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Rebuilding Inequity The Re-emergence of the School-to- Prison Pipeline in New Orleans

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After a state take-over of most local schools, the fate of public education in New Orleans has been clouded by uncertainty. However, many problems are already clear. The community has expressed outrage on numerous occasions about the management, conditions, policies, and practices of the RSD schools.

One fundamental concern has been about the lack of basic resources essential for success in any educational environment let alone one formed after the worst natural disaster in American history. These resources include: textbooks; desks for students; a sufficient number of experienced and well-trained teachers; to the failure to deliver services to children with special learning needs; counseling services to help children cope with trauma and grief extra-curricular activities; and hot lunches for children, many of whom continue to live in or near poverty. Another prominent concern is that many RSD schools exhibit what students have referred to as a prison-like atmosphere while their discipline policies penalize and remove students instead of providing support them and facilitating positive growth.

Prior to Katrina, harsh discipline policies and school arrests forced many children out of New Orleans schools, putting them at-risk or directly involved in the juvenile justice system. While this phenomenon pre-dated Katrina, it is now being replicated in the new “network” of schools operated by local and state officials and various charter groups. The confluence of these factors – lack of resources and the failure to provide quality education, combined with overly harsh and punitive discipline policies that criminalize and exclude youth from traditional education settings – has created what many now call the School-to-Prison Pipeline. It is this issue that juvenile justice and education advocates alike believe to be at the forefront of the fight for children’s rights in post-Katrina New Orleans.

Introduction

There is no disputing that in New Orleans we stand at a crossroads of unfathomable destruction and incredible promise. Much of the

rebuilding of infrastructure and public systems in the Crescent City aims to preserve and reconstruct our strengths while learning from the lessons of our past weaknesses. The efforts currently underway by juvenile justice advocates and education groups mirror these trends.

Despite the many dedicated professionals in its ranks, the public school system in New Orleans prior to Katrina was riddled with a history of financial mismanagement, abysmal test scores, crumbling facilities, notorious incidents of school violence, blatant racial segregation and repeated media slams highlighting these issues.

Due in part to these factors, as well as a toxic and racially charged political environment, the Louisiana State Legislature voted on November 30, 2005, to take into receivership 107 New Orleans Public Schools that performed at or below the state average in 2004-2005.¹ This legislative action, which changed the metric by which schools were measured, created the state-run Recovery School District (RSD).² Its aim was to “fix” our ailing schools. Currently, the RSD has direct control over 19 schools as well as oversight of an additional fifteen charter schools, with a total enrollment of 16,569 students.³ All RSD schools offer open enrollment, with no academic or behavioral entrance requirements. The Orleans Parish School Board (OPSB) was left in control of four traditionally run schools, one “PM” school for students who work during the daytime, and twelve charter schools for a total enrollment of 9,195 students.⁴ All OPSB traditionally run schools, as well as some OPSB charter schools, maintain “selective admission” requirements.⁵

It has been said again and again that, the city of New Orleans, once “notorious for having one of the worst public school systems in the country, has emerged from the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina as an experiment in education.”⁶ This experiment on our children, in recent weeks and months, has begun to yield a number of serious side effects.

As the fate of public education in New Orleans has unfolded since the state takeover, concerned parents, students and community members in partnership with advocates and lawyers have come together to report their experiences

with the new system. To date, the community has expressed outrage on numerous occasions about the management, conditions, policies, and practices of the RSD schools.

One fundamental concern has been about the lack of basic human and tangible resources essential for success in any educational environment let alone one formed after the worst natural disaster in American history. These resources include: textbooks; desks for students; a sufficient number of experienced and well-trained teachers; any semblance of an effective plan to deliver services to children with special learning needs; counseling services to help children cope with trauma and grief extra-curricular activities; and hot lunches for children, many of whom continue to live in or near poverty. Without many of these basics, RSD school buildings function more like warehouses for children than centers of learning.

