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A Study Of School Disturbance In The United States:

A Twentieth Century Perspective, Part One

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Introduction

In 1989, President George Bush, and the Nation's fifty governors, held a historic education summit that culminated in the adoption of six National Education Goals. These six broad goals were intended to serve as a framework for future reform efforts. The sixth goal of the United States' National Educational Goals states:

By the year 2000, every school in America will be free of drugs and violence and will offer a disciplined environment conducive to learning. The stated objectives are: Every school will implement a firm and fair policy on use, possession, and distribution of drugs and alcohol. Parents, businesses, and community organizations will work together to ensure that schools are a safe haven for all children. Every school district will develop a comprehensive K-12 drug and alcohol prevention education program. The drug and alcohol curriculum should be taught as an integral part of health education. In addition, community-based teams should be organized to provide students and teachers with needed support (Goals 2000, 1991, p. 2).

This is an ambitious objective for the United States. It has been estimated that a total of \$91,480,000.00 was allocated for the 50 states, Washington, DC, and Puerto Rico for efforts to obtain the goals of Goals 2000 (\$86,480,000.00 for systemic reform state grants and \$5,000,000.00 for technology planning state grants). In 1995, President Clinton requested \$700 million in his budget proposal to be administered by the Department of Education and \$12 million for the Department of Labor to support the National Skill Standards Board.

Given the increases in reports of crime in society and violence in schools, it seems that America is making uncertain progress toward this goal.

In 1964, a survey of public school teachers throughout the nation indicated that only three percent of the student population was considered a discipline problem. But in 1967, a study based on a survey of urban secondary schools was released by the Syracuse University Research Corporation; the researchers concluded that disruption of education in public high schools was becoming extremely widespread and serious (U.S. Congress, 1975).

In the early 1960's, a few large cities instituted some form of rudimentary security operation in their school systems. By the late 1960's, the successes of early experiments prompted a deluge of imitating systems. By the early 1970s, virtually all school systems serving cities larger than 100,000 people had implemented some form of school security in response to criminal and violent student behavior (Burgan & Rubel, 1980).

The following is a chart of the increase in some categories of crime that occurred in 1964 and 1968 at elementary and secondary schools across the United States:

| Category | 1964 | 1968 | % increase |
|------------------------|---------|---------|------------|
| Homicides | 15 | 26 | 73% |
| Forcible Rapes | 51 | 81 | 61% |
| Robberies | 396 | 1,508 | 306% |
| Aggravated Assaults | 475 | 680 | 43% |
| Burglaries, Larcenies | 7,604 | 14,102 | 86% |
| Weapons offenses | 419 | 1,089 | 136% |
| Narcotics | 73 | 854 | 1069% |
| Drunkenness | 370 | 1,035 | 179% |
| Crimes by non-students | 142 | 3,894 | 2600% |
| Vandalism incidents | 186,184 | 250,549 | 35% |
| Assaults on teachers | 25 | 1,801 | 7100% |
| Assaults on students | 1,601 | 4,267 | 167% |
| Other | 4,796 | 8,824 | 84% |

(Survey of 110 school districts, Senate Subcommittee on Juvenile Delinquency, 1970).

Both houses of Congress conducted extensive hearings on the problem of school violence and vandalism in the late 1960's. Their reports on violence in schools shocked the nation's conscience. It was pointed out that there were seventy thousand assaults on teachers annually in the nation, some few ending in death. Among 757 major school districts, there were more than 199 school related student deaths in one year. According to figures presented at the House

hearings by the National Association of School Security Directors, there were 12,000 armed robberies, 270,000 burglaries, 204,000 assaults and 9,000 rapes in American schools in 1974 (National Center for Education Statistics, 1974).

A conservative estimate of the annual cost of vandalism for the public school was \$600 million. This included, according to testimony before the House Subcommittee on Education in 1974, \$243 million for burglary, \$109 million for fire and \$204 million for other destructive acts. In 1973, the average cost per school district nationwide was estimated at \$63,000 annually (National Center for Education Statistics, 1974).

According to the President's Task Force report on Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Crime (1967), juvenile delinquency was considered the single most pressing and threatening aspect of the crime problem in the United States. One in every nine young people would be referred to juvenile courts for an act of delinquency before his/her eighteenth birthday. Considering boys only, the ratio increased to one in every six. Arrests of persons under eighteen for serious crimes, increased 47% from 1960 to 1965, this compared to an increase, of 17% in that age group, for the same period.

