Police in School:
Re-imagining School Safety

A Literature Review on School Safety

Introduction

Given current national and local attention to issues of racial justice and reimagining public safety, the Center for Healthy Schools and Communities has committed to facilitating and convening collaborative learnings between school districts to explore strategies for creating safe, equitable school environments. The decision to deploy police in schools is usually made at the school-district level and is typically one component of a district's attempt at ensuring safety for students, teachers, parents, and staff. In an effort to support educational leaders in making critical decisions, this report draws from data and research to highlight key findings about the benefits and risks of employing police in schools and provides examples of diverse approaches to school safety. Overall, the impa of police presence on students, stakeholders, and overall school safety has been understudied and warrants more comprehensive research (Na & Gottfredson, 2013). Notably, several studies of police in school are funded by organizations run by and supportive of law enforcement, whose focus is advocating for increased police presence, which may contribute to research bias. This report predominantly draws from national research and data and highlights Alameda County–specific information where possible. In addition, this literature review examines existing research on the history of law enforcement in schools and other social-political factors that contribute to the presence and role of police in public schools.

History of police in schools

The earliest roots of police presence in US schools can be traced to the 1950s, when police patrolled increasingly integrated schools to address acts of violence against Black students by White residents angry about desegregation. Later proposals to station police in public schools with high populations of students of color stemmed from a fictionalized portrayal of Black and Latino students as capable of "corroding school morale" and bringing disorder to educational environments (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017). Aligned with broader social and political factors that pushed America to adopt increasingly harsher, punitive legislation, the education policies adopted in the late 1980s and early 1990s greatly increased police presence in schools. With the backdrop of the War on Drugs and a national narrative fueled by academics, politicians, and media reports that exaggerated crime and painted urban Black and Latino youth as violent, gang-involved predators, the federal government passed and implemented the Gun-Free Schools Act of 1994, the Safe Schools Act of 1994, and a 1998 amendment to the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 (Heitzeg, 2019). Despite school crime rates that were stable or declining across the country, these legislations facilitated and incentivized partnerships between schools and law enforcement agencies, funded school police forces and school resource officers (SROs), and implemented zero-tolerance policies in schools. Although zero-tolerance policies were initially focused on mandatory expulsion and law enforcement responses to students possessing firearms, state laws and school policies expanded their application to control routine student misbehavior, including truancy, tardiness, schoolyard scuffles, and minor nonviolent offenses (Heitzeg, 2019; Ritchie, 2017).

In addition, in response to high-profile school shootings in mostly White suburban schools, the Department of Justice COPS Office invested $300 million in establishing and expanding police presence largely in urban schools with high populations of students of color (Weiler & Cray, 2011; American Civil Liberties Union, 2017). State and local programs followed and reinforced the growth of police in schools and expanded their roles on campuses (Addington, 2009; Raymond, 2010). By 2018, 70% of middle and

high schools had a sworn, armed law enforcement officer regularly on campus, up from 1% in the 1970s (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019; American Civil Liberties Union, 2017). This increase in police presence in schools blurred the lines between the education and legal systems and led to increased racial inequities in education, including racial profiling of Black and brown students, who are suspended, expelled, and arrested at higher rates despite comparable rates of infraction among all students (Heitzeg, 2019; Lewis & Diamond, 2015). This tracking of students from educational pathways to criminal justice pathways is widely known as the *school-to-prison pipeline* and was named as one of the most urgent issues in contemporary education by the NAACP (Heitzeg, 2019).

TYPES AND ROLES OF SCHOOL SAFETY PERSONNEL ON CAMPUS

The role and type of school safety personnel differ from school to school and district to district. Some districts deploy a combination of school safety personnel on school campuses and have varied relationships with law enforcement. In addition to increasing police presence over the years, school administrators across the country hired private security guards and school safety aides. Security companies capitalized on the growing demand for school safety personnel and marketed a wide variety of security products to schools, including cameras and metal detectors, which have led to increased surveillance and scrutiny of students on campus (Peterson, Larson, & Skiba, 2001).

Table 1. Types of school safety personnel and their relationship with schools

Type	Relationship with school	Armed	Key roles
City or County Police Department	City or county police officers respond to violations of the law but are not stationed on school campuses	Yes	Respond to crime, apply the law and legal disciplinary measures, and apprehend law violators
School Resource Officer (SRO)	Sworn law enforcement officers from a local agency are assigned to school campuses	Yes	Patrol school grounds for security; record and report discipline; educate students and staff about school safety and violence prevention; and mentor students
School-District Police Department	The school district's independent police agency is solely focused on policing school grounds	Yes	Patrol school grounds, prevent and respond to incidents of crime and infractions of school rules
Security Guards	Off-duty police officers or guards hired from private companies	No	Guard, patrol, and monitor school premises to prevent and respond to theft, violence, and/or infraction of the rules
Security Aides	School personnel, parent, or community volunteer designated to support school safety and security	No	Monitor or assist with some aspects of security on campus (e.g., locking doors and gates, hall monitors)