Another prominent concern is that many RSD schools exhibit what students have referred to as a prison-like atmosphere while their discipline policies penalize and remove students instead of providing support and facilitating positive growth. This specific concern has been voiced in press conferences, community meetings, legislative hearings, meetings with RSD staff, forums with members of the State Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE), New Orleans City Council’s Education Committee meetings, as well as reported in local and national media.

In addition, the physical infrastructure of many schools is in shambles. Anyone touring schools in New Orleans can tell upon first glance that the current condition of some local schools is cause for alarm. The five state-run RSD high schools are in particularly bad shape. BESE President Linda Johnson has acknowledged that “some of the schools are not adequate for good teaching to take place.”⁷

The confluence of these factors – lack of resources and the failure to provide quality education, combined with overly harsh and punitive discipline policies that criminalize and exclude youth from traditional education settings – has created what many now call the School-to-Prison Pipeline. It is this issue that

juvenile justice and education advocates alike believe to be at the forefront of the fight for children's rights in post-Katrina New Orleans.

A National Perspective on the School-to-Prison Pipeline

Across the country, criminal justice advocates, civil and human rights groups, educators, and even law enforcement officials are highlighting the connection between the discipline practices in our schools and the growing number of Americans incarcerated. During the same relative time period in which the U.S. prison population grew exponentially⁸, the number of suspensions also nearly doubled.⁹ Nationwide, there were over three million suspensions and over 97,000 expulsions of students. This dramatic change reflects not a criminal-minded youth population, but rather a marked and deliberate shift in policy toward increasingly punitive measures. In the 1980's and 1990's, the nation responded to the perceived juvenile crime wave of the time with drastic and dramatic policing of our children inside our public schools. As a result, the notorious racial disparities seen in the criminal justice system are also evident in the School-to-Prison pipeline, with African-American students have bearing the brunt of the impact. For example, in 2000, African-Americans comprised just 17% of public school enrollment nationwide, but accounted for 34% of suspensions.¹⁰ And in 2003, African-Americans made up 16% of the nation's juvenile population; however, they accounted for 45% of juvenile arrests.¹¹

Now, many educators, advocates, and community members are beginning to take a closer look at the mechanics of the School-to-Prison pipeline, including harsh disciplinary practices, such as "zero tolerance." And many others are beginning to recognize the damage that is being done to our children by turning simple acts of childishness into crimes punishable by incarceration.

The NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund has framed the School-to-Prison Pipeline phenomenon in this way:

In the last decade, the punitive and overzealous tools and approaches of the modern criminal justice system have

seeped into our schools, serving to remove children from mainstream educational environments and funnel them onto a one-way path toward prison. These various policies, collectively referred to as the School-to-Prison Pipeline, push children out of school and hasten their entry into the juvenile, and eventually the criminal, justice system, where prison is the end of the road. Historical inequities, such as segregated education, concentrated poverty, and racial disparities in law enforcement, all feed the pipeline. The School-to-Prison Pipeline is one of the most urgent challenges in education today.¹²

The Washington, DC-based advocacy group Advancement Project reports that there are three significant ways in which the school to prison pipeline harms children: (1) the criminalization of petty offenses that would not constitute a viable charge for an adult; (2) the transformation of our schools into small military states; and (3) the disproportionate effects of harsh disciplinary practices on students of color and students with special needs.¹³

In instances where students are arrested in school for petty offenses, we limit our students' futures by involving them in the juvenile justice system, a system of harsh and even abusive punishments widely regarded as ineffective in changing behavior and facilitating the positive growth of our children. These practices have jailed children who could be disciplined within their homes or classrooms, altering their lives forever.

