

Fulfilling the Promise

A Blueprint to Build Police-Free Schools



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About the Author-Organization



The Center on Gender Justice & Opportunity at Georgetown Law works to eliminate gender and racial disparities in education, healthcare, and the legal system. We are guided by Georgetown Law's justice focused mission – “Law is but the means, justice is the end” – and committed to building a just future. We work and lead with consistent and uncompromising adherence to the highest moral and ethical standards, working to address injustice from its root causes while championing the rights and dignity of girls and women and following an approach that is grounded in recognizing girls' strengths.

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Project Scope and Purpose

Over the last decade, attention to the impact of discriminatory policing has increased across the country. The issue of police violence took on a new sense of urgency after the death of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor, and countless other Black people as protests surged in 2020. Part of that movement focused on the epidemic of disparate police practices in schools. Community groups, advocates, educators, policymakers, and national justice organizations began to work together to eliminate school policing practices that disproportionately harm students of color.

We identified 69 school districts in seventeen states and the District of Columbia that enacted policies to create police-free learning environments.



The culmination of this work was the achievement of a bold new structural remedy: removing police from schools entirely. We identified 69 school districts in 17 states and the District of Columbia that enacted policies to create police-free learning environments. From investments in training on restorative practices and trauma-informed responses to establishing new security initiatives, schools and districts are reimagining how police-free policies and practice can create a more holistic view of student safety, promote racial equity, and increase school access for students of color.

This report focuses on school districts that have pledged to remove police officers, with special attention to how the continued presence of police in school affects the safety of girls of color. In light of the challenges we identify in the implementation of SRO removal policies, the goal of this report is to provide a blueprint for how to achieve police-free schools, in support of those that have struggled with implementation, and to encourage other districts to take this critically necessary step toward real student safety. This report provides the following:

1. A national landscape analysis of school districts' police-removal policies from 2020 to the present;
2. A synthesis of on-the-ground challenges and opportunities that have arisen in implementing these policies; and
3. A roadmap of concrete steps school districts can take to best achieve the goal of removing police.

This project furthers the mission of the Center on Gender Justice & Opportunity at Georgetown Law to eliminate gender and racial disparities in education and the legal system, placing girls, gender-expansive youth, and women at the front and center of law, policy, and research development. Reducing harmful exposure to, and interaction with, school police is an intrinsic part of our effort to decrease the discipline disparities for girls of color, increase girls' access to education, and reduce inappropriate rates of arrest and confinement of girls of color. We are committed to advancing the cause of police-free schools as a means of ensuring education equity and championing bold visions for transformative change to public education.

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Project Design

With the generous support of the Annie E. Casey Foundation, the Center on Gender Justice and Opportunity at Georgetown Law engaged in a four-phase project. First, we conducted a comprehensive landscape analysis of police-removal policies enacted after the murder of George Floyd in May 2020. Our dataset included school board deliberations, advocacy statements, media accounts, and formal policies and amendments.¹ Second, we conducted field interviews with school officials, national non-profit organizations, and community-based organizations from across the country to gain a more in-depth understanding of policy implementation. Third, we reviewed more than two dozen calls to action, advocacy platforms, internal professional development training documents, and case studies, and examined lessons learned from participants and experts in the field. Fourth, we drafted a blueprint for change.

We conducted a comprehensive landscape analysis of police-removal policies enacted after the murder of George Floyd in May 2020.



Part I

What We Know: The Rise of School Policing and Its Impact on Girls of Color



The increased deployment of school police, commonly known as school resource officers (SROs), has been widely discussed.² The use of SROs and policing tactics in schools grew exponentially in the 1990s under the banner of safety and crime prevention.³ Despite evidence of declining youth violence in schools, SROs have been continuously supported by federal and state funding,⁴ and they have become deeply entrenched in US education.⁵

A study by the University of Connecticut documented that in 2018, at least one SRO was present during the school week in 58 percent of public schools.⁶ The most recent data published by the Bureau of Justice Statistics shows that 5,500 law enforcement agencies employed a total of 24,900 SROs⁷ in schools across the nation. Of these, far too few have received specialized training for the academic environment.

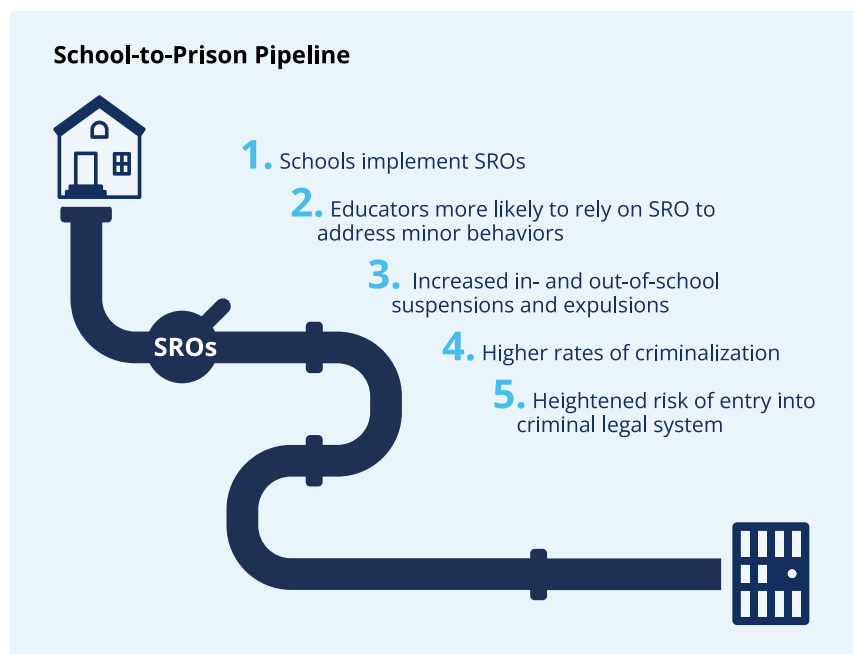
School Policing Harms Girls of Color

1. Student Criminalization: Disproportionate Risk of Entering the School to Prison Pipeline

Over the last decade, data shows that – far from enhancing student safety – SROs significantly *increase* the racialized and gendered criminalization of students, known as the school-to-prison pipeline.⁸ School-based arrests⁹ by SROs, for example, directly route students from campus into the criminal legal system. Students of color are arrested at particularly disproportionate rates.¹⁰

STATE LAWS FAIL TO REQUIRE THAT SROs RECEIVE SPECIALIZED TRAINING

Despite the significant harms inherent in criminalizing students, almost no states require SROs to undergo training in adolescent development, adverse childhood experiences, restorative practices, or culturally competent practices – all of which could help identify and address student behaviors in a more positive, age-appropriate way.



SROs also increase the risk of student criminalization more indirectly by usurping disciplinary roles, which ratchets up responses to minor incidents that were formerly handled by school administrators. Despite federal guidance declaring that schools “ensure that [SROs] have no role in administering school discipline,”¹¹ research reveals that in schools with SROs, educators over-rely on them to address non-violent student conflict.¹² Punitive exclusionary discipline, including out-of-school suspensions and expulsions, is imposed more often, which, in turn, increases students’ likelihood of entry into the legal system.¹³ More subtly, delegating the task of behavior management to SROs fractures trust between teachers and students,¹⁴ weakening school connectedness and increasing the risk of entry into the criminal legal system.¹⁵

Consequences of Student Contact with the Juvenile Justice System and Leaving School

Students Who Have Been Arrested at School (Mass.)



3x more likely to drop out than their peers

Students Required to Appear In Court (Wash.)



4x as likely to leave school

Students Who Drop Out of High School (Mass.)



8x more likely to end up in the criminal justice system

ACLU Studies in Massachusetts and Washington State¹⁶

USE OF SROs TRANSFORMS NON-VIOLENT INCIDENTS INTO CRIMINAL ACTS

An analysis by the ACLU of Washington state showed that students have been arrested for such non-serious issues as bad grades, tardiness, disorderly conduct (for cursing), drug possession (for carrying a maple leaf); disrupting school through “obnoxious” behavior (for fake burping); criticizing a school police officer; and not following directions.¹⁸

In sum, research shows that “increases in the SRO workforce in schools is related to increases in reporting of crime, higher likelihood or harsher punishments for students, higher rates of weapon and drug crimes, and more reporting of non-serious violent crimes, compared to rates in schools without SROs.”¹⁷

2. Discriminatory Practices Against Students: Harsher Treatment of Girls of Color

While the presence of school police increases the threat of criminalization to all students, students of color are disproportionately at risk¹⁹ – yet it is precisely the schools that predominantly serve students of color that are most likely to employ police.²⁰ Although the conversation about the school-to-prison pipeline has focused on boys of color, use of SROs also increases the criminalization of girls of color. Students who are girls of color are referred to law enforcement, arrested, and restrained at higher rates than their white counterparts; they also face the highest risk of sexual assault or harassment by SROs.²¹ Black girls, in fact, represent nearly a third (30.7 percent) of all victims of police assaults against students.²²

Of all girls, Black girls are most significantly at risk of being criminalized in school – and the discrepancy in rates of criminalization between Black girls and white girls is actually *greater* than the discrepancy between Black boys and white boys.²³ The most recent CRDC data released by the US Department of Education shows that Black girls were six times more likely than their white female peers to be referred to SROs and 3.66 times more likely to be arrested at school than their white peers.²⁴ Studies also show that Black girls with disabilities are at the highest risk of disproportionately severe punishment.²⁵

Although the conversation about the school-to-prison pipeline has focused on boys of color, use of SROs also increases the criminalization of girls of color.



Rates of Arrest and Referral to Law Enforcements²⁶



6x

Black girls are 6x more likely to be referred to law enforcement than white girls.



