

Breaking Rules, Breaking Budgets: The Cost of Exclusionary Discipline in Dallas ISD

The "human cost" of suspending and expelling tens of thousands of students from Texas schools made national headlines last summer when the Council of State Governments (CSG) released its large-scale study, *Breaking Schools' Rules*. Their findings provided definitive evidence that an over-reliance on suspension and expulsion increases the probability of grade retention, school dropout, and juvenile justice involvement.

The CSG study also documented that removing disruptive students does not necessarily enable the school to achieve better academic outcomes.ⁱⁱ CSG's study and the body of academic research preceding it clearly show that relying on suspension and expulsion to correct student behavior not only fails to achieve that purpose, it significantly *increases* the probability of *poor outcomes* for the students involved.ⁱⁱⁱ

These disciplinary methods also carry significant costs in terms of "dollars and cents." This "cost of discipline" study is the first in a series that Texas Appleseed is releasing this spring for targeted school districts. Dallas ISD removed students from their home campus about 25,000 times in 2010-11; this report calculates the cost to taxpayers. At a time when Texas school districts are struggling to stretch tight budgets, it is critical that school districts closely evaluate the poor outcomes and high costs associated with removing students from the classroom.

During the 2010-11 school year, Dallas ISD's reliance on out-of-school suspension (OSS), referrals to district-operated Disciplinary Alternative Education Programs (DAEPs), and expulsion to county-operated Juvenile Justice Alternative Education Programs (JJAEPs) cost district taxpayers more than \$11.3 million:

>	\$1,551,844	State dollars for weighted average daily attendance lost to out-of-school suspension in Dallas ISD
>	\$9,085,181	Operating Costs for Elementary, Middle School, and High School DAEPs
>	\$709,194	District fees associated with discretionary expulsions to JJAEP

In addition, Dallas ISD spent **another \$20.3 million** on security and monitoring—including the expense of operating its own stand-alone police department.

Among the most surprising findings: *Dallas ISD reports that the annual cost per seat in its DAEP for elementary students is more than \$57,000*, or the annual salary of an experienced teacher.

At every grade level, elementary through high school, the overwhelming majority of student disciplinary referrals are for low-level misbehaviors for which Dallas ISD has the discretion to determine consequences. During the 2010-11 school year, only 5% (1,413) of the **25,817 referrals** of Dallas ISD students to out-of-school suspension, a DAEP, or the JJAEP, **were mandated by state law.** Clearly, Dallas ISD has significant control over the high costs of student discipline documented in this report.

Recommendations

To reduce the cost to taxpayers associated with student discipline, Dallas ISD should:

- **Convene a task force** charged with restructuring the district's disciplinary system to focus on proven, cost-effective alternatives to over-reliance on suspension and expulsion.
- Require campuses with large numbers of disciplinary referrals to implement school-wide Positive Behavior Interventions & Supports (PBIS). PBIS, a disciplinary model that reinforces positive student behavior, has been shown to reduce disciplinary referrals, increase attendance, and improve teacher satisfaction and school climate in schools across the country.^{iv} Academic performance has also improved in districts successfully implementing PBIS.
- Close its Elementary DAEP. Given the latest research confirming the negative consequences associated with discipline that takes students out of their regular classroom, Dallas ISD should commit to keeping its youngest students on their home campuses. Closing the Elementary DAEP will free up \$1.5 million that could fund PBIS and other programs to reduce disciplinary referrals for students of all ages.
- Limit out-of-school suspension to those students who pose a significant risk to the safety of the school community. Adopting this policy would allow Dallas ISD to reap financial benefits associated with increased weighted ADA reimbursement.vi

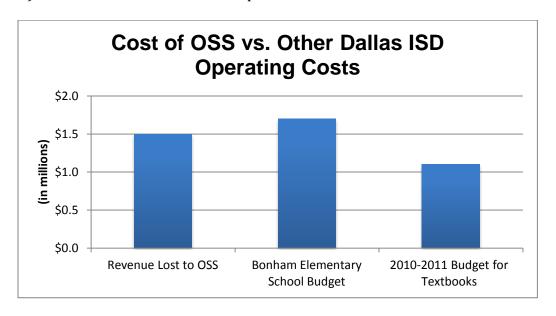
Dallas ISD's current disciplinary model is an ineffective and poor use of taxpayers' money. Implementing alternative disciplinary approaches, such as PBIS, has the potential to save the district money at the same time that it significantly reduces disciplinary referrals.