While juvenile arrests have been made infamous nationwide, the most common method of excluding children from schools is through suspensions and expulsions. National experts have clearly explained why out-of-school suspensions and expulsions are detrimental to our youth, and must be addressed by both educators and advocates:

Out-of-school suspension and expulsion interrupt students' educational progress and remove students from school at a time when they may most need structure and guidance in their lives. Repeated out-of-school suspensions may make it impossi-

ble for students to keep up with the curriculum, complete class assignments and advance from one grade to another. Ultimately, suspensions can further discourage these youth and diminish their chances of graduating...Moreover, if a primary goal is to reduce misbehavior, out-of-school suspension and expulsion are completely counter-productive: they reduce adult supervision over students, and give them unstructured time in which to get into trouble.¹⁴

Instead of creating safe and positive learning environments where students with behavioral challenges are equipped with the tools they need to be successful in society, school districts around the country have adopted policies and procedures that actually force these students out of school. A child who is suspended and expelled is not necessarily destined to commit a crime. However, “studies have shown that a child who has been suspended is more likely to be retained in grade, to drop out, to commit a crime, and/or to end up incarcerated as an adult.”¹⁵ In addition, “the single largest predictor of later arrest among adolescent females is having been suspended, expelled, or held back during the middle school years.”¹⁶

Moreover, there is no sign that these patterns are going to change. Despite evidence that violent crime among youth has decreased steadily for a number of years¹⁷, the media continues to “exaggerate youth crime, depicting our young people as more criminally prone than they actually are and committing a larger overall portion of crime than they actually do.”¹⁸ This exaggeration fuels the creation of criminalizing practices within our schools and continues to inflame the devastating effects of the school-to-prison pipeline.

The School-to-Prison Pipeline in New Orleans

New Orleans has been constructing its own school-to-prison pipeline for decades. The correlation between limited access to quality education and involvement in the juvenile and criminal justice system is widely known, yet extremely difficult to measure. What we do know is that school discipline policies have pushed an incredible amount of New Orleans’

children out of schools, putting them at-risk for involvement in the juvenile justice system, and school arrests have pushed a significant number of students directly into the juvenile justice system. In addition, this was occurring before Katrina, and the phenomenon has begun to reinvent itself in the new “network” of schools operated by local and state officials and various charter groups.

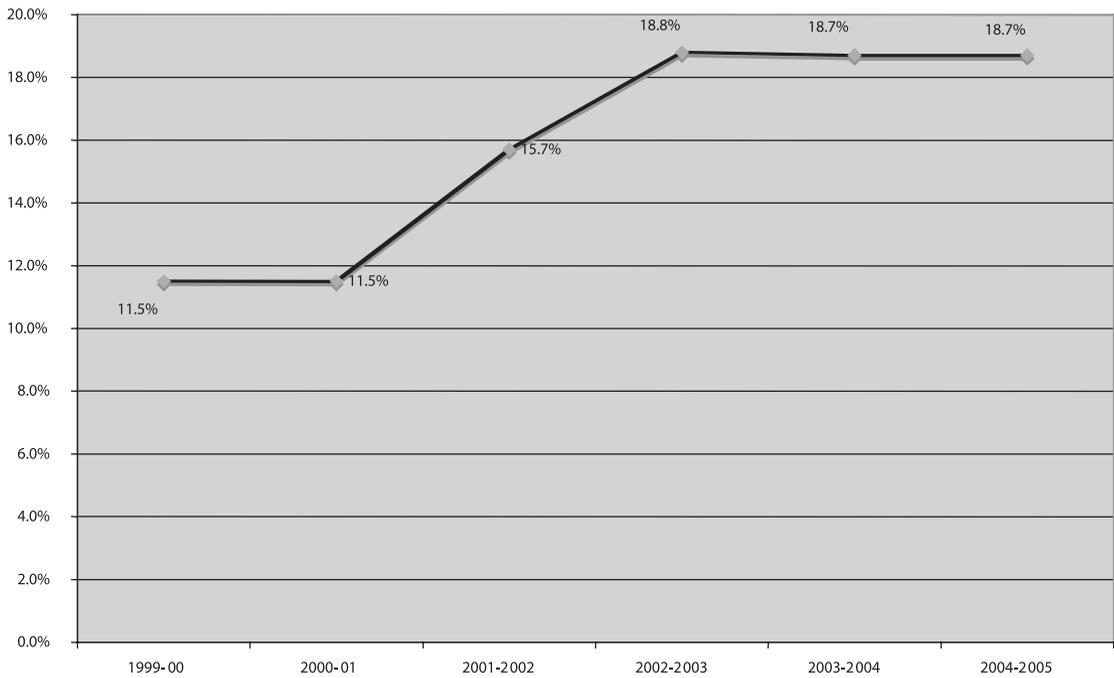
Pre-Katrina Trends in Orleans Parish Public Schools¹⁹