White girls



4x

Black girls are 4x more likely to be arrested in school than white girls.



White girls



2.7x

Latina students are close to 3x more likely to be arrested in elementary school than white girls.



White girls

Police contact can also harm students' sense of safety. Girls of color, in particular – especially Black girls – enrolled in schools with police are less likely to report feeling safe than girls in schools without them.²⁷ According to a recent study, the presence of SROs increases student mistrust and contributes to more adversarial relationships.²⁸ In a survey of students in the Los Angeles Unified School District, "Sixty percent or more of Black students in the district did not believe that school police were trustworthy or cared about them, 73 percent found police overly aggressive, and 67 percent said they tended to escalate situations rather than calming them down."²⁹ Consistent with these findings, a meta-analysis of twelve research studies found "no conclusive evidence that the presence of school-based law enforcement has a positive effect on students' perceptions of safety in schools."³⁰

"Police at school do not make students safe. Police at schools make students feel like they're doing something wrong, that the smallest mistakes will bring them trouble, that they are not children or students or young adults or members of the community, but prisoners. They don't do anything but bring added stress to the already stressful life of a student."³¹ – STUDENT

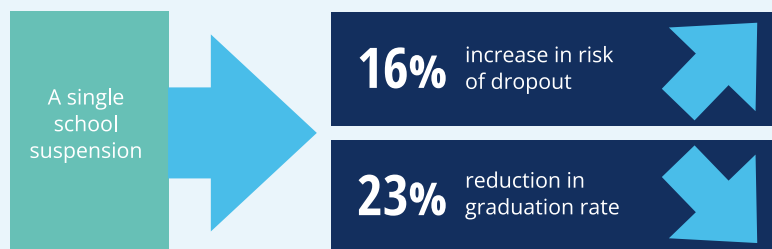
3. Harm to Educational Outcomes: Increased Risk of School Pushout and Poorer Academic Performance

In addition to perpetuating discrimination, criminalization, and a weakened sense of safety, the presence of SROs harms students' performance in school. For example, exposure to discriminatory actions by SROs – or the fear thereof – can decrease student engagement and academic performance, weaken connections to school and peers, and degrade school climate, all of which are tied to poorer academic outcomes.³²

The lesser sense of safety because of the presence of SROs can also lead to missed learning opportunities and key developmental milestones with peers – part of the phenomenon of “school pushout,”³³ which has devastating effects on the academic, social, and emotional lives of girls of color.³⁴ Already-existing racialized and gendered educational inequities are thereby exacerbated.

In addition, the increased use of exclusionary school discipline associated with use of SROs can accelerate rates of behavioral infraction responses in school, as well as truancy and dropout rates.³⁵ Just one suspension can result in a 16 percent increase in risk of dropout and a 23 percent reduction in graduation rate.³⁶ And the effects of multiple exclusions from school can be cumulative, with each additional suspension increasing the risk of dropout by 10 percent.³⁷

Effects of School Suspensions



Finally, the harms of school-based arrests and criminalization by SROs ripple beyond childhood: they increase the risk of adult criminal system entry, raise barriers to accessing higher education, and decrease workforce development.³⁸ In addition, discriminatory SRO practices can reverberate beyond the schoolhouse doors, affecting communities through secondary harms and spill-over effects.³⁹ For example, in some communities, school policing may increase the risk of deportation, punitive immigration legal processes,⁴⁰ and increased family involvement with social services.⁴¹

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4. Harm to Student and Community Health: Increased Exposure to Racism and Poorer Educational Experiences

The harms of school policing must be understood at the nexus of two determinants of health: racism and education. These two factors have been shown to critically influence health outcomes, and the use of SROs negatively affects both.⁴²

Discriminatory policing can harm students' health⁴³ because exposure to racism increases stress, fear, trauma, anxiety, and the sense of alienation and social isolation.⁴⁴ The most significant impact is on Black children.⁴⁵ Racialized disparities in policing and punishment can cause racial trauma, which harms childhood development.⁴⁶ Black girls, in particular, whose community-based experiences with policing are often violent and who have also shown greater stress in response to witnessing violence, may run an increased risk of poor health in response to discriminatory school policing, given the dose-response⁴⁷ relationship that has been established between childhood adverse experiences and health. Black girls' higher levels of exposure to discriminatory police practices *both in and outside* of school, therefore, can increase the probability of short- and long-term negative medical and mental health outcomes.

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Negative Influence of SROs' Presence on Students' Health and Mental Health



As discussed, policing also negatively affects students' education, another social determinant of health.⁴⁸ And students of color who are exposed to unjust police practices can also experience poorer focus, learning, and academic achievement.⁴⁹

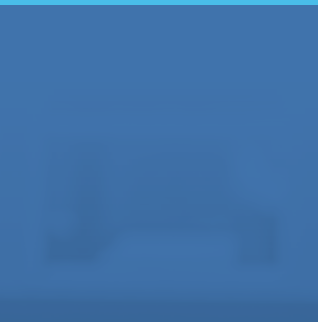
As a result of these factors, students of color face a double burden: SROs and policing practices pose not only a direct risk to their health while they are in school, but also negatively impact their overall ability to thrive as adults.⁵⁰

Discriminatory policing practices compound and exacerbate pre-existing health inequities for students, families, and communities of color.



Part II

Taking the First Step: **Police-Free School Policy Reforms After May 2020**



While no single action can fix the educational inequities and harms created by the use of SROs, a first step championed by many – including community-based groups, educators, and researchers – is to transition away from employing, and relying on, school police. After George Floyd’s murder in May 2020, some jurisdictions decided to remove police altogether.

To understand the current landscape of police-free school policies, we conducted a comprehensive analysis of school and school district-level policy actions. We reviewed public summaries, media reports, public testimony, school board deliberations, draft resolutions, memoranda of understanding, advocacy statements, formal policies, and policy amendments. In total, our research identified at least 69 school districts that have enacted SRO-removal policies. This section provides an overview and examples of these policies.

A Wave of Reform

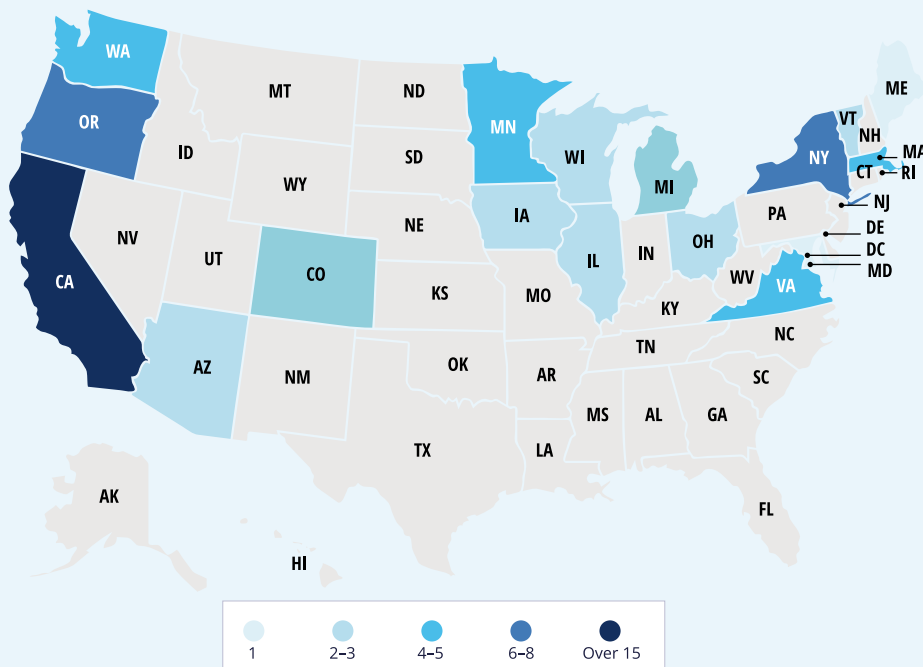
In the wake of the national protests and actions catalyzed by the the Black Lives Matter movement, more than 80 school districts re-evaluated whether they should continue to employ SROs – a step that had previously seemed unimaginable.⁵¹

The most significant policy activity occurred over the summer of 2020, when 34 school districts adopted formal policies to eliminate their SRO programs.⁵² Early adopters included districts in Oakland, California; Portland, Oregon; and Madison, Wisconsin, each of which formally decided to remove SROs in June 2020 – the month after George Floyd’s death.⁵³

By the end of 2020, 7 more districts had passed SRO-free policies, including districts in Boulder Valley School District (Colorado), San Rafael City Schools (California), and Hopkins Public Schools (Minnesota).⁵⁴ By mid-2021, an additional 24 school districts revised their SROs policies, including Des Moines Public Schools (Iowa), the Public Schools of Brookline (Massachusetts), and DC Public Schools (Washington DC).⁵⁵ Our national landscape analysis shows that at least 69 school districts have enacted formal policies to remove SROs (see Appendix).

Our national landscape analysis shows that at least 69 school districts have enacted formal policies to remove SROs.