Research indicates no mandated or standardized trainings for school resource officers, no federal- or state-designated definition of roles and responsibilities, and no standardized election process for assigning the SROs who work with young people. A national survey of SROs found that 25% had no prior experience working with youth and that 33% indicated a lack of clarity from their school sites regarding the type of disciplinary issues they can intervene in (Education Week Research Center, 2018). Without proper training and defined roles, SROs often respond to student behavior using their own discretion and the standard tools and training of law enforcement. This reality often creates an adversarial environment in which students come into contact with law enforcement and the criminal justice system for minor violations of school discipline policies and leads to a hostile educational environment that pushes students, especially at-risk students, out of schools (Kim & Geronimo, 2009).
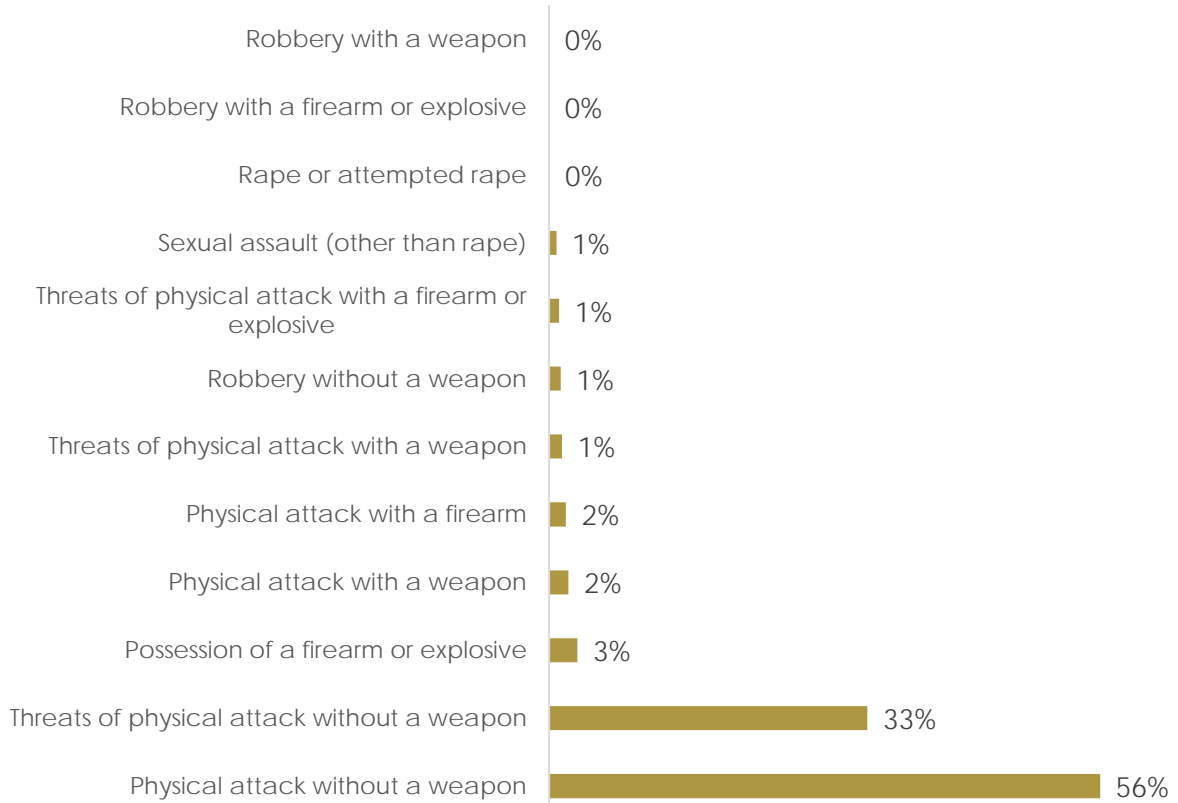
In the absence of federal and state standards, the National Association of School Resource Officers (NASRO), the largest school-based law-enforcement advocacy organization, drafted several recommendations, including suggestions "that schools select officers carefully for SRO assignments" and that "officers receive at least 40 hours of specialized training in school policing before being assigned" (NASRO, 2020). The NASRO and the federal government's Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) Office describe the role of SROs as the conjoining of law enforcement, counseling, and teaching.

ROLE OF POLICE IN STUDENT BEHAVIOR AND CRIME IN SCHOOLS

Data shows that incidences of violence and crime on school campuses are relatively low and that most student misbehavior does not warrant law enforcement involvement. Police are often coming into contact with students for minor misbehaviors, such as threats of fights, disrupting school, and arguments. Analysis of 2017–2018 US Department of Education's Civil Rights Data Collection for Alameda County's school districts shows that the overwhelming majority (90%) of incidents classified as serious offenses involved physical altercations or threats of physical altercations without weapons. Only 9% of school incidents included a weapon; 1% involved sexual assault; and 0.1% involved rape or attempted rape (See Figure 1). Similarly, the American Civil Liberties Union's (ACLU's) 2019 analysis of 2015–2016 data indicates that 96% of school incidents are misbehaviors that do not involve weapons, firearms, or explosives. (Civil Rights Data Collection, 2015-2016; Mann, et al., 2019). The 2017–2019 school data on Alameda County public middle and high schools show that less than 4% of students reported being threatened or injured with a weapon, while 14% reported having seen someone carry a gun, knife, or weapon on school property (WestEd, 2020). *For 2017–2018 Alameda County School Districts' Serious Offense Incident data by school district, see the Appendix.*

Figure 1. Alameda County School Districts' Prevalence of "Serious Offenses" 2017-18*
(N=5550)

Offense	Percentage
Robbery with a weapon	0%
Robbery with a firearm or explosive	0%
Rape or attempted rape	0%
Sexual assault (other than rape)	1%
Threats of physical attack with a firearm or explosive	1%
Robbery without a weapon	1%
Threats of physical attack with a weapon	1%
Physical attack with a firearm	2%
Physical attack with a weapon	2%
Possession of a firearm or explosive	3%
Threats of physical attack without a weapon	33%
Physical attack without a weapon	56%

*Total number and types of serious offenses reported across all school districts in Alameda County in 2017–2018

Source: US Department of Education, Civil Rights Data Collection, 2018

The literature suggests that police presence on campus can lead to exclusionary discipline, which contributes to school push-out and the school-to-prison pipeline.
Police presence, coupled with zero-tolerance policies, can result in an educational setting that is punitive in nature and one in which students are more likely to be removed for routine misbehavior (Fowler et al., 2010). With increased school-police partnerships, teachers and administrators have become more reliant on outsourcing school disciplinary action to SROs, and involving them in traditional school discipline matters has resulted in an increase in the use of expulsion and out-of-school suspensions (American Civil Liberties Union, 2012; Fowler, 2011; Meiners, 2011; Wald & Losen, 2003). A systematic review and meta-analysis of seven quasi-experimental studies showed that SRO presence in schools was associated with higher rates of exclusionary discipline, including suspension and expulsions (Fisher & Hennessey, 2016). Students of color from low socioeconomic status are disproportionately impacted by the harsh and intrusive interventions of police (Anyon et al., 2014; Balko, 2018; Devin, 1996; Fabelo et al., 2011; Kupchik, 2010; Nolan, 2011; Thurau & Wald, 2010).

