



2019

Zero Tolerance and Self Image: A Systematic Literature Review

Caitlyn Todd

Follow this and additional works at: https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses



Part of the [Education Policy Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Todd, Caitlyn, "Zero Tolerance and Self Image: A Systematic Literature Review" (2019). *Master's Theses*. 4014.

https://ecommons.luc.edu/luc_theses/4014

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses and Dissertations at Loyola eCommons. It has been accepted for inclusion in Master's Theses by an authorized administrator of Loyola eCommons. For more information, please contact ecommons@luc.edu.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-Noncommercial-No Derivative Works 3.0 License](#).
Copyright © 2019 Caitlyn Todd

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

ZERO TOLERANCE POLICES AND SELF IMAGE:

A SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO

THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL

IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

PROGRAM IN CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

BY

CAITLYN TODD

CHICAGO, IL

MAY 2019

© Copyright by Caitlyn Todd, 2019
All rights reserved.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis supervisor, Dr. Katherine Phillippo, for her continued support, despite my lengthy timeframe with this paper. I would also like to thank my mom for constantly being my number one supporter and always pushing me to succeed, even when it takes longer (much longer) than we expected. I would like to thank my brother, Jake Todd, for ensuring my ego never gets too big. My dog, Thor, for always being available to cuddle. Also a big thanks to Zach Jones, who let me give him arbitrary deadlines for two years. One finally came to fruition.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE: STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	1
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
Racial Discrimination in Education	7
How Discrimination Affects Black Students at School.....	8
Lasting Effects Of Zero Tolerance	9
CHAPTER THREE: METHODS.....	11
Purpose and Research Questions	11
Methodology: Systematic Literature Review	11
Limitations	13
CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS.....	14
Destruction of Self-Confidence	15
Increased Recidivism.....	17
Psychological Issues	19
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS	21
Conclusions Drawn and Implications	21
Suggestions	22
APPENDIX A.....	25
RAW DATA TABLE	26
REFERENCE LIST	30
VITA.....	35

CHAPTER ONE

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Throughout history, America has ostracized people of color, particularly African-Americans, through legal and regulated means. This theme is evident from slavery, through Jim Crow, “separate but equal” laws, mass incarceration, and now, zero tolerance policies and exclusionary punishment in school settings (Ruiz, 2017). Disciplinary practices, similar to the criminal justice system, allow for administrators to legally remove African American students from a classroom, thus encroaching on their constitutional right to a free, public education. This is not to say that disciplinary action is never necessary, but exclusionary punishment proves to be a serious problem by impacting the social, mental, and educational development of those excluded (Curran, 2016). When schools unnecessarily expel or suspend students, they are being denied their constitutional right to a free public education (*Gloss v Lopez*, 1975). African Americans are removed from the classroom at a rate much higher than white children, despite the fact that they make up much less of the student population. The Civil Rights Data Collection (2014), working in tandem with the U.S. Department of Education, found that black students made up 32% to 42% of all suspensions in 2014, but only comprised 16% of the student population. The overrepresentation of black children receiving disciplinary action is apparent, and shows no signs of remedying itself, especially with the implementation of zero-tolerance policies and the exclusionary tactics they employ.

With the rise of zero tolerance over the 1990s through today, there has also been a rise in

the criminalization of school children. For example, in the 1996-97 school year only 19% of US public high schools had full time security officers and over half of schools had no law enforcement at all (National Center for Education Statistics, NCES, 1997). This changed drastically in just a decade. In the 2007-08 school year more than two out of every three public schools had a full time security officer (US Departments of Education and Justice, 2013). As of 2011, 94% of schools had a zero tolerance policy for weapons or firearms, 87% had a zero tolerance policy for alcohol, and 79% had a mandatory suspension or expulsion policy in place for violence and tobacco (NCES, 2011). The NCES (2015) also reported on the 2013-14 year, in which they found 87% of all public schools had no incidences of violent attacks. Despite this fact, 64% of high schools had a full time security officer, school resource officer, or sworn law enforcement officer on campus (NCES, 2015). These statistics, while varied in nature, show that public schools are seeing an increase in police presence. Proponents of zero tolerance policies may see these numbers as evidence that these strict measures are working; however, there is ample evidence presented in this study to show that these may be misleading, or ultimately contribute to further issues.

With additional police presence comes greater numbers of disciplined students. The number of secondary students suspended or expelled has increased roughly 40 percent from one in thirteen in the 1972-73 school year to one in nine in the 2009-10 school year (Losen & Martinez, 2013). In more recent years, it is estimated that two million students are suspended annually, while only slightly more than three million students graduate per year (US Department of Education, 2014). Given that such a large population of the student body is being disciplined under zero tolerance, it is vital to look at the repercussions of widespread suspensions.

Furthermore, the idea that black students have been committing more violent acts than in the past has been proven to be a falsehood. In fact, several studies show that school violence and disruptions have remained stable throughout the years (DeVoe et al., 2004; Dunbar & Villarrue, 2002). Perceived violence from black children can be seen in how students are disciplined. The APA (2004) and Smith (2015) found that white students tend to be suspended for more objective offenses, such as smoking, fighting, and vandalism while black students tend to be suspended for more subjective offenses. These subjective offenses allow for the disciplinarian to interpret an action as violent, when it may not have been a violent act at all. This leads to more African American students being punished under zero tolerance policies than white children, which further adds to the disparity in the way that children are treated in class (Triplett, Allen & Lewis, 2014).

Despite the overwhelming evidence that zero-tolerance policies are used disproportionately against black children, many schools are still relying on them as a disciplinary tool, which furthers the divide amongst white and black students, and does nothing to remedy the negative effects these policies have. Zero tolerance policies are defined as predetermined consequences or punishments for certain actions, regardless of the circumstances leading up to the actions. This allows for little wiggle room in determining punishments, thus the reason behind the action deemed worthy of discipline cannot be taken into account. These punishments also tend to be severe in an effort to prevent repeat offenders (APA, 2006; Skiba, 2000). The lack of discretion in this definition should make it difficult for discrimination to occur, but when black students' behaviors are perceived to be more disruptive or dangerous than other students, those black students are punished more often, which is undeniably not fair. It is important to see how this discrimination impacts black students, specifically regarding additional problems later

in schooling or in their attitude towards school, given the statistics on recidivism and studies showing the negative effects later in life, which are discussed further in the study's findings. Additionally, studies show that students are less satisfied with their schools if expulsion is heavily relied on, and that students who are regularly disciplined are more likely to have discipline problems later in school (APA, 2006). When nearly 40% of a population receives disciplinary action, and the severe punishments that come with zero tolerance policies, it is vital that we understand the impact of disciplinary action.