Formal SRO-Removal Policies per State



Number of Formal Policies Removing SROs per State

Arizona (AZ)	2
California (CA)	16
Colorado (CO)	2
District of Columbia (DC)	1
Illinois (IL)	3
Iowa (IA)	3
Maine (ME)	1
Maryland (MD)	1
Massachusetts (MA)	5
Michigan (MI)	2
Minnesota (MN)	4
New York (NY)	8
Ohio (OH)	2
Oregon (OR)	6
Vermont (VT)	2
Virginia (VA)	4
Washington (WA)	4

When taking action, many districts expressly attributed the decision to reform SRO policy to the national concern about racial justice and police violence against Black people that swelled after Breonna Taylor's and George Floyd's murder and the Black Lives Matter movement. Oakland Unified School District (California), for example, titled its new policy The George Floyd Resolution to Eliminate the Oakland Schools Police Department.⁵⁶ The title of the resolution in San Francisco Unified School District (California) is "In Support of Black Lives in SFUSD and the Abolition of Armed Law Enforcement in Schools #BlackLivesMatter #DefundThePolice #InvestInCommunities #BlackMindsMatter." It begins:

In the wake of the brutal murder of Breonna Taylor on March 13, 2020 by Louisville, KY police officers and George Floyd by Minneapolis, MN police officers on May 25, 2020, and as a result of the persistent extrajudicial murders and deaths of innocent Black citizens in the United States at the hands of police officers, widespread national protests have erupted articulating demands for justice and an end anti-Black racism.⁵⁷

In ending all contracts with the Milwaukee Police Department (Wisconsin) for the services of SROs, the Milwaukee School Board of Directors resolved that the new school safety plan was to be "developed in cooperation with the advisory council established by the Black Lives Matter Resolution, the MPS Restorative Practices team, the City of Milwaukee's Office of Violence Prevention, [and] community partners such as the Running Rebels Violence Free Zone teams."⁵⁸ Finally, in

Seattle Public Schools (Washington state), a resolution to suspend SROs in public schools was directly attributed to “current national events: the perpetuation of systemic racism, the murders of Black people by police officers across our country, [and] the violence displayed by some law enforcement officers here in Seattle.”⁵⁹

Other jurisdictions cited racial justice or equity more broadly as the basis for the decision to remove school police. The Board Resolution in the Spokane School District (Washington state), for example, provides: “[T]he national crisis of racism has been reflected in both recent and historical events.”⁶⁰ It acknowledges that “structural racism is built into the bones of [Spokane] schools” and that “[the district] must build antiracism into the bones in order to increase student empowerment, belonging, value, and hope for the future.”⁶¹ In the Boulder Valley School District (Colorado), the school board deliberations centered on the “recognition that disproportionality on the basis of race exists in the School District’s exclusionary school discipline and law enforcement agencies’ referrals.”⁶² Citing the concerns of students of color, the superintendent in Salem-Keizer Public Schools (Oregon) stated: “Many of these students have told us time and again that the presence of armed police officers negatively impacts their mental health and is a barrier to them developing a strong sense of belonging.”⁶³ The school committee that recommended removal of SROs in Brookline (Massachusetts) also cited “racial disparities around perceptions of safety and feelings of comfort with SROs were borne out locally as well as nationally, presenting a serious equity issue.”⁶⁴

However, some jurisdictions enacted school-removal policies based on budgetary concerns during the pandemic, which occurred during the same time period as national attention to the Black Lives Matter movement. SROs are expensive to employ; according to the Bazelon Center, the country spends as much as \$3 billion annually on this expense, most of which is paid by state and local governments.⁶⁵ The need to tighten government budgets was common during the pandemic. As a result, some school officials cited the need to review and revise their district’s existing SRO policy to consider resource reallocation. In Bemus Point Central School District (New York), for example, a school superintendent explained that the reason the district was cutting SROs was “due to budget shortfalls projected by state aid and additional expenses caused by the pandemic.”⁶⁶ Other districts that removed SROs in deference to budget concerns included Tecumseh Public Schools (Michigan), Cassadaga Valley Central School District (New York), and Hollister School District (California).⁶⁷

SROs are expensive to employ; according to the Bazelon Center, the US spends as much as \$3 billion annually on school police.

Moving the Needle

Our research reveals that implementation and the process of removing SROs has taken many different forms. The Northshore School District (Washington state), for example, first created a taskforce to review the SRO program. That group “incorporated community voice and input into suggested SRO program revisions” and “recommended ways to improve the transparency of the SRO program.”⁶⁸ Fremont Unified School District (California) also developed an SRO taskforce, which recommended that the school board eliminate the SRO program and provide better mental health supports and restorative justice programs.⁶⁹

Prior to passing its police-free policy, Arlington Public Schools (Virginia) developed a working group, with the superintendent providing the school board with a set of recommendations.⁷⁰ In the Poudre School District (Colorado), a Community Advisory Committee conducted a comprehensive review of the SRO program to determine whether it should continue. Similarly, the Tigard-Tualatin School District (Oregon) established community review committees to reevaluate the role of SROs.

The process of removing SROs has taken many different forms.



In addition to widely varying processes, we identified multiple models of formal implementation. For example, in Oakland Unified School District (California), the new policy provided that SROs were to be removed, retrained, and then reintegrated into schools.⁷¹ To carry out that goal, a Culture and Climate Department was formed to train school security officers to mediate conflicts by using restorative justice practices and build relationships with students.⁷² The policy in Hopkins Public Schools (Minnesota), “Create Safe Schools through Positive Safety and Discipline Measures,” was based on the recommendation to review “discipline and safety policies and bring revised policies before the board that emphasize ways of maintaining positive safety without police presence, promoting restorative practices and eradicating racial disparities in district-wide disciplinary practices.”⁷³ In St. Paul Public Schools (Minnesota), the school board approved an implementation strategy that replaced SROs with school support and community support liaisons, who were instructed to build relationships with students and proactively prevent conflict.⁷⁴ Similarly, in the 4J Eugene School District (Oregon), the school board approved replacing SROs with private, unarmed campus monitors.⁷⁵

Not all school districts approved removal in a single-step process. The District of Columbia Council, for example, voted to gradually reduce SROs in DC public and charter schools over a three-year period.⁷⁶ Des Moines Public Schools (Iowa) developed a three-level SRO replacement plan⁷⁷ (community-building, restoration, and diversion) as part of a larger integrated services strategy.⁷⁸ And during the 2021–2022 school year, the school superintendent of Albemarle County Public Schools (Virginia) developed a school funding plan to replace SROs with “School Safety Specialists, who will focus on best practices for student, employee, and school visitor safety.”⁷⁹ Similarly, following the school board decision to terminate the district’s SRO contract, the superintendent in Winona Area Public Schools (Minnesota) was directed to develop a safety plan with reallocated funds.⁸⁰

Some districts and even individual schools were granted discretion in determining SRO policy. In Chicago Public Schools (Illinois), this discretion led to varied police presence across city schools, with some schools retaining SROs and others removing them.⁸¹ In Boston (Massachusetts), following state-level reform, the superintendent of the public school system elected to replace SROs with school safety specialists.⁸²

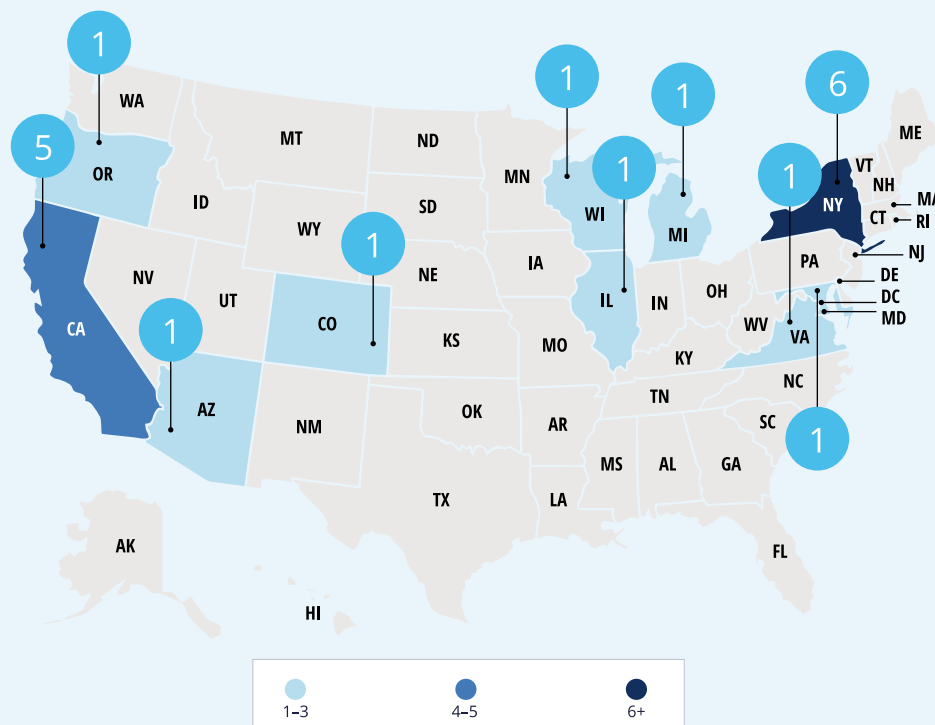
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Unfulfilled Promise: Return to Criminalization

Our research reveals an unexpected truth: many jurisdictions that enacted police-removal policies later abandoned the effort. As the map below reflects, 19 school districts expressly reversed their initial policy commitments and reinstated SROs in some form. While specific rationales for policy reversals vary, we identified two main reasons for this change:

- 1. Fear of School Violence.** In most cases, reversals were enacted as a direct response to violent incidents in school – even if the incident had occurred elsewhere in the country. Districts citing these reasons include Phoenix Union High School District (Arizona) and school districts in Pomona (California) and Denver (Colorado).⁸³
- 2. Expanded Budgets.** Consistent with our finding that budget shortfalls were one reason for removing SROs, some districts that had previously eliminated their contracts with SROs reinstated them when new budget allocations allowed.⁸⁴ The Bemus Point Central School District (New York) and Frewsburg Central School District (New York) are two examples.