Even before the storm, New Orleans Public Schools had a terrible record on discipline. An analysis of suspension and expulsion data in New Orleans Public Schools from 1999 to 2005 reveals a culture of harsh discipline and a lack of creative solutions for children acting out at school. At every level of education, school officials used exclusionary means to punish students. However, the problem has been particularly acute in middle schools in recent years.

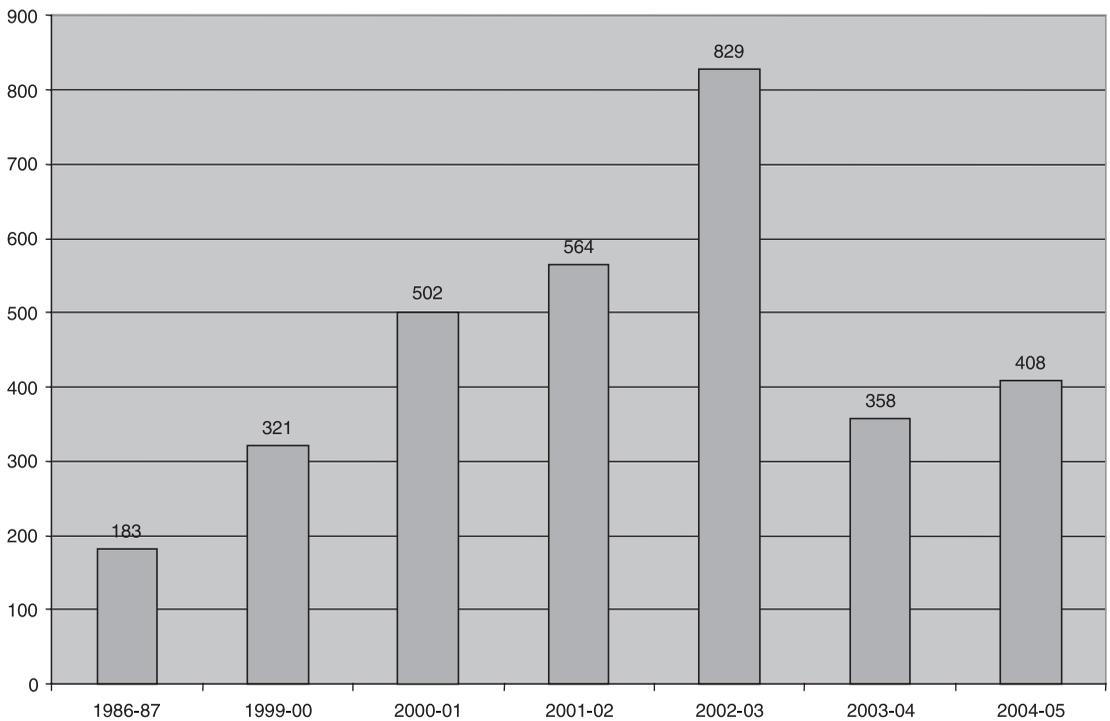
The number of out-of-school suspensions in New Orleans Public Schools increased dramatically in the five years prior to Hurricane Katrina. During the 1999-2000 school year, 9,745 students were suspended (11.5 % of students enrolled at the time). But by the 2002-2003 school year, that number had risen to 13,831 (18.8% of all students enrolled). Notwithstanding a decline in the overall number of suspensions in 2004-2005 school year, the percentage of the student population suspended has steadily held at close to 19 percent.