Research indicates that police presence contributes to the school-to-prison pipeline. Analysis of national school police data shows that schools with police presence have an arrest rate that is 3.5 times higher than schools without a police presence (Mann, et al., 2019). As a result, more youth are processed through the juvenile and adult criminal justice systems (Addington, 2009; Crews, Crews, & Burton, 2013; Jennings, Khey, Maskaly, & Donner, 2011; Devlin & Gottfredson, 2016; Brown, 2006). Furthermore, every encounter a young person has with the criminal justice system increases their likelihood of dropping out of school. For this reason, both proponents and critics of SROs in schools have clearly advised against SRO involvement in routine school discipline matters and recommend that these issues be handled by school administrators (Weisburst, 2019).

One study showed that when there is a lack of social-emotional supports in school, parents turn to SROs for help in addressing student misbehavior.
In a study that included interviews with SROs from Massachusetts, Thurau and Wald (2010) found that a lack of social services in public schools serving low-income families and a lack of awareness of the scope of SRO responsibilities led many parents of troubled youth to work with SROs in an attempt to regulate their children's behavior. One officer interviewed noted that as a result of budget cuts that eliminated crisis teams, psychologists, and counselors, parents turn to police to help keep their children on track.

IMPACT OF POLICE IN SCHOOLS ON STUDENTS AND THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT[1]

Research suggests that there are diverse feelings among students regarding school safety and police presence on campus, with Black students reporting feeling least safe in the presence of campus police.
While the research on the impacts of police presence to actual school safety is limited, several studies have looked at students' feelings of safety on campuses with school police presence. A few survey studies show that students have a relatively positive perception of SROs and either believe they increase school safety or have a neutral effect (Brown, 2005; Bracy, 2011; Kupchik & Bracy, 2009). On the other hand, several studies found that students of color feel less safe with police present on campus (Theriot & Orme, 2016; Nakamoto, Cerna, & Stern, 2019), and Black students report feeling the least safe in the presence of SROs (Theriot & Orme, 2016). The *California Healthy Kids Survey* (2017–2018) found that White students (34%) are twice as likely as Black students (16%) to report increased feelings of safety due to police presence on California public high school campuses (Nakamoto, Cerna, & Stern, 2019). Notably, school districts with higher rates of students experiencing poverty, Black and Latino students, higher levels of disciplinary actions, and lower graduation rates typically have a larger police presence (Kupchik & Ward, 2014; Urban Institute, 2018).

---

[1] Limitations with the findings. Sample bias and study design largely contribute to the ability to draw conclusions. To date, there have been only two comparative studies, and their contributions are limited due to study design and a nonrepresentative sample (Na & Gottfredson, 2013). Most of the available research on SROs' impact on school safety and climate relies heavily on survey data that measures students' and teachers' perceptions of safety and connectedness (James & McCallion, 2013; Raymond, 2010) rather than actual quantitative outcomes. Several studies of SRO programs are funded by the NASRO and COPS offices, organizations run by law enforcement that are focused on advocating for increased police presence, which contributes to bias. Therefore, many researchers argue that the relationship between interacting with an SRO and students' feeling of safety has not been adequately researched (Brown, 2006; Juvonen, 2001; Watkins & Maume, 2011) or that there is no clear evidence that SROs contribute to school safety (Na & Gottfredson, 2013)

Studies suggest that police presence on campus leads to poorer academic performance and decreased educational attainment, with the largest impacts on Black students.
Scholars report that police presence in schools can contribute to a "prison like" (Dohrn, 2002) and "juvenile detention center" environment (Meiners, 2011), where a heavy-handed disciplinary culture adversely affects learning and further disadvantages low-income students of color in low-performing schools (Gottfredson et al., 2020; Balko, 2018). A 2019 study looked at the impacts of federally grant-funded school police on 2.5 million students in Texas and found a 6% increase in middle school discipline rates, a 2.5% decrease in high school graduation rates, and a 4% decrease in college enrollment rates, with the largest negative impacts on Black students (Weisburst, 2019).

Research reveals that students with disabilities, Black students, and other students of color are disproportionately arrested or referred to law enforcement, which leads to poorer education, health, and life outcomes.
The US Department of Education's Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) findings show that students with disabilities are arrested more than their nondisabled peers; Black students are arrested at three to four times the rate as White students; and Native American students are arrested at two to three times the rate of White students (Table 2).

Although civil rights law and the Americans with Disabilities Act were enacted to protect students with disabilities from punishment and discrimination, police are not trained to recognize or respond appropriately to behavior related to disabilities (May, Minor, & Rice, 2012). Disabled students are regularly criminalized for their behavior rather than referred to appropriate therapeutic services. The US Department of Education Office for Civil Rights found that while students with disabilities, as defined by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, represent 12% of the student population, they account for a quarter of students arrested and referred to law enforcement.

School referrals to law enforcement and arrests have lifetime consequences for young people. Youth exposure and interaction with police leads to reduction in high school graduation, college enrollment, and college persistence, with the most negative impacts on Black students (Bacher-Hicks & Elijah de la Campa, 2020; Legewie & Fagan, 2019). Additionally, encounters with police and arrest are stressors correlated to decreased mental well-being for youth, including higher levels of anxiety and trauma (Sugie & Turney, 2017; Geller, Fagan, Tyler, & Link, 2014). Youth who are arrested are at increased risk of losing access to higher education, job eligibility, and public housing, and of coming into further contact with the criminal justice system, and students with on-campus arrests that lead to school drop-out face a dramatically increased risk of future incarceration (American Civil Liberties Union, 2017).