Summary

The United States experienced many different transitions, crime rate trends, and school disturbance characteristics between 1945 and 1969.

Truancy for children, robbery for adults, categorized the types of crimes that were occurring in the United States prior to 1945. It would not be until the 1960's that any major shifts in criminal activity would occur. It became a time of random violence. The 1960's are remembered for assassinations, societal upheaval, and increases in crime, especially school crime.

Note: the author's bibliography will appear with the second part of his article.

This spiraling increase in crime and violence has also caused many to question the safety of their neighborhoods and schools.

Review of the Literature:

Overview of School Disturbances in the United States

Juvenile delinquency dates back to the beginning of recorded history. There have been many changes over the centuries in the types of delinquent behavior encountered, how much was seen, what were believed to be causes, and what should be done to control the problem.

Among the Romans and Greeks, younger persons were not held to be responsible for the crimes they committed. The same point of view prevailed in the Napoleonic Code. In English jurisprudence, however, there was little differentiation among children, youths and adults until relatively modern times. The Chancery Courts of England were sometimes used for special legal processes, including cases involving children. Not until 1899 was there a special court in the United States for juveniles (Barnes, 1972).

Throughout the Middle Ages and as late as the seventeenth century, children participated in acts which, if committed today, would result not only in their being defined as delinquent but also could require that their parents, and other adults, be charged with contributing to their delinquency. As soon as they could talk, most children learned and used obscene language and gestures; many engaged in sexual activity at an early age, willingly or otherwise; they drank freely in taverns, if not at home; few of them ever went to school, and when they did, they wore sidearms, fomented brawls, and fought duels (Newman, 1980).

As a socially accepted concept of "childhood" grew and expanded, the meanings attached to it were significantly altered. The acts of children which in previous centuries were not seen as particularly deviant now became unique problems. New norms and expectations developed as childhood became a special phase in the life cycle (Newman, 1980). This phase was where school violence first would find its foundation and origin.

One of the foremost authorities on the subject of delinquency and its historical development, in the 1970's, was LaMar T. Empey. In 1978, Empey released documentation which indicated that violence among juveniles has characterized every era of recorded history since medieval periods. In seventeenth-century France, schools were the site of duels, brawls, and assaults upon teachers by pupils (Empey, 1978).

The Colonial era in America saw disobedient children being tied to a whipping post and beaten. Violence against children was justified in part by

scripture. For instance, Proverbs 6 and 15 in the King James version of the Old Testament states: "He that spareth his rod hateth his son; but he that loveth him chastiseth him" and "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child; but the rod of correction shall drive it far from him" (Regoli & Hewitt, 1994, p. 252).

The colonists were concerned about deviant behavior and adopted harsh methods for dealing with it. But they did not see deviant behavior as a critical social problem in the sense that they blamed themselves or their communities for it, nor did they expect to eliminate it. Crime and evil, they believed, were inherent in people and, therefore, endemic to society (Rothman, 1971).

The most common punishments for children were fines and the whip, but wide use was made of such mechanisms of shame as the stocks, the pillory, and, occasionally, branding. Both the stocks and the pillory were located in a public place. In both, the child would be subjected to physical pain and discomfort and to public scorn and ridicule. Branding offenders with a "T" for thief, a "B" for blasphemy, or an "A" for adultery was also employed. The criminal codes prescribed a long list of death-penalty offenses—arson, horse stealing, robbery, burglary, sodomy, murder, and many others (Barnes, 1972).

There was no distinct legal category called "juvenile delinquency" in the 18th century. Americans still relied on the English common law which specified that children under the age of seven could not be guilty of a serious crime. Between the ages of eight and fourteen, they might be presumed innocent unless proved otherwise. Juries were expected to pay close attention to the child, and, if he was capable of discerning the nature of his sins, he could be convicted and even sentenced to death. In most of the colonies, anyone over the age of fourteen was judged as an adult (Bremner, 1970; Platt, 1969).

