"Young man, you get out of here!":

Historical Perspectives on School Discipline Policy

Rachel Lissy, PhD

Why do we suspend?

What's the function of or rationale for suspensions?

In 1958 1,550 students were suspended from NYC public schools.

 In 1968 14,000 students were suspended from NYC public schools

 In 2011 73,411 students were suspended from NYC public schools

"No principal has the right to suspend a student, nor has any local school board that power. We try to run our schools under different principles from those of forcible suspension and harsh measures... and try not to resort to such awful measures if we <u>can help it."</u>

Superintendent O' Shea, 1930

"It will be a sad day when policemen must be stationed in America's public schools." — United Parents Association, 1957

Placing police in schools "is neither practical nor morally desirable."

— NYC Police Commissioner, 1957

In 1958 45 police officers were stationed in NYC schools.

 In 1968 300 police officers were stationed in NYC schools.

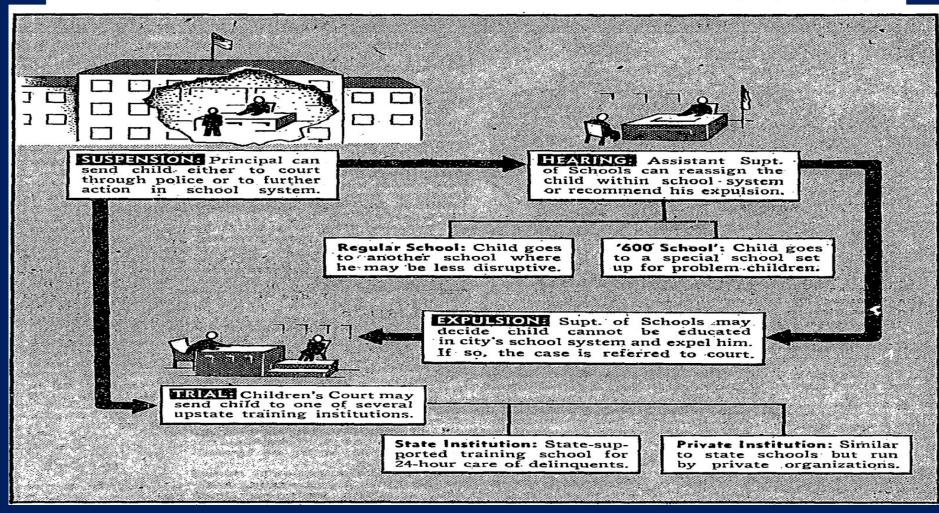
 In 2011 5,000 School Safety Officers and 192 police officers were stationed in NYC schools. Students of color--more precisely Black and Indigenous students--are disproportionately impacted by these trends and harmed, excluded and criminalized by these practices.

In New Jersey:

- Black students are 16% of population but 42% of students suspended.
- Students of color are 53% of population but 77% of students suspended.

"Resolved, that it is the policy of the Board of Education that any pupil who shall be charged with a violation of a law involving violence or insubordination shall be forthwith suspended from regular school attendance...the Board recognizes that in such cases under existing conditions, no instruction can be provided for such pupils." - February 6, 1958

HOW NEW YORK SCHOOL SYSTEM HANDLES DELINQUENTS



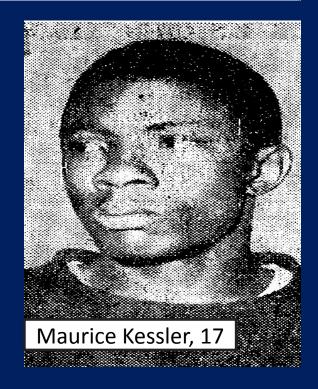
Boy Hurls Lye in Classroom; 20 Hurt, One May Be Blinded

September 19, 1957

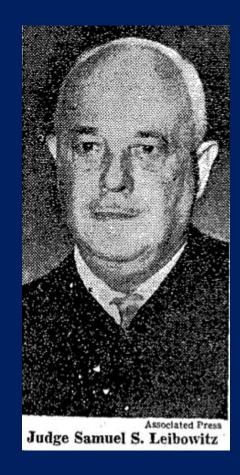
Thomas Jefferson High School East New York, Brooklyn



LYE ATTACK VICTIM—David Ozersky, 16, is comforted by his mother, Mrs. Hilda Ozersky, in a New York haspital after he was badly burned by lye thrown by a classmate in a Brooklyn high school. Doctors are fighting to save his sight.