Table 2. School arrests and referrals to law enforcement per 10,000 students 2015–2016

	Nation		California	
	Arrests	Referrals	Arrests	Referrals
All Students	12	47	5	46
Students with Disabilities[2]	29	113	14	117
Black	28	93	18	130
Native American	22	45	13	47
Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	22	88	8	71
Latino	11	50	5	63
White	9	35	4	32
Asian	3	16	2	16
Students without Disabilities	10	38	10	37
Source: US Department of Education, 2015–2016, Civil Rights Data Collection; ACLU 2017				

Cases suggest that police presence in school may increase the risk of detainment and deportation for undocumented and unaccompanied minor students.

To date, no studies have focused on the impacts that police presence in schools has on undocumented students. However, a recent article by Geron and Levinson (2018) lists particular instances where SRO reporting subjected undocumented and unaccompanied minor students to significant levels of risk for detention and deportation. These include two cases in Suffolk County, New York, and Boston, where SROs with insufficient evidence labeled and reported students as gang members. SROs are not bound by the education privacy protections that the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act demands from school administrators, and SRO reports are often filed with police departments rather than school districts, leading to significant out-of-school consequences. In these cases, SRO outside reporting led to the detainment of one minor in a detention facility in Suffolk and deportation proceedings in Boston.

BEST PRACTICES FOR THE FUTURE OF SCHOOL SAFETY

Research indicates that school districts should deeply examine the regular presence of police on school campuses, work to mitigate disparities in police-student interactions, and consider implementing community-driven strategies to foster school safety through evidence-based and emerging practices. School-safety and school-discipline data show that most incidents of student misbehavior do not warrant law enforcement involvement and would be more appropriately addressed with alternative interventions and social supports. When there are student and police interactions, school policies and practices must serve to mitigate harm and protect students. Researchers agree that police involvement in student life should be limited to incidents of serious crime and violence and should not include responses to routine school discipline (Dignity in Schools, 2017; Mann, et al., 2019; Weisburst, 2019).

---

[2] Students with disabilities are those identified by the definitions in the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.

The following section summarizes best practices for coordinating with law enforcement and emerging best practices for increasing and reimagining school safety, including two case examples of school districts that recently removed police from their schools.

School coordination with law enforcement for crime and violence

The following are emerging and best practices for school districts and police departments working together, including recommendations from President Obama's Task Force on 21st Century Policing and the American Civil Liberties Union, that seek to promote positive relationships between youth and police and disrupt the school-to-prison pipeline:

1. **Establish internal crisis plans with de-escalation techniques and protocols to be implemented before summoning law enforcement involvement** (Mann, et al., 2019).

2. **Develop clear protocols and a memorandum of understanding** that outline how police will respond to law violations on school campuses and detail processes for instances when police seek access to a student. The protocols should explain thresholds for police involvement and provide school administrators with specific instructions about contacting police, notifying the parent/guardian, and ensuring that students understand their legal rights (Dignity in Schools, 2017; Leadership for Educational Equity, 2019; US Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015). In addition, schools should develop internal protocols for accepting and investigating student complaints about law enforcement interactions and regularly report data to school district leadership (Dignity in Schools, 2017; US Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015)

3. **Engage school staff, law enforcement, students, and parents to collaborate in developing, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating school safety strategies**, including tracking law enforcement referral and arrest data (Leadership for Educational Equity, 2019; US Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015; Dignity in Schools, 2017).

4. **Mandate minimum training for police on adolescent development, implicit bias, communication, and de-escalation**. Training should not come from school district funding but from local law enforcement agencies (Mann, et al., 2019; Leadership for Educational Equity, 2019; Dignity in Schools, 2017).

Nonpunitive approaches to school discipline

To address routine student discipline and promote a safe school environment, the National Association of School Psychologists, the American School Counselor Association, and the School Social Work Association of America's A Framework for Safe and Successful Schools recommends that school districts implement effective, positive school discipline that functions in concert with efforts to address school safety and climate. They recommend avoiding approaches that are simply punitive or involve zero-tolerance policies but advocate for policies that are clear, consistent, and equitable, and that

reinforce positive behaviors (Cowan, Vaillancourt, Rossen, & Pollitt, 2013). In addition, the framework encourages an integrated, multidisciplinary approach that includes prevention and intervention strategies that increase on the basis of student need. Best practices that align with this framework include the following:

1. **Involve students in decision-making about approaches to school discipline using strategies such as restorative justice, youth courts, and peer interventions.** Uplift and affirm youth voice, and fund youth-led research, leadership training, and life skills development (US Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015; Dignity in Schools, 2017). Specifically, restorative justice programs empower students to resolve conflicts on their own; repair harm and strengthen school community; are evidence-based; and are shown to reduce suspension, expulsion, and disciplinary referrals, especially for Black and Latino students (Weber & Vereenooghe, 2020).

2. **Implement Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS) to address student behavior through a three-tiered framework that integrates school systems and practices to align to the needs of students**. Multiple studies have shown that school-wide PBIS leads to decreases in out-of-school suspensions and office discipline referrals (Kim, McIntosh, & Mercer, 2018; Gage, Whitford, & Katsiyannis, 2018). Notably, a comparative study of California schools found that schools implementing PBIS had fewer out-of-school suspensions for all students and for students with disabilities (Grasley-Boy, Gage, & Lombardo, 2019).