The over representation of African American students receiving a suspension or an expulsion leads to many negative outcomes. These include grade retention, dropping out of school, academic failure, recidivism, and distrust for authoritative figures (Noguera, 1995; Smith, 2015). Along with those consequences, this can suggest to students that the discrimination of black students is warranted, and may even be tolerable (Noguera, 1995; Robbins, 2005; Sullivan et al., 2010). Along with these consequences, Robbins (2005) found that some students suffered a "social death", in which an individual is treated as if they are dead, nonexistent, or they simply do not matter. This is a problem that can occur for African Americans when they have been consistently left out of public life by unfair disciplinary practices in school, unfair hiring practices in their adult life, and their overrepresentation in the prison system. Banning zero tolerance policies obviously is not the only remedy to avoiding African Americans suffering from a social death, but it is one step that could help fix the problem.

The opportunity to succeed in school should be equal for all children, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, or sexuality. However, with zero tolerance policies, schools treat students differently based on race. The U.S. Department of Education (2014) found that black children suffer from zero-tolerance policies at a rate that is twice that of white children, and when the

punishment warrants suspension, black children are being denied their rate to attend school at a rate that is twice that of white children. APA (2008) found that African American students do not exhibit higher rates of disruption, but they may be disciplined more severely for less serious or more subjective reasons (p. 854). This can create a huge disadvantage for black students who additionally wrestle with discrimination outside of school, fewer job prospects after school, and other disadvantages in society (Kupchik & Catlaw, 2014). Given that their education is at stake with zero tolerance policies, it is important that we determine the immediate and lasting effects these policies have on black children so we can work to remedy them.

This study investigates zero tolerance policies' effects, asking, "How do zero tolerance policies affect the way black students view themselves?" My process to answering this question begins in chapter two of this study, the literature review. In reviewing the literature, it became apparent that zero tolerance policies are used in troublesome ways and that they cause numerous issues amongst schoolchildren. This review led me to question the effects these policies have on the individual child, not just the system as a whole.

The third chapter in this thesis focuses on my research question and the methods I used in an effort to answer it. My question, as stated above, was about how zero tolerance policies affect the way black children view themselves. This chapter discusses the way I used a systematic literature review as a method to determine the answer to this question. I closely read studies that related to this topic, and from this discerned three main effects that the discriminatory use of zero tolerance policies have on the way black children view themselves.

The next chapter, the findings section, goes into these effects. It begins with the destruction of self-confidence that zero tolerance policies cause. This is followed up by the increased chance of recidivism while in school, and the likelihood of criminal behavior outside

of school. The last effect this study found was that zero tolerance policies can increase the chance of one suffering from psychological issues, such as PTSD, anxiety, and depression. These findings, when coupled together, can be seen to negatively affect the self-image of black children.

The last chapter of this study, the conclusion, focuses on tying these findings together to show how they can negatively affect the self-image of black children, while also discussing the impacts this can have. This section also discusses suggestions that were drawn from relevant literature that studies more effective and inclusive disciplinary policies, like restorative justice policies. This paper is organized in a way to lay out the issues with zero tolerance policies, discuss the question I have regarding them and my methods for answering it, presenting my findings, and ending with suggestions to use better policies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature review will discuss why and how racial discrimination occurs in zero tolerance policies, how the discrimination affects students of color, and what, if any, lasting effects remain because of this discrimination. This review will demonstrate the necessity for investigating the effects of zero tolerance policies and how they affect black students' self-image.

Racial Discrimination in Education

Historically, African Americans have not been given equal treatment in schools. In fact, for much of history, this discrimination was codified into laws like Jim Crow laws, and separate but equal policies. Zero tolerance laws and policies make it more difficult for black students to have equal opportunities for success in education specifically, but also in society as a whole. For example, in schools where students of color make up more than half of the population, there are often more security measures than in schools that are predominately white (Dunbar, Jr. & Villarruel, 2002; Triplett, Allen & Lewis, 2014; Johnson, 2017). Additional security measures create a different learning environment for those students, and the perception that students of color require greater security measures suggests that those students have a greater propensity to be involved in violent acts (Simmons, 2009).

Increased policing in schools through the use of zero tolerance policies suggests that schools with a predominately African American student population require surveillance

(Duncan, 2011, p. 156). This increased police presence in schools could be connected to the broken windows policing policy, explained by the idea that minor infractions (such as begging, graffiti, litter, etc.), if unchecked can produce an environment where more serious crime can flourish (Sridhar, 2006). Zero tolerance policies have grown from this idea that punishing smaller infractions with harsh punishments can help prevent more disruptions in schools (Sridhar, 2006). The increased policing in schools with predominately African American populations is evident in schools implementing more punitive disciplinary measures than suburban schools serving a predominately white population (Johnson, 2017). It has become easier for administrators to suspend or expel misbehaving students than attempting to get to the root of their misbehavior (Giroux, 2003). The fact that administrators overly rely on punitive punishments may help lead to the idea that black students are more violent or more disruptive than their white counterparts.

How Discrimination Affects Black Students at School

Considering the vast overrepresentation of African American students receiving punishment under zero tolerance policies, it is important to look at how this affects their development and their self-image. The overrepresentation of African American students that receive exclusionary punishments can cause students to feel “powerless against an omnipotent school system or isolated and disenfranchised” (Epp & Watkinson, 1997, p. 145). Suspension of African American students strongly correlates with poor academic achievement, grade retention, delinquency, and substance abuse (American Bar Association and National Bar Association, 2001). A single suspension can double the risk that a student will repeat a grade, in addition, while correlation does not equal causation, a student who receives one suspension can be 68

percent more likely to drop out of school than a student who never receives one (Kang-Brown, et al., 2013).