The number of students expelled from New Orleans Public Schools steadily increased during the late 1990’s and early 2000’s. In fact, in most years since 1999, the number of expulsions has been double or triple the statistics for the 1986-87 school year, less than 20 years prior. The expulsion rate ballooned in the 2002-03 school year when 829 students were expelled (1.2 % of all students enrolled). Middle school students accounted for most of this increase. The following year, the schools saw a brief period of reform, with the expulsion numbers returning to less astronomical levels. However, the reform did not last very long; by the 2004-2005 school year the number of expulsions was already tracking upwards again.

Percentage of New Orleans Public School Students Suspended



Number of New Orleans Public School Students Expelled



A deeper level of analysis for any given year provides a better sense of the impact that these suspensions and expulsions have had. For example, during the 2003-04 school year:

- 20% of Orleans Parish students were either suspended or expelled.
- 22% of public elementary schools in Orleans Parish handed down out-of-school suspension to over 20% of their students. Two of those elementary schools, Phyllis Wheatley and Louis Armstrong, suspended over 30% of their students.
- 7 of the 25 public Middle and Jr. High Schools in Orleans Parish suspended over 40% of their students. Two of these schools, Carver Middle and Arthur Ashe, suspended more than half of their students that year.
- Nearly half of all Orleans Parish high schools suspended over 20% of their students. Two high schools, John McDonough and Frederick A. Douglass, suspended over 40% of their students that year.

The picture was not any better with respect to arrests of students on school grounds. Officials have reported that all of the New Orleans Police Department's Juvenile Division statistics documenting exact arrests numbers in New Orleans Public Schools prior to Hurricane Katrina were destroyed in the floodwaters. However, a member of the Juvenile Division's staff estimates that, pre-Katrina, approximately 50 juvenile arrests per month out of about 200 total arrests of youth citywide occurred on school grounds and for school-related incidents. In a 10-month school year, that equals approximately 500 school arrests per year. Put another way that is one arrest for every 128 students attending schools in New Orleans pre-Katrina.

Post-Katrina Trends in the Network of New Orleans Public Schools

Though accurate data was generally unavailable at the time of this writing, advocates have seen indications that the School-to-Prison pipeline is alive and well in the network of public schools in New Orleans. Many of the schools that were struggling in New Orleans schools pre-Katrina have not adopted alternatives to harsh forms of discipline.

For example, all of the schools operated by the Orleans Parish school Board (OPSB) have police officers on-site, supplied to the schools by the NOPD. The OPSB and the Algiers Charter School Association, another governing entity, as well as a host of schools that were chartered by the OPSB, have adopted zero tolerance discipline policies. OPSB members have expressed a desire to institute mandatory drug testing, install surveillance cameras, and maintain a significant police presence at their schools. Anecdotal reports suggest that some OPSB-operated schools have been discriminating against students identified with emotional disturbances and that students continue to be suspended and expelled at OPSB schools at similar rates to before the storm.

While billed as the cure for New Orleans students, the Recovery School District's track record has not been much better. Complete school suspension and expulsion figures for the RSD were not available at the time of this writing. However, many students have reported that they have been suspended from RSD high schools for petty infractions, such as being tardy by a few minutes or not having their shirts tucked into their pants. Several parents have reported that instead of formally suspending students, some schools have adopted an informal policy of simply sending them home for the day. Other parents have indicated that instead of expelling students, some schools have simply adopted an informal "push out" policy. Reportedly, parents have been called into the school to discuss their children's behavior; upon arriving they were presented with a pre-completed withdrawal form, asked to sign and find a "more suitable school" for their children.