There were established offenses dealing only with juveniles: rebelliousness, disobedience, sledding on the sabbath, or playing ball on public streets. In some colonies, the penalty for rebelliousness against parents was death. In actual practice, however, the courts and juries were often lenient toward the young. Children were often acquitted after a nominal trial, or pardoned, if found guilty. Some young children were severely punished, or even put to death, but it was a rare occurrence (Platt, 1969).

Caning was a commonly accepted practice and widely used. If a family was unable to control or to educate its own children to the satisfaction of town officials, the officials had the power to remove those children from their own homes and to place them in homes where they would receive a "decent" and "Christian" education (Rothman, 1971).

In nineteenth-century America, people exhibited extreme fright and pessimism over delinquent behavior among youth (Empey, 1978). Whereas the

doctrine of the religious reformers of the past two centuries had suggested that people were inherently depraved and foreordained to a particular destiny, the new philosophy was individualistic and stressed universal and unlimited human progress. Americans began to feel that some of the eighteenth century methods of social control were obsolete (Rothman, 1971). Penalties for such acts as petty larceny were reduced, and such corporal punishments as burning the offender's hand, cutting off his ears, or nailing of hands to the pillory were done away with. No longer, said a number of influential reformers, could Americans abide the use of barbarous punishments, particularly for children (Rothman, 1971).

Nineteenth century America saw discipline problems as a daily occurrence in schools. Teachers often controlled students through threats, intimidation, and beatings. A sign of those times can be found in a schoolmaster's prepared list of punishments that he had administered during his 50 years of teaching:

911,527 blows with a cane
124,010 blows with a rod
20,989 blows with a ruler
136,715 blows with the hand
12,235 blows on the mouth
7,905 boxed ears
1,115,800 raps on the head
22,763 nota benes with Bible, grammar, or other books
777 kneeling on peas
613 kneelings on a triangular block of wood
(Regoli & Hewitt, 1994, p. 252).

In the 1930's, vagrancy became the number one crime committed by children because of the harsh economic conditions created by the Great Depression. Many young people left their homes and lived in the streets. More than 250,000 juveniles, nearly all boys, walked through American cities across the country in search of shelter and food. This "crime" of vagrancy strained the resources of the new juvenile system that had been developed in Cook County, Illinois at the turn of the century (Drowns & Hess, 1990).

Since the 1980's and early 1990's, the juvenile court has taken a more retributive posture similar to that in the adult system. The most pronounced sign of this can be found in the significant increase in the use and nature of waiver decisions that transfer custody of youths to adult courts; this has included the lowering of the age at which waiver is permissible (dropping to 14 years of age in many states) (Pope, 1995). This change in practice has resulted from

the belief that there is no adequate excuse for the serious and violent acts committed by today's youth.

The juvenile justice system in the 1990's is a repository for every pathology that affects the modern dysfunctional family. Encountering battered babies, babies born drug-addicted, HIV-positive, or suffering from fetal alcohol syndrome, the court is also dealing with child sexual abuse, abandonment, violent custody battles, and termination of parental rights. Additionally, the courts decide the fates of children who vandalize, rape, rob, sell drugs, and commit murder (New York, January 10, 1994).

Ironically, the philosophy of the juvenile justice system to protect society's children and change the behavior of delinquents has changed little since it was conceived. Despite the increase in the violence in juvenile crime, the juvenile justice system continues to operate with a basic structure designed when the worst thing children did was shoplifting or stealing hubcaps. The system still attempts to balance the needs of the community with those of the child. This approach seeks to change behavior rather than to punish (New York, January 10, 1994).

Some make the case that the problems facing modern youth are no different than they were five, ten, or twenty years ago. Others state that there are numerous modern and unique problems facing adolescents (Nilsen & Donelson, 1993).

Extent of School Disturbances in the United States

Even as government officials, political candidates, and law enforcement officials across the country press for stronger anti-crime measures, national statistical reports show a decrease in almost all types of reported crime. The American public does not attend to these reports. The amount of crime might be stabilizing, but crime still remains at a staggering level. The same reports show an increase in random violence and a decline in the age of the perpetrators. This may explain why public fear has increased (The State, November 15, 1993, p. B7).

According to the United States Justice Department's Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (1993), juveniles accounted for 17% of all violent-crime arrests in 1991. Juvenile arrests for murder increased by 85% between 1987 and 1991, and juvenile arrests for weapons violations increased 62%. Three of every ten juvenile murder arrests in 1991 involved a victim under the age of 18. One out of five weapons arrests in 1991 was a juvenile arrest. Black youths were arrested for weapons-law violations at a rate triple that of white youths in 1991; they were victims of homicides at a rate of six times higher than whites.