In addition to the problems that exclusionary punishment can cause, it is just as important to explore the internal effects of a racially biased discipline system. Consistently having one's behavior viewed as more of a threat than one's white counterparts can lead to an inability to sufficiently develop self-discipline, which can make it more difficult for the student to make responsible decisions for themselves by inhibiting their ability to determine what is truly right and wrong, and what actions are just perceived to be right or wrong (Winn et al., 2011, p. 156). This culture of surveillance and policing can also prevent children from viewing their schools as a place of safety and hinder their ability to trust that their teachers and other school personnel will act as their advocates (Meiners, 2010, p. 30). The inability for students to develop trust for school administrators and to develop self-discipline can create problems down the line, in a way, creating a self-fulfilling prophecy for these students who have been viewed as a threat during their school career.

Lasting Effects Of Zero Tolerance

The impact of zero tolerance policies on students is vital to investigate, specifically the long-term effects on students, as these children go on to become adults, and we should want our children growing up to be the best adults they are able to be. Many of these lasting effects are psychological. For example, some educational psychologists found that the extreme measures that zero tolerance policies take may be traumatic enough to cause students to suffer with posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD) later in life (Hyman & Perone, 1998). When black students realize they are disciplined at a higher rate than their white counterparts, they may begin to believe adults do not care about them and that regardless of how they behave, their actions will

be perceived to be more problematic than white children (Hines-Datiri & Carter-Andrews, 2017). This attitude can continue later in life and affect how they view other authoritative figures (Teske, 2011, p. 92). In today's world, it is important that black children learn to trust authoritative figures and that authoritative figures are not conditioned to view black children as more of a threat than white children.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODS

Purpose and Research Questions

The purpose of this systematic literature review is to determine what effects, if any, zero-tolerance policies have on black students. This following research question guided this study: How do zero tolerance policies affect the way black students view themselves? The answers to this question can inform disciplinary policy changes that need to be implemented and further enlighten policy makers, in and outside of education, the issues that will continue if no change is enacted. If we begin to acknowledge the negative effects of zero tolerance policies, perhaps we can work to remedy them.

Methodology: Systematic Literature Review

This study depends upon previous empirical studies, including both qualitative and quantitative, in the process of performing a systematic literature review to determine what effects zero tolerance policies have on the development of black children's self-image. A systematic literature review allows for a synthesis of "existing work in a manner that is fair and seen to be fair" (Kitchenham et al., 2009, p. 9). With this in mind, a researcher must "make every effort to identify and report research that does not support their preferred research hypothesis as well as identifying and reporting research that supports it" (Kitchenham et al., 2009, p. 9). As this study is dependent upon previous research, it aims to provide a critical synthesis of studies relating the negative effects of zero tolerance policies for black students' self-images. This method enables

one to be able to analyze the findings of multiple studies in an effort to get a more holistic answer to a research question, thus allowing for a more informed answer to the research question.

For this paper, I examined studies performed by experts in the field of school discipline and racial discrimination. The empirical studies examined were delimited to the period of 1995 to present day. This time frame was selected because zero-tolerance policies first began emerging in public schools in the early to mid 1990s and, by today, many researchers have had the opportunity to study the subject and to determine if there are any negative or positive effects on black students' self-image.

I relied on online databases, including JSTOR, ERIC, PsychInfo and Google Scholar, to obtain relevant articles for review. To find these articles, I entered the following search terms, alone and in combination, into the aforementioned databases: *zero-tolerance in schools, self-image, lasting effects, impacts on students, discrimination, black students, and African American students*. As this search brought up a plethora of articles, I accepted or rejected articles based on the abstract and whether or not they related to my research question. To determine the relevance of the articles, I checked to see if the title of the article, or the abstract, included words such as *zero tolerance, discrimination, self-image, problems, racial, impacts, and effects*. The articles that met this criteria were then read and analyzed to determine how well they discussed problems seen in schools using zero tolerance policies and if they discussed the problems students see later in school, and in life if they received disciplinary action at higher rates than their white counterparts. Due to a somewhat limited amount of research done specifically into how zero tolerance policies affect the self-image of black children, some of the chosen articles also discuss the exclusionary policies used under zero tolerance policies. The articles that focused on

exclusionary policies did so under a zero tolerance framework, so I decided to include those in the study as well. After performing this search, I closely read and synthesized the remaining articles in an effort to answer my research question. In doing this, I began by reading the abstract of the study, and if that study seemed to indicate it would be discussing the effects zero tolerance policies have on children, then I closely read the study in an effort to discern what effects the study found. As appendix A shows, the studies chosen for the study indicated three major effects that zero tolerance or exclusionary policies can have on students: destruction of self confidence, increased recidivism, and an increased chance of having psychological issues. In an effort to have a more holistic base of sources, I did not exclude any studies that may have disproven my initial thoughts; however, no such studies were found.

Limitations

Limitations do exist with this type of research, particularly when looking at the research question. According to Kitchenham (2009), one disadvantage is that there is an increased power for meta-analysis, which makes it more likely to detect small biases as well as true effects. In addition to the technical disadvantages, a few also exist within the body of work that is being analyzed. Most of the studies on the effects of zero-tolerance policies were done because researchers were suspicious of schools targeting minority populations. For that reason, most articles do focus on the negative effects and do not discuss what, if any, positive outcomes zero-tolerance policies have. As that is the case, a slight bias is possible, but if positive outcomes had arisen, I am confident there would be statistics on what those were. For that reason, I do not believe there to be any bias.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

After performing a thorough systematic review of relevant literature pertaining to my research question, I have reached several conclusions regarding the effects of racial discrimination found in school discipline, specifically zero tolerance discipline policies, and the exclusion that comes from them. This section will discuss the findings made. In the appendix, there is a full chart of sources used and claims found within each. Through my analysis, I found 25 studies that discussed the impacts zero tolerance policies have on black student's self-image.

