. Is being suspended/expelled predictive of retention or dropout? Controlling for other factors, students who experience a discipline action are twice as likely to repeat a grade. A higher percentage of students with disciplinary actions also dropped out.</p> <p>6. Is school discipline an indicator of risk for juvenile justice involvement? Nearly 15% of students had contact with the juvenile justice system.</p>	<p>1. Additional examination is warranted to determine whether the experience of being suspended or expelled is having the desired impact on students' behavior.</p> <p>3. Further explore what might be contributing to this disproportionality in discipline action for African Americans.</p> <p>4. Additional research would be also be helpful in understanding why the presence of an emotional disturbance, but not a learning disability, had such a significant impact on suspension and/or expulsion.</p> <p>5. Because discipline action is related to retention and dropout, schools that are successful in addressing those student behaviors that result in disciplinary action could potentially improve academic outcomes.</p> <p>6. These findings support the notion of the school to prison pipeline for those students who are suspended or expelled, particularly those with multiple infractions. More effective tools and supports need to be applied early to prevent repeated disciplinary involvement and stem the flow of children into the juvenile justice system.</p> <p>7. These findings suggest that individual schools impact students' disciplinary outcomes, even when controlling for student risk factors. Further research is needed to examine what practices are in place at those schools in which discipline rates differ from what would be predicted based on their student population.</p>
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<p>Georgia Appleseed Center for Law & Justice. (2011). <i>Effective student discipline : Keeping kids in class.</i> Atlanta, GA: Georgia Appleseed Center for Law & Justice</p>	<p>Georgia Appleseed Center for Law & Justice: part of a non-profit network of public interest justice centers</p>	<p>Researchers reviewed student disciplinary data from 2003-04 through 2009-10 and found that approximately 8% of Georgia's K-12 students received at least 1 OSS in 2009-2010, a reduction from the over 9% rate in previous years. Use of exclusionary discipline varies greatly by school district and by school. OSS rates and graduation rates are negatively correlated. Most OSS actions were for non-violent incidents. Males, African Americans, FRL students, ELL students, and students with disabilities were more likely to receive OSS for discipline infractions. An examination of Georgia school districts' discipline policies showed that districts often imposed zero tolerance policies beyond what is mandated by the state and that broad discretion is granted to school officials in handling discipline actions in their schools. Districts with high OSS rates also had graduation rates below the state average. Looking within districts, researchers found variance in OSS rates by school, which could not be explained by demographic factors alone (i.e., some of the schools with low OSS rates were high poverty, high minority schools). To further examine OSS rates for African American students, researchers calculated risk ratios in which they compared African American students' risk of being suspended to that of other students in the school/district. They found that approximately 90% of Georgia's school districts had high OSS risk ratios for African American students. Interviews with those from low OSS rate districts identified the following factors that led to these results: high expectations for students, dedicated high quality teachers, parental and community involvement. Interventions discussed included PBIS, progressive discipline policies, and RTI. Attributes of effective school discipline include: leadership that makes it a high priority, with clear metrics for success and accountability, committed and well trained</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Schools should be required to publicly disclose discipline performance data annually and to present it by subgroups. 2. The Georgia Department of Education should carry out an assessment of the quality of educational experience in alternative education settings. 3. Training and support in effective behavioral management and working with special education students 4. Make statutory revisions for school disruption, tribunal witness subpoenas 5. Improve discipline action reporting 6. Improve parental involvement

		teachers, parent and community engagement, and positive behavioral interventions and supports (PBIS).	