November 1957 Judge Samuel Leibowitz convenes a Grand Jury Investigation into *"crime and lawlessness in and about schools."*



Policeman for Each City School Urged by Brooklyn Grand Jury

SCHOOLS AND THE BAD BOY

JANSEN OPPOSES POLICE IN SCHOOLS

Calls Proposal 'Unthinkable' —Leibowitz Backs Idea LEIBOWITZ SCORES SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Informs Jury It May Indict Them if Delinquency Facts Support Such Action EDUCATION BOARD Denounces Jury on School Crime

Holds Panel and Leibowitz Guilty of Personal Abuse and Misrepresentation

JUDGE SCORES CRITICS

Proposal for a Policeman in Every School Is Strongly Resisted by the Board

EDUCATION IN REVIEW

The Schools, the Children, the Dilemma

Beset by a small but dangerous minority of delinquents, New York schools are caught between conflicting needs—to help the troubled and to protect the innocent.

CRIMINALS IN NEED OF PUNISHMENT

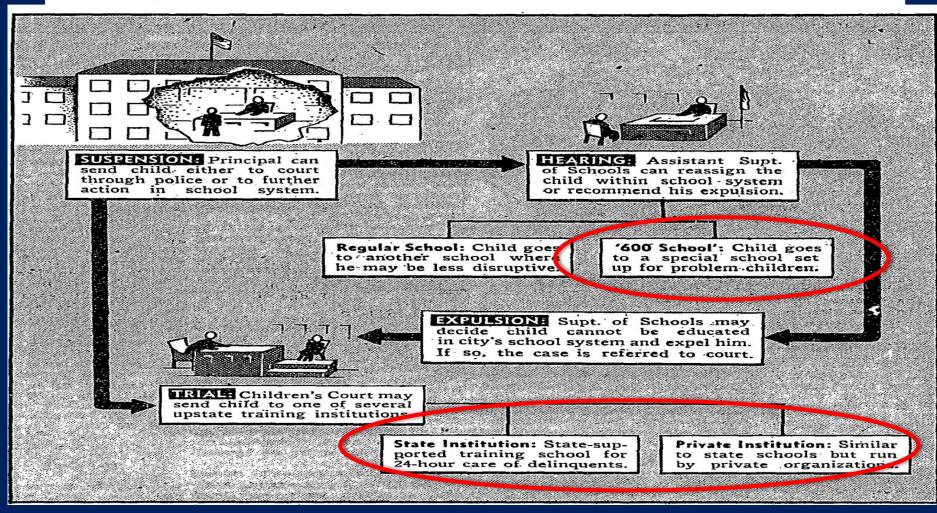
"Schools are hotbeds of crime, violence and depravity" where "wild animals," and "hoodlums, rapists, thieves, extortionists, arsonists and vandals... occupy rooms where decent kids go for an education." — Leibowitz & Grand Jury

VICTIMS IN NEED OF REHABILITATION

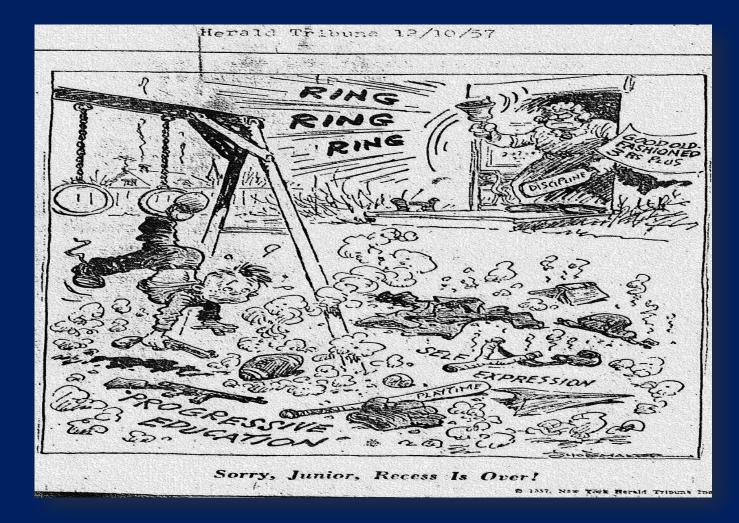
"The suggestion that children ought to be paddled into learning is against all principles of child psychology." — John Marshall, Former BOE President