The questions of if and how zero tolerance policies affect minority children's self image and their relationship with society, and later, with authority, are important because having a positive self image, and relationship with society and authority, makes one's life so much easier and makes it more likely that the person will have a fulfilling, happy life (Kupchik & Catlaw, 2014). From the thorough review of related research, it is apparent that the discriminatory use of these policies negatively impacts minority children and their development of a positive self-image. Numerous studies show that zero tolerance policies are applied discriminatorily to individuals, but few touch on the impact that this discrimination has on the total student population. This is important, as the impact of zero tolerance policies not only affect the minority students in the moment but also creates further harm by the way white children view their fellow students of color, which can further impact the place black students see themselves having in school and the classroom (Harvard Law Review, 2006). In sum, minority children are doubly

affected by, and discriminated against in, a zero tolerance disciplinary school system.

As Appendix A shows, the synthesization of the relevant literature identifies three main effects of the discriminatory use of zero tolerance policies. These findings were partially derived by performing the literature review. However, they were more thoroughly developed by analyzing the results of the literature reviewed. The three major impacts found during this comprehensive study include the destruction of self-confidence in minority children, increased recidivism or likelihood of future criminal action, and psychological issues. While not the focus of this study, another finding was the impact this has on white students. For example, seeing minority children being punished at a higher rate, and for more subjective reasons, can impact the way that white children view minority children, either advertently or inadvertently. This can cause further discrimination later in life as black and white students or coworkers interact, especially if the white person is in a position of power, and they have been taught that black people are more likely to cause disruptions (Larke & Webb-Hasan, 2010). As stated, this is not the focus of this study, but it is one that will be touched on because it can have damaging impacts as well.

Destruction of Self-Confidence

The first negative effect on children to be highlighted is the destruction of self-confidence, specifically among the minority children who are more often disciplined under zero tolerance policies. When a student is treated as if they are less worthy than other children, one might start to believe that it is true, which can impact their self-confidence (Ward & Delessert, 2014). Mirroring this finding, when white students constantly see their black classmates being treated more harshly, they may begin to feel that those students deserve to be treated differently (Harvard Law Review, 2005). An extension of this theme, or another result of exclusionary

discipline policies, results in students being secluded, or withdrawn, from school, as they feel they are not welcome (Basford, Borer & Lewis, 2014; Winn et al, 2006). This method of exclusion does not aid in helping minority students develop self-confidence and if anything, it may aid in decreasing self-confidence (Sullivan, Larke & Webb-Hasan, 2010; Triplett, Allen & Lewis, 2014; Cameron & Sheppard, 2006).

Acceptance by ones' peers is an important part in the development of a healthy self-confidence, and zero tolerance policies do not help in achieving this feeling of acceptance. Punishments, more often than not, include out-of-school suspension or expulsion for students of color (Sullivan, Larke, & Webb-Hasan, 2010). Triplett, Allen, and Lewis (2014) found that the exclusion of minority students tended to happen for such subjective offenses as a bad attitude. They cited prior studies showing the importance of having the ability to be yourself around your peers, but when you can be punished for subjective issues, and when some teachers react to any emotions expressed by black students as potentially violent, black students may see that they are not allowed to just be themselves in school (Nelson, 2008). This feeling of not being able to be yourself contributes to the lack of self-confidence exclusionary policies create.

However, this discrimination in school does not exist in a bubble. It may result in students losing faith in themselves and in society as a whole (Epp & Watkinson, 1997). As one study found, the students are aware of this "throwaway status, and once they become disinvested in their education process, "they become targets for policies and practices that push them out of school and into detention centers and jail" (Review of Research in Education, 2011). Furthermore, through the variety of "manifest and latent rituals in schools, many minority and lower class students learn that they are not much valued in school, and in society in general"

(Verdugo, 2002). This is detrimental to the development of one's self-confidence and the way that they view their place in the school system and society in general.

Ultimately, these experiences can be so powerful and aversive that “some students develop a negative self-identity” (Cameron & Sheppard, 2006). These disciplinary methods can, and do, affect the long-term social and emotional well being of students. This reason, along with others presented in my study, should inspire a policy change that fairly and consistently applies discipline based on the nature of the behavior, not on the color of the skin or the economic class. When one believes in themselves, they are able to achieve much more in life than someone who has been taught that zero tolerance is of value and that more intolerance for marginalized groups – black children – is warranted and legally mandated, if not tolerable and desirable (Robbins, 2005). As Stiggins (1999) found, if students lack confidence, they will not be successful. This leads to his finding that having confidence is one predictor of success in school. With these findings in mind, it is evident that zero tolerance policies negatively affect a child's ability to have confidence in themselves, thus negatively impacting their ability to succeed in school.

Increased Recidivism

A second critical impact of discriminatory zero tolerance policies is increased recidivism, or the likelihood of future school infractions, and can even increase the likelihood of future criminal actions outside of school (Ward & Delessert, 2014). Similar to the destruction of self-confidence, this result continues to impact students as they become adults. As many statistics show, the United States' prison population trumps that of most developed nations (ACLU, 2019), and these exclusionary disciplinary policies help to funnel children into the system through the school-to-prison pipeline (Walker, 2014).

Several studies support the finding that discipline under zero tolerance policies can have more negative effects on behavior than positive effects. This can be seen in Sullivan, Larke, and Webb-Hasan's 2010 study of Texas' school discipline policies that found that "...suspensions and expulsions may exacerbate rather than reduce behavior problems because the implementation of the ZT has increased the population of expelled and suspended students, specifically African American males," (p. 80). This finding seems to hold true across multiple studies. In addition to finding that zero tolerance may exacerbate, rather than reduce behavior problems, one study found that "the risk of later incarceration for students who are suspended or expelled and arrested is also great" (Heitzeg, 2009). As noted, studies continue to support the idea that zero tolerance discipline policies are increasing the likelihood that a student will become a member of our prison population, or at least face trouble in the legal system, later in life (Triplett, Allen & Lewis, 2014; Ward & Delessart, 2014; Welch & Payne, 2010).