3. **Create school policies that limit or eliminate suspensions and expulsions, and that require alternative responses, such as restorative justice, counseling, diversion, and family interventions** (Owen, Wettach, & Hoffman, 2015; US Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2015). School districts can adopt codes that limit out-of-school suspension and expulsion to incidences of serious threat to safety and respond to minor offenses such as classroom disruption, dress-code violations, and repeated tardiness with alternative strategies (Owen, Wettach, & Hoffman, 2015). School districts, such as those in Baltimore, Los Angeles, and Denver, have adopted these policies and have seen reductions in suspensions. In Baltimore, drop-out rates for Black male students have decreased by 60%, while graduation rates have increased by 16% (Owen, Wettach, & Hoffman, 2015).

4. **Employ trained staff dedicated to creating a positive school environment and promoting school safety.** These staff, sometimes called peacekeepers and school safety ambassadors, respond and manage student misconduct and behavior in collaboration with school staff, teachers, and behavioral health providers (Dignity in Schools, 2017).

Recommended Trainings for School Safety Staff (Dignity in Schools, 2017)
- Trauma-informed practice
- Child and adolescent development and psychology
- De-escalation techniques
- Restorative and transformative justice practices
- School-wide PBIS
- Working with youth with disabilities, LGBTQ youth, and gender-nonconforming youth
- Cultural competencies: implicit and explicit biases, understanding and addressing racism, etc.
- Violence prevention and intervention

Mental health crisis response

Trained mental health professionals are the most effective interventionists in responding to and referring students who are undergoing a mental health crisis. The Welfare and Institution Code Section 5150 does not require a law enforcement officer to respond when a person with a mental health disorder is deemed a danger to others or themselves, or gravely disabled. Upon probable cause, designated members of a mobile crisis team or a professional person designated by the county can also take a person into custody or placement for evaluation and treatment. Notably, interdisciplinary response teams that include law enforcement officers trained in responding to mental health crises, as well as a behavioral health provider—sometimes known as Crisis Intervention Team Programs—do not result in reduced risk for individuals with mental and behavioral health disorders (El-Sabawi & Carroll, 2020). Instead, school districts should consider implementing the following best practices:

1. **Fund and staff schools with school-based mental health providers** who are trained to interact with students, monitor and respond to student behavior, and provide behavioral health support through screenings and referrals (Mann, et al., 2019). The best-practice student-to-staff ratios are 250 students per one counselor; 250 students to one social worker; 500–700 students to one school psychologist; and 750 students to one nurse (Mann, et al., 2019).

2. **Adapt and implement a mobile crisis team model,** such as Crisis Assistance Helping Out on the Streets (CAHOOTs) and Mobile Assistance Community Responders of Oakland (MACRO), to school campuses. These models employ unarmed mental health professionals trained in de-escalation, crisis counseling, suicide prevention, and conflict resolution to respond to mental health crises and refer or transport individuals undergoing a mental health crisis to treatment. According to data from the CAHOOTS program, only 1% of calls to the crisis-response team resulted in a call for police assistance (White Bird Clinic, 2020).

Assessing the impacts of school police on students and stakeholders

In efforts to deepen the understanding of the impacts of police on school climate and safety and to implement the most impactful school safety strategies, districts can learn through engagement with multiple sources and stakeholder perspectives. Students, parents, teachers, and administrators all

possess insights into the impacts of school safety strategies and best practices for school safety. As a starting place, districts can do the following:

1. **Analyze existing data on school safety, discipline, and law enforcement interactions, including the following**:
   - The *California Healthy Kid's Survey*'s module on school safety and climate
   - School district data on arrests and referrals to law enforcement, including the nature of offense, to ascertain whether the incident warranted police involvement and to assess for inequities, disaggregate, and compare the data by race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, gender identity, and disability status.

2. **Engage and gather perspectives from key stakeholders, especially those most impacted by school safety strategies, including marginalized students, parents, teachers, and staff.** Collect data through surveys, focus-group discussions, and town halls to learn about their perspectives on school safety, the role and impact of police, and alternatives for school safety.

CASE STUDIES OF TWO SCHOOL DISTRICTS WITH ALTERNATIVE MODELS TO POLICE IN SCHOOLS

Approximately 30% of US public high schools and middle schools do not rely on school police or security for school safety (National Center for Education Statistics, 2018). In 2017, two school districts, Intermediate School District 287 in West Metro Minneapolis and the Toronto School District, implemented alterative models to police in school, which included replacing police presence in schools with unarmed, trained civilian staff focused on school safety. Given that these alternative models are still new and were recently implemented, their impact on school safety and student outcomes have yet to be formally researched.

Case Study 1: Intermediate Direct 287 (District 287) in West Metro Minneapolis

District 287 is comprised of four schools with 60% students of color and 65% students eligible for free/reduced-price lunch; they also serve students with significant disabilities and unmet mental health needs, and those who have experienced childhood trauma (Intermediate District 287, 2020). In 2017, District 287 replaced their SROs with an alternative model for safety focused on relationships, de-escalation, and healing-centered approaches that included School Safety Coaches (SSCs), a mobile crisis response team, therapeutic teaching classrooms, and partnership with a learning academy on childhood trauma (Association of Metropolitan School Districts, 2020). SSCs are trained with de-escalation, trauma-sensitive approaches, mental health, first aid, crisis intervention, crime prevention, active-shooter response, and school safety. District 287 employed two SSCs per school and two roaming SCCs who can respond to schools with safety concerns. As a result, schools addressed student misconduct through de-escalation or mental health support, resulting in a decreased need for police response.

Role of School Safety Coach
- De-escalate situations affecting safety
- Lead or support restorative practice circles
- Use nonviolent defensive tactics
- Build trusting relationship with school stakeholders
- Provide building security
- Provide emergency support services to school stakeholders, including calling 911
- Promote positive student behavior
- Observe and chart student behavior and participate in IEP, 360, and Health and Safety meetings

An evaluation of the model found that only 2% of SSC interactions resulted in a need for police response, leading to a drop of student arrest from 65 to 5 per year over the first two years of implementation. The majority of school staff report agreement that SSCs build positive relationships with students and staff, effectively de-escalate situations, and help students develop positive behaviors; however, only half felt that they and their students are safer (Wilder Research, 2020).