"Treat the delinquent as a sick child, rather than demand vengeance on the wrongdoer." — Associate Superintendents' Report on Juvenile Delinquency

HOW NEW YORK SCHOOL SYSTEM HANDLES DELINQUENTS



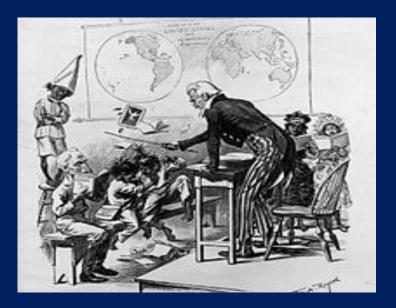
Sorry Junior, Recess Is Over!



What about this debate about discipline sounds familiar?

Where do we hear echoes in current policy debates? In our own experience?

RIGID & PUNITIVE



VS

Authority is hierarchical/positional Young people as unruly yet rational Sanctions & Rewards

NURTURING & REHABILITATIVE



Authority is personal/nurturing Young people as vulnerable yet off-track Guidance & Psychology

- "Cycles of outrage" about school disorder and crime recurred throughout 20th Century
- Blame typically placed on media, broken homes or "maladjustment"
- Emphasis on "mental hygiene," children as vulnerable and expanding social supports

WHY WAS 1958 DIFFERENT?

SCHOOLS TO EXPEL PUPILS ACCUSED OF BREAKING LAW

Board Says 'Other Agencies' Must Provide Custody— Acts to Shield Innocent

OLD POLICY IS REVERSED

Justice Fears Children Will Be Forced Into Streets While Awaiting Trials

COMMISSION ON INTEGRATION

May 1956 released recommendations regarding:

- School Zoning
- Curriculum and Resources
- Teacher assignment
- Overcrowding & Facilities

OVERCROWDING & FACILITIES

- In 1939 15 schools in Harlem served a population of 41 schools
- Crumbling "prison like," "archaic and unsanitary" school buildings
- One school in Harlem had 1 set of bathrooms for 1,700 students

TEACHER ASSIGNMENT

- 1956 report found Harlem schools staffed by more than 50% substitutes and non-certified teachers
- Fall of 1957 80% of the city's 1,450 new teachers were placed in segregated schools

Integration Difficulties Embarrass New York

By Robert E. Baker

"She hasn't been taught to hate - campaigned not at all-the Negro has

Different 'Dirty Word'

THE controversy is particularly embarrassing to New York City because nowhere has racial bias been more thoroughly attacked. "Integration" is a dirty word in the South today, but in New York City the dirty words are "discrimination" and "segregation."

INTEGRATION RESISTANCE

BOE INCOMPETENCE

CRIME & DISORDER

"...ill advised and unnecessary...a program of questionable merit." – Queens Chamber of Commerce "[would involve] dangerous bus transport" and "produce new hostilities, conflicts and resentments."

- Associate Superintendent Queens

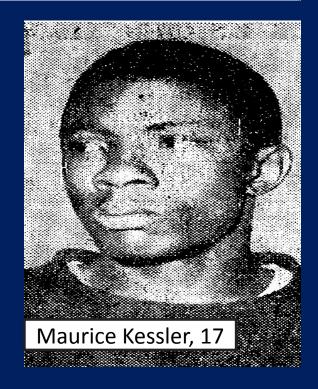
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Front Page of New York Times September 20, 1957

Continued on Pag

students. -

ninetoen students and a teacher, that fight, possibly blinding one of the Kessler.

history class at Thomas Jeffer- which occurred at 9:15 A. M. con High School, in the East. The incident, latest in the

New York section, were terrily recent epidemic of juvenile

fied, some of those who had been crime, took place about the splashed even ran to the fourth- same time the Board of Esti-