Bottom line: Dallas ISD students, parents, and taxpayers all stand to gain from effective disciplinary policies that keep more students in school through graduation.

Out-Of-School Suspension

During the 2010-11 school year, Dallas ISD made 22,837 out-of-school suspension (OSS) referrals and had an out-of-school referral rate that was significantly higher than the state average. vii Because a school district's average daily attendance (ADA) is used to calculate the amount of state aid it receives, districts stand to lose money when students miss school due to out-of-school suspensions.

Under the conservative assumption that every referral is equivalent to an absence of 1.5 days, Dallas ISD lost \$1.5 million in state aid in the 2010-11 school year. This amount approximates the annual operating cost of one of the elementary schools slated for closure in Dallas ISD (see chart below) and exceeds what the district spends on textbooks.

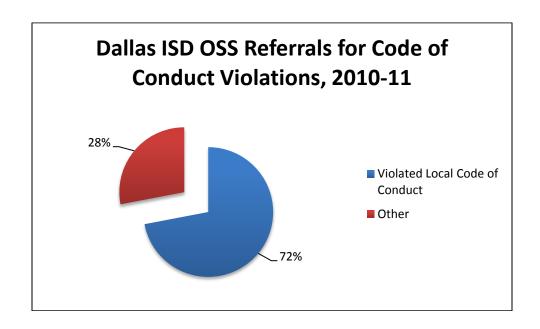


There may be additional costs associated with repeatedly referring the same students to out-of-school suspension. During the 2010-11 school year, 12,990 students received an OSS referral, which indicates some students received more than one. Students who receive more than two OSS referrals risk missing a significant number of school days. If a student misses nine days during the 180-day school year, the district loses 5% of the funding a student with perfect attendance would generate. ix

This loss in revenue is significant, especially in light of the current funding cuts to Dallas ISD due to state budget cuts to public schools.

Students Receive OSS Referrals for Non-Violent Behavior

Of the 22,837 out-of-school suspension referrals in 2010-11, **99.9% were made at the discretion of school administrators**, with only eight referrals mandated by the Texas Education Code.^x Most of the OSS referrals were for violations of the local Student Code of Conduct (see chart below)—behavior that does not pose a risk to school or student safety.^{xi}



High OSS Referral Rates at Some Dallas ISD Campuses

Many Dallas ISD campuses have referral rates that are more than twice the district average, with some campuses referring at a rate that exceeds 100% of their student body. The following Dallas campuses had the highest OSS referral rates in 2010-11:xii

Campus (Enrollment)	Referral Rate	Number of Referrals
Rusk Middle School	123%	938
(762)		
Storey Middle School	96%	705
(733)		
Anderson Middle School	96%	432
(450)		
Hood Middle School	87%	1,251
(1,436)		
Florence Middle School	61%	637
(1,037)		
Lang Middle School	59%	785
(1,329)		
Holmes Humanities	59%	591
(1,007)		
Gaston Middle School	58%	649
(1,113)		
Browne Middle School	47%	381
(811)		
Seagoville Middle School	46%	472
(1,019)		

These Dallas ISD campuses have lower suspension rates than the above districts, but still referred 300 or more students to out-of-school suspension in 2010-11:

Skyline High School	635 referrals
Samuell High School	533 referrals
S. Oak Cliff High School	495 referrals
Spence Talented/Gifted	391 referrals
Carter High School	385 referrals
Garcia Middle School	384 referrals
Franklin Middle School	368 referrals
Atwell Law Academy	340 referrals
Seagoville High School	327 referrals
Comstock Middle School	304 referrals
	Samuell High School S. Oak Cliff High School Spence Talented/Gifted Carter High School Garcia Middle School Franklin Middle School Atwell Law Academy Seagoville High School

While many of Dallas ISD's elementary schools did not rank among the campuses with the highest number of referrals, several reported more than 50 referrals to OSS, with two schools (George W. Truett Elementary & Annie Webb Blanton Elementary) reporting over 150 referrals. The poor outcomes associated with suspension—as evidenced by the Council of State Governments' research—should cause these campuses to rethink suspending young students from school. Yellow

Recommendations

- Limit out-of-school suspensions to the most egregious acts of misbehavior—those that impact school and student safety.
- Elementary, middle, and high school campuses with a high number of OSS referrals should receive additional training in effective classroom management and be encouraged to use evidence-based disciplinary programs, which are proven to reduce suspensions, limit classroom disruptions, and increase instructional time.