Case Study 2: School Safety Monitors at Toronto School District

The Toronto School District had SRO presence in half of its public schools, predominantly in schools in communities of color. In 2017, as a result of a community engagement process, which included student, parent, and staff surveys, they removed all SROs and replaced them with unarmed School Safety Monitors (SSMs) and reformed their school discipline model to a less punitive approach (Belsha, 2020). Toronto's SSMs must have at least six months of experience working with adolescents and training in responding to emergency situations.

The data on student discipline for Toronto's 2018–2019 school year showed a 24% drop in suspension and a 53% drop in expulsions, though student discipline continues to disproportionately impact Black students and students with special-education needs (Zheng, 2020). The proportion of suspensions and expulsions that involved police remained relatively the same, with an average of 20.5% between the 2016 and 2019 school years (Zheng, 2019; Caring and Safe Schools, 2017). When city police are called to respond to incidents, the district has a protocol in place that places principals in the role of gatekeeper, monitoring interactions and ensuring student rights (Toronto District School Board, 2011).

Role of School Safety Monitor
- Monitor school campus for threats to school safety
- Assist school staff, teachers, and students to uphold the code of conduct and the safe school policy
- Assist visitors and identify trespassers
- Assist school administration and police with serious and routine incidents, as well as security
- Resolve minor disputes between students through positive communications

APPENDIX

Alameda County School Districts' Prevalence of "Serious Offenses," 2017–2018	Alameda USD	Albany USD	Berkeley USD	Castro Valley USD	Dublin USD	Emery USD	Fremont USD	Hayward USD	Livermore Valley Joint USD	Mountain House ESD	New Haven USD	Newark USD	Oakland USD	Piedmont USD	Pleasanton USD	San Leandro USD	San Lorenzo USD	Sunol Glen USD	Total	%
Robbery with a weapon	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0%
Robbery with a firearm or explosive device	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.0%
Rape or attempted rape	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0.1%
Sexual assault (other than rape)	1	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	3	0	25	0	3	5	0	0	43	0.8%
Threats of physical attack with a firearm or explosive device	0	0	56	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	57	1.0%
Robbery without a weapon	2	9	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	1	1	20	1	2	27	0	0	67	1.2%
Threats of physical attack with a weapon	2	0	56	0	2	0	0	2	6	0	4	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	74	1.3%
Physical attack or fight with a firearm or explosive device	0	0	92	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	0	0	96	1.7%
Physical attack or fight with a weapon	0	0	92	0	14	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	110	2.0%
Possession of a firearm or explosive device	1	0	4	0	1	0	0	0	19	0	0	8	114	0	12	1	1	0	161	2.9%
Threats of physical attack without a weapon	11	18	56	145	19	0	0	599	135	0	30	2	223	2	141	427	0	0	1808	32.6%
Physical attack or fight without a weapon	276	23	92	69	88	1	0	154	18	0	174	192	1,970	0	21	51	0	1	3130	56.4%
Total Incidents	293	50	452	215	125	1	1	759	181	0	213	207	2357	4	179	511	1	1	5550	

Source: US Department of Education Office of Civil Rights Data, 2017–2018, retrieved from: https://ocrdata.ed.gov/flex/Reports.aspx?type=district

SOURCES

Addington, L. A. "Cops and Cameras: Public School Security as a Policy Response to Columbine." *American Behavioral Scientist* 52, no. 10 (2009): 1,426–1,446.

American Civil Liberties Union. "Ending the School to Prison Pipeline" (2012). Retrieved from https://www.aclu.org/sites/default/files/field_document/aclu_statement_for_sjc_subcomm_hearing_on_the_school_to _prison_pipeline_12_2012.pdf.

American Civil Liberties Union. *Model MOU between School District and Police Departmen* (October 2016). Retrieved from https://www.aclunc.org/docs/Appendix-D-Model-MOU.pdf.

American Civil Liberties Union. *Bullies in Blue: The Origins and Consequences of School Policing* (2017). Retrieved from https://www.aclu.org/issues/juvenile-justice/school-prison-pipeline/bullies-blue.

American Civil Liberties Union. *Cops and No Counselors: How the Lack of School Mental Health Staff Is Harming Students* (2019). Retrieved from https://www.aclu.org/report/cops-and-no-counselors.

Anyon, Y., J. M. Jenson, I. Altschul, J. Farrar, J. McQueen, E. Greer, B. Downing, and J. Simmons. "The Persistent Effect of Race and the Promise of Alternatives to Suspension in School Discipline Outcomes." *Children and Youth Services Review* 44 (2014): 379–386.

Association of Metropolitan School Districts. *Student Safety Coaches are a Trauma-Sensitive Approach for Highest-Needs Students* (May 2020). Retrieved from AMSD *Connections*: https://www.district287.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/SSCs.pdf.

Bacher-Hicks, A., and Elijah de la Campa. *Social Costs of Proactive Policing: The Impact of NYC's Stop and Frisk Program on Educational Attainment* (February 2020). Retrieved from https://drive.google.com/file/d/1sSxhfmDY3N1VAN5XwyRObE65tmAZzhTj/view.

Balko, R. "Putting More Cops in Schools Won't Make Schools Safer, and It Will Likely Inflict a Lot of Harm." *The Washington Post* (February 22, 2018). Available at https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/the-watch/wp/2018/02/22/putting-more-cops-in-schools-wont-make-schools-safer-and-it-will-likely-inflict-a-lot-of-harm/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.ca17c34097ec.

Belsha, K. "Canada's Largest School District Ended Its Police Program. Now Toronto May Be an Example for US Districts Considering the Same" (June 19, 2020). Retrieved from Chalkbeat: https://www.chalkbeat.org/2020/6/19/21297248/toronto-canada-ended-school-police-program-example-for-united-states-school-districts.