Repealed Police-Removal Policies

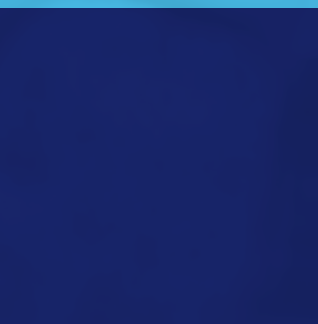


Number of Repealed Policies per State

Arizona (AZ)	1
California (CA)	5
Colorado (CO)	1
Illinois (IL)	1
Maryland (MD)	1
Michigan (MI)	1
New York (NY)	6
Oregon (OR)	1
Virginia (VA)	1

Part III

What We Heard: Fundamental Differences Between Policy and Reality



While policies to remove police establish a clear goal, our research reveals major misalignment between the promise of police-removal policies and the practice of police-free schools. We conducted interviews with key stakeholders, including school district representatives, community-based organizations, and national advocacy organizations, to examine the challenges to implementation of police-removal policies.⁸⁵

Challenges to Achieving a Police-Free Reality

1. Racial justice commitments have weakened and policing practices persist.

Our conversations reflected that schools' commitment to racial justice principles has diminished after police-removal policies were enacted. Interviewees attested to this dilution of schools' initial support of racial justice in police practices. Since then, they told us, officials have become "more quiet about those principles". In some districts, school representatives and community members told us that most changes enacted to school policing practices have been superficial: SROs' titles were changed to emphasize a softer school mission; their uniforms were changed; or their firearms were removed.

Some interviewees expressed that even when schools took more robust measures to remove police – re-defining SROs' role to de-emphasize controlling the students and instead focus on protecting the culture of the school, for example – school administrations were not meaningfully committed to the underlying racial justice principles involved in this change. Some guards, for example, continued to monitor entrances and exits, re-creating surveillance conditions that disproportionately harm Black students. And one leader of a community-based group noted that the lack of training on adverse childhood experiences or trauma-informed best practices has limited the ability of new campus actors to engage with students in a meaningfully different and less discriminatory way. As a result, SROs' replacements have the "same mentality and actions...as before."

Entrenched racial bias itself has exacerbated the inability or unwillingness to extirpate discriminatory policing. As one interviewee stated: "Schools are just a microcosm of the city they're in"; as a result, without anti-discrimination training, officers simply "take their biases and perceptions with them" into schools. A national advocacy organization further told us: "Resistance to police-free schools often comes from deep-seated anti-Blackness and people of power reluctant to re-imagine or remove policing in schools in district that have large populations of Black, Brown and Indigenous students; districts where removal have been successful might [more likely] be predominantly white."

School representatives and community members told us that most changes to school policing practices have been superficial.

2. Key stakeholders resist police removal.

Many interviewees told us that the commitment to removing police was stymied or even reversed by fears for students' physical safety. They said that pushback to removal policies came from parents (both Black and white), school principals, teachers, and community members. In one city, school employee unions submitted a letter calling for the return of police presence at arrival and dismissal times. One district dealt with this concern by reaching out to parent groups to inform them and address their apprehensions to garner their support. Misconceptions and fears about removing SROs were attributed to limited professional development for teachers to understand the new policy.

3. Investment in evidence-based alternatives to school safety is rare.

Most interviewees noted the paramount importance of investing in infrastructure and alternatives to SROs to ensure success in police removal. Lack of this investment was often cited as a challenge. Some people, for example, remarked on the missed opportunity of failing to reinvest funds previously allocated to SROs into implementing positive behavioral interventions. In a different city, by contrast, where schools were permitted to reinvest funds into alternative means of achieving safety, a community-based group representative described remarkable success in accomplishing their goal of removing police.

We were also told that non-monetary resources are important to success in removing police. One member of a community-based organization emphasized this point by stating that their district's plan for an alternative response to calling law enforcement in response to incidents – which called for schools to partner with community agencies instead – failed due to understaffing.

Similarly, an individual in another school district noted the importance of training to successfully implement and sustain restorative justice practices as an alternative to police: "People throw around the term 'restorative justice,' but they aren't engaging in these practices faithfully. Training needs to be an ongoing thing, with real scenarios, or else the default will be punitive. To be effective, restorative justice needs to be resourced and funded." We heard multiple instances of the need for professional development and training of teachers, staff, administrators, and district officials to ensure the effectiveness of police removal. Lastly, interviewees noted the importance of utilizing alternative solutions to SROs to retain a police-free environment. In a community that employed "violence interrupters" whom the school could contact if a situation escalates into the community, for example, that alternative was underutilized.

Most interviewees noted the paramount importance of investing in infrastructure and alternatives to SROs to ensure success in policy implementation.

4. Implementation plans miss the opportunity to engage meaningful, diverse community partners.

A member of one community-based group linked the success of its district's removal of police to government agencies' willingness to work with the community. In particular, this interviewee attributed success to the decentralized process that was community-led and dedicated to helping make the process work. In another metropolitan area, interviewees noted the importance of employing community-based organizations to monitor and de-escalate situations that in previous times would have resulted in calling the police, as well as a healthy partnership with the police department. They noted, "We had to figure out how to still communicate with the police department and other state agencies to learn how to prevent high-level situations and coordinate supports; we needed a working relationship." In several jurisdictions, community-based leaders felt that success was hindered by the district's failure to take concerns and input from community members seriously. They felt that school monitors who come from the community would help achieve a broader acceptance of and commitment to the process.

One district's success in removing SROs was attributed to a commitment to interrogating the root cause of student behavior.

5. Police removal is rarely accompanied by addressing the root causes of safety concerns.

One salient point made by a member of a community-based group was that its district's success in removing SROs was attributable to the commitment to interrogating the root cause of student behavior. That process, this individual stated, can act pre-emptively to avoid violent incidents, rather than waiting to call police to react after such incidents occur. Interviewees in that city noted the importance of increasing student mental health and behavioral health services in the police-removal process.

Lessons Learned After Police Removal

1. In districts that have made significant progress in removing SROs, students of color feel safer.

One theme threaded throughout our interviews about removing police centered on the definition of students' safety. Some interviewees acknowledged that removing police can increase the sense of safety of students of color, but also expressed that SROs are necessary for security overall. This distinction – between students' holistic feeling of safety and protection of students from violent incidents – is a critical one.

The information we gathered, consistent with publicly available reports, observed that violence has generally not increased in schools after SROs have been removed. A community-based organization member commented: "I feel like I haven't seen an increase in fights or physical altercations since SROs have gone; some tension's been relieved from school." Even when violent incidents have occurred, organizations emphasized that the best solution is to proactively address the root cause of behavior and change school culture, rather than station police in school to react to students after the behavior occurs.

Interviewees emphasized that students of color feel safer in schools without police. In one city that removed SROs, a member of a community-based organization described one female student: "As a Black student, [she] feels more safe. Other Black students on campus felt unnerved or uneasy before; 'Who are these people walking around with weapons...?' I noticed other Black students felt more relaxed [after police were removed]." The removal of SROs, people told us, eliminates the threatening sense of surveillance that students of color usually experience because they feel targeted by police. One advocate noted, "School is supposed to be a hall for learning; not a jail."

By contrast, members of community-based organizations told us that the culture of policing remains in schools with a police presence, even if some practices changed, such as no longer carrying firearms. "They can be menacing in their big vests," they told us; students feel like SROs are "menacingly surveying" them. "This menacing presence was never the intention of SRO removal," one interviewee told us; the SROs still looked like police, and they did not interact with or meaningfully know the students.

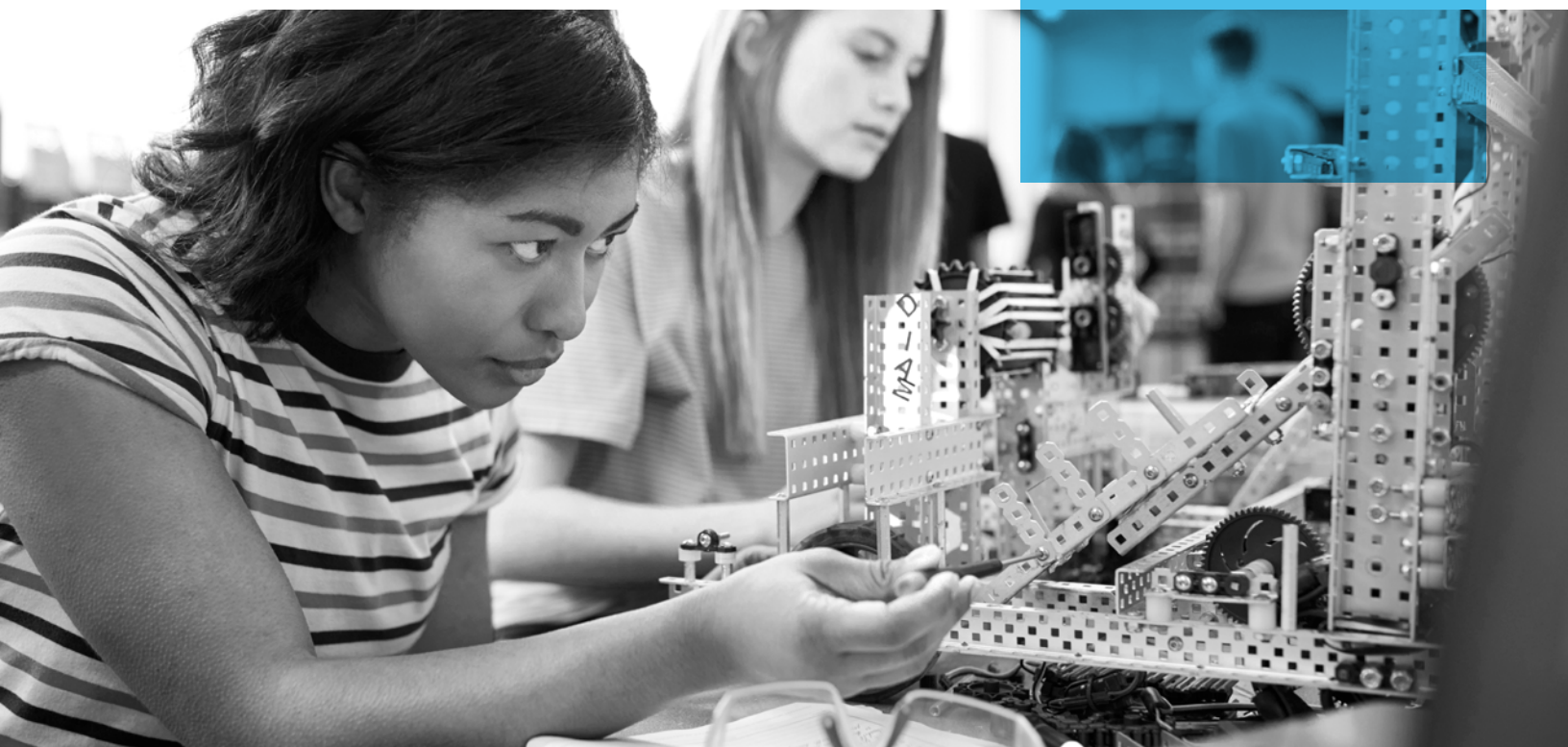
"School is
supposed to be a
hall for learning;
not a jail."
– ADVOCATE

