EDUCATION UNDER ARREST:

THE CASE AGAINST POLICE IN SCHOOLS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PART I
INTRODUCTION

Fueled by increasingly punitive approaches to student behavior such as "zero tolerance policies," the past 20 years have seen an expansion in the presence of law enforcement, including school resource officers (SROs), in schools. According to the U.S. Department of Justice, the number of school resource officers increased 38 percent between 1997 and 2007.[1] Some cities, like New York City,[2] employ more officers in schools than many small cities' entire police force.

With this rapid increase in the presence of law enforcement, including SROs, in schools, districts from around the country[3] have found that youth are being referred to the justice system at increased rates and for minor offenses like disorderly conduct. This is causing lasting harm to youth, as arrests and referrals to the juvenile justice system disrupt the educational process and can lead to suspension, expulsion, or other alienation from school. All of these negative effects set youth on a track to drop out of school and put them at greater risk of becoming involved in the justice system later on, all at tremendous costs for taxpayers as well the youth themselves and their communities.

With reported rates of school violence and theft are at the lowest levels since data were first collected by the National Center for Education Statistics in 1992,[4] and federal funding for policing on the decline, criminal justice practitioners and administrators, school officials, state policymakers, and even the federal government are all questioning the need to continue keeping law enforcement in schools and relying on law enforcement responses to student misconduct.

School safety should be a priority: it is not only important for protecting the physical safety of students, teachers, and staff, but also for maintaining a productive learning environment.

However, law enforcement in schools is not the best nor most cost-effective way to achieve those goals. SROs and law enforcement in schools are not needed to keep kids safe, especially when youth pay the price of becoming involved in the juvenile justice system and suffer a lifetime of negative effects as a result.[5]

For many years prior to the widespread placement of SROs, schools operated using their own discretion regarding student behavior, calling the police for incidents of serious concern, but primarily relying on teachers, administrators and counselors to educate and maintain safety. With increased understanding of practices that promote positive and safe school environments, schools should follow the lead of jurisdictions like Clayton County, Georgia, which has decreased referrals to the juvenile justice system by establishing a disciplinary code. In addition, jurisdictions should also reconsider the need to use law enforcement officers to carry out the mentoring, counseling, and social worker functions that could be handled by counselors, teachers, and school staff. It is in the best interest of communities to find ways to educate all children. Pushing kids out of school by focusing on law enforcement responses and punitive policies toward behavior ultimately results in more incarceration and reduced community well-being.
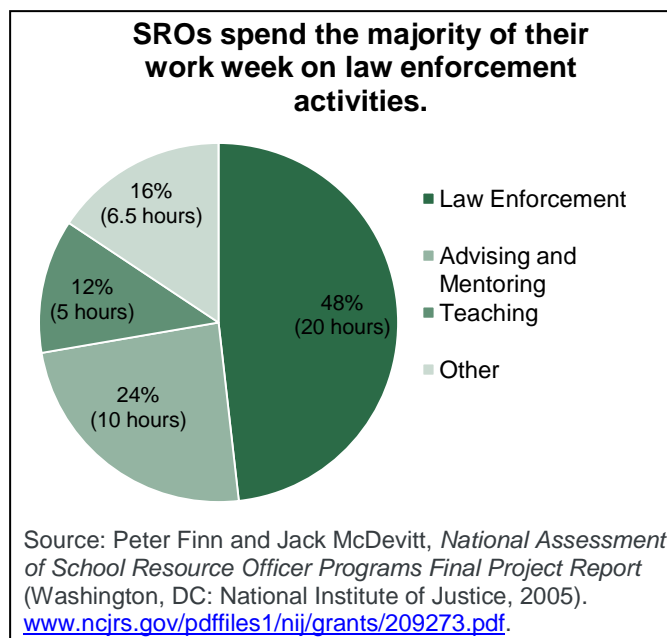
PART II
WHAT IS A SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICER?

School resource officers (SRO) are charged with a number of duties at most schools including education and mentoring, but first and foremost, their primary function is to provide security and law enforcement while stationed in schools.

According to the National Center on Education Statistics, a school resource officer is a "career law enforcement officer, with sworn authority, deployed in community-oriented policing, and assigned by the employing police department or agency to work in collaboration with school and community-based organizations." [6] Although many jurisdictions rely on law enforcement, some jurisdictions, like Oklahoma County, hire correctional officers to SRO positions.[7]

SROs are typically accountable first to the police department and then to the school, which might pay part of an SRO's salary or administrative costs. Nonetheless, a handbook for recruiting and retaining SROs, says that an SRO can overrule a school administrator who wants to prevent the arrest of a student.[8]

An SRO carries out some of the functions of a guidance counselor or social worker, such as mentoring or advising, but with arresting authority and license to carry a weapon in schools. In a national assessment of SRO programs, SROs reported that they spend approximately 20 hours per week on law enforcement activities, 10 hours on advising and mentoring, 5 hours on teaching (e.g. G.R.E.A.T. or D.A.R.E. programming[9]), and another 6 or 7 hours on other activities.[10]

The National Association of School Resource Officers (NASRO) offers training to help SROs gain the skills to work effectively in schools and with students. For example, the Basic SRO course includes training on being a positive role model, counseling, adolescent emotional issues, and instructional techniques. The course is designed to help an SRO balance his or her triad role of law enforcement officer, counselor and educator. However, since SROs are usually recruited from the ranks of law enforcement, they typically have years of law enforcement

SROs spend the majority of their work week on law enforcement activities.

- 16% (6.5 hours)
- 12% (5 hours)
- 24% (10 hours)
- 48% (20 hours)

■ Law Enforcement
■ Advising and Mentoring
■ Teaching
■ Other

Source: Peter Finn and Jack McDevitt, *National Assessment of School Resource Officer Programs Final Project Report* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 2005). www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/209273.pdf.

training. Comparatively, SROs receive only three days of training in counseling and education.[11]

That SROs play multiple roles has the potential to cause confusion as SROs are expected to both serve as trusted mentors and also police officers who conduct investigations and make arrests.[12] Youth may be particularly confused about their rights in relation to an SRO, who may also be viewed as a trusted adult. For example, a student may think that she is talking with a mentor in the form of the SRO about an incident, but in reality she is talking to a police officer and what she is saying can later be used against her.

Interviews with school administrators and SROs in Massachusetts confirm that SROs receive little or uneven training related to working with students.[13] Training is not mandatory and if SROs received any training at all, it did not include training in adolescent psychology, conflict resolution, how to gain the respect of youth and manage behavior in a school setting, or how to work with youth with disabilities. Instead, SROs received training in law enforcement-related issues like *Miranda* rights and the appropriate use of cameras and other security devices. Thus, SROs may be prepared to be law enforcement officers, but they are not prepared to work effectively with students in schools as the U.S. Department of Justice suggests.

Not all police are SROs, but all SROs are police

For the purpose of this report, it is important to acknowledge that not all law enforcement in schools are school resource officers. Law enforcement in schools are not counted the same way as SROs, if at all. Some schools have both police units and SROs. This report makes an effort to focus on SROs, but the data make it difficult to do so.

Some school districts have created whole police units within their schools systems that may or may not include SROs. For example, New York Civil Liberties Union found that the New York City School District has more police than a small city.[14] In the 1990s, the Philadelphia school system had its own police force and Los Angeles established its school-based police force in 1948.[15]

J.D.B. V. NORTH CAROLINA: MIRANDA IN SCHOOLS

In June 2011, the United States Supreme Court ruled in *J.D.B. v. North Carolina* that age must be taken into account when police deliver a Miranda warning. The case involved a 13-year-old boy who confessed to breaking into two homes after being questioned by four adults, including a uniformed police officer and an SRO. The boy was not given Miranda warnings during the interrogation or prior to confessing. In their decision, the Court acknowledged that a child is different than an adult and would not have the same understanding that they could leave the questioning, which is a requirement of Miranda.

The ruling is also important given the relative ubiquity of police officers and SROs in schools. SROs and police officers will have to be far more careful how they handle cases in schools. Since school officials do not need to issue Miranda warnings to students to talk with them about incidents and potentially resolve them without law enforcement involvement, there is an opportunity to reconsider the role and effectiveness of SROs, as well as police, in schools.

Sources:
J.D.B. v. North Carolina, No. 09–11121, June 16, 2011, www.supremecourt.gov/opinions/10pdf/09-11121.pdfDonna St. George, "Supreme Court ruling, rising police presence in schools spur Miranda questions," *Washington Post*, July 17, 2011. Juvenile Law Center, "Landmark U.S. Supreme Court Decision Protects Miranda Rights for Youth," *Juvenile Law Center Press Release*, June 16, 2011. www.jlc.org/news/landmark_u.s._supreme_court_decision_protects_miranda_rights_for_youth/

Whether or not there are SROs or police in schools, there is the risk of inappropriately applying skills and attitudes needed to work primarily with adults on the street or in a prison to youth in a school setting, with the same outcome: more youth are at risk of being directly referred to the juvenile justice system.

STUDENTS MAY NOT UNDERSTAND THE SERIOUSNESS OF SRO CONTACT

Some students who go to schools with SROs may not understand that an SRO is actually a member of sworn law enforcement. As a result, a student may unknowingly make statements that he or she might not, were it a typical police officer asking them questions; additionally, a student may underestimate the need to have a parent or attorney present.

A parent, Ms. E., in a small city in the northwest of the U.S. and her 16-year-old daughter, Jessica, had an experience reflective of this issue. In the middle of a school day, Ms. E. received a call from the school resource officer saying that Jessica had been in some trouble and she (officer) was planning to question her about the incident. The SRO said that Ms. E. did not need to be there, but could be if she wanted to, which Ms. E. chose to do. Ms. E. would find out later that the school had a policy that if an incident occurred involving a student who was 16 or older, they had to attempt to contact a parent, but could question the student if the parent could not be reached or was not able to attend.

At the meeting, the SRO said that she knew Jessica was part of a group of girls who had written on another student's car with washable chalk, which the students typically use to write on sports team buses to cheer the team. The SRO had digital photographs of the vehicle showing inappropriate words written on the car. The car was not located on school property, but in a nearby shopping center lot that the school leased for student parking.

With Ms. E. present, the SRO asked Jessica to sign a paper waiving the right to have an attorney present. When Ms. E. told her daughter not to, the SRO presented another form that would serve as an admission of guilt for criminal mischief. The SRO said that by admitting guilt, everything would be much easier and Jessica would probably just have to do community service. Ms. E. told her daughter not to sign the admission of guilt either. Said Ms. E.: "with the show of the photos and the officer's 'I have your best interest in mind' tone, I know Jessica would have signed the paper if I hadn't been there."

"I would have been fine if the principal had lectured the girls and told them to wash the car," said Ms. E. "But to purposely try to funnel these girls into the juvenile justice system for what was relatively harmless teenage behavior made me angry. It made me question why the school had police there in the first place."

PART III
WHY ARE SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICERS IN OUR SCHOOLS?

The first report of the use of school resource officers (SROs) was in Michigan in the 1950s, but this term and the use of SROs didn't gain real traction until the 1990s when concerns about school violence led to rapid implementation of "zero tolerance policies."

The first federal zero tolerance policy related to schools was the Gun Free Schools Act of 1994, which required that any jurisdiction that received money through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act adopt a policy that suspends a student for a minimum of one year for bringing a firearm to school. Zero tolerance policies created the perceived need to have law enforcement readily available to enforce these policies; the federal government fed this perception by offering funding to expand the presence of law enforcement in schools.

During the late 1990's, a series of highly publicized incidents of school violence paved the way for more sweeping zero tolerance policies that quickly spread. By the time two students shot and killed 13 people in Littleton, Colorado, President Clinton had already called for more police officers in schools[16] and school districts began
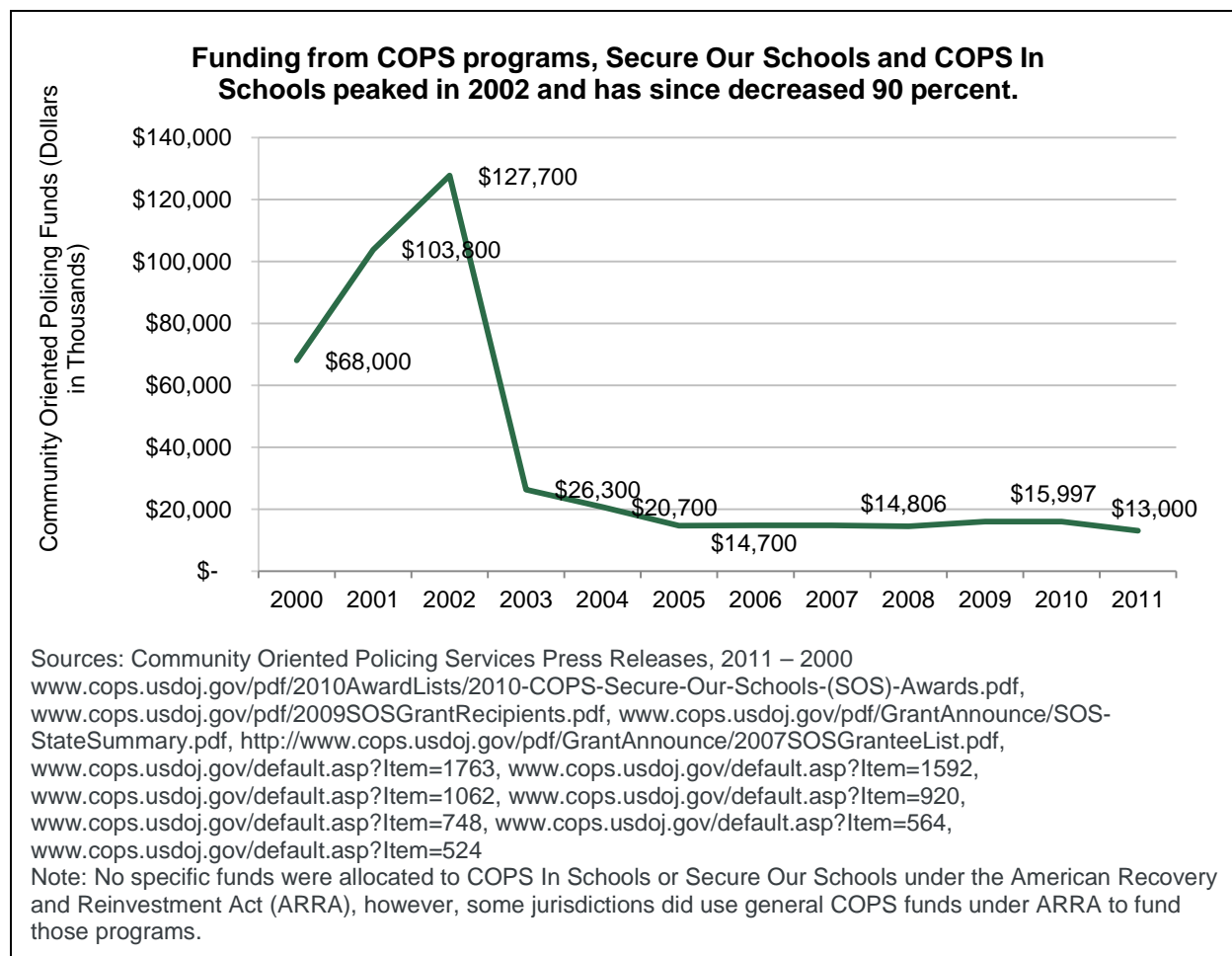
A HISTORY OF ZERO TOLERANCE

The term "zero tolerance" was first used to describe an approach to federal drug policy. It was based on a theory of deterrence, and taken to mean that certain undesirable behaviors would not be tolerated, no matter how seemingly minor. Zero tolerance first gained national attention in 1986 when a U.S. Attorney in San Diego used it to describe the federal practice of impounding any seagoing vessel that was carrying any amount of drugs. In 1988, the U.S. Attorney General Meese proclaimed the program a national model and expanded it to allow any vehicle crossing the U.S. border with any amount of drugs to be impounded and the occupants to be charged in federal court.