In consideration of the increased likelihood of future entanglements with the prison system, extreme disciplinary reactions, such as zero tolerance, can result in higher rates of repeat offenses (Ward & Delessert, 2014). These extreme measures can also contribute to "poor academic achievement, grade retention, delinquency, and substance abuse" (Wallace Jr, Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008). These results have then also been linked to future disciplinary actions in an ongoing cycle. In addition, one study deemed these policies to have a self-fulfilling prophecy (Simmons, 2009). The author found that these policies suggest to the targeted youth that they embody troublesome identities that require criminalization, thus leading to the self-fulfilling prophecy. Along with the obvious issues that come with being in the prison system, zero tolerance policies can also increase one's chances of dropping, or being pushed, out of high school (Walker, 2014). When students are punished less harshly, and under less

restrictive policies, their chances for success after school become more likely, which lowers the chances of them entering into the prison system (Daly et al., 2016).

Psychological Issues

The last conclusion drawn from the literature review is that the discriminatory use, and the harsh punishments, of zero tolerance policies can cause immediate and lasting psychological issues (Hyman & Perone, 1998; Curran, 2016). When students suffer from fear or anxiety while at school, it becomes difficult for schools to then provide the academic and social enrichment they are designed to provide (Ward & Delessert, 2014). The results from this study indicate that the extreme measures that zero tolerance policies take may be traumatic enough to cause students to suffer with PTSD later in life and to suffer through immediate mental health issues, such as depression and anxiety (Hyman & Perone, 1998).

As noted, zero tolerance policies can cause immediate psychological issues in children but also PTSD is a prevalent psychological effect. Triplett, Allen, and Lewis (2014) found that the inappropriate use of school discipline has been linked to PTSD, depression, anxiety, and aggressive behavior in and outside of school. The fear that comes from the constant threat of having actions misinterpreted increases the anxiety and fear in a child (Ward & Delessart, 2014). This anxiety can also internalize as hostility towards those who make you fearful (Ward & Delessert, 2014). Hostility towards authoritative figures from black students tends to be taken as more aggressive than it would be from a white child, thus increasing the likelihood that the hostile behavior may be punished (Heitzeg, (2009).

Anxiety is also a major issue that children who receive more scrutiny in school may face. For example, “receiving discipline suggests to some students that they failed in the eyes of the teacher...and that they are bad” (Cameron & Sheppard, 2006). This creates tension in the

classroom from students that are fearful that any small disagreement can be perceived as a threatening action that warrants harsh discipline. This tension increases fear that can breed a heightened level of anxiety (Ward & Delessert, 2014).

With these effects in mind, it is no wonder that students in this situation can begin to suffer from a social death (Robbins, 2005). This psychological effect can be detrimental to the mental health of students. Králová (2015), states that three conditions contribute to one experiencing social death: a loss of social identity, a loss of social connectedness, and losses associated with disintegration of the body (which obviously does not occur in school children). He gives the simple definition of not being able to take part in daily activities. Zero tolerance policies are founded on the premise of separating “problem children” from their peers. When a student is removed from a situation, he is not being allowed to take part in daily activities. Not all students who are disciplined through zero tolerance policies will experience this extreme psychological effect, but for the ones who do it can be hard rebound (Borgstrom, 2017). If a policy is capable of creating these detrimental, lasting, psychological effects on a student, it seems that the policy should not be enforced.

In conclusion, the studies reviewed show that zero tolerance policies have three major negative effects. These are seen in the destruction of their self-confidence, the likelihood of future, or increased rates of recidivism, and also by the psychological effects cause by the harsh and discriminatory use of the policies. The following discussion section will talk about other problems with their resultant negative effects from this policy, what can be done to correct the policies and how to move forward with the goal of providing all children an education in a safe, inclusive environment that provides hope and opportunity for success.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION, IMPLICATIONS, AND SUGGESTIONS

Conclusions Drawn and Implications

The application of zero-tolerance policies is a subject that needs to be reviewed in order to identify and then remedy the possible negative effects on students' development of self-image, and the negative lasting effects these policies can have. If these policies are being used to target minority students, then something needs to be done to remedy the overrepresentation of black students receiving punishment. A review of the literature has shown that the discriminatory use of zero tolerance policies does have an impact on the development and self-image of minority children. Numerous studies, shown in Appendix A, show how zero tolerance policies affect the self-confidence of black children. The discriminatory use of these policies show black children that their lives are not as valuable as their white classmates. A black child's behavior is more likely to be perceived as violent or disruptive than a white child. Once the students begin to notice this, their self-confidence can be destroyed because they notice that they are not allowed to grow and develop as a person in the same way a white child is. Their mistakes are viewed as more intentional than a white child who just "messed up" (Smith, 2015).

Additionally, the increased rate of recidivism that this study found is equally alarming. If school is viewed as a means to a more successful life, we are doing students an injustice by allowing this policy to continue. As my systematic literature review showed, when a child is expelled or suspended from school, they are much more likely to experience legal trouble later in

life. They are also more likely to receive punishment later in their schooling, not just after school is done. With the increased chance of recidivism that comes from the use of this policy, we are not giving our children the chance of success. Students who are constantly being punished in school have a higher chance of dropping out, thus decreasing their chance of success in finding a well-paying job (Walker, 2014). These factors can contribute to the inability for black children to develop a positive self-image as it is hard to be positive when you are in and out of the system due to zero tolerance policies.

The last implication this study focuses on is that of psychological issues that are a result of the harsh punishments involved with zero tolerance policies, and the discriminatory way in which they are applied. These include PTSD, anxiety, depression, and in some cases, black children can experience the feeling of social death. Specifically, there is a direct correlation between students that are punished under zero tolerance policies experiencing these psychological issues (Curran, 2016). Students perform better when they feel comfortable in school, and also, when they are not suffering from anxiety around their actions and how they may be perceived in the classroom. Less punitive disciplinary measures may help to lessen these issues and feelings within students, thus helping them perform better in school.