On October 20, 2006, the RSD held expulsions hearings for the first 30 children recommended for expulsion from its schools. RSD reported that not one of these students had a lawyer or other advocate appear on their behalf. All but one of the students were expelled for the remainder of the 2006-07 school year.

Not until Monday October 23rd did the RSD hold a meeting for a variety of service providers and local experts to discuss its vision for the programmatic components of an alternative school that would serve children who had been

removed from the traditional academic setting. RSD staff announced that this alternative school would be opened on October 31st, just a week after the meeting intended to create the mission and make programmatic decisions regarding the school. While alternatives for students are important, they must be pursued responsibly. The RSD's plan ignored the advice of local organizations regarding creation of small alternative programs based on best practices instead of large alternative schools. Not only is there extensive national criticism of the effectiveness of large alternative schools, but also in the history of the local school system, large alternative schools were regarded as warehouses for children who had been pushed out of traditional education settings. It was commonly understood that little academic progress occurred in the alternative schools. For example, in 2004, Arthur Ashe Alternative Junior High School had an 86.7% failure rate for the English/Language Arts section of the statewide high-stakes promotion exam.²⁰ As of mid-November, the alternative school had yet to open. The community remains concerned about (1) the creation of any large alternative school and (2) the creation of this alternative school without the proper planning and without the necessary resources and supports to ensure success for students with additional academic and behavioral needs.

Considering the smaller size of the student population since the storm, the school-site arrest numbers have been even more alarming. By October 14th of this school year, 28 students had been arrested on their campuses, the majority of which were state-run RSD schools. At least 8 of those arrests were of elementary schools students. In the two weeks from October 1st through 14th alone, 18 students were arrested. Those 18 arrests accounted for approximately 30% of all juvenile arrests in the city during that time period.²¹

To be clear, many students have been presenting challenging and sometimes violent behavior since the storm. However, parents and educators and students themselves have linked much of this behavior to the environment they are forced to endure on a daily basis and the lack of positive supports and services available to

them. The following case study provides a glimpse into the problems students face on a daily basis.

Case Study: John McDonogh Senior High School²²

John McDonogh High School, known to locals as "John Mac," is a public high school operated by the RSD. After the storm, John Mac was taken over by the RSD as one of the 107 New Orleans schools performing at or below the state average. The school is located in downtown New Orleans and currently houses approximately 775 students. The principal of John Mac estimates that of this number, approximately 120-150 students have been identified as having special learning needs. The school is generally regarded as a "dumping ground" for students who are unable to attend any of the local charter schools or those operated by the Orleans Parish School Board due to their selective admissions requirements. Some of the students are living alone or with siblings or other family members Orleans without a parent.²³

After the storm, John Mac was taken over by the RSD. As of one week before the opening of the school, the principal had not yet been hired and the school had approximately 7 teaching vacancies. Repairs to the physical structure of John Mac did not begin until early Summer 2006.

Since the beginning of the school year there have been at least four physical fights between security guards and students. Each of these students has been arrested, though many witnesses report that security often instigates and escalates these violent incidents. One student reported two incidents of violence between NOPD and his peers, both ending in arrest. There have also been numerous fights between students that have also resulted in arrest.

While it is clearly unacceptable for students to be resorting to violence in the situations at John Mac, it is important to understand the environmental factors of the school and the fundamental lack of resources that contribute to the overall frustrations of the students. Students from the Fyre Youth Squad (FYS), a city-wide student group that has organized to fight for "world class education,"²⁴ describe John Mac as a prison. In the beginning of the school year,

FYS students who attend John Mac reported scarce educational materials, with teachers using their hands to erase chalkboards, unavailable books in unopened boxes, and a completely empty library. In addition, students reported that their lunch sandwiches were garnished with pieces of ice, the bathrooms stalls in the girl's room had no doors, and students were forced to buy bottled water or go without due to broken water fountains. Finally, students voiced opposition to the fact that they are required to be escorted to the bathroom by a security guard.