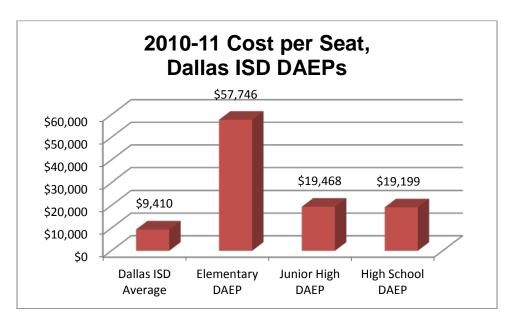
Prioritizing the dramatic reduction of out-of-school suspensions will have a positive impact on student outcomes and finances for Dallas ISD.

Disciplinary Alternative Education Programs

Dallas ISD's cost to operate its Disciplinary Alternative Education Programs (DAEPs) is the most expensive piece of its student disciplinary system, aside from those costs associated with school security. Dallas operates three DAEPs, separating youth into programs for elementary, junior high, and high school students. Operating costs for the three DAEPs total more than \$9 million:xv

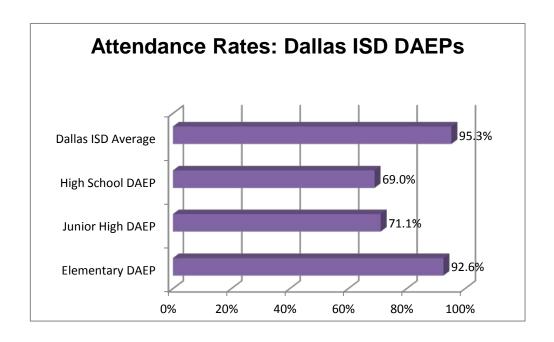
Elementary DAEP:	\$1,501,398
Junior High DAEP:xvi	\$2,803,349
High School DAEP:xvii	\$4,780,434

The cost per seat^{xviii} is highest in Dallas ISD's Elementary DAEP. However, the cost per seat in the district's Junior High & High School DAEPs is still **more than twice** the district average of \$9,410.



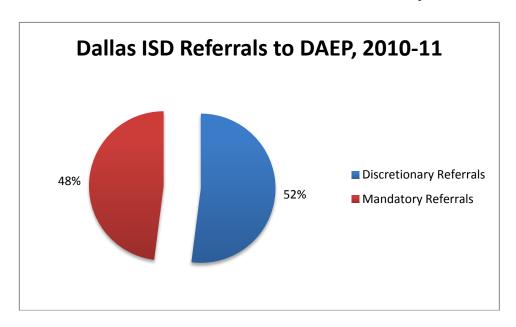
Hidden Cost: Low Attendance Rates in DAEPs

Low attendance rates in Dallas DAEPs contribute to a hidden cost that is not captured in the preceding chart. While the district's average attendance rate for the 2010-11 school year was 95.3%, xix the DAEPs had markedly lower attendance rates. This means that the district loses a substantial amount of money from the state as part of its reimbursement for weighted average daily attendance.



Students Receive DAEP Referrals for Non-Violent Behavior

During the 2010-11 school year, 2,498 students were referred to a DAEP 2,739 times, indicating some students were referred more than once during the school year.xx Many of these students were referred for a violation of the district's Code of Conduct rather than for behavior that posed a threat to the safety of the school or students.xxi The majority of referrals to Dallas DAEPs are made at the discretion of school administrators, rather than mandated by state law.



High DAEP Referral Rates at Some Dallas ISD Campuses

Though the average referral rate to a DAEP for Dallas ISD is approximately 2%, xxii campuses across the district vary in their referral rates. Some campuses are referring students at more than twice the district average. The following Dallas ISD campuses had the highest referral rates to DAEPs in 2010-11:xxiii

Campus	Referral Rate	No. Referrals
Rusk Middle School	11%	82
Holmes Humanities	10%	102
S. Oak Cliff High School	10%	113
Storey Middle School	10%	75
Edison Middle School	6%	51
Browne Middle School	6%	46
Hulcy Middle School	6%	41
Lang Middle School	5%	66
Comstock Middle School	5%	56
Hillcrest High School	5%	52
Florence Middle School	5%	52
Hill Middle School	5%	44

There is a great deal of overlap between the above chart and the listing of schools with high OSS referral rates in the preceding section.