In any given year across the United States, approximately 100,000 children take a gun to their school each day, and 160,000 will miss school

because of fear of injury. On average, in each hour of the school day, 2,000 young people will be attacked by other students; nine hundred teachers will be threatened, and about 40 will be attacked. At homes and in communities, approximately every 36 minutes, one child is killed or injured by a firearm, for an average of over 14,000 each year (National Center for Education Statistics, 1994).

In 1991, the students in K-12 education most often threatened with a weapon were 8th grade students (19%), while at the same time this group also was threatened without a weapon (31%). Eighth grade students were tied with 12th graders in reporting property stolen (44%); 8th graders reported more of their property vandalized (34%) than any other grade group (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993).

Of 8th graders threatened with a weapon in 1991, 27% were black and 22% Hispanic. Of those actually injured with a weapon, 15% were black and 16% were Hispanic. During this same year, the majority of teachers who were threatened with injury taught in urban schools (15%). The majority teachers actually attacked during this year also taught in urban schools (15%) (National Center for Education Statistics, 1993).

A survey by Louis Harris and Associates of New York (1993) found that most public school teachers (77 percent) felt safe when they were in or around school. Students felt less safe than teachers; 50 percent of students felt "very safe" and 40 percent felt only "somewhat safe." Among teachers and students only a small number believed violence had increased in the past year. A substantial proportion of students reported they witnessed violent incidents either in or around school very often (6 percent) or sometimes (31 percent).

Teachers, students, security and law enforcement officials agreed that most violent incidents occurred outside the school building. Most teachers and officials believed that the major factors contributing to violence in public schools included lack of supervision at home, lack of family involvement in the schools, and exposure to violence in the mass media. Students cited a wider variety of factors that contributed to violence, many related to peer relations. Twenty-two percent of the students reported that their parents gave hardly any, or no, time at all to a discussion of school life and homework (Louis Harris and Associates of New York, 1993).

Schools are a microcosm reflecting the larger society. Drugs, crime, and violence found in local communities are brought into the schools. Children having problems with dysfunctional families and who become filled with anger or alienation from their parents, are likely to act out in the classroom. The problems of the outside world are causing disorder in the traditionally protected environment of schools (Shepherd & Ragan, 1992).

The school-related misbehaviors studied most in recent years are violence, vandalism, and theft. Violence against teachers and other pupils and the fear it produces have increased at an alarming rate. During 1992, approximately eight percent of urban junior and senior high school students missed at least one day of school each month because they were afraid to attend. About 282,000 students were physically attacked in American secondary schools each month about 125,000 secondary school teachers (12 percent) were threatened with physical harm, and approximately 5,200 were physically attacked (USA Today, November 18, 7A, 1992). The tragedy of teacher assault extends beyond the personal suffering of any teacher, since such assaults destroy the trust upon which the student-teacher relationship rests. Once this trust is lost, teachers do not teach effectively (USA Today, November 18, 7A, 1992).

There are some central trends in juvenile delinquency in the United States. Juveniles commit nearly twice their share (given their percentage of the population) of the nation's violent crimes. Between 1983 and 1992, juvenile arrest rates for murder rose 128%. The number of children arrested for illegally carrying or possessing a weapon increased 66% between 1988 and 1992. Relatively few children are responsible for the bulk of serious, violent juvenile crime. Children are the prime targets of juvenile crime, with guns exacerbating the problem (Staff of the Senate Judiciary Committee, 1994).

There is a typical profile of a delinquent. He is male, has abused drugs (75%), committed at least 50 felonies, is impulsive, began crime at an early age (5 or 6), and shuns responsibility. His behavior has caused his family to give up on him. He is unwilling to think, will skip school, and is prone to drop out. His friends will typically have the same profile (Drowns & Hess, 1990).

Two aspects of chronic juvenile delinquency reflect that most chronic juvenile offenders start their criminal careers prior to the age of 12, and they tend to come from poorer, inner-city, disorganized neighborhoods. It is hypothesized that there are three pathways to chronic delinquency: Overt - from aggression, to fighting, to violence; Covert - from minor covert behavior, to property damage, to serious delinquency; and Authority Conflict - from stubborn behavior, to defiance, to authority avoidance. It is believed that these chronic offenders commit 75% of the juvenile crime in any given year (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1994).