Zero tolerance rapidly expanded to include environmental policies, pollution, trespassing, and quality of life offenses. For example, the "broken windows" theory that the appearance of disorder in a neighborhood fosters more disorder and more serious crime manifested itself in New York City in the form of zero tolerance. Police made it a priority to arrest people suspected of breaking windows, loitering, panhandling, or creating graffiti.

By the time President Clinton signed into law the Gun Free Schools Act of 1994, some states had already begun strictly prohibiting behaviors related to guns and drugs. The Gun Free Schools Act made zero tolerance in schools a national practice, mandating specific punishments for the possession of a firearm in schools. The law was later expanded to include drugs, and some districts applied zero tolerance philosophies to any number of behaviors. The end result is the application of the same punishment across the board, no matter how serious the offense.

Source: Russell Skiba, *Zero Tolerance, Zero Evidence: An Analysis of School Disciplinary Practice* (Indiana: Indiana Education Policy Center, 2000). www.indiana.edu/~safeschl/ztze.pdf

Funding from COPS programs, Secure Our Schools and COPS In Schools peaked in 2002 and has since decreased 90 percent.

Sources: Community Oriented Policing Services Press Releases, 2011 – 2000
www.cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/2010AwardLists/2010-COPS-Secure-Our-Schools-(SOS)-Awards.pdf,
www.cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/2009SOSGrantRecipients.pdf, www.cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/GrantAnnounce/SOS-
StateSummary.pdf, http://www.cops.usdoj.gov/pdf/GrantAnnounce/2007SOSGranteeList.pdf,
www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=1763, www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=1592,
www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=1062, www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=920,
www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=748, www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=564,
www.cops.usdoj.gov/default.asp?Item=524
Note: No specific funds were allocated to COPS In Schools or Secure Our Schools under the American Recovery
and Reinvestment Act (ARRA), however, some jurisdictions did use general COPS funds under ARRA to fund
those programs.

suspending and expelling children for pranks[17] or other acts that rationally could be seen as having little potential for harm; these have included bringing to school a butter knife, Advil, acne medication, and a toy gun.[18]

In order to enforce zero tolerance policies, there was a concurrent increase in surveillance and security measures in schools that included metal detectors, locker checks, security cameras, and law enforcement or security personnel. For example, the regular presence of security guards increased 27 percent between 1999 and 2007.[19] SROs became part of the increase in law enforcement in schools.

The dramatic growth in the number of SROs was supported by the allocation of $68 million through the Community Oriented Policing

Services (COPS) In Schools Program. The COPS In Schools Program led to the hiring of 599 SROs in 289 communities in 2000,[20] which fostered a continued growth in SROs from 9,446 in 1997 to an all time high of 14,337 in 2003.[21] Since that time, COPS has contributed a total of $905 million to hire 6,300 SROs and develop other school safety measures.[22] COPS funds awarded under the Secure Our Schools and the COPS in Schools programs increased dramatically from 2000 to 2002, not including some funds that may have been directed to localities from the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act directly through COPS but not recorded as Secure Our Schools or COPS in Schools; these funds have dropped since, leaving many local school districts to decide whether to pay the cost of keeping SROs.

Changes in funding have likely contributed to the more recent decreases in the number of SROs in schools. While there are no available data concerning the number of SROs in 2011, it is likely that recent federal budget cuts to the COPS program[23] have further decreased the number of SROs in schools, leaving school districts to pay for SROs themselves. Recent news articles out of Syracuse, New York and New Jersey, for example, indicate that budget constraints have led to the elimination of SROs in some jurisdictions.[24] Reduction of federal funding for SRO programs may also mean districts have little incentive to maintain fidelity to national standards for SRO behavior and practices.

The number of school resource officers decreased 8.9 percent between 2003 and 2007.
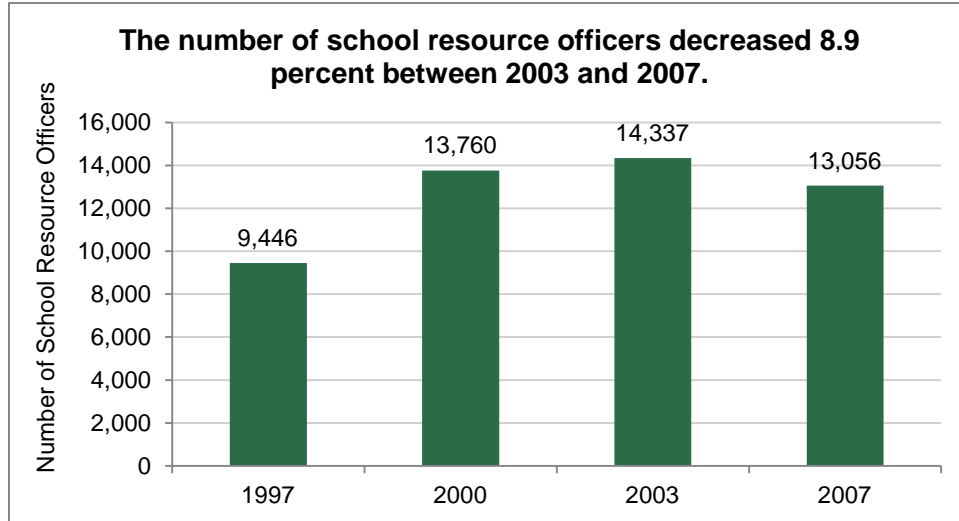
Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics, "Local Police Departments, 1997," "Local Police Departments, 2000," "Local Police Departments, 2003," and Local Police Departments, 2007"
http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=71
Note: Joanna Wald and Lisa Thurau of The Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice in "First, Do Not Harm: How Educators and Police Can Work Together More Effectively to Keep Schools Safe and Protect Vulnerable Populations" (March 2010) estimate the population of SROs in 2010 to be around 17,000.

SCHOOL HOUSE HYPE

In 1998, the Justice Policy Institute released a report contextualizing the school shootings that occurred in the 1997-1998 school year and cautioned against draconian responses to incidents in schools. *School House Hype* cited research showing that although school violence is concerning, it is rare:

- A 1996 study by the Center for Disease Control found that between 1992 and 1994, a youth had less than one in a million chance of suffering a violent death at school including both homicides and suicides. Comparing statistics from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, in 1997 youth were approximately 40 times as likely to be the victims of murder in the U.S. as a whole as in school.
- The National School Safety Center, which keeps a tally of the number of violent incidents in schools, found a 27.3 percent decline in the number of school-related homicides and suicides between 1992 (55) and 1998 (40).
- In a survey of a representative sample principals in schools in all 50 states and the District of Columbia in 1997, 90 percent of principals reported no incidents of serious, violent crime defined as murder, suicide, rape or sexual battery, robbery, or physical attack with a weapon in that school year.

The report goes on to explain that ending afterschool programs, increasing the number of police officers in schools, increasing suspensions and expulsions, and trying youth as adults is not likely to keep communities safer.

Recent research by Aaron Kupchik and Nicole Bracy of the University of Delaware shows that as recently as 2006, the media continued to fuel public concerns about school crime and violence. An analysis of articles in *The New York Times* and *USA Today* from 1990 to 2006, with a focus on articles between 2000 and 2006, found that articles in those papers consistently framed school violence as a serious problem and getting worse. The articles play to readers' fears about school violence without additional context or facts and make the problem of school violence out to be unpredictable and the fault of schools. Without a change in the "if it bleeds, it leads" mentality, the media will likely continue to stoke parental fear of violence at schools, thus legitimizing draconian, zero tolerance responses to student behaviors.

Sources: Elizabeth Donohue, Jason Ziedenberg, and Vincent Schiraldi, *School House Hype: School Shootings and the Real Risks Kids Face in America* (Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute, 1998). www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/98-07_rep_schoolhousehype_jj.pdf
Centers for Disease Control, "School-Associated Violent Deaths in the United States, 1992-94" *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1996.
Melissa Sickmund, Howard N. Snyder, and Eileen Poe-Yamagata, *Juvenile Offenders and Victims: 1997 Update on Violence*. (Washington, D.C.: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1997). Includes only homicides.
National School Safety Center. "Total School-Associated Violent Death Count: July 1992 to Present." Updated June 18, 1998. www.nccs1.org. Percentage calculated by the Justice Policy Institute. It is expected that this is a close estimate to the ultimate number of 1997-98 school year deaths because school is recessed for the summer and the 1997-98 counting period ends in August, 1998.
National Center for Education Statistics, 1997
Aaron Kupchik and Nicole Bracy, "The News Media on School Crime and Violence Constructing Dangerousness and Fueling Fear," *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 7(136), 2009.
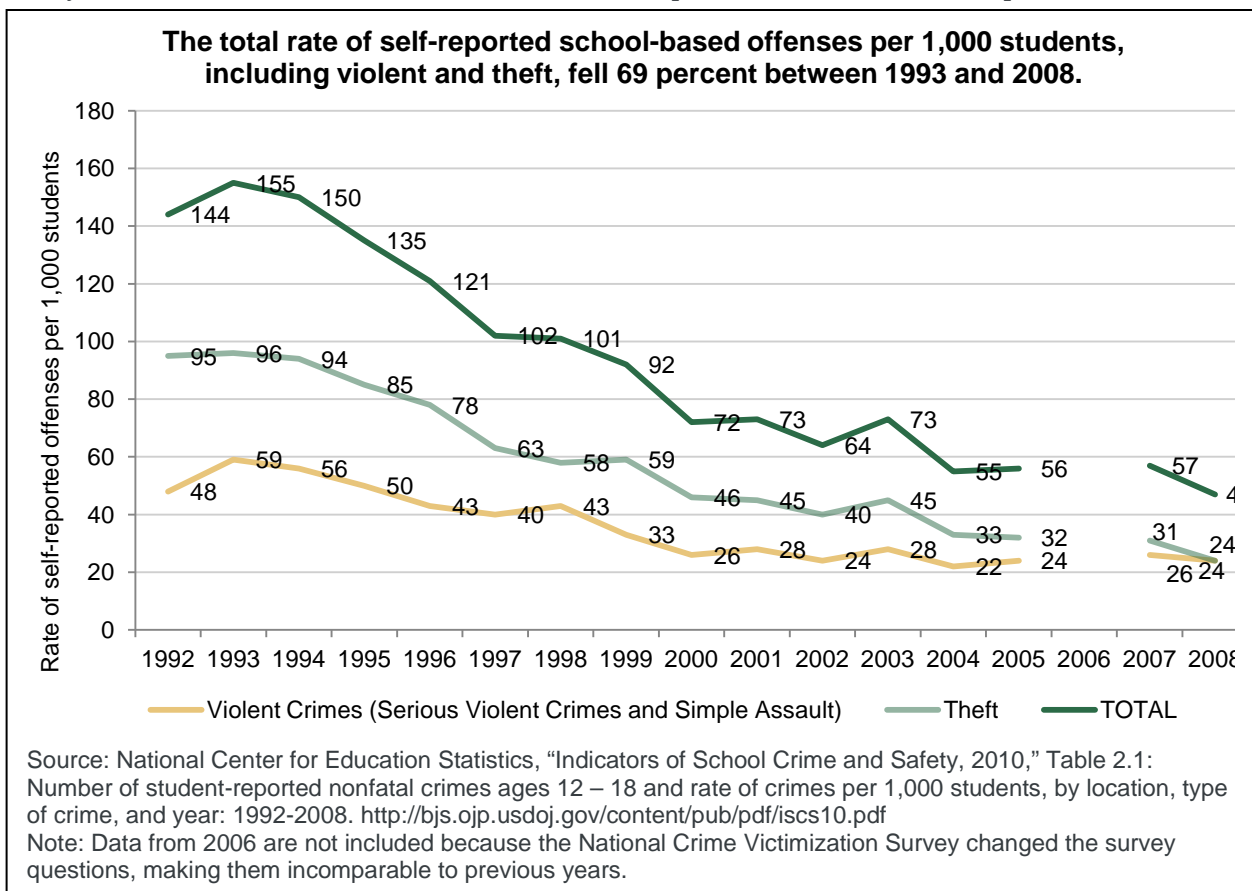
PART IV
SCHOOLS DON'T NEED SROS TO BE SAFE

All schools should be safe places for students and faculty, but schools do not need school resource officers to be safe. The most recent survey of students indicates that student-reported incidents of violence and theft are at the lowest levels since 1993.

Of course, this is not to minimize the sense of safety that teachers and students may or may not have at their individual schools. Yelling matches, fights in the hall, and other incidents can create a sense of disruption and lack of safety in some schools more than others.

Recent efforts to scale back law enforcement involvement in schools have not caused increases in school crime, and in the few instances where it has been tried, incidents of student misbehavior have *decreased*. Other, more positive, evidence-based responses to student

The total rate of self-reported school-based offenses per 1,000 students, including violent and theft, fell 69 percent between 1993 and 2008.

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, "Indicators of School Crime and Safety, 2010," Table 2.1: Number of student-reported nonfatal crimes ages 12 – 18 and rate of crimes per 1,000 students, by location, type of crime, and year: 1992-2008. http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/iscs10.pdf
Note: Data from 2006 are not included because the National Crime Victimization Survey changed the survey questions, making them incomparable to previous years.

