NO POLICE IN SCHOOLS

A Vision for Safe and Supportive Schools in CA

ACLU
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION FOUNDATIONS
California

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report analyzes federal, state, and local datasets to demonstrate the harmful, discriminatory, costly, and counter—productive impact of police in schools across California. The data from the U.S. Department of Education's Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC), the California Racial and Identity Profiling Act stops dataset, and Stockton Unified School District (Stockton USD) highlight harmful and discriminatory policing patterns in schools that contribute to tens of thousands of California students being criminalized, pushed out of schools, and shunted into the juvenile justice system every year. Critically, the data suggest that the number of law enforcement in schools is significantly underreported, so the problems are likely even more severe.

This report finds that **schools with assigned law enforcement are far more likely to arrest students or refer them to law enforcement across all student groups**. For example, analysis of the 2017—18 CRDC shows that a school with assigned law enforcement is 4.7 times more likely than a school without assigned law enforcement to refer a Black student to police and 4.4 times more likely to refer a Latine[1] student to police. Similarly, a school with assigned law enforcement is 7.4 times more likely to arrest a Black student and 6.9 times more likely to arrest a Latine student.

No schools in California should have a permanent police officer. Local educational agencies should not be able to create their own police departments or reserve forces, nor should they coordinate with any outside law enforcement agency to station law enforcement on a school campus. School staff should never call a police officer to campus unless there is an imminent danger of serious physical injury or death to a person on school property.[2]

They should not rely on surveillance measures—such as online monitoring software or cameras equipped with facial recognition software—of students and their families because these measures replicate the same harms as law enforcement presence on campus. School staff should never request the involvement of a law enforcement officer in a situation that can be safely and appropriately handled by the district's internal student resources and procedures. Schools should instead implement policies and invest in resources that actually support students and keep them safe. Resources offering strategies to create a better vision of schools, including social emotional learning, restorative justice, and positive behavior interventions and supports are listed at the end of this report.

Racial profiling data from 2019 show that California's 15 largest law enforcement agencies disproportionately stopped Black students on school campuses. Black students comprised 26% of stops of students by these agencies but were only 7.6% of the population of the schools where the stops were made.

In **Stockton Unified School District**, Native American students are 1.4% of student enrollment but 5% of students booked or cited by police, and Black students are 10% of enrollment but 29% of students booked or cited by police.

In **Los Angeles Unified School District** (Los Angeles USD), a non—scientific survey of 5,730 students found that 87% of students who responded were in favor of defunding the police.
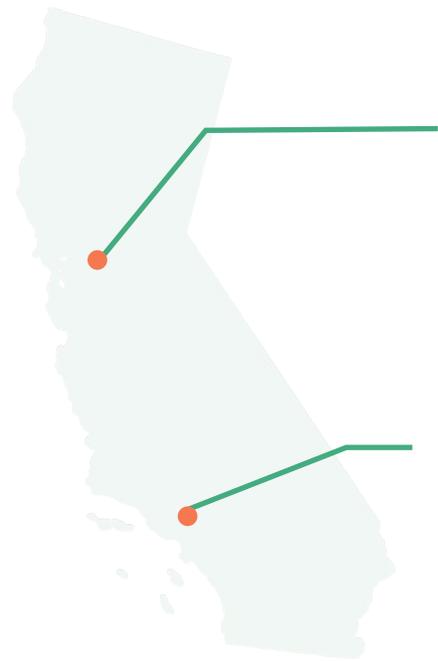
In SUSD,
Native American students make up
5%
of citations
but only 1.4%
of enrollment

In LAUSD
87%
of student respondents
were in favor
of defunding
the police

Black Students in CA

Black students are 6% of California students but 15% of student arrests. They are more than three times as likely to be arrested than their white peers.