Bracy, N. "Student Perceptions of High-Security Enviornments." *Youth and Society* 43 (2011): 365–395.

Brown, B. "Controlling Crime and Deliquency in Schools: An Exploratory Study of Student Perceptions of School Security Measures." *Journal of School Violence* 4 (2005): 105–125.

Brown, B. "Understanding and Assessing School Police Officers: A Conceptual and Methodological Comment." *Journal of Criminal Justice* 36, (2006): 591–604.

Caring and Safe Schools (2017). Retrieved from *Caring and Safe Schools Report 2016–2017*: https://www.tdsb.on.ca/Portals/0/docs/Caring%20and%20Safe%20Schools%20Report%202016-17%20TDSB.pdf.

Civil Rights Data Collection (2015–2016). Retrieved from https://ocrdata.ed.gov.

Cowan, K., K. Vaillancourt, E. Rossen, and K. Pollitt. *A Frameworkfor Safe and Successful Schools.* Bethesda, MD: National Associations of School Psychologists, 2013.

Crews, G. A., A. D. Crews, and C. E. Burton. "The Only Thing That Stops a Guy with a Bad Policy Is a Guy with a Good Policy: An Examination of the NRA's 'National School Shield' Proposal." *American Journal of Criminal Justice* 38, no. 2 (2013): 183–199.

Devine, J. *Maximum Security: The Culture of Violence in Inner-City Schools.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996.

Devlin, D. N., and D. C. Gottfredson. "The Roles of Police Officers in Schools: Effects on the Recording and Reporting of Crime." *Youth VIolence and Juvenile Justice* (2016).

Dignity in Schools. *Counselors Not Cops Campaign: Ending the Regular Presence of Law Enforcement in Schools* (2017). Retrieved from https://dignityinschools.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/DSC_Counselors_Not_Cops_Recommendations-1.pdf.

Dohrn, B. *The School, the Child, and the Court: A Century Oof Juvenile Justice.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Education Week Research Center. *School Policing: Results of a National Survey of School Resource Officers* (2018). Retrieved from https://www.edweek.org/media/school-resource-officer-survey- copyright-education-week.pdf.

El-Sabawi, T., and J. J. Carroll. *A Model for Defunding: An Evidence-Based Statue for Behavioral Health Crisis Response* (2020). Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3683432.

Fabelo, T., M. D. Thompson, M. Plotkin, D. Carmichael, M. P. Marchbanks, and E. A. Booth. *Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement.* New York: Council of State Governments Justice Center, 2011.

Fisher, B. W., and E. A. Hennessey. "School Resource Officers and Exclusionary Discipline in U.S. High Schools: A Systematic Review and Meta-Analysis". *Adolescent Research Review* 1 (2016): 217–223.

Fowler, D. "School Discipline Feeds the 'Pipeline to Prison.'" *Phi Delta Kappan* 93, no. 2 (2011): 14–19.

Fowler, D., R. Lightsey, J. Monger, E. Terrazas, and L. White. *Texas' School-to-Prison Pipeline: Ticketing, Arrest, and Use of Force in Schools: How the Myth of the 'Blackboard Jungle' Reshaped School Disciplinary Policy.* Austin, TX: Texas Appleseed, 2010.

Gage, N. A., D. K. Whitford, and A. Katsiyannis. "A Review of Schoolwide Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports as a Framework for Reducing Discplinary Eclusions." *The Journal of Special Education* (2018): 142–151.

Geller, A., J. Fagan, T. Tyler, and B. Link. *Aggresive Policing and the Mental Health of Young Urban Men* (2014). Retrieved from *American Journal of Public Health*: https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC4232139/.

Geron, T., and M. Levinson. "Intentional Collaboration, Predictable Complicity, and Proactive Prevention: US Schools' Ethical Responsibilities in Slowing the School-to-Deportation Pipeline." *Journal of Global Ethics* 14, no. 1 (2018), 23–33.

Gottfredson, D. C., S. Crosse, Z. Tang, E. L. Bauer, M. A. Harmon, C. A. Hagen, and A. D. Greene. "Effects of School Resource Officers on School Crime and Responses to School Crime." *Criminology & Public Policy* 19, no. 3 (2020): 905–940.

Grasley-Boy, N., N. A. Gage, and M. Lombardo. "Effect of SWPBIS on Discplinary Exclusion for Students with and without Disabilities." *Exceptional Children* (2019).

Heitzeg, N. A. *Criminalizing Education: Zero-Tolerance Policies, Police in the Hallways, and the School to Prison Pipeline* (2019).

Intermediate District 287. *287 Student Safety Coach Model* (July 2020). Retrieved from https://www.district287.org/287-student-safety-coach-model/.

James, N., and G. McCallion. *School Resource Officers: Law Enforcement Officers in Schools* (2013).

Jennings, W. G., D. N. Khey, J. Maskaly, and C. M. Donner. "Evaluating the Relationship between Law Enforcement and School Security Measures and Violent Crime in Schools." *Journal of Police Crisis Negotiations* 11, no. 2 (2011): 109–124.

Juvonen, J., and S. Graham. *Peer Harassment in School: The Plight of the Vulnerable and Victimized.* Guilford Press, 2001.

Kim, C. Y., and I. I. Geronimo. *Policing in Schools* (2009).

Kim, J., K. McIntosh, and S. H. Mercer. "Longitudinal Associations between SWPBIS Fidelty of Implementation and Behavior and Academic Outcomes." *Behavioral Disorders* (2018).

Kupchik, A. *Homeroom Security: School Discipline in an Age of Fear*, vol. 6. New York City: NYU Press, 2010.

Kupchik, A., and N. L. Brac. "To Protect, Serve, and Mentor? Police Officers in Public Schools." In T. Monahan, and R. D. Torre. *Schools Under Surveillance: Cultures of Control in Public Education.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2009: 21–37.