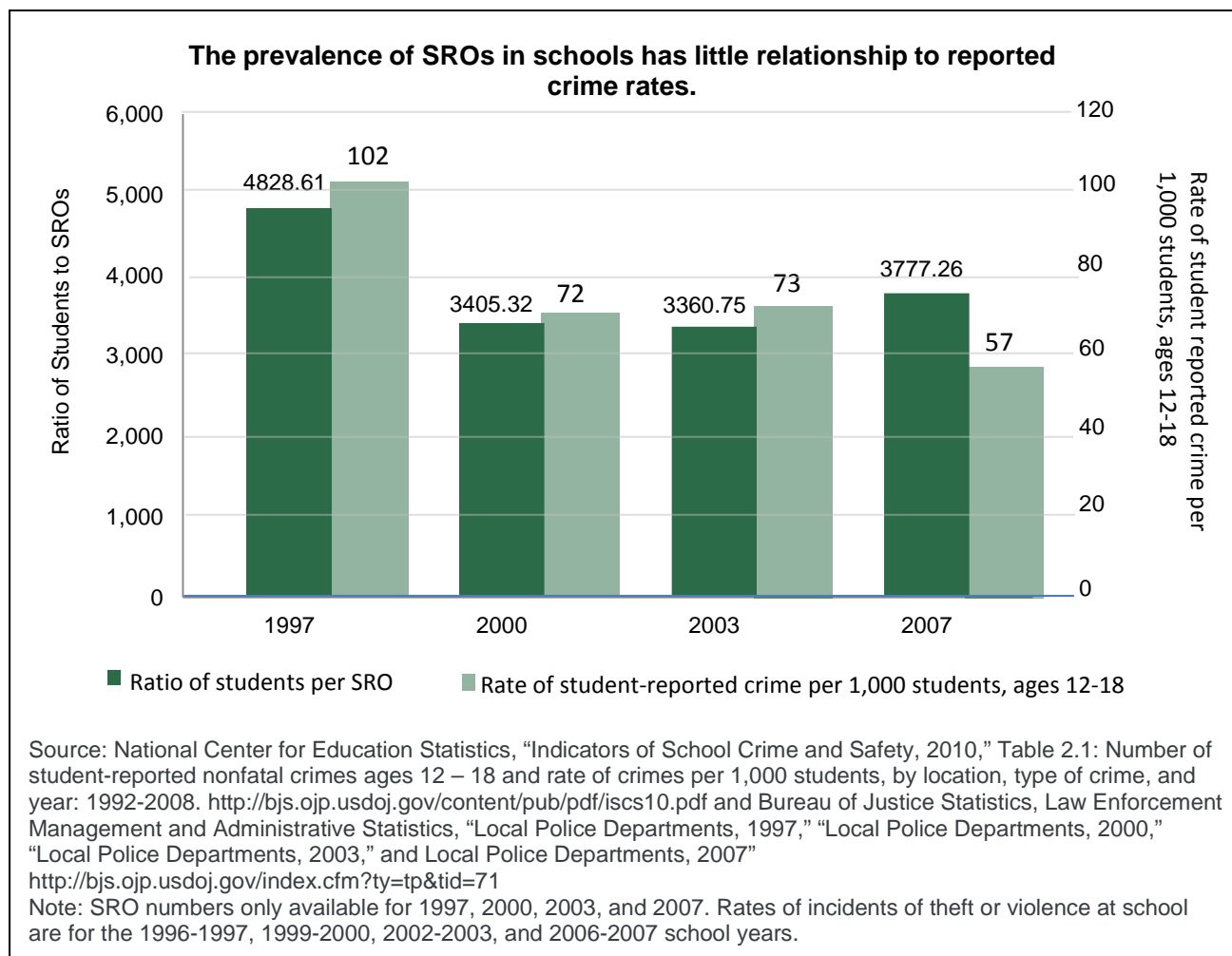behavior would be just as effective without the risks of involving youth in the justice system.

Schools are the safest they've been in 20 years.

Incidents of violence or theft in schools are serious but rare events within the national context, especially compared to the risk of victimization that children face outside school.[25] Within the last 20 years, the rate of self-reported incidents of violence or theft in schools per 1,000 students has decreased 69 percent from 155 in 1993 to a rate of 47 in 2008.[26] The trend corresponds with drops in overall reported crime rates.[27]

There is no clear correlation between rates of theft or violence and SROs in schools. At their

most prevalent, there were 3,360 students per SROs and 73student-reported crimes in 2003; while in 2007 there were fewer SROs and the lowest levels of student-reported incidents of theft and violence since 1997. At the same time, there were slightly more students per SRO in 2000, but a slightly lower rate of student reported incidents of theft and violence. [28]

Similarly, academic research related to the effectiveness of SROs or law enforcement at keeping schools safe is limited and mixed. Localized studies, including one in the 1994-95 and 1995-96 school years in Alabama, indicates that the presence of school resource officers decreased school violence and disciplinary actions between school years, [29] but an analysis of the *1993 National Household and Education*

The prevalence of SROs in schools has little relationship to reported crime rates.

Legend: ■ Ratio of students per SRO ■ Rate of student-reported crime per 1,000 students, ages 12-18

Source: National Center for Education Statistics, "Indicators of School Crime and Safety, 2010," Table 2.1: Number of student-reported nonfatal crimes ages 12 – 18 and rate of crimes per 1,000 students, by location, type of crime, and year: 1992-2008. http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/iscs10.pdf and Bureau of Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics, "Local Police Departments, 1997," "Local Police Departments, 2000," "Local Police Departments, 2003," and Local Police Departments, 2007" http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=71
Note: SRO numbers only available for 1997, 2000, 2003, and 2007. Rates of incidents of theft or violence at school are for the 1996-1997, 1999-2000, 2002-2003, and 2006-2007 school years.

Survey, School Safety and Discipline component found that presence of security guards in schools has no relationship to school violence[30] and the *1995 School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey* found evidence that security guards in schools may actually lead to more disorder.[31]
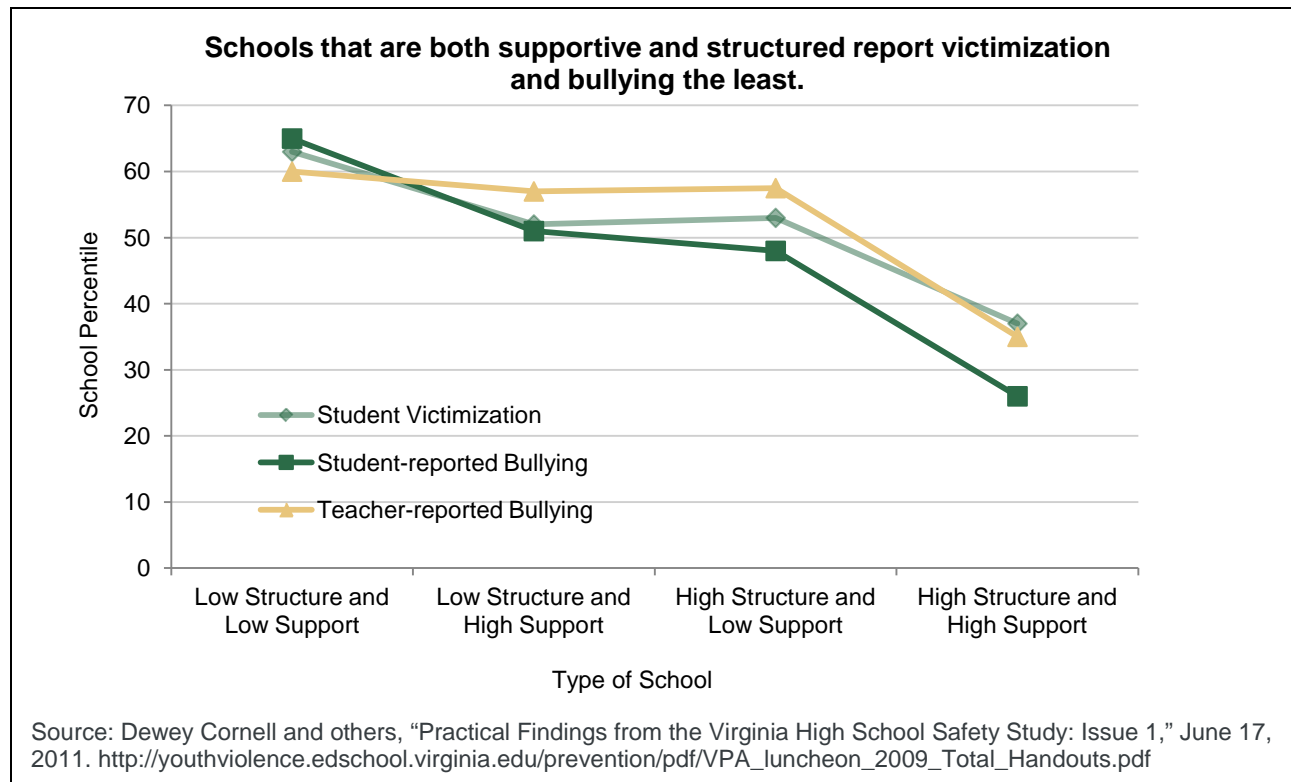
In addition, a 2008 dissertation and evaluation of the North Carolina School Resource Officer program found SROs to have little effect on school safety. SROs and principals surveyed for the evaluation about the School Resource Officer program in that state both professed that even though students' behavior may have changed, both groups also thought that the program did not "create a safer school environment." An analysis of school crime also found schools with SRO programs did not experience significantly different mean crime rates after the implementation of the program.[32]

The uneven evidence that SROs make schools safer or improve students' behavior, together with the risks and drawbacks of having law

enforcement in schools that include financial cost and negative impacts on youth themselves, call into question the value of keeping law enforcement in schools as an easy response to student misbehavior. Schools should be encouraged to explore other means of keeping schools safe without involving law enforcement.

School safety can be achieved without SROs or law enforcement.

Research undertaken in the last few years has shown that school safety can be improved without SROs and a law enforcement approach to discipline. Maintaining safe schools is best accomplished by using both structure and support, according to studies by Dewey Cornell at the University of Virginia. High structure is defined as rules that are strictly and fairly enforced, while high support is having adults, not necessarily SROs, at the school being supporting, caring, and willing to help. A survey of students in Virginia asked whether their school had those qualities, and then analyzed rates of student victimization, student-reported

Schools that are both supportive and structured report victimization and bullying the least.

Source: Dewey Cornell and others, "Practical Findings from the Virginia High School Safety Study: Issue 1," June 17, 2011. http://youthviolence.edschool.virginia.edu/prevention/pdf/VPA_luncheon_2009_Total_Handouts.pdf

bulling, and teacher-reported bullying; the research showed that students who reported highly supportive and highly structured environments also had the lowest levels of victimization and bullying.[33]

A recent study by the Consortium on Chicago School Research also finds that it is the quality of relationships between students and staff and between staff and parents that creates safe schools. Furthermore, disadvantaged schools with high-quality relationships feel safer than advantaged schools with low-quality relationships.[34] The safety of schools has more to do with connections to adults, who do not have to be law enforcement officers of any sort.

Prompted by budget cuts, but also by a growing skepticism of SROs, some school districts are scaling back their use of school-based law enforcement. In West Milford, New Jersey, a former police chief told the local paper that reported incidents of substance abuse went down without full-time SROs in the schools. One middle school saw its highest levels of reported substance abuse when there were three full-time SROs on the district's main campus.[35]

SROS NOT WORTH THE COST?

As school districts reconsider their need for SROs, they have at times faced push-back from various stakeholders in the system.

For example, in 2011, the Syracuse, New York school district cut SROs from the budget. The local teacher's union pushed for their reinstatement after two incidents; one in which a teacher was pushed trying to break up a fight and another where a folding knife was taken from the student. The district contends that school resource officers were not likely to be able to prevent either incident, but recognized that teachers still didn't feel safe.

The SROs are now assigned to a community policing division and are available to respond to incidents, as they still visit the schools. Future evaluation will reveal whether safety of the school has diminished without the SROs based in school and there every day.

Source: WYSR, Channel 9, Syracuse, "Push to Reinstate School Resource Officers," September 13, 2011, www.9wsyr.com/news/local/story/Push-to-reinstate-school-resource-officers/_SO0RblcZU64ACRIhFijcA.cspx

Clayton County, Georgia has initiated a comprehensive project to reduce student contact with law enforcement. The County created a Cooperative Agreement among schools, the justice community, and members of the community to develop a series of responses to "misdemeanor delinquent acts" that reduce involvement of justice officials in schools. So far, the Cooperative Agreement has resulted in an 87 percent decrease in fighting and a 36 percent decrease in behaviors like disorderly conduct. [36] With additional school districts, including Jefferson County, Alabama, trying similar strategies, more data will be available on the efficacy of law enforcement in schools.

The need to find better models is also gaining national attention. In July 2011, the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education announced a joint initiative called the Supportive School Discipline Initiative. The Initiative is intended to explore alternatives to punitive disciplinary structures, ensure that school discipline policies are in-line with civil rights, and keep youth in school and out of the justice system.[37]

PART V

SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICERS ALLOW A RELIANCE ON ARRESTS TO ADDRESS STUDENT DISCIPLINE

While reported incidents of violence and crime in schools are at the lowest level since the early 1990s, arrests and referrals of students to the juvenile justice system by SROs are increasing. The presence of SROs in schools has led to youth being arrested for disruptive rather than dangerous behavior, like swearing.[38]

It also means that schools are relinquishing their authority to effectively and safely handle discipline issues at school without law enforcement involvement. In some school districts (New York City among them), teachers and faculty are prohibited from intervening in student fights or other misconduct.

Schools, some more than others, face significant challenges balancing the need for safety and discipline with the need to educate every student.[39] Disruptive students can impede the learning process for others, and yet they are often the ones who can most benefit by the educational system. Given the negative effects of involvement in the juvenile justice system, every effort should be made to address student behavior issues in ways other than arrests; the presence of SROs, however, confounds efforts to use more effective practices.

Presence of SROs is related to increases in referrals to the justice system, especially for minor offenses

No single national data set exists showing every arrest or referral to the juvenile justice system directly from schools or by SROs. However, as the presence of law enforcement and SROs in schools has increased, arrests and referrals to the juvenile justice system generally have also increased.

In the only piece of quantitative research to compare referrals to the juvenile justice system across several states, researchers at the University of Maryland and the University of Massachusetts analyzed data

" …the uniformed mentors are not vital for security, but rather to provide the schools an approachable police presence that could also provide immediate responses to legal violations and other situations."