6%
students

15%
student arrests
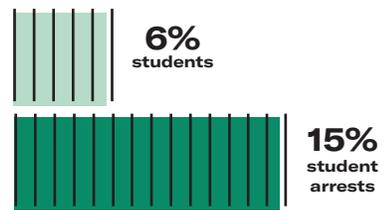
Black & Latino boys with disabilities

Black and Latino boys with disabilities are 5% of California's students but 13% of referrals to law enforcement and 15% of school arrests.

5%
students

15%
student arrests
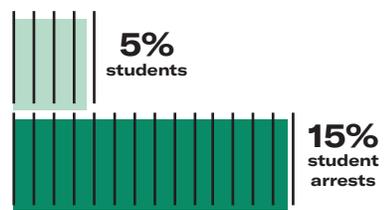
Latino boys in CA

Latino boys are 28% of California's students but 44% of student arrests.

28%
students

44%
student arrests
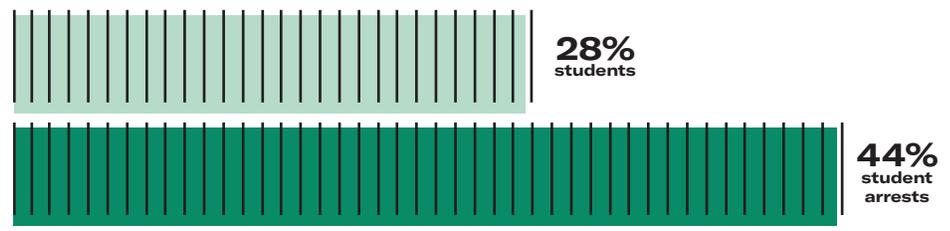
INTRODUCTION

In 2015, a Stockton USD police officer unlawfully strip searched a 14—year—old student.[3] Less than a year later, Los Angeles school police pepper sprayed and handcuffed a Black high school student for walking away from a fight. In 2019, Los Angeles school police pepper sprayed a group of Black students, including spraying a 15—year—old girl in the face, purportedly to "de—escalate" a fight. That same year, in Moreno Valley, a team of officers tackled, handcuffed, and pressed a knee on the back of an 11—year—old Black student with disabilities, who weighed 70 pounds, for not leaving a classroom.[4] These are just a few among many similar incidents reported by California students. Some of the officers received discipline, but most of them did not. Some of the incidents were reported in the news, but most of them were not. Despite the generally accepted belief that stationing police on school campuses makes schools safer, in reality, the practice harms students and does not improve safety.

For years, students—mostly Black, Indigenous,[5] and Latine—have stepped forward to recount mistreatment and brutal harms at the hands of law enforcement officers in California schools. These students have painstakingly documented how school police do not protect youth but instead criminalize, oppress, and abuse them. They have organized to demand that school and state officials stop wasting money on law enforcement and instead invest in school—based mental health resources, arts education, and other support services. Year after year, policymakers have refused to listen.

As this report shows, police remain a dominant fixture in California schools and their presence continues to have a devastating and discriminatory impact on tens of thousands of California students who are pushed out of school and into the criminal (in)justice system.

In May 2020, a video depicting the murder of George Floyd at the hands of four police officers ignited massive protests in Minneapolis, Minnesota. In the ensuing weeks, mass uprisings proliferated across the country against unchecked police brutality and the murder of Black people by police. Across California, thousands of people took to the streets, marching in support of Black Lives Matter, calling to defund the police, and demanding accountability and justice. This mass movement created new opportunities for youth organizers to demand accountability from school leadership to remove law enforcement from K—12 schools.

On June 24, 2020, the Black Organizing Project won a hard—fought, nine—year campaign to eliminate the Oakland Unified School District Police Department, thereby freeing up millions of dollars to support students' social and emotional well—being, including school—based social workers, psychologists, restorative justice practitioners, and other mental or behavioral health professionals. On July 1, 2020, a large coalition led by Students Deserve, Black Lives Matter, Brothers Sons Selves, Community Asset Development Re—Defining Education (CADRE), Labor Community Strategy Center, and many others, convinced the Los Angeles USD Board of Education to reduce the $70 million Los Angeles USD Police Department budget by $25 million and to reinvest it in a Black Student Achievement Plan. That summer, local advocates in West Contra Costa Unified School District (West Contra Costa USD) finally persuaded the school district to end its $1.5 million contract with police officers, eliminating its school resource officer (SRO) program. At the same time, Sacramento City Unified School District (Sacramento City USD) ended its contract with the local police department. Fremont Unified School District (Fremont USD) also voted to remove its police officers after a comprehensive investigation by a Task Force appointed by the District Board of Education.