Losen, D.J. (2011). <i>Discipline policies, successful schools, and racial justice</i> . Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center.	National Education Policy Center: university based research center	School suspension rates have increased since the 1970s and there are clear disparities by ethnicity (particularly between African American and White children) and for students with disabilities. Urban middle schools show much higher suspension rates and larger disparities. However, greater suspension rates are not linked to more frequent or more serious misbehavior. Additionally most suspensions are not related to guns, drugs, or violence. Three reasons for exclusionary policies are explored: 1) to get parents attention and active involvement- suspensions usually have a negative impact on families: missed work, lack of supervision of child, more time spent in a stressful environment; 2) to deter other students from misbehaving- students who are suspended are more likely to be suspended again, thus its more of a reinforcer than a deterrent; 3) to ensure that the school environment is conducive to teaching and learning-schools with high suspension rates do not evidence improved test scores. There are negative impacts on students who are suspended: “The notion that schools should kick out the bad kids so the good kids can learn violates a commitment to equal educational opportunity for all students.” There are also links between suspensions and dropout and crime (linked to unsupervised suspended students). Alternatives to exclusionary discipline were also discussed, including PBIS, classroom management and adolescent development training. “Given the above evidence, it seems time to ask whether it is fundamentally sound policy for schools in a public education system to remove large numbers of children from school on behavioral grounds that other schools successfully address without removal.”	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Public school educators should routinely collect and publicly report data on school disciplinary removal-disaggregated by race/ethnicity, gender, and disability status in terms of numbers of each group disciplined and the type of infraction and the number of days of missed instruction. 2. Civil rights enforcement agents should use the disparate impact standard of legal review as grounds to pursue remedies for the unjust and unnecessary removal of children from school. 3. The federal government should provide positive incentives to improve classroom and behavior management 4. Federal and state policy should specify the rate of out-of-school suspensions as one of several factors to be considered in assessments of school efficacy. 5. Researchers should investigate connections between school discipline data and key outcomes such as achievement, graduation rates, teacher effectiveness, and college and career readiness. 6. System-wide improvements should be pursued through better policies and practices at all levels—including an effort to improve teachers’ skills in classroom and behavior management.
Losen, D.J. and Skiba, R.J. (2011), <i>Suspended education: Urban middle schools in crisis</i> , Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center.	Southern Poverty Law Center: non profit civil rights organization	This report examines the use of suspensions by middle schools in 18 of the nation’s largest school districts. Researchers found that black males were the most often suspended in 15 of the 18 districts. Within districts there was great variability by school with some schools suspending greater than 50% of a racial subgroup. Rates of suspension at the school level appear to be related to principal attitude (i.e., support of zero tolerance policies). Across districts Black females evidenced the largest increase in suspension rates (about 5%) from 2002-2006. In an era of accountability, federal legislation has called for schools to use only those interventions that are research-based and proven effective. However there is no evidence to suggest that this is the case with exclusionary discipline policies. In fact, suspending students likely lowers the level of community safety as suspended students are then left unsupervised on the street.	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Increase the collection and use of data disaggregated by race and gender. 2. Identify schools and districts with high suspension rates and assist them in identifying and implementing effective alternative strategies. 3. OCR should investigate and address unlawful discrimination in the use of exclusionary school discipline.
Rausch, M. (2006, Fall). <i>Discipline</i> ,	Center for Evaluation and	Researchers examine suspension and expulsion rates for special	NA

<p><i>disability, and race: Disproportionality in Indiana schools.</i> Bloomington, IN: Center for Evaluation and Education Policy.</p>	<p>Education Policy: university based research center</p>	<p>education students, the extent of use of the special disciplinary provisions under IDEA, differences in suspension and expulsion rates by disability categories, and racial disparities in the use of IDEA disciplinary provisions in Indiana. Findings indicated that students with disabilities were suspended twice as often and were 75% more likely to be expelled. Students with emotional disabilities were over 10 times more likely to be removed from school than students with other types of disabilities and black students with disabilities were about 3 times more likely to be removed from school than other students with disabilities.</p>	