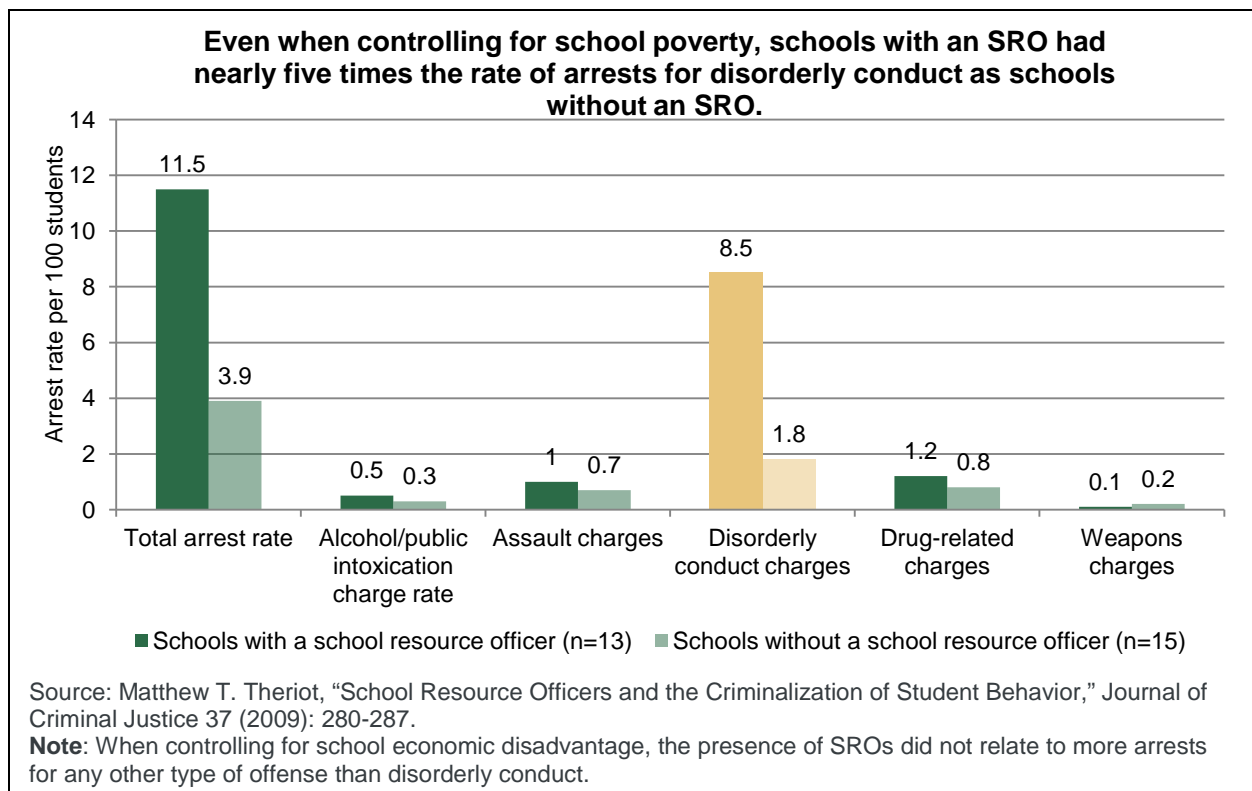– Mayor Bettina Biere, West Milford, NJ (paraphrase by *The Record).*

from five states in the National Juvenile Court Data Archive. They found that in four of the five states, referrals from schools made up a greater proportion of all referrals to juvenile courts in 2004 than in 1995.[40] And research in specific school districts shows that since law enforcement have become common-place in schools, arrests and referrals to the juvenile justice system have increased.

- During the 2004-05 school year, Florida experienced 26,990 school-related referrals to the Florida Department of Juvenile Justice. Seventy-six percent of those referrals were for misdemeanors such as trespassing, disorderly conduct, or assault and battery, which often translates to a schoolyard fight. Florida counties spend millions of dollars to employ hundreds of SROs, often one or two per high school and middle school; some school districts have their own police departments, either instead of or in addition to SROs on contract with local law enforcement.[41]

- Between 2000 and 2004, Denver experienced a 71 percent increase in school referrals to law enforcement. In 2004, the Denver school district was also paying the Denver Police Department $152,000 for 14 SROs, which was in addition to the $1.2 million to the Denver Police Department for a police presence in schools. [42]

- Chicago Public Schools (CPS) referred over 8,000 students to law enforcement in 2003. Forty percent of these referrals were for simple assault or battery with no serious injuries. Most of these cases were dismissed. CPS had approximately 1,700 security staff in 2003-04, almost tripling in number in five years. There are also armed, uniformed Chicago police officers in every high school, and every K-8 school employs an off-duty Chicago police officer as head of security.[43]

In a study directly concerning SROs, Judge Steven Teske of Clayton County, Georgia found that with the placement of SROs in schools, the

Even when controlling for school poverty, schools with an SRO had nearly five times the rate of arrests for disorderly conduct as schools without an SRO.

Source: Matthew T. Theriot, "School Resource Officers and the Criminalization of Student Behavior," Journal of Criminal Justice 37 (2009): 280-287.
Note: When controlling for school economic disadvantage, the presence of SROs did not relate to more arrests for any other type of offense than disorderly conduct.

POLICE INTERROGATE A STUDENT FOR FIRING SPIT BALLS

In winter of 2011, police interrogated a 14-year-old Spotsylvania County, Virginia student for shooting plastic "spitwads" at other students in the hallway. The student was ultimately given suspension for the remainder of the school year (approximately 6 months), which the student and the family were challenging at the time of the news broadcast about the incident.

The father of the student told Fox News: "It takes four state agencies to go after someone with a spitwad: It takes the sheriff's department, the commonwealth attorney, the school board on various levels and the department of juvenile justice … what a fine use of taxpayer resources."

Source: Diane Macedo, "Virginia Teen Suspended, Facing Criminal Charges for Shooting Plastic Spitballs in School", *Fox News*, February, 3, 2011. www.foxnews.com/us/2011/02/03/virginia-teen-expelled-facing-criminal-charges-shooting-plastic-spitballs/#ixzz1ZLlwq9io

behavior subjectively judged to be disruptive. For example, a youth could be determined to be disorderly for overturning a desk in a classroom, having an argument with a teacher, or getting into a minor schoolyard fight. These incidents could be handled in any number of ways besides arresting those involved. The study also finds that regardless of the level of school disadvantage, the number of arrests do not change if an SRO is present.

Data gathered in Jefferson County, Alabama finds further evidence that students are not being arrested and referred to the juvenile justice system for more serious offenses such as dealing drugs or brandishing a gun. In the 2007-08 school year, 96 percent (491) of students in Birmingham were referred to the juvenile court for misdemeanor offenses or violations.[46] Twenty-nine percent of the misdemeanor and violation referrals were for disorderly conduct, which can be open to interpretation, but includes any interruption of the orderly conduct of the school, and 33 percent of the referrals were for affray, which can be defined as group fighting in a public place that disrupts peace.

number of referrals directly to the juvenile justice system increased dramatically, from approximately 89 referrals per year in the 1990s to 1,400 per year in 2004.[44]

Academic research also shows that schools with SROs are more likely to have arrests for minor offenses. In a three-year study of 13 schools with an SRO and 15 schools without in a Southeastern school district with both urban and suburban characteristics, Matthew Theriot, a professor at the University of Tennessee, found that the schools in the study that had SROs had nearly five times the number of arrests for disorderly conduct as schools without an SRO, even when controlling for the level of economic disadvantage of the school.[45] The high rate of arrests for disorderly conduct is particularly concerning because it could include a range of

The presence of school resource officers creates the opportunity for an increased application of the law directly to students and school situations without the filter of school administrators or policies. Research in the community reinforces this theory: more police and more resources for police in neighborhoods are likely to increase

SROS TEACH KIDS TO DISTRUST POLICE

On the first day of school in Lee County, Florida, four students received $57 citations for not wearing bicycle helmets from the Lee County Sheriff's Office school resource officer. Both the state and the school require youth under the age of 16 to wear helmets when riding bicycles, however parents in this case felt that the SRO should have issued a warning first. One student's father says of the incident:

"(The citation) just left a poor taste in the kids' mouths. I listen to them and they don't like the cops. They want to stay away from them. The sheriff's department spends a lot of money on public relations in trying to get the youth. I think this undermines everything they do."

Source: Chris Umpierre, "Lee deputies cite helmetless schoolkids," *Florida News Press*, August 11, 2011

arrests.[47] Although school administrators, parents, and students certainly want to maintain a safe school, infractions like disrupting class by talking back to the teacher might not be referred to law enforcement if SROs are not in the schools and readily available to make the arrest. Schools should also have the opportunity to handle more serious offenses, like fighting or theft, on a case-by-case basis and with the input of teachers, parents, and other faculty.

Above all, schools must balance the negative effects of arrests and referrals to the juvenile justice system for any offense with the need to educate every student, especially in light of available evidence-based alternatives.

PART VI
SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICERS INTERFERE WITH EDUCATION

School resource officers interfere with the responsibility of schools to educate all students in three ways. First, SROs directly send youth into the justice system, which carries with it a lifetime of negative repercussions and barriers to education and employment. Second, in many school districts an arrest or referral to the justice system also means suspension and expulsion from school.

Suspensions and expulsions cut off students from the positive interactions of schools, also setting students up for a variety of negative life outcomes. Third, SROs interfere with the overall opportunity for students to learn, in some cases creating the very sense of fear and violence that they are supposed to prevent. Causing students to miss school or otherwise become disengaged from school sets off a chain reaction of missed opportunity that leads to a "school to prison pipeline" that ends in future justice involvement.

Schools can effectively respond to misconduct or even more serious offenses like theft without SROs. Through more effective policies and practices, schools can avoid subjecting youth to the negative effects of the justice system and the lost educational opportunities that go with it.

Involving youth in the justice system undermines goals of schools

As mentioned above, school resource officers and law enforcement officers in schools are associated with increased arrests, especially for minor offenses; these arrests can lead to

detention and confinement in juvenile justice facilities. Studies have shown that such facilities are dangerous for youth, including increased risk of suicide and abuse.[48] They are also expensive for communities, costing on average over $240 per day per youth.[49] In addition, a host of collateral consequences associated with involvement in the juvenile justice system can cause youth to be unable to participate in positive social experiences that help prevent future involvement in the justice system. According to a recent collaboration between the Justice Policy Institute and the American Bar Association - Criminal Justice Division, youth arrested or adjudicated in the juvenile justice system could be unable to get a job, be unable to go to college, be unable to join the military, or lose their drivers license.[50]

Particularly concerning is that through policies that encourage student arrests, schools are actually working against the education of those youth, as those who enter the juvenile justice system are more likely to drop out of school. Research has shown that within a year of re-enrolling after spending time confined, two-thirds to three-fourths of formerly incarcerated youth withdraw or drop out of school. After four

years, less than 15 percent of these youth had completed their secondary education.[51] Even contact with the court increases the chances that a high school student will drop out.[52]

Reduced educational achievement and employment are both significant negative outcomes of involving youth in the justice system. The *National Bureau of Economic Research* found that jailing youth (age 16 – 25) reduced work time over the next decade by 25 – 30 percent.[53] Over the course of a lifetime and in terms of missed opportunities, poorer life outcomes, and increased chances of future incarceration, incarcerating a single student could cost as much as $1.7 million.[54]

When deciding how best to achieve educational and disciplinary goals, schools must confront the potential negative effects of involving youth in the justice system versus alternatives that could achieve the same outcomes while giving those youth who are exhibiting problematic behavior in school the opportunity to become successful adults.

Arrests usually mean suspension or expulsion

According to the American Bar Association's Before You Plea website,[55] most states allow a school to suspend or expel a student in relation to an arrest or adjudication, whether or not it happens at school. As SROs are associated with more arrests and referrals to the juvenile justice system, they may also be responsible for more

suspensions and dropouts. In this way a student that comes into contact with the justice system also misses school because of an attendant suspension or expulsion.

Suspensions and expulsions can catalyze a series of events that lead to justice involvement in the future. Students that miss school also miss out on developing strong ties to adults and institutions that promote pro-social development and positive life outcomes.[56] Regardless of arrest and involvement in the court, suspensions and expulsions increase the chances that a student will be involved in the justice system in the future.[57] This can be traced through a number of statistics about the dangers of missing school:[58]

School suspensions can create a sense of alienation from school[59] and can be linked to an increased likelihood of dropping out of school.

- The National Center for Education Statistics shows that 31 percent of high school sophomores that left school had been suspended three or more times. Comparatively, slightly less than six percent of sophomores that left school had never been suspended.[60]
- Middle school students that received an out-of-school suspension were half as likely to graduate on time as their peers who did not.[61]

Dropping out of school is associated with incarceration:

- Nearly 40 percent of people in state prisons left school before earning a high school diploma compared to 18.4 percent of the general population.[62]
- People that left high school before earning a diploma are 3.5 times more likely to be incarcerated than someone who completed high school.[63]
- A 2006 report submitted to the Florida Department of Education found that for each day in attendance at school, a youth

was 1 percent less likely to be arrested within three years.[64]

- A 2011 Council of State Governments study of seventh grade students in Texas over three graduated classes found that suspensions or expulsions between seventh and twelfth grades increased the chances that a student would repeat a grade, leave school or enter the justice system.[65]

A student may be suspended or expelled as a result of an arrest, even if the charges are later dropped or the student is never confined to a juvenile justice facility. Increased suspensions and expulsions, and the harm they cause students, are another negative consequence of increased law enforcement presence in schools that should be taken into account by administrators.

SROs disrupt learning

Students learn best when they are in a safe environment and are not fearful.[66] Research also indicates that fear of bullying is associated with missed school.[67] While this line of argument is usually used to argue for SROs and tightened

security measures that prevent bullying and school violence, there is evidence that SROs create the fearful environment that they are supposed to prevent. Perhaps more importantly, the involvement of SROs in schools precludes the option for teachers and faculty to use conflict to teach students how to resolve differences peacefully.

In some schools, there is a cycle of perceived hostility between SROs and students. School resource officers who view students with suspicion and as potential criminals can cause the students to also act with hostility, suspicion, and mistrust toward the SROs. Such a cycle of antagonism could cause more incidents of violence and the opportunity for SROs to overreact resulting in more arrests.[68]

Additionally, some school resource officers may be engaging in violent and aggressive behavior. The Advancement Project has collected examples of students feeling harassed by school resource officers. In Philadelphia, surveys and interviews with parents and youth by Youth United for Change and the Advancement Project found numerous examples of abuse and police

---

SCHOOL TO PRISON PIPELINE

The "School to Prison Pipeline" and similar concepts are used to describe how some youth are seemingly on a one-way path that begins with becoming disconnected with school, then continues to dropping out, and later entering the justice system. School policies that rely on overly punitive responses to student behavior and a reliance on law enforcement to address school discipline have led to increases in suspensions, expulsions, and referrals to the juvenile justice system for even minor infractions. As a result, students are taken out of school, missing important educational opportunities and, in some cases, made unable to return to school. The School to Prison Pipeline not only sends students directly into the justice system, but missed educational opportunities are linked to increased risk that a student will one day be involved in the justice system.