The FYS held a press conference on the steps of John Mac in early October to outline their concerns and demands regarding these issues as well as a host of other problems. In addition to reports of the prison-like atmosphere inside John Mac and other RSD schools, FYS students identified a lengthy list of factors affecting students' abilities to achieve academically and ultimately graduate.

Specifically, FYS students reported class sizes exceeding 40 students (with some classroom rosters including as many as 53 students). According to the students, there is one guidance counselor at John Mac responsible for creating schedules for 775 students, without access to a computer. As a result, many students have been scheduled to attend classes they have already passed. Others are enrolled in classes for students two years their junior. Many students are concerned that they will be unable to graduate because they cannot obtain the credit hours they need under state guidelines. Juniors and seniors in the FYS, who were required to take the statewide high-stakes test on October 23rd, have stated their belief that it is unfair to hold students accountable to passing this high-stakes test when John Mac and the other RSD schools did not receive sufficient academic materials or remediation.

The ratio of teachers to security guards is a main concern. With anywhere between 31-40 security guards, 2-4 NOPD officers, and only 21-30 teachers present at any given time, it is no wonder these students feel as though they are inside of a prison. The security guards, according to a one RSD employee receive a two-hour video

training from the contracting agency hiring them.

When students enter John Mac, after standing in long lines to enter the building, they pass through metal detectors staffed by seven security guards and one officer from the New Orleans Police Department. Students are scanned with a hand-held metal detector while the contents of their book sacks are searched. Cell phones, oversized jewelry and belts with certain buckles are confiscated. Students who set off the metal detectors three times with no item found are sometimes sent away at the door. On various days, students who are not in their classrooms by 9:00 a.m. are locked out of their classrooms while the 31-40 security guards on staff perform a "sweep." Students rounded up in the sweep are brought to the auditorium and suspended. According to the principal, 52 students were suspended in one day for tardiness. John Mac alone has made at least 20 recommendations for the expulsion of students as of late October, 2006.²⁵

According to one source, a student who had been suspended from John Mac went to school to pick up his homework and was arrested for trespassing on school grounds. According to another source, 6 students were arrested on November 3rd, 2006 for gambling in class.

The students' concerns also extend into the core delivery of educational services. Students at John Mac who have been identified as having special needs have been put in an impossible situation. With the school in constant crisis, students with identified behavioral challenges are not receiving proper support or instruction. Special Education teachers are often required to cover other classes with teacher vacancies, leaving their students receiving special education services in over-crowded classrooms with no support. Students have not been provided with meaningful behavior management plans and Individual Education Plans (IEPs). Existing IEPs are not being adhered to, many times because officials claim to have lost the students' records and the students lack documentation to prove their exceptionalities. The education these students are receiving is grossly inadequate and illegal under the federal Individual with

Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) and other federal mandates.

Several of the students involved in fights with security and peers, according to one teacher, are students with special needs who have not been receiving adequate services. Moreover, advocates and lawyers are deeply concerned that students with special needs who are being suspended and expelled are not being afforded their rights under IDEA. In fact, two students receiving special education services reported not being provided with any paperwork documenting the fact of their suspension or expulsion.

Conclusion

The foregoing data and case study shows that we must demand more from our schools. While new network of public schools in New Orleans is still at a critical post-Katrina juncture, we must expose and address the policies and mechanisms that are contributing to the needless criminalization and educational deprivation of children. Research in other cities has demonstrated that inequities in school resources (such as teacher experience and qualifications, access to libraries and the like) are in many ways related to students' behavioral outcomes.²⁶

Instead of devising new methods to exclude and criminalize children, New Orleans schools should focus on enhancing educational opportunities and addressing the lingering and unaddressed trauma and grief that many students continue to face over a year after the hurricanes ravaged the city. It is only through providing these resources and minimizing reliance on the criminal and juvenile justice systems that children who have been so greatly impacted can be made whole again. In addition, the network of schools should implement the following common sense remedies identified by other communities whose schools have experienced similar crises:²⁷