2. In schools without SROs, educators and administrators rely less on police.

School leaders told us that after SRO removal, they realized that they had depended too often on police. This finding is affirmed by many reports and case studies. A principal told us that he realized that his easy access to officers' numbers on his phone, as well as the "comfort" in allowing officers to handle incidents, had served to encourage him to continue to call SROs for incidents that did not rise to the level of meriting police action. Reflecting on the change that occurred after removing police, the school principal expressed that the presence of police effectively provided a shortcut in dealing with student incidents, leading educators to over-rely on them; in other words, calling police is simply easier than handling students by using more individualized care. Significantly, the principal also noted that the removal of SROs subconsciously reshaped the framing of what a safe school looks like: "We can get accustomed to thinking that [police are] what safety is, and it's easier than tackling the root cause of the issue."

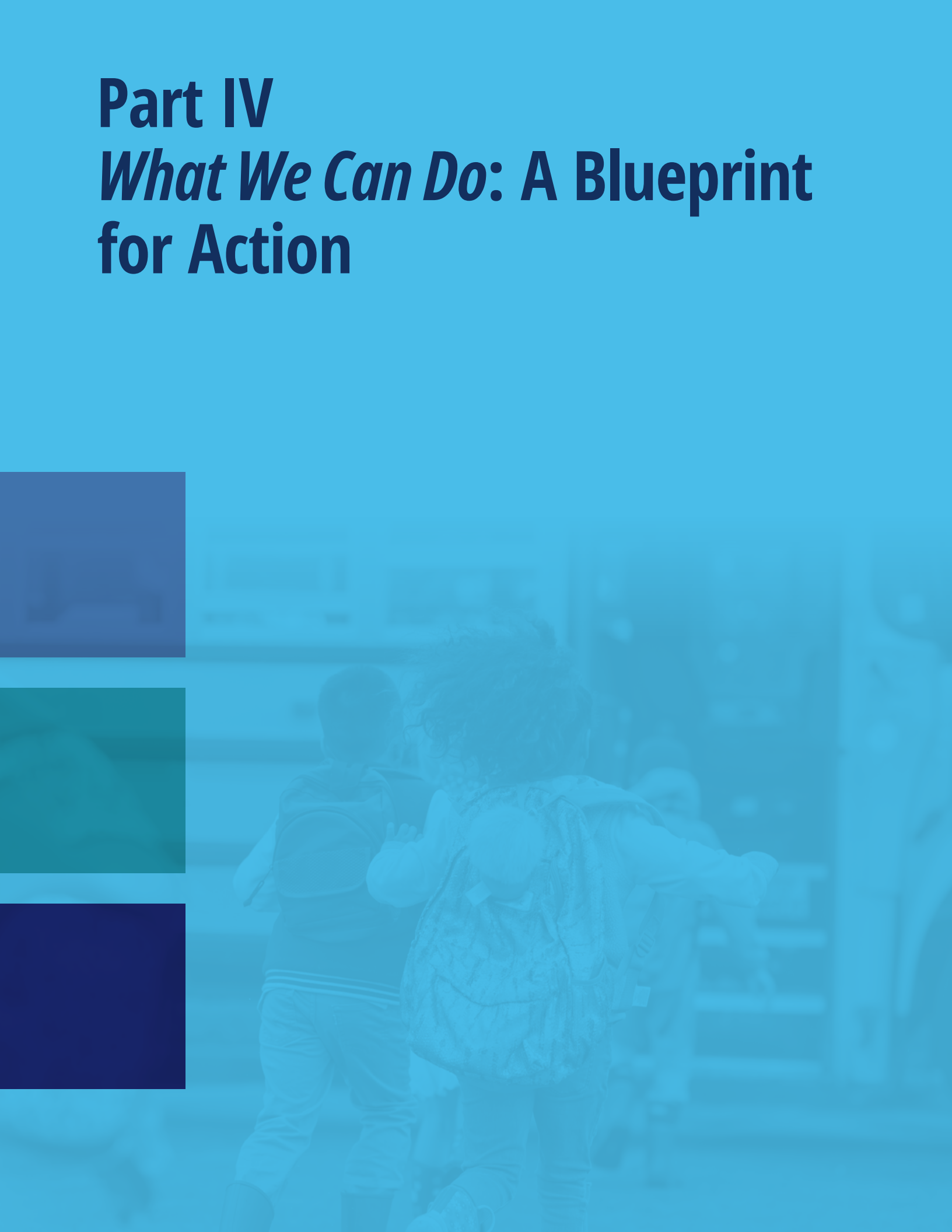
In fact, an individual in a district that had removed police officers revealed that schools still call the police too often, effectively undermining the goal of shifting the culture toward a more positive, restorative environment. Relatedly, another interviewee noted the importance of restructuring guidelines on when to call police and putting into place a comprehensive plan to minimize the need for officer involvement at any point. Without such a plan and a revised discipline matrix, two interviewees shared, the success of police-free policies is necessarily limited.

"We can get accustomed to thinking that [police are] what safety is, and it's easier than tackling the root cause of the issue." – PRINCIPAL



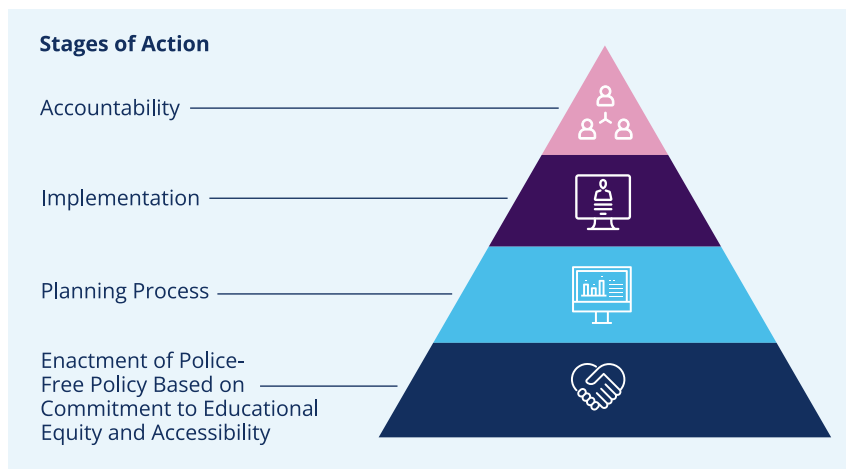
Part IV

What We Can Do: A Blueprint for Action



Four Stages of Action

This blueprint represents a synthesis of our national and local research. It aims to create a basic roadmap that can help lead schools and school districts realize the bold goal of removing school police and positively transform learning environments. We are inspired by the leadership of districts that have passed policies for police-free schools – and we challenge them, and others in the future, to not only implement these policies but to move beyond these initial commitments and develop and implement comprehensive strategies for long-term success.



1. Enactment of Police-Free Policy Based on Commitment to Educational Equity and Accessibility

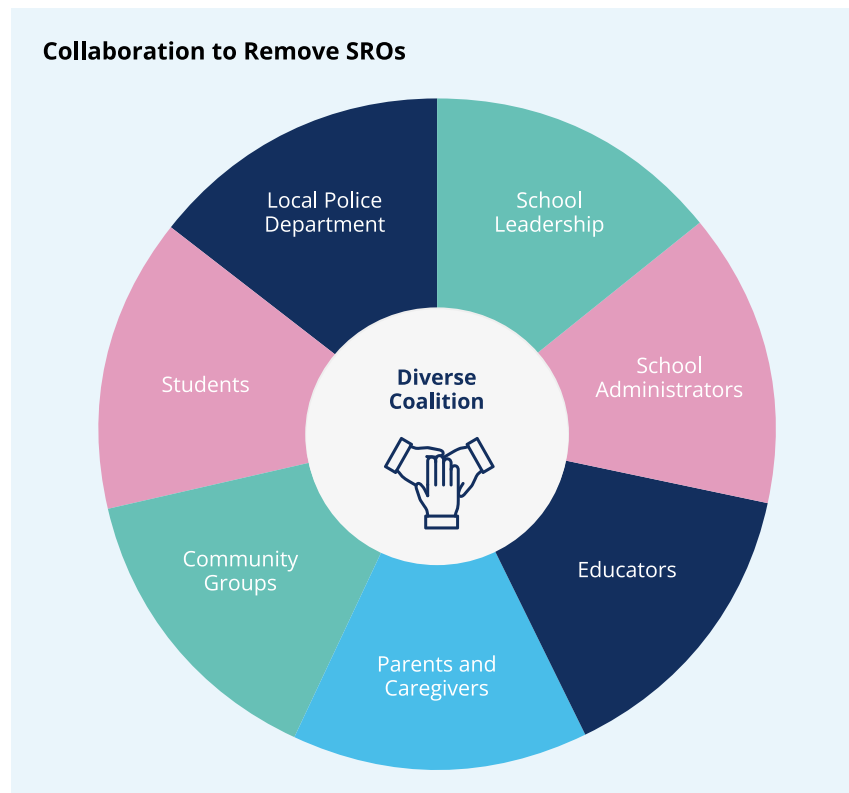
Above all, the removal of police should be based on the commitment to eliminating racial and gender inequities in school responses to student behavior. Thus, police removal should be seen as just one piece of the much broader goal of building an antiracist architecture and achieving equity for all students. As the West Contra Costa County School District (California) stated in its police-free policy:

"As part of the resolution passed by the Board, the WCCUSD superintendent must develop "antiracist policies and procedures and provide training for teachers, staff, and administrators to understand race/racism and its impact on teaching, learning, and knowledge transmission, recognize differences between antiracism and multiculturalism in pedagogy, curriculum, and educational advocacy, and understand how place (geography) and institutional culture are uniquely important to the implementation of such programs." (June 2020)

The removal of police should be based on the commitment to eliminating racial and gender inequities in school responses to student behavior.

2. Engagement in a Process that Builds Trust and Establishes Guiding Principles

Accomplishing the removal of SROs starts by achieving buy-in and consensus and creating feasible ways to carry out formal policies.



Accomplishing the removal of SROs starts by achieving buy-in and consensus and creating feasible ways to carry out formal policies.

Who Should Be at the Table?

- **Include diverse members in a coalition to achieve change.**

Important partners in the process include the local police department, school leadership, educators, students, parents, and community groups that represent local interests and have expertise in non-violence and achieving racial and gender equity in public systems.

- **Provide opportunities for those outside the coalition to give input and learn about progress.** Those who are not included in the coalition itself should be provided meaningful opportunities to provide input that is taken seriously, which will widen commitment to the plan and lessen pushback.

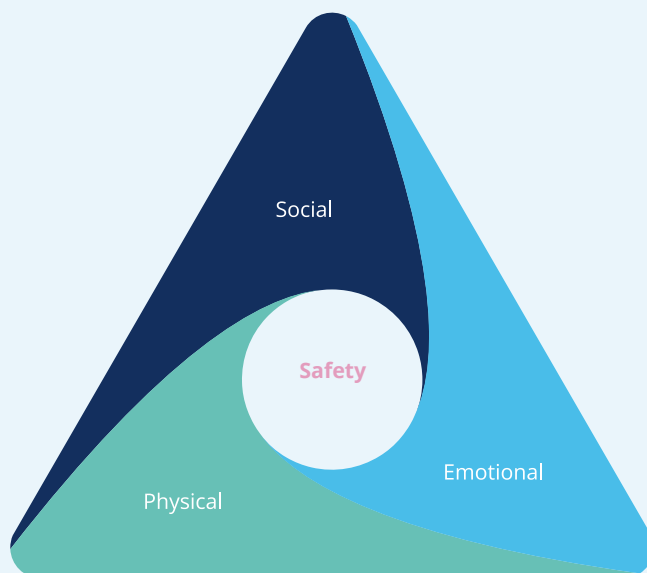
How To Ensure Buy-In to The Goal of Removing Police?

- **Convene coalition meetings in the community:** Meet regularly in accessible locations that are inclusive of diverse members of the community to educate and inform about the evidence underlying the need to remove SROs, including showing that students feel less safe with SROs in school, racial disparities in policing, and the connection between health, safety, and academic success.

- **Educate and inform school staff:** To build buy-in at all levels of personnel, inform superintendents and other school leadership, administration, staff, and faculty about the goals that the coalition has set, the reasoning behind them, the new structure, how to implement the police-free plan, and resources they can draw on for support.
- **Document agreed-upon principles, goals, and commitment to enhance transparency and accountability.** Draft a written agreement setting forth the coalition's agreement to the values, principles, and goals underlying the decision to remove police; create a timeline; commit to creating assessment and accountability measures; and post all documents on a publicly available website.
- **Re-define safety holistically to include students' emotional and social safety and devise plans to work with external police when needed to respond to criminal incidents.** The term "safety" must embrace students' social, emotional, and physical security. By viewing the goal of safety more broadly than considering only the possibility of criminal acts, plans can be crafted that improve school climate, students' sense of safety, and ultimately, student behavior. To help accomplish this, utilize the expertise of community-based groups that can help monitor and de-escalate situations without police involvement and partner with local police to create a safety plan to address the rare occurrence of violence.

The term "safety" must embrace students' social, emotional, and physical security.

Re-Envisioning Safety

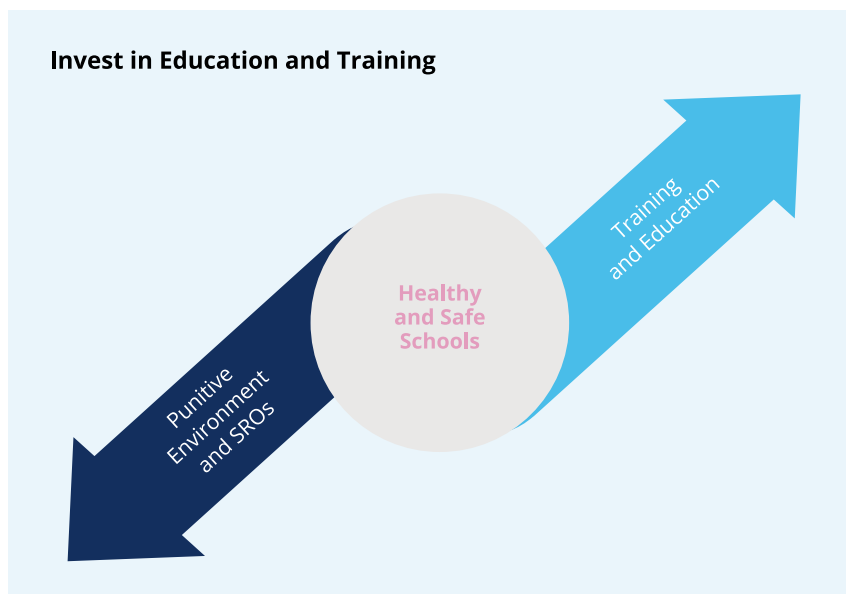


3. Meaningful Implementation

Implementation is foundational to meaningful change – and it is also the most common challenge identified by school districts and community-based organizations.

- **Commit Resources to the Process:** Work with policymakers to enact laws and policies that allow schools to redirect funding that was originally allocated to SRO positions to support the achievement of the goals set by the coalition to increase safety. The evidence is clear that students need equitable access to counselors, school nurses, and social workers. Schools must invest in increased capacity for staff to implement the new plan for police-free schools and for students' sense of safety.
- **Invest in Comprehensive Professional Education and Training:** Implement tiered and regular professional development for educators and administrators to support a transition away from reliance on SROs and toward positive school climate, including guidelines on implementing the new structure and training on alternative disciplinary methods, reducing implicit bias, building positive school climate, and understanding adolescent development, as well as de-escalation and restorative skills. This should include training on the limitations on police authority in the event that officers still come into contact with students. Consult with community-based groups to build a network of local resources for educators and administrators.

The evidence is clear that students need equitable access to counselors, school nurses, and social workers.

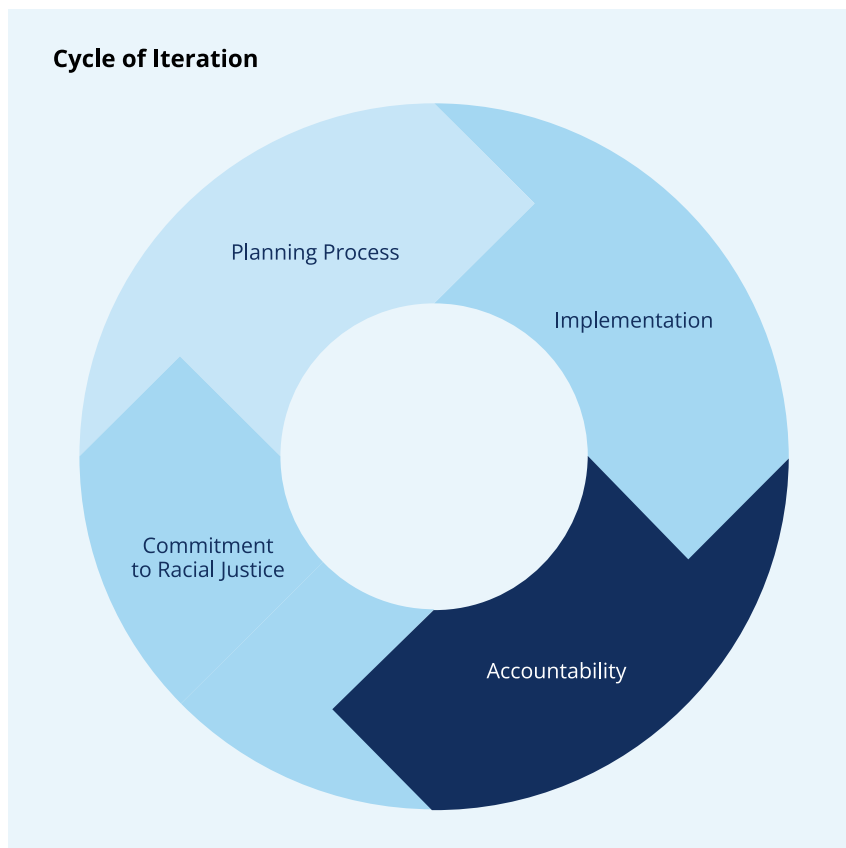


- **Commit to an Ongoing Process.** The process involved in removing police from schools is difficult – but it is not impossible. Working groups that meet regularly can help untangle challenges and provide support to one another in achieving the goal of a police-free school.