Perhaps most concerning is that the School to Prison Pipeline most affects youth of color, who are more likely to be suspended or expelled and arrested outside of school or, in some jurisdictions, in school, have lower levels of educational attainment, and are more likely to go to prison than their white counterparts.

For more information about this issue, visit:
- Advancement Project Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track: www.stopschoolstojails.org/
- School to Prison Pipeline: www.schooltoprison.org
- Children's Defense Fund Cradle to Prison Pipeline: www.childrensdefense.org/programs-campaigns/cradle-to-prison-pipeline/

brutality, including students being hit with batons, thrown into lockers, stomped on, and handcuffed and placed in a room, alone for hours.[69] Of 131 students surveyed in one school in Palm Beach County, 35 percent said they felt protected, while 65 percent said that they felt "something other than protected, including intimidated and harassed."[70]

The ACLU of Michigan also found numerous examples of students feeling intimidated by SROs because they tend to arrest first and ask questions later and, in some cases, they have used force under concerning circumstances. As one example, a student became agitated because he was going to be suspended and removed from the school premises; after threatening to fight with the officer, the officer tasered the

student.[71] These incidents of violence are not only disruptive in school, but students also learn to distrust police in their communities.

An increased presence of police in schools also removes the opportunity school officials once had to teach students proper behavior and conduct that can be applied after school, in the community, and at a job.[72] For example, fighting students could be taught how to diffuse a conflict, rather than be arrested and adjudicated delinquent. In fact, peer mediation, student-led conflict resolution, and restorative justice have all been shown to reduce incidents of harm at schools, be a good educational experience, and create a sense of satisfaction for students involved, including the student that experienced harm.[73]

SOME CHILDREN INTENTIONALLY LEFT BEHIND?

High stakes tests, especially associated with No Child Left Behind, were widely adopted in the early 2000s. Although a purpose of the tests may have been to identify students needing additional assistance, they became an instrument that school districts, states and the federal government use to determine if the school is performing and meeting "annual yearly progress." Schools that underperform are subject to a number of consequences, not the least of which is being labeled a "failing school" from which students can transfer.

As a result, schools are under immense pressure to ensure that their students meet annual yearly progress, particularly schools that serve students that face challenges related to educational attainment. An achievement gap between white students and black students, English language learners, and students with special needs all pose challenges to school performance.

At the same time that No Child Left Behind has become part of school systems, zero tolerance policies and the use of SROs have only grown in popularity. A coalition of organizations called Dignity in Schools has gathered extensive evidence indicating that these tests are not only used as a measure of school performance but a means by which schools determine which students might be targeted for suspension, expulsion or arrest. In other words, by removing underperforming students, schools would perform better. Increases in referrals to the juvenile justice system from schools noted in Texas, Philadelphia, Chicago, Florida, Denver, and Louisiana may be indicators that "test, punish, and push out" may be a growing practice.

Source: Advancement Project, *Test, Punish, and Push Out: How Zero Tolerance and High Stakes Testing Funnel Youth Into the School to Prison Pipeline,* (Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2010). www.advancementproject.org/sites/default/files/publications/rev_fin.pdf

PART VI
SOME STUDENTS ARE AFFECTED BY SROS MORE THAN OTHERS

Students of color and students with disabilities are the most likely to be affected by harsh disciplinary policies and the school resource officers that go with them. The concentrated impact of punitive policies on these groups of youth also contributes to the numbers of youth of color and youth with special needs in the juvenile justice system.
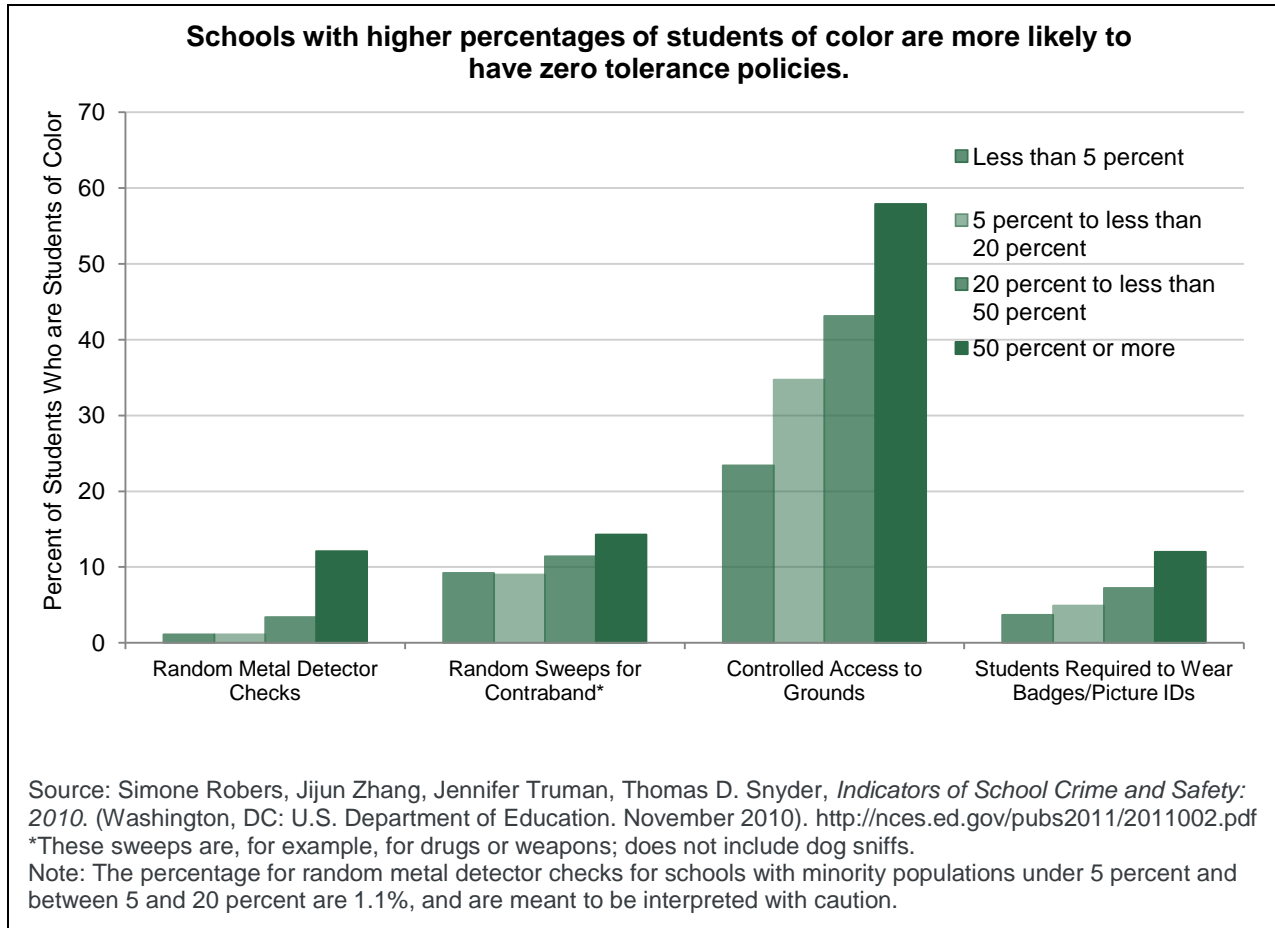
Youth of color

No data exists showing that SROs arrest youth of color more often than white students, but other data shows that youth of color are disproportionately arrested compared to white youth.[74] In school, youth of color are far more likely to be subjected to harsh punishments in school than whites. A study from the Applied Research Center shows that African American students are disciplined more often and more harshly than white students.[75] Related to suspensions, a 1998 study from the Department of Education Office for Civil Rights shows that African American and Hispanic students are suspended from schools at disproportionate rates compared to white students.[76]

In addition to these national statistics related to disproportionate punishment generally, school district-level analyses by the Advancement Project show overwhelming disproportionalities related to arrests:[77]

- In 2001, the Pinellas County (Florida) School District Police made 146 arrests, of

which 54 percent were of black students. Comparatively, 19 percent of the District's enrollment is black.

- In South Carolina, black students are more likely to be referred to law enforcement than their white peers. Black students make up 42 percent of student enrollment, but 75 percent of disorderly conduct charges, of which 90 percent are referred to law enforcement.

- In the 2001 – 2002 school year, Latino students were 22 percent of student enrollment, but 34 percent of referrals to law enforcement agencies in Colorado.

- A study by the ACLU of Connecticut found that in East Hartford in the 2006-07 school year, African American and Hispanic students together accounted for 69 percent of the student population, but 85 percent of school-based arrests. In West Hartford, African American and Hispanic students were 24 percent of the student population, but 63 percent of arrests.[78]

Schools with higher percentages of students of color are more likely to have zero tolerance policies.

Source: Simone Robers, Jijun Zhang, Jennifer Truman, Thomas D. Snyder, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2010.* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. November 2010). http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011002.pdf
*These sweeps are, for example, for drugs or weapons; does not include dog sniffs.
Note: The percentage for random metal detector checks for schools with minority populations under 5 percent and between 5 and 20 percent are 1.1%, and are meant to be interpreted with caution.

The reasons for disproportionate punishment on students of color are varied and are likely related to a number of factors, but research indicates that incidents of crime have nothing to do with socio-economic status or stereotypes that youth of color are more disruptive.[79] In addition, a recent study by the Consortium on Chicago School Research found student achievement levels have more to do with feelings of safety in school than actual reported crime and poverty levels in the school.[80] Thus, the way to improve safety in schools is to increase achievement, rather than apply additional punitive measures, which further disillusionlower-achieving students.

Students of color may be more affected by punitive policies because they attend schools with greater levels of surveillance, police presence, and zero tolerance policies. Citing a collaborative report from the Bureau of Justice

Statistics and the National Center on Education Statistics, the Advancement Project reports that in the 1996-97 school year, schools predominately attended by black and Latino students were more likely to have policies addressing violence (85 percent), firearms (97 percent), other weapons (94 percent), and drugs (92 percent) than white school districts (71 percent, 92 percent, 88 percent, and 83 percent, respectively).[81]

The 2010 *Indicators of School Crime and Safety* shows that surveillance, often associated with law enforcement is concentrated in large, urban districts,[82] which also tend to have high populations of youth of color.[83] In addition, schools with higher percentages of students of color have random metal detector checks, random sweeps for contraband, controlled access

to school grounds, and students must wear badges and picture IDs to enter the school.[84]

Youth with disabilities

Anecdotal evidence from public defenders, combined with data showing that youth with disabilities are more likely to be affected by the juvenile justice system, suggests that youth with disabilities will also be more affected by zero tolerance policies and school resource officers. Disabilities can include mental health problems, including those related to trauma.[85] A 2011 study by the New York Civil Liberties Union shows that youth with disabilities are four times as likely to be suspended as their peers without disabilities.[86]

The disproportionate impact of zero tolerance policies on youth with disabilities could be caused by an array of factors; among them are late or inappropriately designed individualized education plans or other accommodations for students with disabilities, inadequately trained teachers and staff, under-funded special education programs, and a reliance on law enforcement to provide discipline in schools.[87] For example, children with disabilities who are not receiving appropriate education or services could have difficulty adapting to and learning in a more traditional classroom setting. This difficulty relating to the classroom setting could cause a child to disrupt the class and potentially cause a teacher to rely on an SRO or other means of removing the child from class.[88] The end result is that the student is removed from class, causing further disconnection from school for the student, a frustrated teacher, and a disrupted class.

SCHOOL GUARDS BREAK CHILD'S ARM AND ARREST HER FOR DROPPING CAKE

School security guards in Palmdale, CA have been caught on camera assaulting a 16-year-old girl and breaking her arm. The incident started when the girl dropped some cake after being bumped in a lunch line. She was ordered to clean and re-clean the spot several times. After being told to re-clean the spot for a fourth time, she tried to leave the area, but was stopped by a security officer. The girl said that the officer forced her onto a table, yelled, "hold still nappy-head", and broke her wrist in the process. The altercation was caught on camera.

Source: Infowars, "School guards break child's arm and arrest her for dropping cake," September, 2007. www.infowars.net/articles/september2007/280907Cake.htm

POSITIVE INVESTMENTS IN SCHOOLS WILL YIELD SAFER, HEALTHIER SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES

Schools are the safest they have ever been, but some schools and faculty continue to have concerns about safety and appropriate discipline. Some schools truly face a struggle to ensure that they are educating every student, providing appropriate education in the case of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA),[89] and reducing dropout rates, all while maintaining a safe environment that is conducive to learning.

However, promoting safety in schools can be accomplished without the negative effects of inviting law enforcement or SROs into schools.

With federal funding for SROs decreasing, some school districts, like those in New Jersey[90] and Syracuse, New York,[91] are either cutting or questioning the efficacy of SROs in schools. School resource officers are a relatively new means of maintaining school safety, having only gained real traction in schools in the 1990s. Experienced faculty and staff have been in schools for much longer and are trained to work with students to keep everyone at school safe and to maintain a positive learning environment. More recent evidence-based practices like Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports have also shown to both prevent and address issues of school safety.

This section focuses on the positive and evidence-based investments and programs that schools and school districts should implement rather than relying on SROs. These positive investments can yield better results in terms of keeping schools safe, holding youth accountable, educating youth, and even boosting achievement without the negative effects of involving youth with law enforcement or the justice system.

Investing in education promotes safety

Educating all youth and keeping them in school benefits communities in a variety of ways. Youth that are in schools are engaged during the day, preventing them from engaging in illegal behaviors.[92] High school graduation increases social bonds and community ties which promote responsibility in young adults.[93] In addition, keeping students in school saves communities millions in the long run. The Alliance for

Excellent Education reported in 2006 that a 5 percent increase in male high school graduation rates would produce an annual savings of almost $5 billion in crime-related expenses. Coupled with annual earnings of those who graduated, the U.S. would receive $7.7 billion in benefits.[94]

Just as positive social investments rather than incarceration is a way to make communities healthy and safe, investments in education and improving achievement also make schools safe.[95] Some effective strategies include:

Reduce class sizes: In a review of class size reduction initiatives across the country, the Council of the Great City Schools found that cities that used federal funds to reduce class size were able to spend more time on instruction and developing relationships with students, rather than discipline and behavior management. Student achievement also improved.[96]

Provide support and training to staff regarding behavior management: While effective classroom management is part of a teacher's job, resources to help them be successful in this function are not always available.[97] The American Federation of Teachers (AFT) writes that sometimes teachers and other school staff don't always feel supported in their

endeavors to maintain order, which can contribute to a reliance on SROs or other punitive responses to student behaviors.[98] In addition to training, schools should have the resources for supporting school staff, which could include the evidence based-practices listed below.