Suggestions

This study is not suggesting that discipline is unwarranted. In fact, discipline, when applied consistently and fairly, allows students the opportunity to grow and learn behaviors that will foster positive interactions in school and society. The findings from this study instead suggest the need to reevaluate the approach we take to disciplining children, for example, replacing punitive measures, like zero tolerance, with more restorative measures, like restorative justice. With that being said, studies referenced here note that some schools are trying to

positively move forward regarding their approach to discipline. One of the more popular approaches at this time is discipline based on restorative justice. Restorative justice is an innovative approach to both “offending or challenging behavior which puts repairing harm done to relationships and people over and above the need for assigning blame and dispensing punishment” (Wright, 1999). Restorative justice is essentially the opposite of the more traditional discipline approach of exclusionary punishment. For example, instead of defining misbehavior as breaking school rules or letting the school down, restorative justice defines it as harm done to one person or group by another. (Wright, 1999) This definition of discipline, coupled with the focus on repairing students’ relationships, has the potential to lead to emotional growth amongst those involved. One study found that restorative circle programs helped to interrupt the school-to-prison pipeline and improved student-teacher relationships, and also their academic performance (Ortega et al., 2016). Instead of making a student feel like they are letting the school and themselves down, and making them feel like they are not capable of contributing in a positive way to the school environment, this method allows for the student to learn how to fix the relationship they have with their peers, adults, and community, thus strengthening that relationship.

Another suggested method of discipline is positive behavior support. This can be defined as “the application of behavior analysis to achieve a socially important behavior change,” (Thompson, 2016). This started as a method to help students with severe disabilities who showed extreme forms of aggression, but some schools have begun using it for the whole student body. Thompson found this method to be effective because it consists of a support system, or team, made up of many school personnel, like administrators, faculty, and staff members. These teams meet once a month to identify new issues, find solutions to those issues, and then communicate

them to the entire school. This is done for the whole student body, not just one specific student, which can be beneficial in encouraging positive behavior.

Both of these suggestions require a more positive approach to discipline, as opposed to the traditional exclusionary approaches. Students who feel like they have the chance to make mistakes, without those mistakes costing them their education, they are more able to flourish and grow with their education. When schools invest in the children, and show them that they matter, and that even when they make a mistake, they are still welcome in the classroom, the children can develop a more positive self-image, which can help them to be successful later in life. This is worth investing the time to find a remedy, as this study does not set out to determine what the best method is, but it does show the negative effects that zero tolerance policies have on black children. In conclusion, when a disciplinary policy has consistently shown to have multiple, long lasting, negative effects on children, especially on a population that already faces discrimination outside of school, that policy is problematic. School should be a place where children have an even playing field, not one where black children feel that they have to conform to the majority white culture or fear that they will be punished for not do

APENDIX A
RAW DATA TABLE

APPENDIX A

RAW DATA TABLE

Source Name	URL	Destruction of self confidence	Increased recidivism or likelihood of future criminal action	Psychological issues
Race, Gender, and Class	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/41674726.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ab		"...suspensions and expulsions may exacerbate rather than reduce behavior problems because the implementation of the ZT has increased the population of expelled and suspended students, specifically African American males"	
The Phi Delta Kappa	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/20439601.pdf?refreqid=search%3A15d		"any intervention that treats dissimilar problems with similar behavioral outcomes the same is not only unfair but destined to fail"	
ABA Journal	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/44159911.pdf?refreqid=search%3A15d083776eb24312486f2ca4c6d00a9f		"...extreme disciplinary reactions are resulting in higher rates of repeat offenses"	"There's a real tension here-from hostility, fear, and chaos that breeds a heightened level of anxiety..."
Social Problems	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/10.1525/sp.2010.57.1.25.pdf?refreqid		"This not only affects future prospects of employment...but also the likelihood of involvement in crime and the criminal justice system"	
The Journal of Negro Education	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/10.7709/jnegroeducation.83.3.0352.p	"Punitive discipline and academic struggles also affect the long-term social and emotional well being of students"	"Suspension strongly correlates with future delinquency and substance use..."	"Inappropriate use of school discipline has also been linked to posttraumatic stress disorder, depression, anxiety, and aggressive behavior in and outside of school."
Children & Schools	http://cojustice.org/School%20Discipline%20and%20Social%20Work%20Practice.pdf	"Such experiences can be powerful and aversive enough that some students may develop a negative self-identity"	"Receiving discipline suggests to some students that they failed in the eyes of the teacher, a 'significant other', and that they are 'bad'"	"School discipline has been linked with posttraumatic stress disorder (PTSD), depression, anxiety, etc..."

Education and Urban Society	http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.922.4902&rep=rep1&type=pdf	"through a variety of manifest and latent rituals in schools, many minority and lower class students learn that they are not much valued in school and in society in general"	"... declares that students with oppositional viewpoints tend to increase their likelihood of dropping out and/or resigning themselves to a nonmainstream way of life"	
Forum on Public Policy Online	https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ870076.pdf		"The risk of later incarceration for students who are suspended or expelled and unrested is also great"	
The Journal of Negro Education	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/10.7709/jnegroeducation.83.3.0338.p		"That practice of criminalizing traditional school-related infractions has led to increased juvenile arrests and secure detention, positioning youth on school-to-prison pathways"	
Counterpoints	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/42982343.pdf?refreqid=search%3A9bc090e55d5bd7cb6d31680afe03bec6	"Feelings of shame, humiliation, and anger may set off an irreversible downward trajectory...they may feel rejected and unwanted"	"There is a direct link between these exclusionary discipline consequences and entrance to prison..."	
The Negro Educational Review				"Suspension of African American students strongly correlates with poor academic achievement, grade retention, delinquency, and substance abuse"
Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/25595013.pdf		"Punitive policies, such as zero tolerance, also suggest to youth that they embody troublesome identities that require criminalization, and this suggestion could act as a self-fulfilling prophesy"	
Review of Research in Education	http://www.jstor.org/flagship.luc.edu/stable/pdf/41349015.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A89535723cb35d19168d448997fa996b	"Youth are aware of this 'throwaway' status; once they become disinvested in their education process they become targets for policies and	"Today, students of color are dropping out and being pushed out of high school, which limits job options and contributes to the school-prison nexus."	