Parents Picket City Hall Over Delay in Integration pinn, the Dodgers Il real estate taxe loane and wood the site a stadius heathing would be woval. The stadium all-weather for events of civ distant and ers would have th Africe during th term to buy 2.000.003 price plu he rate of 214 pe from the date of yeass in the Dank of its sale to the Rockefelley cor England's bank rate, upon which poration. The city would have most other interest rates de- the same option if the Dodger pend, makes horrowing more; 5d yot purchase by the end of Page 17, Column 1 Boy Hurls Lye in Classroom; 20 Hurt, One May Be Blinded A vengeful boy huvied at Kessler had been in a fight bottle of caustic liquid into a with the Ozersky boy on Aug. Brooklyn high school classroom 19, and the police believed toyesterday morning. It splashed day's attack was a result of denied the charge, was booked for feloni-The caustic - probably lye - our assault. He will appear in was aimed at David Ozersky, Adolescent Court this morning 16 years old. It caught him in| One other boy among the the face, burning his eyes. The thirty-five in the classroom was other students in the American hadly burned in the attack

> The New York Times (by Eduard Meanse)) While children sat on the sidelines, their parents demonstrated yesterday at City Hall

BOE INCOMPETENCE

"If I had little children going to school today, a girl of 13 or so, for example, I would absolutely take them out of the public school system."

— Foreman of Grand Jury, 1957

"Thank god for our people who...have brought to light...this horrible, miserable mess that is now called our public school system." — Judge Samuel Leibowitz LEIBOWITZ SCORES SCHOOL OFFICIALS

Informs Jury It May Indict Them if Delinquency Facts Support Such Action

CRIME AND DISORDER IN SCHOOLS

"These are not instances of childish misbehavior but acts of criminal violence in the basest degrees."

BOYCOTT PROPOSED IN SCHOOL CRIMES Juror Asks if Parents Can Keep Children at Home-New Attack Reported

- Grand Jury, 1958

"A satellite jockey who had lived on the moon for 10 years could tell that the 'certain people' Leibowitz's grand jury foreman talks about...are Negroes." — Councilman Earl Brown

"When violence occurs in any school attended by Negroes the tendency is to exaggerate it in the press. When it occurs in white schools or white neighborhoods they are treated differently." — Reverend Milton Galamison

January 1958 PS 210, Brooklyn



The New York Times (by Robert Walker)

HEAD OF SCHOOL BESET BY CRIME LEAPS TO DEATH

Brooklyn Principal Had Been Scheduled to Testify on Violence by Students

"Resolved, that it is the policy of the Board of Education that any pupil who shall be charged with a violation of a law involving violence or insubordination shall be forthwith suspended from regular school attendance...the Board recognizes that in such cases under existing condition, no instruction can be provided for such pupils."

- February 6, 1958

"MASS SUSPENSION"

- **650** pupils suspended the next day
- **1,330** suspended between Feb-June
- Only **219** suspended between Sept-Feb of 1957
- Increase of more than 600% in suspensions following policy change
- **45** police officers placed in "difficult schools"

Suspension policy was response to pressure and criticism from whites resistant to integration.

Origins are POLITICAL not PEDAGOGICAL.

THE "PRINCIPAL'S SUSPENSION"

"It's important that the principal have the authority to say to a youngster: 'young man you get out of here. We cannot have you disturb the other youngsters." – Superintendent Theobold, September 1958 What did you learn? What was new or surprising?

How are current debates about school policy POLITICAL and not PEDAGOGICAL?

What connections can you make between this history and your current experience?

"The United States did not face a crime problem that was racialized; it faced a race problem that was criminalized."

— Naomi Murakawa

THANK YOU!

Rachel Lissy rachel.lissy@gmail.com

From Rehabilitation to Punishment: The Institutionalization of Suspension Policies in Post-World War II New York City Schools, UC Berkeley, Dissertation

<u>"Sorry Junior, Recess is Over": Integration, White Backlash and the Origins of Police</u> <u>in New York City Schools</u>, Gotham Center for NYC History Blog

Between Zero Consequences and Zero Tolerance, NYU Metro-Center Series

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