Build quality relationships: Recent research from the Consortium of Chicago School Research says that the quality of relationships between students and staff, as well as between staff and parents is one of the most important characteristics in schools that are seen as safe in Chicago.[99] Establishing good relationships can be difficult if there are not enough teachers or other staff to effectively engage with students or parents. In addition, schools can facilitate these relationships by creating structured opportunities that meet families where they are – providing evening or weekend hours for conferences and meetings and translators for parents who are not native English speakers.

Hire more counselors: Guidance counselors and school psychologists are trained to be mentors and work with youth, and are a more positive investment in schools than SROs; nationally, however, schools are not fully staffing according to accepted standards.[100] The American School Counselor Association says that school counselors should consider their roles to include skills in conflict-resolution particular to schools,

A DAY AT AN URBAN SCHOOL

Doug is in the 10th grade at a District of Columbia High School. Every day, Doug walks in the front door of the school past three security guards. He empties his pockets, passes through a metal detector, and scans his ID to show what time he arrives and to ensure that he is allowed to be in the building. He puts his things away and heads to class.

Doug feels safe at school, but it isn't because there are security guards there, but rather because there are always adults in the hall, teachers, counselors, administrators, as well as security guards. Doug says, "I don't think too much about the security guards because I'd still feel safe even if they weren't there."

to intervene in cases of bullying and harassment, and to prevent and intervene in cases where there might be substance abuse issues or the potential for violence.[101] Fully implemented guidance counselor programs have also been found to promote feelings of safety in both poorer and wealthier schools.[102]

Identify students with disabilities or mental health problems early and provide adequate and appropriate education: Schools may be the first place that the manifestation of a disability or mental illness is visible. Schools should invest in psychologists and nurses to help screen[103] children as early as possible to avoid potential discipline problems later on. In addition, students can be connected with appropriate education, as mandated by the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.[104]

Design schools for safety: The American Federation of Teachers suggests changes to building design can improve education and safety.[105] In addition, the Consortium of Chicago School Research also found that students don't feel safe in areas where there are no adults.[106]

Invest in evidence-based initiatives in schools

There are a wide array of programs and initiatives that are in place in schools, albeit coupled with zero tolerance policies and SROs that inherently promote safe schools. School districts should work toward abandoning zero

> **"Are the (school resource officers) in fact replacing the school officials as disciplinarians? Because if that's the case, that's the wrong thing to be doing."**
>
> - Chief District Judge Dennis Maes of the 10th Judicial District, Colorado
> www.chieftain.com/news/local/discipline-belongs-with-schools-pueblo-judge-says/article_c2f7fda8-ddd4-11e0-9ee4-001cc4c002e0.html

tolerance and law enforcement responses to student behavior and begin relying solely on programs like those evaluated programs below. For a longer list of alternative programs and initiatives that include peer mediation, mentoring, and peaceable education, go to www.stopschoolstojails.org/content/alternative-solutions.

Positive-Behavioral Intervention and Supports (PBIS): PBIS is a school-wide initiative that is implemented at three levels. The first is preventative and all students are involved in efforts to teach social skills and integrate behavior management into every-day teaching. The second level focuses on students who may be struggling academically and are, therefore, at risk of becoming engaged in disruptive behavior. This level can include conflict resolution training, additional academic instruction, and self-management skills-building. The third level is intense and individualized for students who are already having difficulty following school rules. This level can include a behavior support plan and specially trained behaviorists and teachers. Rather than punish students exhibiting negative behaviors, the third level is designed to prevent disruptive behavior and promote positive behavior.[107]

A meta-analysis of several evaluations of PBIS in schools have shown that there was an increase in positive behavior, fewer referrals to the office, fewer teacher assaults, and improvements in academic achievement among other outcomes.[108]

Social and Emotional Learning (SEL): The Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning says that SEL is a process by which children (and adults) learn to "develop the fundamental skills for life effectiveness." SEL includes five principles that students learn: self-awareness, self-management, social awareness, relationship skills, and responsible decision making. SEL principles are included in all

aspects of the curriculum.[109] For example, in an article about the Cossitt School in Illinois, the *Chicago Tribune* describes a science lesson as not only talking about molecules from a scientific perspective, but also as partnerships.[110] In 2004, Illinois became the first state to require that SEL be part of the curriculum and daily teaching and is now a national model.

Numerous evaluations have shown the effectiveness of SEL in schools not only in the improvement of behavior in school, but also in academic performance. One meta-analysis supported by the William T. Grant Foundation reviewed 213 school-based SEL programs involving 270,034 kindergarten through high school students and found improved social and emotional skills, attitudes, behavior, and academic performance.[111]

Behavioral Monitoring and Reinforcement Program (BMRP): A two-year school-based program for middle school, high risk students for the purpose of helping youth from coming into contact with the justice system, engaging in drug use, or dropping out of school. BMRP focuses on rewarding good behavior and working to empower youth. Evaluations summarized by the Advancement Project show that participants displayed improved behavior, better grades and attendance, and less reported drug use.[112]

As mentioned previously, evidence suggests that well-trained teachers and guidance counselors not only help students be successful in school, but also promote a safe school

> ## SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL LEARNING IN ILLINOIS
>
> In 2004, Illinois became the first state to require that social and emotional learning be part of the curriculum and daily instruction, which means that alongside science and math, students are expected to reach benchmarks associated with building empathy, managing conflict, and recognizing one's own emotions.
>
> Research has shown that social and emotional learning not only helps improve student behavior, it also improves achievement. According to a Chicago Tribune article, one principal from an Illinois school, Jack Hille Middle School, "acknowledged some skepticism when her school implemented social and emotional learning four years ago. Since then, 'everything has improved…our test scores, the climate of the building, our parent communication,' she said, 'There's been a huge shift of where we were and where we are now.'"
>
> Source Bonnie Miller Rubin, "Beyond book learning: Schools teach social and emotional skills," *Chicago Tribune*, October 5, 2010. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2010-10-05/news/ct-met-1005-teens-social-skills-20101004_1_social-and-emotional-learning-students-school-day

environment. In addition, there is a wide array of research that suggests that mentoring, peer conflict resolution, and other student-centered behavior responses could work instead of punitive zero tolerance policies.[113] Other schools have implemented a school-based crisis intervention strategy in which SROs are serving as the first line of defense for students who might harm themselves or others.[114]

Peaceable schools and conflict resolution: Peaceable schools use conflict resolution as the guiding principle of the entire school and the idea that a non-violent, peaceful society is a reachable goal. Schools treat all conflicts, even those that are labeled as disorderly or misbehavior, as a learning opportunity. Conflict resolution includes identifying problems, learning to community effectively with others, and developing one's one emotional understanding. Peaceable schools have been generally been found to reduce conflict, increase positive behavior, and promote learning.[115] One national example is Peaceable Schools Tennessee, which has been in operation since 1996. During the initial implementation, Tennessee schools that participated in the

training experienced a 39 percent decrease in suspensions, compared to a 14 percent decrease in suspensions in Tennessee overall.[116] Tennessee remains a model for the U.S. Department of Education.

Restorative justice: Restorative justice practices have been found to have a number of benefits, especially for youth. Youth who have committed an offense but participate in restorative justice programs are less likely to commit another offense[117] and people who experience harm are more likely to report being satisfied with the outcome than people that went through a typical court process.[118]

Restorative practice empowers people to resolve conflict or harm themselves, without involving law enforcement or the justice system. It can take a number of forms, but usually includes conferences, conversations, meetings of involved parties and the community affected or peer mediation.[119]

Within a school, similar principles and practices can be used to avoid arrests and help restore people who have experienced harm. In a review of restorative practices in six schools in Pennsylvania, the International Institute for Restorative Practices found that the schools experienced decreases in incidents of violence, assault, and disorderly conduct, and decreases in detention and suspension. One school, West Philadelphia High School was dubbed "Persistently Dangerous," but after the implementation of restorative practices, experienced a 60 percent decrease in assaults on students and a 72 percent decrease in incidents of disorderly conduct.[120]

Restorative practices in schools should be used within the context of other holistic, school-wide supportive approaches to managing behavior in school and addressing student behavior. For example, restorative practices would be used in junction with PBIS as the last resort when an incident does occur.[121]

FOR THE COST OF AN SRO, WE COULD GET….

Federal funding cuts, local budget constraints, and pressure to ensure quality education for all students gives school districts the opportunity to consider what else could be paid for with the money spent on a single SRO.

According to the COPS handbook, a police officer can be promoted to detective when they become an SRO (this is an incentive to encourage more officers to become SROs). The median salary of a detective in the U.S. in 2011 is $63,294, comparatively a school counselor's median salary is $61,446. But, comparatively, a counselor is paid $71,070 and a teacher is paid 52,471. Neither of these positions carry with it the collateral costs outlined above that are related to SROs and zero tolerance.

For the salary of a single SRO, a jurisdiction, could hire one teacher and pay for approximately 20 percent of the salary of a second teacher.	
Role	**Median Salary**
School Resource Officer (Detective salary)	*$63,294*
School Psychologists/Counselors	$66,810
School Nurse	$44,006
Principal	$86,970
Teacher (secondary education)	$52,471
Special Education Teacher	$52,446
Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Table 7: Full-time local government workers: Mean and median hourly, weekly, and annual earnings and mean weekly and annual hours," June 7, 2011. www.bls.gov/ncs/ocs/sp/nctb1481.pdf, Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Table 19-3031, "Occupational Employment and Wages, May 2010, Clinical, Counseling, and School Psychologists," August 11, 2011. www.bls.gov/oes/current/oes193031.htm Salary.com, "School Nurse Median Wage," October 14, 2011. www1.salary.com/School-Nurse-Salary.html#JD	

PART VII
MODELS FOR REDUCING LAW ENFORCEMENT INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOLS

Education and safety do not have to be accomplished at cross-purposes. A growing body of research confirms that discipline is part of an educational process.[122] While some SROs currently have a role in schools as mentors, crisis intervention officers, and even barriers between overly punitive school officials,[123] the best option remains removing a strictly punitive law enforcement model from schools.

Graduated responses reduce the number of students going to the justice system

Two counties in Georgia and Alabama took the lead in developing a system by which referrals to the juvenile justice system became a last resort. Other localities are working on their own initiatives to respond to students and help divert youth from entering the juvenile justice system, including drafting new Student Code of Conduct and passing state-wide legislation. (For more examples, visit Stop the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track website at: www.stopschoolstojails.org/content/whats-happening-ground)

Clayton County, Georgia: Having learned that the presence of SROs correlated with a steep increase in the number of youth referred to the juvenile justice system, Judge Steven Teske organized a working group of key stakeholders from schools, the justice community, and members of the community to develop a Cooperative Agreement to reduce the number of youth referred to the juvenile justice system. The Cooperative Agreement creates a series of responses to "misdemeanor delinquent acts" that include first a warning and then a referral to mediation or school conflict resolution, before a referral is made to the juvenile justice system. Elementary school children cannot be referred to the juvenile justice system for misdemeanor offenses on school property.

The implementation of the Cooperative Agreement has resulted in an 87 percent decrease in reported fighting and a 36 percent decrease in negative behaviors like disorderly

> "Ensuring that our educational system is a doorway to opportunity – and not a point of entry to our criminal justice system – is a critical, and achievable, goal."
>
> - Attorney General Holder, press release announcing the establishment of Supportive School Discipline Initiative

conduct. There were also decreases in referrals to the juvenile justice system for fighting (86 percent decrease) and disruption (64 percent decrease). Additionally, graduation rates increased 20 percent.[124]

Jefferson County, Alabama: Alabama Judge Brian Huff noticed that 80 percent of referrals to the juvenile court were from schools. To address the situation, Judge Huff initiated the Birmingham City Schools Collaborative. The Collaborative eventually developed a Protocol for addressing behaviors in schools. First a student would receive a warning, then the student would attend a school offense workshop with his or her parent, and a third response might be a referral to the juvenile justice system. The Protocol would pertain to misdemeanor offenses and disorderly conduct issues. The Protocol includes specific instructions for data collection to make evaluation possible in the future.[125]

> "If anything, we need to develop a zero tolerance attitude toward policies that harm youth. The more we tolerate the harsh and disproportionate treatment of students for minor offenses, the more kids we condemn to fail in school and send to prison."
>
> – Judge Steven Teske, Clayton County, GA (Juvenile Justice Information Exchange)

Baltimore City, Maryland: In 2007, the Open Society Foundations – Baltimore began work with the Baltimore City Public Schools and the Advancement Project to first gather extensive data about school discipline practices in Baltimore and then subsequently to revise the school discipline code. The 2008 Code of Conduct, which included input from the community as well as school officials, created levels of response for different behaviors which take into account relevant factors such as age,

severity of offense, and whether or not the student has a disability. Only the most serious offenses should be reported to police and suspensions and expulsions are limited in duration and use. The Code also requires parental conferencing and focuses on prevention and intervention. In the 2007-2008 school year there were 2,000 fewer short-term suspensions than the year before;[126] however, data concerning arrests is not yet available.

Florida: After nearly 5 years of research and advocacy in Florida, the Florida NAACP, the Advancement Project and the NAACP Legal Defense Fund successfully worked with the Florida legislature to draft and pass a law that discourages arrests for fighting in school and generally subjective minor offenses, encourages alternatives to expulsion or police referrals, takes into account circumstances (age, disability status, etc.) before taking disciplinary action is taken, and giving students the right to appeal.[127]

Connecticut: In July 2011, the Juvenile Probation Department of Court Support Services announced that it would review all cases coming directly from schools to determine whether the case warrants juvenile court involvement. Any referral that is not accepted will be returned to the referring police officer. The Judicial Branch recommends that any minor offenses be referred to the Juvenile Review Boards that have been established for that purpose.[128]

RECOMMENDATIONS

Schools did not always rely on law enforcement to maintain order and ensure safety. Despite evidence that schools are no more dangerous than they were 30 years ago or in relation to other situations, including home life, there is continued reliance on a law enforcement approach and harsh policies to deal with discipline in schools. New research and increased momentum as a result of the tireless efforts of advocates has resulted in significant innovation and even federal acknowledgement of the problem. The following recommendations reflect the ongoing efforts to reduce the number of students referred to the juvenile justice system from schools or who eventually end up in the justice system because they have been expelled, suspended, or otherwise alienated from school.

Remove all law enforcement officers from schools: School safety can be addressed without on-site SROs. And although there is some evidence that SROs can play a positive role as counselors and mentors in schools, these roles can be better filled by people primarily trained in these areas.