There are other characteristics of chronic violent juvenile offenders. Offenders are less attached to and less monitored by their parents. These offenders are more likely to reside in poor, high-crime areas. They have less commitment to school and attachment to teachers, and they have more delinquent peers and are more apt to be gang members and to "act out in school" (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1994).

Regoli and Hewitt (1994) have espoused four traditional aspects regarding students' delinquent behavior at school. The first is loss of teacher authority. Teachers must maintain their authority and need a strong principal to maintain this authority. When principals and parents do not support teachers, children do not. Once authority is lost-control of students is lost (Regoli & Hewitt, 1994).

The second stage is Regimentation and Revenge. As students age, they are given much more independence and control, but not in school. School rules often do not "grow" with the students. Faced with strict rules and degrading experiences in class, some students try to save face and regain their self-esteem by lashing out at the perceived cause of their embarrassment. Teachers then become victims of attack, and school property the objects of vandalism (Regoli & Hewitt, 1994).

School disturbance characteristics.

Prior to the World War II era, the major problems faced by public education dealt with the value of certain types of curriculum instruction (Counts, 1934). There was much discussion about the values of music, art, dancing, health, and recreational activities in school. Topics such as these dominated the discussions of the problems faced by school and what should be done to improve public educational programs (Watts, 1938).

The only true type of school disturbance that was documented in the late 1930's and 1940's was truancy. As early as 1939 the relationship between truancy and juvenile delinquency was being investigated. A study conducted by the New Jersey Delinquency Commission found that of 2,021 prison and correctional institution inmates in that state, two of every five had first been committed for truancy (Juvenile Delinquency Commission, 1939).

A study conducted by the Fullerton, California Police Department and the California Department of Education examined the leading school discipline problems in the 1940's. The following were the most reported school disturbance incidents:

- Talking
 - Chewing gum
 - Making noise
 - Running in the hallways
 - Getting out of place in line
 - Wearing improper clothing
 - Not putting paper in wastebaskets
- (Time, February 1, 1988, p. 54).

According to a study by Stendler (1949) a majority of teachers felt that behavior problems in the classroom should be handled through constructive measures such as adjusting work, praising, encouraging, and studying the child to find underlying causes of behavior. A drop-out problem developed in the 1950's that suggested that the schools were not meeting these goals. In a study of schools, it was found that dropout rates even in elementary schools were 15.5 per 10,000 children for families earning from \$3,000 to \$5,000 annually, and 3 children per 10,000 for families earning \$5,000 to \$7,000. For families making more than \$9,000 the rate was less than 1 child in 10,000. In high schools, the overall rates were much higher (Sexton, 1961).

During the 1950's, the following list made up the ten (in order) most reported school disturbances:

- Stealing
 - Temper outbursts
 - Masturbation
 - Nervousness
 - Lack of respect for authority
 - Cruelty
 - Lying
 - Fear
 - Obscenity
 - Lack of Responsibility
- (Stouffer, 1952, p. 271).

Burgan and Rubel (1980) indicated that the first glimmerings of the violence which ultimately resulted in formation of internal security forces in the public schools began to come to public attention in the late 1950's. In ghettos of major urban centers, unruly student misbehavior became sufficiently noticeable by the mid-1950's to warrant the United States Senate to conduct hearings in cities throughout the nation to determine the scope of the disruptive behavior. Books written in this era tended to lump misbehavior into the general category of "Discipline violations," and it was not until ten years later that educators would begin to separate infractions of school rules from crimes. The popularized public view of urban school violence in this period was exemplified in a major motion picture, "The Blackboard Jungle."

Over time, students, teachers and administrators all came in for their share of ever-increasing harassment, intimidation and assault. During this decade, buildings were with alarming frequency defaced, vandalized, and even burned beyond repair. Equipment and supplies were defaced, destroyed, and stolen at an immense cost to the taxpayers. And, as inflation spiralled ever-upwards in this period, taxpaying citizens' concerns evolved into alarm over this senseless and non-productive loss of property (Burgan & Rubel, 1980).