- Create and expand existing prevention and intervention programs, including peer mediation and in-school suspension programs that provide adequate instruction and counseling to address challenging behavior;
- Require school security guards to receive enhanced and ongoing training on how to effectively interact with youth, especially youth in trauma and those with disabilities;
- Make available upon request evaluations of guards and complaints filed against them;
- Increase or divert funding for more guidance counselors and social workers who are available to address students' academic and behavioral problems;
- Establish school discipline oversight committees, which would include school officials, parents, students, and interested community members. The responsibilities of these committees could include handling complaints about school discipline practices and conduct of security and police officers, and reviewing discipline and arrest statistics and efforts to maintain safety in a fair and nondiscriminatory manner;
- Expand teacher training and professional development to improve classroom management, conflict resolution skills;
- Provide monthly updates of discipline data, including arrest data, disaggregated by offense, age, gender, grade, race, ethnicity, disability, and disposition;
- Require schools to decrease rates of suspension, expulsion, and arrest; and
- Develop incentives for schools to demonstrate reductions in school disciplinary actions and the effective implementation of positive behavioral supports and alternative discipline programs that keep students in school and learning.

While these measures are all only first steps, they are a crucial beginning to the process of dismantling, and preventing the re-emergence of, the School-to-Prison pipeline.

About the Authors

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Fund and the founder of the Legal Defense Fund's "Dismantling the School to Prison Pipeline" Project. A New Orleans native, he has worked on assignment in the Gulf region since Hurricanes Katrina and Rita.

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- 2 The RSD is governed by a Superintendent and the state's Board of Elementary and Secondary Education (BESE), the elected body that controls all funding, policy, and oversight regarding public education entities in Louisiana.
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- 7 Warner, C. Schools Chief Gets and Earful. (2006, November 2). *The Times-Picayune*.
- 8 Bauer, Lynn & Steven D. Owens, "Justice Expenditure and Employment in the United States, 2001" (Washington, DC: US Dept. of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, May 2004), NCIJ202792, p. 6 (reporting that "[t]he total number of State and Federal inmates grew from 488,000 in 1985 to over 1.3 million in 2001. The number of local jail inmates tripled from approximately 207,000 in 1982 to over 631,000 in 2001").
- 9 Wald, J. & Losen, D. (2003). *Defining and Redirecting the School-to-Prison Pipeline: Framing Paper for the School to Prison Pipeline Research Conference*. Boston: Harvard Civil Rights Project. <http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/research/pipeline03/FramingPaper.pdf>. Reporting a near-doubling of the number of students suspended annually from school since 1974, from 1.7 million to 3.1 million
- 10 Advancement Project. (2005) *Education on Lockdown: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track*.
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- 19 All Louisiana and Orleans Parish statistics are taken from Louisiana Department of Education, "2003-2004 District Composite Report: Orleans Parish" (April, 2005). Suspensions and expulsions data are for categories labeled therein as "out of school suspensions" and "out of school expulsions." This data represents an unduplicated count of the number of students disciplined, as opposed to the overall number of disciplinary incidents. All national statistics from U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights, "OCR Elementary and Secondary Survey: 2000." There are discrepancies between the OCR's reporting of Louisiana's expulsion rates and the Louisiana Department of Education's reporting of expulsion rates.
- 20 All Orleans Parish Statistics from Louisiana Department of Education, "2003-2004 District Composite Report: Orleans Parish" (April, 2005).
- 21 This information was provided by the Juvenile Division of the New Orleans Police Department.
- 22 All information collected concerning John McDonogh Senior High School is from numerous interviews and meetings with students, parents, teachers, school administration, RSD administration, community advocates, security guards, and school-based police officers.
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- 24 Fyre Youth Squad (2006). *Fyre Youth Squad Press Kit*. New Orleans.
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