While many elementary schools did not refer *any* students to a DAEP, approximately 300 students were referred to the district's Elementary DAEP during the 2010-11 school year. Elementary schools that made 10 or more referrals to the DAEP in 2010-11 are:

Truett Elementary: 21 referrals
 Burleson Elementary: 19 referrals
 Guzick Elementary: 12 referrals
 Ervin Elementary: 12 referrals
 B. Jordan Elementary: 10 referrals
 Lee Elementary: 10 referrals

Recommendations

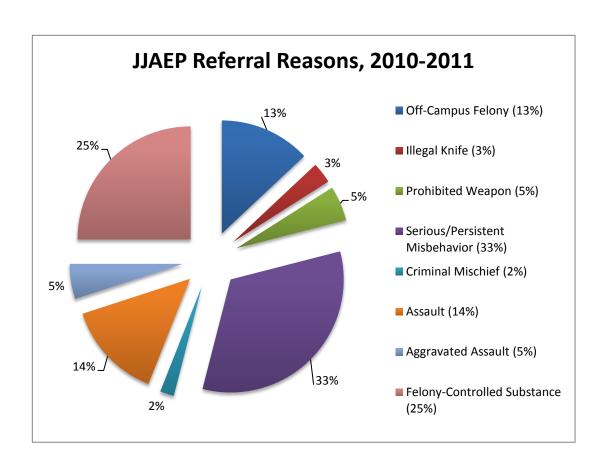
- Amend the student Code of Conduct so that some offenses currently eligible for DAEP referral are no longer eligible.
- Discontinue *all* referral of elementary school students, and close the Elementary DAEP.
- Target the campuses with particularly high referral rates for training in evidence-based programs proven to reduce disciplinary referrals. Several campuses have high referral rates for both OSS and DAEPs.

Juvenile Justice Alternative Education Program

A Juvenile Justice Alternative Education Program (JJAEP) is a collaborative effort between the Dallas County Juvenile Board, the independent school districts in the county that send students to the JJAEP, and the Region 10 Education Service Center.xxiv

Dallas ISD only pays to educate students who are *discretionarily* expelled to the JJAEP; the state pays costs associated with mandatory expulsions. Of the 241 students expelled by Dallas ISD to the JJAEP during the 2010-11 school year, the majority—150 students—were expelled for discretionary reasons. During the 2010-11 school year, **Dallas ISD paid \$709,194 for the students discretionarily expelled to the JJAEP**.xxv

Of the students who were discretionarily expelled, a large percentage sent to the JJAEP for "serious or persistent misbehavior" while they were attending a DAEP. During the 2011 Legislative Session, the Texas Legislature passed HB 968, which eliminates expulsions for "persistent misbehavior" from a DAEP and defines "serious misbehavior." This is likely to significantly reduce the number of students expelled for "serious or persistent misbehavior" when this law takes effect in the 2012-13 school year.



Campuses with the highest number of expulsions in 2010-11:

School	Number of Expulsions to JJAEP
Junior High DAEP	30
Elementary DAEP	21
High School DAEP	17
Holmes Humanities	10
Conrad High School	6
Hillcrest High School	6
Samuell High School	5
Spruce High School	5
Comstock Middle School	5
Florence Middle School	5
Thomas Jefferson High School	5

These 11 campuses were responsible for almost half (115) of the 241 expulsions to a JJAEP during the 2010-11 school year.

Recommendations

• Limit referrals to JJAEPs to those students whose behavior poses a threat to student or campus safety.

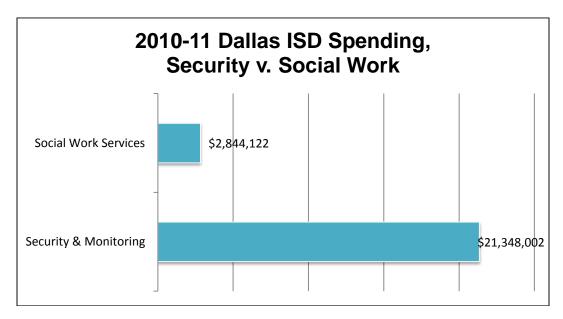
School Security and Monitoring Services

While it is essential to keep students and school campuses safe, serious questions have been raised in Texas and nationally about the efficacy of relying on an internal school police system to provide safety.xxvi The reality is that Texas' schools are—and have always been—very safe places for students, even before schools employed a large school police force.xxvii

Until the financial challenges of the 2011-12 school year, Dallas ISD's costs associated with school security and monitoring steadily increased, from more than \$18 million in 2007-08 to more than \$20 million in 2010-11.xxviii

The costs associated with the district's large police department make up the lion's share of the Dallas ISD budget for security and monitoring. Though the adopted budget for 2011-12 reduced spending for security and monitoring, it still makes up more than \$17 million of district spending. The spending was a security and monitoring.