<p>Skiba, RJ, & Eaton, J. (2004). <i>Factors associated with state rates of out of school suspension and expulsion.</i> . Bloomington, IN: Center for Evaluation and Education Policy.</p>	<p>Center for Evaluation and Education Policy: university based research center</p>	<p>This study found three characteristics of state statutes that were significantly associated with states' rates of out-of-school suspension or expulsion. First, states that list criminal violations as among those infractions for which students can be expelled have higher rates of expulsion. Second, states that allow expulsion for infractions occurring off campus have higher rates of school expulsion. Finally, states that explicitly allow schools to use corporal punishment have higher rates of out-of-school suspension (but not expulsion).</p>	<p>NA</p>
<p>Skiba, R. J., Trachok, M., Chung, C., Baker, T., & Hughes, R. (2012, April). <i>Parsing disciplinary disproportionality: Contributions of behavior, student, and school characteristics to suspension and expulsion.</i> Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Vancouver, Canada.</p>	<p>American Educational Research Association: national educational research society</p>	<p>This study examines the relative contributions of types of behavior, student demographics, and school characteristics to suspension and expulsion rates and racial disparities in these rates for all schools in one Midwestern state. Findings indicated that type of behavior and prior infractions, race, gender and SES, and school characteristics such as Black enrollment rate and principal perspective, all made significant contributions to the probability of being suspended. Once school-level characteristics were introduced into the model, the relationship between race and OSS became non-significant. Thus, school level characteristics appear to be more important predictors of exclusionary discipline than behavioral or individual characteristics.</p>	<p>NA</p>
<p>Vossekui, B., Fein, R.A., Reddy, M., Borum, R. & Modzeleski, W (2002). <i>The final report and findings of the Safe School Initiative: Implications for the prevention of school attacks in the United States.</i> Washington, DC: United States Secret Service and United States Department of Education.</p>	<p>United States Secret Service: federal law enforcement agency United States Department of Education: federal government education agency</p>	<p>The Safe Schools Initiative studied the thinking, planning, and other pre-attack behaviors engaged in by youth who carried out school shootings. Researchers analyzed primary source data from 37 school based attacks that occurred between 1974 and 2000. Researchers found that other than being male, there is no accurate or useful "profile" of students who engaged in targeted school violence. Attackers differed in race, family structure, academic performance, behavior, popularity, and SES. Most attackers (71%) did feel bullied or persecuted prior to the incident. Attackers also showed a history of suicidal attempts or thoughts, or depression and almost all attackers had experienced or perceived a major loss prior to the attack. Most attackers had no history of violent or criminal behavior. For almost all incidents, evidence indicated that attacks were</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Because attacks are rarely impulsive acts, information can be obtained prior to the attack. However, school officials will need to move quickly to intervene. 2. Friends and schoolmates often know about the attack before it happens. Schools need to work to break down barriers that discourage students from coming forward with this information. 3. Because most attackers did not threaten targets beforehand, officials should not wait for a direct threat before investigating. 4. There is no profile of a school shooter. Rather than trying to identify a "type" of student who may

		<p>conceptualized and planned in advance and other people knew about the attacker's idea/plan in advance. Attackers, in general, did not directly threaten their targets beforehand. In many cases other students were involved in the attack in some capacity. Most attackers also engaged in behavior beforehand that caused adults concern. Most attackers had access to and knowledge of how to use weapons beforehand. Finally, most attacks were stopped by means other than law enforcement (i.e., by school staff or administrators, students, or the attacker himself).</p> <p>Threat assessment may be a promising strategy for preventing school based attacks. Threat assessment is a fact-based analytical approach that focuses on student behavior and communications.</p>	<p>engage in targeted school violence, the focus should be on communications and behaviors.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. School attackers evidenced concerning behaviors prior to the incident. Educators and other adults can learn how to pick up on these signals and make appropriate referrals. 6. Most attackers struggled to cope with loss and thought about or attempted suicide. Efforts should be made to appropriately refer students who are coping with loss and this factor should be kept in mind in any inquiry about the possibility of targeted school violence. 7. Many attackers feel bullied or persecuted. This underscores the importance of antibullying initiatives in schools. 8. Access to weapons. Attempts to acquire weapons can indicate a move from ideation to action in an attack. 9. Involvement of other students. Attention should be paid to the role of a student's friends or peers. 10. Most attacks are too brief for law enforcement to make it to the scene. This argues for the importance of preventative measures and emergency plans
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