	e	practices that push them out of schools and into detention centers and jails"		
Epp, R. & Watkinson, A.			students begin to feel "powerless against an omnipotent school system or isolated and disenfranchised"	
Meiners, E. R.		"...for them to trust that their teachers and other school personnel will act as their advocates"	"the inability for students to develop trust for school administrators and for them to develop self-discipline can create problems down the line."	
Journal of School Psychology				"...the extreme measures that zero tolerance policies take may be traumatic enough to cause students to suffer with posttraumatic stress disorder later in life"
Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing		"When black students realize they are disciplined at a higher rate than their white counterparts they begin to believe adults do not care about them"		
Report of the APA Task Force on Zero Tolerance	http://www.apa.org/pubs/info/reports/zero-tolerance-report.pdf		"rather than reducing the likelihood of disruption however, school suspension in general appears to predict higher future rates of misbehavior and suspension among those students who are suspended"	
Harvard Educational Review		"...all students are taught that this discrimination of students of color is warranted, and may even be tolerable"		
The Journal of Negro Education	http://www.jstor.org/stable/40027226	Found that some students suffered a "social death" from the misuse of zero tolerance policies		
Race, Gender, and Class	http://www.jstor.org/stable/41674726	"When students of color are victimized, it sends the message to		

		them that those in authority cannot be trusted"		
Urban Education	journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/0042085917690204			"...the complex detrimental effects of ZTPs on Black girls' urban schooling experiences and identity development"
Critical Examinations of School Violence and Disturbance in K-12 Education	https://www.researchgate.net/publication/306320654_Racial_disproportionalities_in_discipline_The_role_of_zero_tolerance_policies			"...exposure is predictive of psychological trauma and violent behavior."
APA Handbook of Psychology and Juvenile Justice	https://www.researchgate.net/publication/306320654_Racial_disproportionalities_in_discipline_The_role_of_zero_tolerance_policies		"...zero tolerance approach and describe how these policies have contributed to the school-to-prison pipeline."	

REFERENCE LIST

- American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). (2019). *Smart Justice*. Retrieved from <https://www.aclu.org/issues/smart-justice>.
- American Bar Association and National Bar Association. (2001). Justice by gender: The lack of appropriate prevention, diversion and treatment alternatives for girls in the justice system. *William & Mary Journal of Race, Gender, and Social Justice*, 9(1), 73-97. Retrieved from <https://scholarship.law.wm.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?referer=https://www.google.com/&httpsredir=1&article=1182&context=wmjowl>.
- American Psychological Association (APA), Zero Tolerance Task Force. (2006). *Report of the APA Task Force on Zero Tolerance*. Retrieved from <http://www.apa.org/pubs/info/reports/zero-tolerance-report.pdf>.
- APA. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in schools? *American Psychologist*, 63(9), 852-862. doi: 10.1037/0003-066X.63.9.852.
- Basford, L., Borer, B., & Lewis, J. (2014). A reason to be angry: A mother, her sons, and the school to prison pipeline. *Counterpoints*, 453, 260-279. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42982343>.
- Borgstrom, E. (2017). Social death. *QJM: An International Journal of Medicine*, 110(1), 5-7. doi:10.1093/qjmed/hcw183.
- Cameron, M. & Sheppard, S. M. (2006). School discipline and social work practice: Application of research and theory to intervention. *Children & Schools*, 28, 15-22. doi:10.1093/cs/28.1.15.
- Curran, F. C. (2016). Racial disproportionalities in discipline: The role of zero tolerance policies. In G. Crews (Ed.), *Critical examinations of school violence and disturbance in K-12 education*, (pp. 149-164). Hershey, PA: IGI Global.
- Curwin, R. & Mendler, A. (1999). Zero tolerance for zero tolerance. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 81(2), 119-120. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20439601>.
- Epp, R. & Watkinson, A. (1997). *Systematic violence in education: Promises broken*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Daly, B. P., Hildenbrand, A. K., Haney-Caron, E., Goldstein, N. E. S., Galloway, M., & DeMatteo, D. (2016). Disrupting the school-to-prison pipeline: Strategies to reduce the risk of school-based zero tolerance policies resulting in juvenile justice involvement. In K. Heilbrun, D. DeMatteo, & N. E. S. Goldstein (Eds.), *APA handbooks in psychology series. APA handbook of psychology and juvenile justice* (pp. 257-275). Washington DC: American Psychological Association.
- Dunbar, C. & Villarruel, F. (2002). Urban school leaders and the implementation of zero-tolerance policies: An examination of its implications. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 77(1), 82-104. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/1492999>.
- Giroux, H. (2003). Racial injustice and disposable youth in the age of zero tolerance. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(4), 553-565. doi:10.1080/0951839032000099543.
- Goss v. Lopez. (n.d.). *Oyez*. Retrieved November 22, 2016, from <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1974/73-898>.
- Heitzeg, N. A. (2009). Education or incarceration: Zero tolerance policies and the school to prison pipeline. *Forum on Public Policy Online*, 2009, 1-21. Retrieved from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ870076.pdf>.
- Hines-Datiri, D., & Carter-Andrews, D. J. (2017). The effects of zero tolerance policies on Black girls: Using critical race feminism and figured worlds to examine school discipline. *Urban Education*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085917690204>
- Hyman, I. A. & Perone, D. C. (1998). The other side of school violence: Educator policies and practices that may contribute to student misbehavior. *Journal of School Psychology*, 36(1), 7-27. doi:10.1016/S0022-4405(97)87007-0.
- Johnson, B. (2017). Safeguarding students' access to education: An analysis of stop-and-frisk and zero-tolerance policies. *Colleagues*, 14(1), 62-67. Retrieved from <https://scholarworks.gvsu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1286&context=colleagues>.
- Kang-Brown, J., Trone, J., Fratello, J., & Daftary-Kapur, T. (2013). A generation later: What we've learned about zero tolerance in schools. *VERA Institute of Justice: Center of Youth Justice, December 2013*. Retrieved from https://storage.googleapis.com/vera-web-assets/downloads/Publications/a-generation-later-what-weve-learned-about-zero-tolerance-in-schools/legacy_downloads/zero-tolerance-in-schools-policy-brief.pdf.
- Kitchenham, B., Brereton, O. P., Budgen, D., Turner, M., Bailey, J., & Linkman, S. (2009). Systematic literature reviews in software engineering—a systematic literature review. *Information and Software Technology*, 51(1), 7-15. doi:10.1016/j.infsof.2008.09.009.
- Králová, J. (2015). What is social death? *Contemporary Social Science*, 10, 235-248. doi:10.1080/21582041.2015.1114407.