The district's spending on social work services was dwarfed in 2010-11 by spending on school policing.xxxi



The costs to students and families associated with large school-based police forces have become clear in Texas—with thousands of Class C misdemeanor tickets issued to students annually for minor misbehavior previously handled with a trip to the principal's office. These tickets can mean high fines, community service, and the potential for a criminal record.

Recommendations

• Evaluate spending associated with maintenance of a large, internal police department.

- Analyze data to identify where activity posing a threat to student safety occurs.
- Use data to target school policing services to where they are truly needed—making a reduction in police force size possible.

Redirecting some of the funds spent on a large police department to student support services would have a far greater impact in addressing the root causes of "acting out" at school and ensuring student safety.

Conclusion

The \$11.3 million in student discipline costs outlined in this report are a *conservative* estimate of the financial burden that Dallas ISD bears as a result of its over-reliance on suspension and expulsion as its primary disciplinary method. Appleseed's analysis does not include:

- Costs associated with staffing classrooms on campuses district-wide to supervise the 17,153 referrals made to in-school suspension in 2010-11.
- Money lost to administrator and teacher time spent making disciplinary referrals. One study of a Maryland elementary school found that implementing school-wide PBIS allowed the school to recapture an average of almost 16 days per school year in teacher and administrator time due to the resulting reduction in disciplinary referrals. xxxii
- State revenue lost to low attendance in DAEPs.

Dallas ISD can no longer afford to ignore the costs to students *or* taxpayers that are posed by its failed disciplinary model. The district should use the current fiscal crisis as an opportunity to restructure its disciplinary model, abandoning a system that produces poor student outcomes and a high financial burden. Proven models—like school-wide PBIS—are good for students and taxpayers, making it possible to reduce spending at the same time that it improves student outcomes and school safety.

ⁱ The Council of State Governments, *Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline* Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement (2011).

ii *Id.* at 82.

iiild.; see also American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, Are Zero Tolerance Policies Effective in the Schools? An Evidentiary Review and Recommendations, Am. Psychologist, Vol. 63, No. 9, at 852 (2008).

iv See http://www.txbehaviorsupport.org/default.aspx?name=pbs.possibleoutcomes for a list of positive outcomes documented by schools implementing school-wide PBIS in Texas and across the nation. Dallas ISD already uses a curriculum – "Safe and Civil Schools" – that includes PBIS concepts. However, PBIS is best understood as a *model*, not a curriculum; implementation is most effective when schools implement a model consistent with that of the National PBIS Technical Assistance Center. See www.pbis.org.

V Language in section 37.001(a)(4) gives school administrators a great deal of discretion even when determining whether a student should be referred to a DAEP for a mandatory reason.

vi During the 2010-11 school year, Dallas ISD suspended only eight students from school for behavior that triggers mandatory removal under state law. This compares to 22,829 discretionary suspensions from school. Reserving OSS to state-mandated disciplinary referrals would allow the district to save almost 100% of the costs associated with OSS.

vii The average referral rate for the state is approximately 11%, compared to Dallas ISD's rate of about 15%. See Texas Education Agency, District Level Annual Discipline Summary PEIMS Discipline Data for 2010-2011, *available* at

http://ritter.tea.state.tx.us/cgi/sas/broker?_service=marykay&prev_htrefer=http%3A%2F%2Fritter.tea.

state.tx.us%2Fadhocrpt%2FDisciplinary_Data_Products%2FDAG_Summaries%2FDownload_DAG_District _Summaries.html&agg_level=DISTRICT&school_yr=11&report=04&report_type=html&_program=adhoc.D AG_dynamic_reports.sas&district=057905

viii Total cost depends on whether all students were suspended for one day or three days. The actual number of days missed due to suspensions is not reported to TEA. For purposes of this study we used an average of 1.5 days.