4. Accountability, Flexibility, and Sustainability

- School administrators, educators, police, parents, caregivers, community groups, and students should meet regularly to discuss updates and provide feedback on progress in meeting goals and input.
- Districts should issue annual reports that are publicly available online and track progress in meeting goals created during the planning stage.
- Goals and policies should regularly be revised to reflect better alignment with feedback.
- Resources, including reallocating SRO funding, should be dedicated to use toward a new school safety plan.
- Data tracking should be initiated to ensure equity and accountability and gather evidence for needed changes; data should be regularly reviewed to identify discriminatory patterns.
- Stakeholders such as parents, caregivers, teachers, staff, students, administrators, and community-based groups should be regularly engaged to build relationships and trust.

School administrators, educators, police, parents, caregivers, community groups, and students should meet regularly to discuss updates and provide feedback on progress in meeting goals and input into improvements.



Appendix



Districts that Adopted Formal Police-Removal Policies After May 2020

Albemarle County Public Schools, VA
Alexandria City Public Schools, VA
Ames School District, IA
Arlington Public Schools, VA
Baldwin Park Unified School District, CA
Boston Public Schools, MA
Boulder Valley School District, CO
Brocton District, NY
Brookline Public Schools, MA
Burlington School District, VT
Cassadaga Valley District, NY
Cedar Rapids Community School District, IA
Champaign Unit 4 School District, IL
Charlottesville City Schools, VA
Chicago Public Schools, IL
Claremont Unified School District, CA
Columbus City Schools, OH
David Douglas District, OR
Denver Public Schools, CO
Des Moines Public Schools, IA
District of Columbia Public Schools
Edmonds School District, WA
Eugene 4J District, OR
Forest Grove School District, OR
Forestville Central School District, NY
Fremont Unified School District, CA
Frewsburg Central School District, NY
Hayward Unified School District, CA
Hollister School District, CA
Hopkins Public Schools, MN
La Cross School District, WI
Lebanon School District, N.Y.
Long Beach Unified School District, CA
Madison School District, WI
Bemus Point District, NY
Maple Run School District, VT
Milwaukee Public Schools, WI
Minneapolis Public Schools, MN
Montgomery County Public Schools, MD
Mountain View-Los Altos Union High School District, CA

Northampton Public Schools, MA
Northshore District, WA
Oakland Unified School District, CA
Oak Park - River Forest Sd 200, IL
Palm Springs Unified School District, CA
Parkrose SD3, OR
Phoenix Union, AZ
Pine Valley Central School District, NY
Pomona Unified School District, CA
Portland Public Schools, OR
Portland Public Schools, ME
Rochester City School District, NY
Sacramento City Unified School District, CA
Salem-Keizer Public Schools, OR
San Francisco Unified School District, CA
San Jose Unified School District, CA
San Rafael City Schools, CA
Seattle Public Schools, WA
St. Paul Public Schools, MN
Somerville Public Schools, MA
South San Francisco Unified School District, CA
Spokane School District, WA
Tecumseh Public Schools, MI
Tempe Union High School District, AZ
West Contra Costa Unified School District, CA
Winona Area Public Schools, MN
Worcester Public Schools, MA
Worthington City Schools, OH
Ysliipanti Community Schools, MI

Endnotes



- 1 We also reviewed existing public summaries, databases, and media reports of school board resolutions specific to modifications to school resource officer contracts and memoranda of understanding.
- 2 School resource officers are sworn law-enforcement officers with arrest powers who work, either full or part time, in a school setting. “Nearly all SROs are armed (about 91 percent, according to federal data), and most carry other tools of restraint like handcuffs as well.” Stephen Sawchuk, *School Resource Officers (SROs) Explained*, EDUCATION WEEK (Nov.16, 2021). Beginning in the late 1960s, SROs were part of a broader “get tough on crime” narrative that targeted youth of color in urban communities as terrorists and delinquents. Megan French-Marcelin & Kali Cohn, *Bullies in Blue: The Origins and Consequences of School Policing*, ACLU 2, 4 (2017).
- 3 *Id.* at 4-5. Examples of this include the passage of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act of 1974 (JJDP), “War on Drugs” initiatives, and media representation of youth of color as “superpredators.” *Id.* at 5-7.
- 4 Chelsea Connery, *The Prevalence and the Price of Police in Schools*, UCONN NEAG SCH. EDUC. (Oct. 27, 2020).
- 5 The Trump administration rescinded the 2014 federal guidance on school resource officers, which “communicated a clear shift back to what some have called ‘law-and-order’ approaches.” *Id.*
- 6 *Id.*
- 7 Elizabeth J. Davis, *Law Enforcement Agencies that Employ School Resource Officers, 2019*, U.S. DEP’T OF JUST., OFF. JUST. PROGRAMS: BUREAU JUST. STAT. 1, 1 (2022). This study does not account for schools and districts that employ private security officers or schools and districts where sheriffs serve as security officers.
- 8 French-Marcelin & Cohn, *supra* note 2, at 17, 20; Connery, *supra* note 4.
- 9 Ryan King & Marc Schindler, *A Better Path Forward for Criminal Justice: Reconsidering Police in Schools*, THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION (Apr. 2021).
- 10 Matt Barnum, *Do Police Keep Schools Safe? Fuel the School-to-Prison Pipeline? Here’s What Research Says*, CHALKBEAT, (June 23, 2020, 6:00 AM); King & Schindler, *supra* note 9; Connery, *supra* note 4; Katherine Elizabeth Holloway, *Consequences of Police in Schools: The Criminalization of Children in an Era of Mass Incarceration*, 19 HASTINGS RACE & POVERTY L.J. 3, 6, 22 (2021).
- 11 John B. King, Jr., Sec’y of Educ., *Dear Colleague Letter: School Resource Officers*, U.S. DEP’T OF EDUC. (Sept. 8, 2016).
- 12 Monique W. Morris, Rebecca Epstein, & Aishatu Yusuf, *Be Her Resource: A Toolkit About School Resource Officers and Girls of Color*, GEO. L. CTR. POVERTY & INEQ. 5, 22 (2017).
- 13 Connery, *supra* note 4; Barnum, *supra* note 10; King & Schindler, *supra* note 9; Holloway, *supra* note 10, at 6; Humera Nayeb & Amy Meek, *What the Research Shows: The Impact of School Resource Officers*, CHICAGO LAWS. COMM. FOR C.R. (June 23, 2020); F. Chris Curran, Benjamin W. Fisher, Samantha Viano & Aaron Kupchik, *Why and When Do School Resource Officers Engage in School Discipline? The Role of Context in Shaping Disciplinary Involvement*, 126 AM. J. EDUC. 33, 37 (2019).
- 14 Benjamin W. Fisher, Cherie Dawson-Edwards, Kristin M. Swartz, Ethan M. Higgins, Brandon S. Coffey & Suzanne Overstreet, *School Climate, Student Discipline, and the Implementation of School Resource Officers* 4, 9 (2022).
- 15 Matthew T. Theriot, *The Impact of School Resource Officer Interactions on Students’ Feelings about School and School Police*, 62 CRIME & DELINQ 446, 462 (2016).
- 16 Source: ROBIN L. DAHLBERG, AM. CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF MASS., *ARRESTED FUTURES: THE CRIMINALIZATION OF SCHOOL DISCIPLINE IN MASSACHUSETTS’ THREE LARGEST SCHOOL DISTRICTS* 34 (2012); AM. CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION OF WASH. FOUND., *STUDENTS, NOT SUSPECTS: THE NEED TO REFORM SCHOOL POLICING IN WASHINGTON STATE* 2 (2017). Note: The term “dropout” is a direct quote from this study. The authors of this report refrain from using this term, because it can imply that the student voluntarily chose to leave school without taking into consideration the context for that decision and the external factors that affect a young person’s sense of safety and ability to thrive in school.
- 17 King & Schindler, *supra* note 9.
- 18 Kendrick Washington, *School Resource Officers: When the Cure is Worse than the Disease*, ACLU: WASH. (May 24, 2021).
- 19 *No Police in Schools*, ACLU SOUTHERN CAL. (Aug. 25, 2021). These rates are consistent with the higher rate of school discipline against Black students: Black girls are 4.19 times more likely to be suspended than white students, with Black girls who have disabilities representing the most significantly impacted student population—they are five times more likely to be suspended than their white, non-disabled female peers.
- 20 Connery, *supra* note 4. *See also* Sagen Kidane & Emily Rauscher, *Unequal Exposure to School Resource Officers, by Student Race, Ethnicity, and Income*, URB. INST. 1, 2 (2023) (“[S]chools with a relatively high Black or Latinx population are more likely to have an SRO, regardless of students’ economic backgrounds, on average. Thirty-four to thirty-seven percent of schools with high concentrations of Black or Latinx students have SROs present, compared with five to eleven percent of predominantly white schools.”).
- 21 *To Protect Girls of Color, Get Rid of School Police and Invest in Mental Health Counselors*, NAT’L WOMEN’S L. CTR. (Jul. 31, 2020).
- 22 Tyler Whittenberg, Russell Skiba, Britany Beauchesne & Angela Groves, *#AssaultatSpringValley: An Analysis of Police Violence against Black and Latiné Students in Public Schools*, ADVANCEMENT PROJECT & ALL. FOR EDUC. JUST. 1, 5 (2022).
- 23 For girls of color who also experience disabilities, the data is even more stark, prompting the U.S. Department of Education to release guidance to support students with disabilities and avoid discriminatory use of discipline. *See New Guidance Helps Schools Support Students with Disabilities and Avoid Discriminatory Use of Discipline*, U.S. DEP’T OF EDUC. (July 19, 2022) (“Too often, students with disabilities face harsh and exclusionary disciplinary action at school.”).
- 24 *An Overview of Exclusionary Discipline Practices in Public Schools for the 2017–18 School Year*, U.S. DEP’T OF EDUC.: OFF. CIV. RTS.: CIV. RTS. DATA COLLECTION (2021); Rebecca Epstein, Erin Godfrey, Thalia González, Shabnam Javdani & Becca Shopiro, *2017–2018 National Data on School Discipline by Race and Gender*, GEO. L. CTR. POVERTY & INEQ. (2020). Disaggregation of data reveals that Black girls who have disabilities are the most significantly impacted—they are five times more likely to be suspended than their white, non-disabled female peers. *Id.* One reason for this discrepancy is that girls of color are vulnerable to unconscious discrimination that is unique to the combination of their race and gender, also known as intersectional bias. For Black girls, one form of this bias is adultification bias, defined as adults’ perception of Black girls as less innocent and needing less nurturing and protection than white girls, which affect girls as young as 5–9 years old. Adultification bias has been shown to affect police responses to Black youth, based on officers’ tendency to view Black children as more culpable for crimes than their white counterparts, as well as older than their actual age. Rebecca Epstein, Jamila J. Blake & Thalia González, *Girlhood Interrupted: The Erasure of Black Girls’ Childhood*, GEO. L. CTR. POVERTY & INEQ. 1, 9 (2017).
- 25 18.6 percent of Black girls with disabilities received one or more out-of-school suspensions, compared with 5.2 percent of white girls with disabilities. Adaku Onyeka-Crawford, Kayla Patrick & Neena Chaudhry, *Let Her Learn: Stopping School Pushout for Girls with Disabilities*, NAT’L WOMEN’S L. CTR. 1, 6 (2017); Megan Buckles & Mia Ives-Ruble, *Expanding Access to Education for Black Girls with Disabilities*, CTR. FOR AM. PROGRESS (Feb. 15, 2022); Kristen Harper, Renee Ryberg & Deborah Temkin Cahill, *Black Students and Students with Disabilities Remain More Likely to Receive Out-of-School Suspensions, Despite Overall Declines*, CHILD TRENDS (April 29, 2019).
- 26 Source: Misha Inniss-Thompson, *SUMMARY OF DISCIPLINE DATA FOR GIRLS IN U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOLS: AN ANALYSIS FROM THE 2013-14 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS DATA COLLECTION*, National Black Women’s Justice Institute (2017).