- Kupchik, A., & Catlaw, T. J. (2015). Discipline and participation: The long-term effects of suspension and school security on the political and civic engagement of youth. *Youth & Society*, 47(1), 95–124. doi:10.1177/0044118X14544675
- Meiners, E. R. (2007). *Right to be hostile: Schools, prisons, and the making of public enemies*. London, UK: Routledge.
- National Center for Education Statistics. (1997). *Violence and discipline problems in U.S. public schools*.
- Nicholas P., Triplett, Allen, A., & Lewis, C. W. (2014). Zero tolerance, school shootings, and the post-Brown quest for equity in discipline policy: An examination of how urban minorities are punished for white suburban violence. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 83(3), 352-370. doi:10.7709/jnegroeducation.83.3.0352.
- Noguera, P. A. (1995). Preventing and producing violence: A critical analysis of responses to school violence. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65, 189-212. Retrieved from <http://youthjusticenc.org/download/education-justice/prevention-intervention-alternatives/Preventing%20and%20Producing%20Violence:%20A%20Critical%20Analysis%20of%20Responses%20to%20School%20Violence.pdf>.
- Ortega, L., Lyubansky, M., Nettles, S., & Espelage, D. L. (2016). Outcomes of a restorative circles program in a high school setting. *Psychology of Violence*, 6(3), 459-468. doi:10.1037/vio0000048.
- Robbins, C. (2005). Zero tolerance and the politics of racial injustice. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 74(1), 2-17. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/40027226>.
- Ruiz, R. (2017). School-to-Prison Pipeline: An Evaluation of Zero Tolerance Policies and Their Alternatives. *Houston Law Review*, 54(3), 807-816. Retrieved February 6, 2019, from <https://houstonlawreview.org/article/3920-school-to-prison-pipeline-an-evaluation-of-zero-tolerance-policies-and-their-alternatives>.
- Simmons, L. (2009). End of the line: Tracing racial inequality from school to prison. *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts*, 2(2), 215-241. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25595013>.
- Skiba, R. J., & Knesting, K. (2001). Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2001(92), 17-43. Retrieved from http://indiana.edu/~equity/articles/Skiba_Knesting_Zero_Tolerance_2001.pdf.
- Smith, Mikki L. (2015). A generation at risk: The ties between zero tolerance policies and the school-to-prison pipeline. *McNair Scholars Research Journal*, 8(1), <http://commons.emich.edu/mcnair/vol8/iss1/10>.

- Sridhar, C. R. (2006). Broken windows and zero tolerance: Policing urban crimes. *Economic and Political Weekly*, 41(19), 1841-1843. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4418196>.
- Stiggins, R. (1999). Assessment, student confidence, and school success. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 81(3), 191-198. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/20439619>.
- Sullivan, E., Larke, P., & Webb-Hasan, G. (2010). Using critical policy and critical race theory to examine Texas' school disciplinary policies. *Race, Gender & Class*, 17(1/2), 72-87. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/41674726>.
- Teske, S. C. (2011). A study of zero tolerance policies in schools: A multi-integrated systems approach to improve outcomes for adolescents. *Journal of Child and Adolescent Psychiatric Nursing*, 24(2), 88-97. doi:10.1111/j.1744-6171.2011.00273.x.
- Thompson, J. (2016). Eliminating zero tolerance policies in schools: Miami-Dade County public schools' approach. *Brigham Young University Education and Law Journal*, 2016(2), 325-349. Retrieved from <https://digitalcommons.law.byu.edu/elj/vol2016/iss2/5>.
- Townsend Walker, B. L. (2014). Suspended animation: A legal perspective of school discipline and African American learners in the shadows of Brown. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 83(3), 338-351. doi:10.7709/jnegroeducation.83.3.0338.
- U.S. Departments of Education and Justice. (2012). *Indicators of school crime and school safety*.
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), *Projections of Education Statistics*, (Washington, DC: NCES, 2014). Retrieved from: <http://nces.ed.gov/programs/projections/projections2020/sec2b.asp>.
- U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights. (2014). Civil rights data collection: School discipline. Issue brief No. 1. Retrieved from: <http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Downloads/CRDC-School-Discipline-Snapshot.pdf>.
- U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), *Public school safety and discipline: 2013-14*, (Washington, DC: NCES, 2015). Retrieved from: <https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2015/2015051.pdf>.
- Verdugo, R. R. (2002). Race-ethnicity, social class, and zero-tolerance policies: The cultural and structural wars. *Education and urban society*, 35(1), 50-75. doi:10.1177/001312402237214.
- Wallace Jr, J. M., Goodkind, S., Wallace, C. M., & Bachman, J. G. (2008). Racial, ethnic, and gender differences in school discipline among US high school students: 1991-2005. *The Negro Educational Review*, 59(1-2), 47. Retrieved from <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC2678799/>.

- Ward, S. & Delessert, E. (2014). LESS THAN ZERO: Schools are rethinking zero tolerance policies and questioning whether the discipline is really effective. *ABA Journal*, 100(8), 54-61. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/44159911>.
- Welch, K. & Payne, A. (2010). Racial threat and punitive school discipline. *Social Problems*, 57(1), 25-48. doi:10.1525/sp.2010.57.1.25.
- Winn, M. T., Behizadeh, N., Duncan, G., Fine, M., & Gadsden, V. (2011). The right to be literate: Literacy, education, and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Review of Research in Education*, 35(1), 147-173. doi:10.3102/0091732x10387395.
- Wright, M. (1999) *Restoring Respect for Justice*. Winchester, NY: Waterside Press.

VITA

My interest in policy first began during my undergrad studies at the University of Georgia, where I received a Bachelors of Arts in Political Science. During my time there, I interned with a local representative and discovered a passion for education and social justice, which naturally led to an interest in the discrimination commonly used in disciplinary policies. After my time in Athens, I knew I wanted to pursue my studies and chose the Cultural and Educational Policy program at Loyola University Chicago. This was a natural progression in my studies based on my interest in education and social justice. While in attendance, I was given the opportunity to learn more about how policies are implemented and the history behind policy implementation. This allowed me to have the necessary background in disciplinary policies to further pursue my study on the implications of zero tolerance policies. After completion of my masters program, I intend to continue a career in the non-profit world working towards ensuring more equity in the American education system.