Kupchik, A., and G. Ward. "Race, Poverty, and Exclusionary School Security: An Empirical Analysis of US Elementary, Middle, and High Schools." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 12, no. 4 (2014): 332–354.

Leadership for Educational Equity. *Emerging Models for Police Presence in Schools* (2019). Retrieved from Educational Equity: https://educationalequity.org/sites/default/files/documents/emerging_models_for_school_resource_officers_final.pdf.

Legewie, J., and J. Fagan. "Aggressive Policing and the Educational Performance of Minority Youth." *American Sociological Review* 84, no. 2 (2019): 220–247.

Lewis, A.E., and J. B. Diamond. *Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Mann, A., A. Whitaker, S. Torres-Guillen, S. Morton, H. Jordon, S. Coyle, and W. L. Sun. *Cops & No Counselors: How the Lack of School Mental Health Staff is Harming Students* (2019). Retrieved from American Civil Liberties Union: https://www.aclu.org/report/cops-and-no-counselors.

May, D. C., K. I. Minor, and C. Rice. "An Examination of School Resource Officers' Attitudes Regarding Behavioral Issues among Students Receiving Special Education Services." *Current Issues in Education* 1 (2012): 8–10.

Meiners, E. R. "Ending the School-to-Prison Pipeline/Building Abolition Futures." *The Urban Review* 43, no. 4 (2011): 547.

Na, C., and D. C. Gottfredson. "Police Officers in Schools: Effects on School Crime and the Processing of Offending Behaviors." *Justice Quarterly* 30, no. 4 (2013): 619–650.

Nakamoto, J., R. Cerna, and A. Stern. *High School Students' Perceptions of Police Vary by Student Race and Ethnicity: Findings from an Analysis of California Health Kids Survey 2017–2018.* San Francisco: WestEd, 2019.

National Center for Education Statistics. *Percentage of Public Schools with Security Staff Present at Least Once a Week, and Percentage with Security Staff Routinely Carrying a Firearm, by Selected School Characteristics* (2019). Retrieved from *Digest of Education Statistics*: https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d19/tables/dt19_233.70.asp.

Nolan, K. *Police in the Hallways: Discipline in an Urban High School.* Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011.

Owen, J., J. Wettach, and K. C. Hoffman, K. C. *Instead of Suspension: Alternative Strategies for Effective School Discipline* (2015). Retrieved from National Juvenile Justice Network: https://www.njjn.org/uploads/digital-library/instead_of_suspension.pdf.

Peterson, R. L., J. Larson, and R. Skiba. "School Violence Prevention: Current Status and Policy Recommendations." *Law & Policy* 23, no. 3 (2001): 345–371.

Raymond, B. "Assigning Police Officers to Schools, Response Guide No. 10." Center for Problem Oriented Policing, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, US Department of Justice (2010).

Ritchie, A. J. *Invisible No More: Police Violence against Black Women and Women of Color*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2017.

Sugie, N. F., and K. Turney. "Beyond Incarceration: Criminal Justice Contact and Mental Health." *American Sociological Review* (2017).

Theriot, M. T., and J. G. Orme. "School Resource Officers and Students' Feelings of Safety at School." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 14, no. 2 (2016): 130–146.

Toronto District School Board. *Police/School Board Protocol: Operational Procedure PR698* (August 16, 2011). Retrieved from http://ppf.tdsb.on.ca/uploads/files/live/98/1215.pdf.

Urban Institute. *The Prevalence of Police Officers in US School* (June 21, 2018). Available at https://www.urban.org/urban-wire/prevalence-police-officers-us-schools.

US Department of Justice, Office of Community Oriented Policing Services. *President's Taskforce on 21st Century Policing* (2015). Retrieved from https://cops.usdoj.gov/ric/Publications/cops-p311-pub.pdf.

Wald, J., and D. J. Losen. "Defining and Redirecting a School-to-Prison Pipeline." *New Directions for Youth Development* 99 (2003): 9–15.

Wald, J., and L. Thurau. "First Do No Harm: How Educators and Police Can Work Together More Effectively to Preserve School Safety and Protect Vulnerable Students." Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice (Harvard University 2010). Retrieved from https://www.njjn.org/uploads/digital-library/resource_1574_1.pdf.

Watkins, A. M., and M. O. Maume. "School Victims and Crime Reporting." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 9, no. 4 (2011): 333–351.

Weber, C., and L. Vereenooghe, L. "Reducing Conflicts In School Environments Using Restorative Practices: A Systematic Review." *International Journal of Educational Research Open* (2020).

Weiler, S. C., and M. Cray. "Police at School: A brief History and Current Status of School Resource Officers." *The Clearning House* 84 (2011): 160–163.

Weisburst, E. K. "Patrolling Public Schools: The Impact of Funding for School Police on Student Discipline and Long-term Education Outcomes." *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management* 38, no. 2 (2019): 338–365.

WestEd. *California Health Kids Survey Alameda County 2017–2019 Main Report* (June 2020). Retrieved from https://data.calschls.org/resources/Alameda_County_1719_Sec_CHKS.pdf.

White Bird Clinic. *Cahoots* (October 2020). Retrieved from https://whitebirdclinic.org/category/cahoots/.

Wilder Research. *ISD 287's Student Safety Coaches—Summary of Literature and Staff Survey School Year 2019–2020* (2020).

Zheng, S. *Caring and Safe Schools Report 2017–2018* (2019). Retrieved from https://www.tdsb.on.ca/Portals/0/docs/Caring%20and%20Safe%20Schools%20Report%202017-18%2C%20TDSB%2C%20Final_April%202019.pdf.

Zheng, S. *Caring and Safe Schools Report 2018–2019* (2020). Retrieved from https://www.tdsb.on.ca/Portals/0/docs/Caring%20and%20Safe%20Schools%20Report%202018-19%2C%20TDSB%2C%2012Feb2020%20Final.pdf.