- 27 Johnathan Nakamoto, Rebecca Cerna & Alexis Stern, *High School Students' Perceptions of Police Vary by Student Race and Ethnicity: Findings from an Analysis of the California Healthy Kids Survey*, WESTED 1, 5 (2019); Suzanne E. Perumean-Chaney & Lindsay M. Sutton, *Students and Perceived School Safety: The Impact of School Security Measures*, 38 AM. J. CRIM. JUST. 570, 570 (2013).
- 28 Theriot, *supra* note 15, at 462.
- 29 Joseph M. McKenna & Anthony Petrosino, *School Policing Programs: Where We Have Been and Where We Need to Go Next*, NAT'L INST. OF JUST. 1, 36 (2020).
- 30 Alexis Stern & Anthony Petrosino, *What Do We Know About the Effects of School-Based Law Enforcement on School Safety?*, WESTED (2018).
- 31 Amir Whitaker, Jessica Cobb, Victor Leung & Linnea Nelson, *No Police in Schools: A Vision for Safe and Supportive Schools in CA*, ACLU: CAL. 3, 31 (2021).
- 32 Epstein, Godfrey, González, Javdani & Shopiro, *supra* note 24; see also Aaron Gottlieb & Robert Wilson, *The Effect of Direct and Vicarious Police Contact on Educational Outcomes of Urban Teens*, 130 CHILD. YOUTH SERV. REV. 190, 196–97 (2020).
- 33 Onyeka-Crawford, Patrick & Chaudhry, *supra* note 25, at 6 (explaining that discriminatory disciplinary practices are pushing female students out of school); Monique W. Morris, *PUSHOUT: THE CRIMINALIZATION OF BLACK GIRLS* (2017).
- 34 MORRIS, *supra* note 33.
- 35 Johanna Laccocoe & Matthew P. Steinberg, *Do Suspensions Affect Student Outcomes?*, 41 EDUC. EVALUATION & POL'Y ANALYSIS 34, 53 (2019); Emily K. Weisburst, *Patrolling Public Schools: The Impact of Funding for School Police on Student Discipline and Long-Term Education Outcomes*, 41 J. POL'Y ANALYSIS & MGMT. 34, 35 (2019); Andrew Bacher-Hicks, Stephen B. Billings & David J. Deming, *The School to Prison Pipeline: Long-Run Impacts of School Suspension on Adult Crime*, NAT'L BUREAU ECON. RSCH. 3, 4 (Sept. 2019).
- 36 *Effects of Suspension on Student Outcomes*, FLORIDA'S MULTI-TIERED SYS. OF SUPPORTS, <http://floridarti.usf.edu/RESOURCES/FACTSHEETS/SUSPENSION.PDF> (last visited July 18, 2023). See also Kristian Lenderman & Jacqueline Hawkins, *Out of the Classroom and Less Likely to Graduate: The Relationship Between Exclusionary Discipline and Four-Year Graduation Rates in Texas*, 9 TEX. EDUC. REV. 6, 10 (2021) (“[O]n average the graduation rate decreased by 20 percentage points for students who experienced multiple disciplinary assignments.”). Research shows that the addition of school police officers in Texas led to a six percent increase in disciplinary actions, including suspensions, for middle school students. Barnum, *supra* note 10.
- 37 Robert Balfanz, Vaughan Byrnes & Joanna Fox, *Sent Home and Put Off-Track: The Antecedents, Disproportionalities, and Consequences of Being Suspended in the Ninth Grade*, 5 J. APPLIED RSCH. CHILD. 1, 7–8 (2014).
- 38 Weisburst, *supra* note 35, at 56; Levi Pulkkinen, *When typical middle school antics mean suspensions, handcuffs or jail*, HECHINGER REPORT (April 8, 2021).
- 39 Thalia González, *Race, School Policing, and Public Health*, 73 STANFORD L. REV. ONLINE 180, 188 (2021).
- 40 Connery, *supra* note 4; Holloway, *supra* note 10, at 27.
- 41 Holloway, *supra* note 10, at 27.
- 42 González, *supra*, note 39, at 188.
- 43 *Id.* at 180.
- 44 Amber Baylor, *Criminalized Students, Reparations, and the Limits of Prospective Reform*, 99 WASH. U. L. REV. 1229, 1230 (2022).
- 45 González, *supra* note 39.
- 46 Dominique Parris, Victor J. St. John & Jessica Dym Bartlett, *Resources to Support Children's Emotional Well-Being Amid Anti-Black Racism, Racial Violence, and Trauma*, CHILD TRENDS (June 23, 2020).
- 47 *Adverse Childhood Experiences*, CTR. FOR DISEASE CONTROL AND PREVENTION, <https://www.cdc.gov/violenceprevention/aces/index.html> (last visited July 14, 2023).
- 48 *Social Determinants of Health: Interventions and Resources*, HEALTHY PEOPLE 1, 2 (2020).
- 49 Dominique Parris, Victor J. St. John, & Jessica Dym Bartlett, *Resources to Support Children's Emotional Well-Being Amid Anti-Black Racism, Racial Violence, and Trauma*, CHILD TRENDS (June 23, 2020).
- 50 Thalia González, Alexis Etow & Cesar de la Vega, *A Health Justice Response to School Discipline and Policing*, 71 AM. U. L. REV. 1927, 1948 (2022) (“[A] large body of research associates school-based protective health factors with mitigating or exacerbating absenteeism, low academic engagement, and dropout, as well as buffering against trauma, emotional distress, suicidal ideation, and other health harming behaviors.”).
- 51 “Within eight days of Floyd’s death in Minneapolis...school board members there voted unanimously to end the district’s contract with the city police department. The superintendent in Portland, Ore., followed suit two days later. [A week later]...[t]he Denver School Board voted unanimously...to phase police out of its schools...In Seattle, the school board voted to suspend its contract with police for a year. And in Oakland...the school board passed the “George Floyd Resolution to Eliminate the Oakland Schools Police Department.” Nearby, the West Contra Costa Unified School District voted unanimously to end its contract with police.” Moriah Balingit, Valerie Strauss & Lim Bellware, *Fueled by Protests, School Districts Across the Country Cut Ties With Police*, WASH. POST. (June 12, 2020, 11:06AM EDT).
- 52 *SRO Task Force*, NORTHSORE SCH. DIST., <https://www.nsd.org/get-involved/task-forces-committees/sro-task-force> (last visited July 14, 2023).
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- 66 Amy Bounds, *BVSD School Board Votes to End SRO Program; Target Date is January 2022*, DAILY CAMERA (Nov. 10, 2020, 10:07 PM); Adrian Rodriguez, *San Rafael Ends School Resource Officer Program*, MARIN INDEP. J. (Sept. 18, 2020, 4:03 PM); Eilery McCardle, *Hopkins Public Schools to End Contract with Minnetonka Police*, KARE (Sept. 2, 2020).
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- 73 McCardle, *supra* note 66.
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