Assuming 1.5-day Suspension:

22,837 X 1.5=34,255 34,255 (days lost to OSS) X 1.4 (Dallas ISD ADA to WADA ratio) = 47,957 47,957/ 180 (Dallas ISD school year) = 266.42 266.42 X \$5,834 (Target Revenue per student) = \$1,554,294

Assuming 3-day Suspension:

22,837 X 3 = 68,511 (days lost to OSS) 68,511 X 1.4 (Dallas ADA to WADA ratio)= 95,915 95,915/180 = 533 533 X \$5,834 (Target Revenue per student) = \$3,109,522

- ix The Equity Center, *School Finance Glossary*, *available at* http://equitycenter.org/resources/school-finance-glossary#
- ^x The Texas Education Code does not include any mandated referrals to OSS it is most likely that these eight referrals were made to OSS while placement in a DAEP or JJAEP for which the Code does include mandated referrals was pending.
- xiTexas Education Agency, District Level Annual Discipline Summary PEIMS Discipline Data for 2010-2011, available at

http://ritter.tea.state.tx.us/cgi/sas/broker?_service=marykay&prev_htrefer=http%3A%2F%2Fritter.tea. state.tx.us%2Fadhocrpt%2FDisciplinary_Data_Products%2FDAG_Summaries%2FDownload_DAG_District _Summaries.html&agg_level=DISTRICT&school_yr=11&report=04&report_type=html&_program=adhoc.D AG_dynamic_reports.sas&district=057905

- xii Information obtained by Texas Appleseed through open records request to Dallas ISD.
- xiii Data obtained by Texas Appleseed through an Open Records Request shows the following elementary campuses made 50 or more referrals to OSS in 2010-11: Bayles Elementary, S.S. Conner Elementary, Paul L. Dunbar Learning Center, Dan D. Rogers Elementary, George W. Truett Elementary, Anne Frank Elementary, Annie Webb Blanton Elementary, Frederick Douglas Elementary, Barbara Jordan Elementary, Anson Jones Elementary, R.L. Thornton Elementary, Adelle Turner Elementary, Mark Twain Leadership Vanguard, Maria Moreno Elementary, and Celestino Mauricio Soto Jr. Elementary.
- xiv The Council of State Governments, *Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement* (2011).
- xv Texas Education Agency, Academic Excellence Indicator System, 2010-11 Campus Performance reports, available at http://ritter.tea.state.tx.us/perfreport/aeis/2011/index.html
- xvi Learning Alternative Center for Empowering Youth (LACEY).
- xvii School Community Guidance Center (SCGC).
- xviii Texas Education Agency, *supra* note xv. While schools report a "cost per student" as part of the AEIS system, since students circulate through the DAEP over the course of a school year, the "cost per student" reported by Dallas ISD for its DAEPs is more accurately understood as a "cost per seat."
- xix Data provided to Texas Appleseed by Dallas ISD pursuant to Open Records Request.
- xx Texas Education Agency, District Level Annual Discipline Summary PEIMS Discipline Data for 2010-2011, available at

http://ritter.tea.state.tx.us/cgi/sas/broker?_service=marykay&prev_htrefer=http%3A%2F%2Fritter.tea. state.tx.us%2Fadhocrpt%2FDisciplinary_Data_Products%2FDownload_District_Summaries.html&agg_lev el=DISTRICT&school_yr=11&report_type=html&_program=adhoc.disciplinary_data_products.sas&district =057905

- xxi *Id.* In fact, the majority of the discretionary referrals to a DAEP– 62 percent were made for a violation of the district's Code of Conduct rather than more serious behavior.
- xxiii Data obtained by Texas Appleseed through open records request to Dallas ISD.
- xxiv Legislative Budget Board, Dallas Independent School District A Review of the Student Behavior Management System 21-2 (2011).
- xxv Dallas ISD, Annual Financial Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 2011 (2011).
- xxvi Texas Appleseed, Texas' School to Prison Pipeline: Ticketing, Arrest & Use of Force in Schools (2010); See also Justice Policy Institute, Education Under Arrest: the Case Against Police in Schools (2011).
- xxvii In 1994 at the height of Texas' concerns regarding juvenile delinquency and school safety a study commissioned by the state legislature showed that the crime rate in Texas' urban schools was lower than would be expected on the basis of chance alone. Texas Education Agency, Texas Independent School District Crime Report 10 (1994).
- xxviii Dallas ISD budgets, available at http://www.dallasisd.org/Page/338
- xxix See Texas Appleseed, Texas' School to Prison Pipeline: Ticketing, Arrest & Use of Force in Schools 49 (2010).
- xxx Dallas ISD, Fiscal Year 2011-12 Proposed Budget (2011).
- xxxi Dallas ISD, Annual Financial Report for Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 2011 (2011).
- xxxii Terence M. Scott & Susan B. Barrett, *Using Staff and Student Time Engaged in Disciplinary Procedures to Evaluate the Impact of School-Wide PBIS*, J. Pos. Behavioral Interventions, Vol. 6, No. 1, at 21 (2009).

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