Refrain from using law enforcement responses to student behavior: Schools did not always call police or rely on SROs to deal with all manner of student behavior. Schools should make a concerted effort to avoid calling the police or using a law enforcement response for all but the most serious offenses.

Institute a system to review the validity of arrests within the circumstances of the offense: Similar to Connecticut, jurisdictions could implement a system by which an agency, like the juvenile court, could review arrests and referrals coming from schools to determine whether or not they should be handled within the court or by some other means. This data collection would include the rate at which the courts dismiss cases referred by schools versus other sources. In this way, arrests and referrals for minor offenses, like disorderly conduct, could be prevented from entering the justice system and over time officers will learn to stop making unnecessary arrests.

Invest in education: Investing in education both improves achievement and promotes safer schools. Ways to do that include increased hiring of quality teachers, staff, counselors, and other positive role models; building safe, clean schools; and providing training and supports for teachers and staff related to behavior management.

Invest in prevention and intervention strategies that work: Prevention and intervention comes in many forms and includes Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports, Social and Emotional Learning, student conflict resolution programs, mentoring, cognitive behavioral therapy in schools, and any number of peace resolutions in schools. In addition, schools should use alternatives to removing students from school if they are displaying disruptive behaviors. All are just as effective for maintaining safety in schools and support the primary objective of schools: to provide education. In addition to system-level interventions, schools should make sure that students with individual mental health or other special needs receive appropriate services.

Collect more, better data: There is no national data that shows how many students are arrested in schools, let alone the additional data that would show the type of offense, the demographics of the students arrested (e.g. age, race, and whether or not a student is on an individualized education plan), and by what type of officer. Such data measures could be built into state measures of annual progress.

Furthermore, data showing that schools that suspend, arrest, or expel too many students should be taken into account in yearly progress determinations.

Create graduated responses to student behavior that take into account the circumstances of the case: Jurisdictions like Clayton County, GA and Jefferson County, AL are perhaps the highest profile school districts that have created a plan to limit the referrals to the juvenile justice system, suspensions and expulsions by establishing a rubric and system for meting out discipline. This could also include developing an agreed upon discipline code that makes it clear what is an arrestable offense and what is not. Ideally, jurisdictions should aim for zero referrals from schools to the justice system.

Provide training and evaluation: Any police coming into contact with youth, especially at school, should be trained to work with youth, which requires learning to work with students appropriately in a school setting, especially students with disabilities. Periodic evaluation of the outcomes of involvement of police in schools to ensure appropriate behavior within the school is also important.

Reduce disproportionate impacts on students of color and students with disabilities: Jurisdictions and schools must be cognizant of the impact that arrests in schools have on students of color and students with disabilities. Although there is limited data on either subject, there is enough information from large jurisdictions, which is included in this report, to indicate that this is a real problem. Recommendations listed here could potentially help reduce the number of students of color and with disabilities that are arrested, suspended, expelled, or otherwise set in the "school to prison pipeline."

[1] Bureau of Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics, "Local Police Departments, 1997," "Local Police Departments, 2000," "Local Police Departments, 2003," and Local Police Departments, 2007" http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=71

[2] Elora Mukherjee, *Criminalizing the classroom: The over-policing of New York City schools*. (New York: New York Civil Liberties Union, 2007).

[3] Judith A. Browne, *Derailed: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track* (Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2003). www.advancementproject.org/sites/default/files/publications/Derailerepcor_0.pdf

[4] National Center for Education Statistics, "Indicators of School Crime and Safety, 2010," Table 2.1: Number of student-reported nonfatal crimes ages 12 – 18 and rate of crimes per 1,000 students, by location, type of crime, and year: 1992-2008. http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/iscs10.pdf

[5] Gary Sweeten, "Who Will Graduate? Disruption of High School Education by Arrest and Court Invovlement," *Justice Quarterly* 23(4), 2006.

[6] Cathy Girouard, "School Resource Officer Training Program," March 2001, U.S. Department of Justice – Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/fs200105.pdf

[7] Peter Finn and others, *A Guide to Developing, Maintaining, and Succeeding with your School Resource Officer* (Washington, DC: Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2005). www.cops.usdoj.gov/files/ric/CDROMs/SchoolSafety/Law_Enforcement/AGuidetoDevelopingMaintainingSucceeding.pdf,

[8] Peter Finn and others, *A Guide to Developing, Maintaining, and Succeeding with your School Resource Officer*, 2005. www.cops.usdoj.gov/files/ric/CDROMs/SchoolSafety/Law_Enforcement/AGuidetoDevelopingMaintainingSucceeding.pdf, p. 51; Other examples can be found in Catherine y. Kim And I. India Geronimo, *Policing in Schools: Developing a Governance Document for School Resource Officers in K-12 Schools* (New York, NY: ACLU-New York, 2009). www.aclu.org/pdfs/racialjustice/whitepaper_policinginschools.pdf

[9] D.A.R.E. (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) and G.R.E.A.T. (Gang Resistance Education and Training) are school-based programs that typically bring law enforcement officers to schools to teach students about the dangers of drug use and gang membership Neither program has been found to be effective means of preventing drug use or gang involvement.

[10] Peter Finn and Jack McDevitt, *National Assessment of School Resource Officer Programs Final Project Report* (Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, 2005). www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/209273.pdf.

[11] National Association of School Resource Officers, "Basic Training," November 8, 2011. www.nasro.org/mc/page.do?sitePageId=114186&orgId=naasro

[12] Aaron Kupchik, *Homeroom Security: School Discipline in an Age of Fear,* (New York, NY: NYU Press, 2010).

[13] Johanna Wald and Lisa Thurau, *First Do No Harm: How Educators and Police Can Work Together More Effectively to Keep Schools Safe and Protect Vulnerable Students* (Cambridge, MA: Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice, March 2010) and Youth United for Change & Advancement Project, *Zero Tolerance in Philadelphia: Denying Educational Opportunities and Creating a Pathway to Prison* (Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2011).

[14] Elora Mukherjee, *Criminalizing the Classroom: The over-policing of New York City Schools*, 2007.

[15] Judith A. Browne, *Derailed: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track*, 2003.

[16] "Clinton Wants More Police Assigned to School Beats." The Washington Post. June 17, 1998. A12

[17] Elizabeth Donohue, Jason Ziedenberg, and Vincent Schiraldi, *School House Hype*: *School Shootings and the Real Risks Kids Face in America* (Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute, 1998). www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/98-07_rep_schoolhousehype_jj.pdf

[18] Russell Skiba, Zero Tolerance, Zero Evidence: An Analysis of School Disciplinary Practice (Indiana: Indiana Education Policy Center, 2000). www.indiana.edu/~safeschl/ztze.pdf

[19] Simone Robers and others, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2010* (Washington, DC: National Center for EEducation Statistics and the Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010). http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011002.pdf

[20] Cathy Girouard, "School Resource Officer Training Program," March 2001, U.S. Department of Justice – Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles1/ojjdp/fs200105.pdf

[21] Bureau of Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics, "Local Police Departments, 1997," "Local Police Departments, 2000," "Local Police Departments, 2003," and Local Police Departments, 2007" http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=71

[22] Community Oriented Policing Services, "COPS office announces availability of $13 million in school safety grants," Press release. May 2, 2011. www.cops.usdoj.gov/Default.asp?Item=2583

[23] Justice Policy Institute, "Doing the Same Thing and Expecting Different Results," (Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute, 2011). www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/fy2012budgetfactsheet_final.pdf

[24] WYSR, Channel 9, Syracuse, "Push to Reinstate School Resource Officers," September 13, 2011, www.9wsyr.com/news/local/story/Push-to-reinstate-school-resource-officers/_SO0RblcZU64ACRIhFijcA.cspx; David Zimmer, "School board questions mayor's SRO strategy," *The Record*, August 10, 2011.

[25] Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, "Juveniles as Victims: School Crime Victimization," November 1, 2011. www.ojjdp.gov/ojstatbb/victims/qa02201.asp?qaDate=2007; R. Dinkes, J. Kemp, and K. Baum, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2009*. (National Center for Education Statistics, Institute of Education Sciences, U.S. Department of Education, and Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice: Washington, DC, 2009).

[26] National Center for Education Statistics, "Indicators of School Crime and Safety, 2010," Table 2.1: Number of student-reported nonfatal crimes ages 12 – 18 and rate of crimes per 1,000 students, by location, type of crime, and year: 1992-2008. http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/iscs10.pdf

[27] Justice Policy Institute, "Crime, Incarceration Down in 2010," (Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute, 2011). www.justicepolicy.org/research/3015

[28] National Center for Education Statistics, "Indicators of School Crime and Safety, 2010," Table 2.1: Number of student-reported nonfatal crimes ages 12 – 18 and rate of crimes per 1,000 students, by location, type of crime, and year: 1992-2008. http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/iscs10.pdf and Bureau of Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics, "Local Police Departments, 1997," "Local Police Departments, 2000," "Local Police Departments, 2003," and Local Police Departments, 2007" http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/index.cfm?ty=tp&tid=71 Note: SRO numbers only available for 1997, 2000, 2003, and 2007. Rates of incidents of theft or violence at school are for the 1996-1997, 1999-2000, 2002-2003, and 2006-2007 school years.

[29] Ida M. Johnson, School violence: The effectiveness of a school resource officer program in a southern city, *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 27, 173–192, 1999.

[30] Christopher J. Schreck, J. Mitchell Miller and Chris L. Gibson, "Trouble in the School Yard: A Study of the Risk Factors of Victimization at School," *Crime and Delinquency* 49(2003).

[31] Matthew J. Mayer and Peter Leone, "Structural Analysis of School Violence and Disruption: Implications for Creating Safer Schools," *Education and Treatment of Children* 22(3), August 1999.

[32] Lynette M. Barnes, Policing the Schools: An Evaluation of the North Carolina School Resource Officer Program, Dissertation submitted to Rutgers University, New Jersey, 2008. http://proquest.umi.com/pqdlink?vinst=PROD&attempt=1&fmt=6&startpage=-1&ver=1&vname=PQD&RQT=309&did=1607105281&exp=07-30-2016&scaling=FULL&vtype=PQD&rqt=309&cfc=1&TS=1312229020&clientId=3507

[33] Dewey Cornell and others, "Practical Findings from the Virginia High School Safety Study: Issue 1," June 17, 2011. http://youthviolence.edschool.virginia.edu/prevention/pdf/VPA_luncheon_2009_Total_Handouts.pdf

[34] Matthew P. Steinberg, Elaine Allensworth, and David W. Johnson, *Student and Teacher Safety in Chicago Public Schools: The Roles of Community Context and School Social Organization* (Chicago:IL: University of Chicago, May 2011).

[35] David Zimmer, "School board questions mayor's SRO strategy," *The Record*, August 10, 2011.

[36] Stop the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track, "Clayton County, Georgia," July 25, 2011. www.stopschoolstojails.org/clayton-county-georgia.html

[37] Department of Justice, "Attorney General Holder, Secretary Duncan Announce Effort to Respond to School-to-Prison Pipeline by Supporting Good Discipline Practices," Press Release, July 21, 2011. www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2011/July/11-ag-951.html

[38] WRAL News, "Cary Teen Taken To Jail For Swearing," October 13, 2011. www.wral.com/news/local/story/1055548/; Howard Fischer, "Arizona Supreme Court: Student's cursing isn't a crime," *East Valley Tribune,* January 10, 2011. www.eastvalleytribune.com/arizona/article_2cd2f616-1d22-11e0-b82a-001cc4c002e0.html

[39] Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 6301 et seq.), amended 2004. http://www2.ed.gov/policy/elsec/leg/esea02/pg1.html#sec1001

[40] Michael Krezmien, Peter Leone, Mark Zablocki, and Craig Wells, "Juvenile Court Referrals and the Public Schools: Nature and Extent of the Practice in Five States," *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice* 26(2010). States include: Hawai'i, Arizona, Missouri, South Carolina, and West Virginia

[41] Florida State Conference NAACP, Advancement Project, NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. *Arresting Development: Addressing the School Discipline Crisis in Florida*, *(*Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2006.) www.advancementproject.org/reports/FINALEOLrep.pdf .

[42] Advancement Project, *Education on lockdown: The schoolhouse to jailhouse track*. (Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2005). www.advancementproject.org/reports/FINALEOLrep.pdf .; Cited in *Education on Lockdown:* Intergovernmental School Resource Officer Agreement between the City and County of Denver and School District No. 1 in the City and County of Denver and State of Colorado, March 16, 2004.

[43] Advancement Project, *Education on lockdown,* 2005.

[44] Stop the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track, "Clayton County, Georgia," July 25, 2011. www.stopschoolstojails.org/clayton-county-georgia.html

[45] Matthew T. Theriot, "School Resource Officers and the Criminalization of Student Behavior," Journal of Criminal Justice 37 (2009): 280-287.

[46] Judge Brian Huff, "The Power of Collaboration: How a Jurisdiction Reduced School Arrests," Powerpoint presentation given at the National Juvenile Justice Network Forum, July 27, 2011.

[47] Herbert Jacob and Michael Rich, "The Effects of the Police on Crime: A Second Look," *Law and Society Review* 15(1).

[48] Barry Holman and Jason Ziedenberg, *Dangers of Detention: The Impact of Incarcerating Youth in Detention and Other Secure Facilities* (Washington, D.C.: Justice Policy Institute, 2006) www.justicepolicy.org/research/1978

[49] Justice Policy Institute, *The Costs of Confinement: Why Good Juvenile Justice Policies Make Good Fiscal Sense* (Washington, D.C,: 2009). http://www.justicepolicy.org/research/78

[50] Amanda Petteruti, *A Lasting Effect* (Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute, 2011); American Bar Association, Criminal Justice Division, "Before You Plea," beforeyouplea.com.

[51] R. Balfanz, K. Spiridakis, R. Neild, and N. Legters, "Neighborhood Schools and the Juvenile Justice System: How Neither Helps the Other and How that Could Change." Presented at the School to Jail Pipeline Conference, Harvard University, 2003.

[52] Gary Sweeten, "Who Will Graduate?," *Justice Quarterly*, 2006.

[53] R.B. Freeman, *Crime and the Employment Disadvantage of Youth* (Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1991).

[54] Mark Cohen, "The Monetary Value of Saving a High Risk Youth," *The Journal of Qualitative Criminology* 14(1), 1998.

[55] American Bar Association, "Before you Plea," September 26, 2011. beforeyouplea.com

[56] Advancement Project, *Opportunities Suspended: The Devastating Consequences of Zero Tolerance and School Suspensions* (Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2000). www.advancementproject.org/digital-library/publications/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance-

[57] Council of State Governments, Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement. (Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2011).

[58] A number of organizations have documented the School to Prison Pipeline. For more information, go to www.schooltoprison.org.

[59] Advancement Project. *Opportunities Suspended,* 2000.

[60]Patrick Rooney and others. *The Condition of Education 2006.* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education, 2006).

[61] R. Balfanz and C. Boccanfuso, *Falling off the Path to Graduation: Early Indicators Brief*. Baltimore, MD: Center for the Social Organization of Schools, 2007)

[62]Caroline Wolf Harlow, *Education and correctional populations*. (Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2003).

[63] James S. Catterall, "On the Social Costs of Dropping out of School," *The High School Journal* 71(1), October-November, 1987 cited in Martin, Nancy and Samuel Halperin. 2006. Whatever it takes: How twelve communities are reconnecting out-of-school youth. Washington, DC: American Youth Policy Forum.

[64] Suzanne Baker and others, *Annual report to the Florida department of education. (*Tallahassee: Juvenile Justice Educational Enhancement Program, 2006). www.criminologycenter.fsu.edu/jjeep/research-annual-2006.php.

[65] Council of State Governments, Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement. (Lexington, KY: Council of State Governments, 2011).

[66] S. Henry, "What is School Violence? An Integrated Definition." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 567(2000).

[67] W.H. Perkins and others, "Where does bullying take place among adolescents when they are at school?" Powerpoint presented at the 2009 Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association, Philadelphia, PA, November 2009. www.youthhealthsafety.org/WhereBullyingAPHA09Handouts.pdf

[68] See Johanna Wald and Lisa Thurau, *First Do No Harm: How Educators and Police Can Work Together More Effectively to Keep Schools Safe and Protect Vulnerable Students* (Cambridge, MA: Charles Hamilton Houston Institute for Race and Justice, March 2010) and Youth United for Change & Advancement Project, *Zero Tolerance in Philadelphia: Denying Educational Opportunities and Creating a Pathway to Prison* (Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2011). www.advancementproject.org/sites/default/files/publications/YUC%20Report%20Final%20-%20Lo-Res.pdf

[69] Youth United for Change & Advancement Project, *Zero Tolerance in Philadelphia: Denying Educational Opportunities and Creating a Pathway to Prison* (Washington, DC: Advancemetn Project, 2011). www.advancementproject.org/sites/default/files/publications/YUC%20Report%20Final%20-%20Lo-Res.pdf

[70] Advancement Project and others, *Education on Lockdown*, 2005.

[71] American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan, *Reclaiming Michigan's Throwaway Kids: Students Trapped in the School to Prison Pipeline* (Detroit, MI: American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan, 2009). www.aclumich.org/sites/default/files/file/reclaimingmichigansthrowawaykids.pdf

[72] James P. Comer and Alvin F. Poussaint, *Raising Black Children* (New York, NY: Plume, 1992). cited in Advancement Project, *Opportunities Suspended: The Devastating Consequences of Zero Tolerance and School Suspensions* (Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2000). www.advancementproject.org/digital-library/publications/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance- and Bernardine Dohrn, "Look out kid/It's something you did: Zero tolerance for children," in *Zero tolerance: Resisting the Drive for Punishment in Our Schools* (New York, NY: New Press, 2001). ;

[73] Donni LeBeouf and Robin Delany-Shabazz, *Conflict Resolution* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1997), https://www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/fs-9755.pdf; Center for Effective Collaboration and Research, *Conflict Resolution/Peer Mediation Project, Prevention Strategies that Work* (Washington, DC: American Institutes of Research, 2001). http://cecp.air.org/preventionstrategies/conflict.htm#Effectiveness.; Stinchcomb, Jeanne B and Bazemore, Gordon and Riestenberg, Nancy (2006). Beyond Zero Tolerance: Restoring Justice in Secondary Schools Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice. 4(2): 123 -147.

[74] National Council on Crime and Delinquency 2007. *And justice for some*. Washington, DC: National Council on Crime and Delinquency.

[75] Rebecca Gordon, Piana Libero Della, and Terry Keleher. *Facing the consequences: An examination of racial discrimination in U.S. public schools*. (New York: Applied Research Center, 2000).

[76] Office of Civil Rights 2000. *Fall 1998 elementary and secondary school civil rights compliance report: National and state projections.* Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education

[77] Judith A. Browne, *Derailed: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track* , 2003.

[78] American Civil Liberties Union and American Civil Liberties Union of Connecticut, *Hard Lessons: School Resource Officer Programs and School-Based Arrests in Three Connecticut Towns* (Hartford, CT: American Civil Liberties Union of Connecticut, 2008). www.aclu.org/files/pdfs/racialjustice/hardlessons_november2008.pdf

[79] R. Skiba, C. R. Reynolds, S. Graham, P. Sheras, J.C. Conoley, and E. Garcia-Vazquez, E. *Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations.* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2006). R.J. Skiba, *An analysis of school disciplinary practice. Policy Research,* Rep. No. SRS2. (Bloomington, Indiana Education Policy Center, 2000).

[80] Matthew P. Steinberg and others, *Student and Teacher Safety in Chicago Public Schools,* May 2011.

[81] Philip Kaufman and others, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety, 1999. (*Washington, DC: U.S. Departments of Education and Justice, 1999).

[82] Simone Robers and others, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2010* (Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics and the Bureau of Justice Statistics, 2010). http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011002.pdf

[83] Jun Tang, Jennifer Sable, and Lee Hoffman, "Characteristics of the 100 Largest Public Elementary and Secondary Districts in the U.S.: 2006-07, Statistical Analysis Report" June 2009, U.S. Dept. of Education, Common Core of Data, and National Center for Education Services http://nces.ed.gov/pubs2009/2009342.pdf

[84] Simone Robers and others, *Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2010*, November 2010.

[85] Erica J. Adams, *Healing Invisible Wounds: Why Investing in Trauma-Informed Care for Children Makes Sense* (Washington, DC: Justice Policy Institute, 2010). www.justicepolicy.org/uploads/justicepolicy/documents/10-07_rep_healinginvisiblewounds_jj-ps.pdf

[86] New York Civil Liberties Union and Student Safety Coalition, *Education Interupted: The Growing Use of Suspensions in New York City's Public Schools* (New York, NY: New York Civil Liberties Union, 2011). www.dignityinschools.org/sites/default/files/Suspension_Report_FINAL_noSpreads.pdf

[87] Judith A. Browne, *Derailed: The Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track*, 2003).

[88] L. Juane Heflin, and Lyndal M. Bullock, "Inclusion of Students with Emotional/Behavioral Disorders: A Survey of Teachers in General and Special Education," *Preventing School Failure*, 43(3) p103-11 Spr 1999; Erik Carter and Carolyn Hughes, "Including High School Students with Severe Disabilities in General Education Classes: Perspectives of General and Special Educators, Paraprofessionals, and Administrators," Research and Practice for Persons with Severe Disabilities (RPSD), v31 n2 p174-185 Sum 2006.

[89] Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, Public Law 108-446, http://idea.ed.gov/download/statute.html

[90] David Zimmer, "School board questions mayor's SRO strategy," *The Record*, August 10, 2011.

[91] WYSR, Channel 9, Syracuse, "Push to Reinstate School Resource Officers," September 13, 2011, www.9wsyr.com/news/local/story/Push-to-reinstate-school-resource-officers/_SO0RblcZU64ACRIhFijcA.cspx

[92] D. Mark Anderson, *In School and Out of Trouble? The Minimum Dropout Age and Juvenile Crime*, (University of Washington, 2009).

[93] Becky Pettit and Bruce Western. "Mass imprisonment and the life course: Race and class inequality in U.S. incarceration." *American Sociological Review* 69(2), 2004.

[94] Alliance for Excellent Education. 2006. *Saving Futures, Saving Dollars: The Impact of Education on Crime Reduction and Earnings.* Washington, DC: www.all4ed.org/publications/SavingFutures.pdf

[95] Matthew P. Steinberg, Elaine Allensworth, and David W. Johnson, *Student and Teacher Safety in Chicago Public Schools: The Roles of Community Context and School Social Organization* (Chicago:IL: University of Chicago, May 2011).

[96] Council of the Great City Schools, *Reducing Class Size: A Smart Way to Improve America's Urban Schools* (Washington, DC: Council of the Great City Schools, 2000). www.cgcs.org/images/Publications/class_size.pdf

[97] Tom Kratochwil, "American Psychological Association, Classroom Management: Teacher Modules" September 27, 2011. www.apa.org/education/k12/classroom-mgmt.aspx

[98] American Federation of Teachers, *Tips for Student Discipline* (Washington, DC: American Federation of Teachers, 1999). www.aft.org/pdfs/teachers/tips_discipline99.pdf

[99] Matthew P. Steinberg and others, *Student and Teacher Safety in Chicago Public Schools,* May 2011.

[100] American School Counselor Association, "Student to Counselor Ratios," September 29, 2011.

[101] American School Counselor Association, "The Professional School Counselor and the Promotion of Safe Schools through Conflict Resolution and Bullying/Harassment Prevenention."

[102] Richard T. Lapan and others, *"Helping Seventh Graders Be Safe and Successful: A statewide Study of the Impact of Comprehensive Guidance and Counseling Programs,"* Re-printed in *ASCA* 6, no. 3 (2003): 186-197.

[103] Erica J. Adams, *Healing Invisible Wounds*, 2010.

[104] Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, Public Law 108-446, http://idea.ed.gov/download/statute.html

[105] American Federation of Teachers, "Building Minds, Minding Buildings," November 9, 2011. www.aft.org/issues/healthsafety/buildingminds/index.cfm

[106] Matthew P. Steinberg and others, *Student and Teacher Safety in Chicago Public Schools,* May 2011.

[107] Office of Special Education Programs, "Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports: School," September 27, 2011. www.pbis.org/school/default.aspx

[108] Scott Mentel, *The Importance of Using Basic Cost-Benefit Analysis after Instituting a School-Wide Positive Behavior Support Program* (Marquette, Michigan: Northern Michigan University, 2010).

[109] Collaborative for Academic, Social, and Emotional Learning, "What is SEL?" September 16, 2011. http://casel.org/why-it-matters/what-is-sel/

[110] Bonnie Miller Rubin, "Beyond book learning: Schools teach social and emotional skills," *Chicago Tribune*, October 5, 2010. www.chicagotribune.com/news/local/ct-met-1005-teens-social-skills-20101004,0,2146576.story

[111] Joseph A. Durlak and others, "The Impact of Enhancing Students' Social and Emotional Learning: A Meta-Analysis of School-Based Universal Interventions," *Child Development*, 82(1), January/February 2011.

[112] Stop the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track, "Alternatives to Suspension, Expulsion, or School-Based Arrest," September 16, 2011. www.stopschoolstojails.org/content/alternative-solutions

[113] Christopher Boccanfuso, Ph.D., and Megan Kuhfeld, B.S., "Multiple Responses, Promising Results: Evidence-Based, Nonpunitive Alternatives to Zero Tolerance,' *Child Trends Research To Results Brief*, 2011-09, March 2011.

[114] Richard James, Joan Logan, and Scott A. Davis, "Including School Resource Officers in school-based crisis intervention: Strengthening student support," *School Psychology International* 32(210), 2011.

[115] Donni LeBeouf and Robin Delany-Shabazz, *Conflict Resolution* (Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, 1997), www.ncjrs.gov/pdffiles/fs-9755.pdf

[116] Donna K. Crawford and Richard J. Bodine, "Conflict Resolution Education: Preparing Youth for the Future," *Juvenile Justice*, VIII(1), June 2001. www.ncjrs.gov/html/ojjdp/jjjournal_2001_6/jj3.html

[117] Nancy Rodriguez, "Restorative Justice at Work Examining the Impact of Restorative Justice Resolutions on Juvenile Recidivism" *Crime Delinquency.* 3 (2007): 355-374. http://cad.sagepub.com.proxyau.wrlc.org/cgi/reprint/53/3/355.pdf

[118] National Institute for Justice; Office of Justice Programs, "Promising Practices in Restorative Justice: Victim Offender Mediation," December 2007. www.ojp.usdoj.gov/nij/topics/courts/restorative-justice/promising-practices/victim-offender-mediation.htm

[119] Jon Kidde and Rita Alfre, *Restorative Justice: A working guide for our schools* (San Leandro, CA: Alameda County School Health Services Coalition, 2011.

[120] International Institute for Restorative Practices, *Improving School Climate: Findings from Schools Implementing Restorative Practices* (Bethlehem, PA: International Institute for Restorative Practices, 2009). www.iirp.edu/pdf/IIRP-Improving-School-Climate.pdf

[121] Jon Kidde and Rita Alfre, *Restorative Justice: A working guide for our schools*, 2011

[122] James P. Comer and Alvin F. Poussaint, *Raising Black Children* (New York, NY: Plume, 1992). cited in Advancement Project, *Opportunities Suspended: The Devastating Consequences of Zero Tolerance and School Suspensions* (Washington, DC: Advancement Project, 2000). www.advancementproject.org/digital-library/publications/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance- and Bernardine Dohrn, "Look out kid/It's something you did: Zero tolerance for children," in *Zero tolerance: Resisting the Drive for Punishment in Our Schools* (New York, NY: New Press, 2001).

[123] Johanna Wald and Lisa Thurau, *First Do No Harm,* 2010; American Civil Liberties Union and American Civil Liberties Union of Connecticut, *Hard Lessons,* 2008.

[124] Stop the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track, "Clayton County, Georgia," July 25, 2011. www.stopschoolstojails.org/clayton-county-georgia.html

[125] Stop the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track, "Jefferson County, Alabama," July 25, 2011. www.stopschoolstojails.org/content/jefferson-county-alabama

[126] Stop the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track, "Open Society Institute - Baltimore," July 25, 2011. www.stopschoolstojails.org/osi-baltimore.html

[127] Stop the Schoolhouse to Jailhouse Track, "NAACP Florida," July 25, 2011. www.stopschoolstojails.org/naacp-florida.html

[128] Judicial Branch, Letter to parents, Chiefs of Police and Superintendents, July 19, 2011.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

AMANDA PETTERUTI, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Amanda Petteruti is a researcher and policy analyst at the Justice Policy Institute. Early in her career, she organized a writing program for youth at the National Campaign to Stop Violence and provided general support to the National Juvenile Defender Center. Prior to joining the staff of the Justice Policy Institute, she conducted research on issues pertaining to urban education at the Council of the Great City Schools. Petteruti has earned a Master of Arts in education policy and leadership from the University of Maryland College Park and a Bachelor of Arts in sociology from Bates College.

JUSTICE POLICY INSTITUTE

Reducing the use of incarceration and the justice system and promoting policies that improve the well-being of all people and communities.

1012 14th Street, NW
Suite 400
Washington, DC 20005
Telephone: 202-558-7974
Fax: 202-558-7978
www.justicepolicy.org