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[5] Throughout this report, the term Indigenous is used to refer to populations that the data sources label American Indian, Alaska Native and Native American. These persons belong to the Indigenous tribes and villages of the continental United States and Alaska. Other students, such as Latine, Native Hawaiian, and First Nations students, among others, may also identify as Indigenous but are placed in a separate category in the data sets analyzed here.

Sadly, only two months later, newly elected members of the Board reneged on that commitment despite alarming Task Force findings that Fremont Police Department officers patrolling school campuses were far more likely to target Black and Latine students. Students, families, and educators continue to run local campaigns to remove school police in Fremont, Los Angeles, Long Beach, Stockton, Moreno Valley, Kern County, San Diego, Pomona, San Jose, Ventura, South San Francisco, and other districts across California.

As advocates make change across the state, they understand that deep inequities will persist even without police in schools. Black youth will still be more likely to attend schools that are grossly underfunded, to be subject to discipline because of implicit and explicit racial biases, and to be referred to outside law enforcement for low—level or non—criminal violations. To achieve justice for our youth and provide them with the education they deserve, we must fundamentally transform the cultures of our schools to be equitable and supportive of all students. We must also start meaningfully investing in arts educators, counselors, nurses, psychologists, social workers, and other resources that support healthy school communities. The time for change is now.

The ACLU has long called for the elimination of all permanent law enforcement in schools, including in *The Right to Remain a Student* (2016),[9] *Bullies in Blue* (2017),[10] *Cops and No Counselors* (2019),[11] and *Our Right to Resources* (2020).[12]

Oakland Unified School District
Eliminates Its School Police Department

On June 24, 2020, the Black Organizing Project (BOP) achieved an unprecedented victory when Oakland Unified School District (Oakland USD) became the first district in California to vote to eliminate a school police department. The hard—won victory came after nine years of organizing in BOP's Bettering Our School System campaign,[6] which mobilized a coalition of students, families, community members, and school staff to oppose school police as part of a legacy of mass incarceration and psychological warfare rooted in anti—Black racism.

BOP continues to implement its People's Plan for Police—Free Schools by advocating for the Oakland USD to limit student referrals to all law enforcement agencies.[7] BOP has co—convened with the District to reimagine safety practices and transform school culture to "focus on building an anti—racist and restorative system that creates conditions conducive to learning, especially for Black and Brown students, and students with special needs, who have historically and disproportionately been subjected to racism, exclusion, and criminalizing practices in schools."[8]

LAW ENFORCEMENT HARMS STUDENTS AND DOES NOT IMPROVE SAFETY

Little to no credible research establishes a link between law enforcement and increased school safety. In 2020, Professor Aaron Kupchik at the University of Delaware surveyed the existing research on school–based law enforcement and found numerous reliable studies showing that (1) the presence of school police can make schools less inclusive and (2) stationing police at schools either has no impact on student crime rates or is instead associated with increased student misconduct, even after considering other school characteristics.[13]

Similarly, a 2018 study of a North Carolina grant program concluded that middle schools that hired school police failed to reduce serious incidents such as homicide, bomb threats, weapons possession, assault, or alcohol and drug use.[14] In fact, studies show that a police officer's regular presence at a school predicts a greater likelihood that students will be referred to the police for lower–level violations such as disorderly conduct, even after controlling for neighborhood crime levels and other demographic variables.[15] Sometimes, school staff call police to address bullying issues, especially when increasingly desperate students and parents feel their complaints are not being taken seriously by school staff, but school police are not equipped to handle student conflict effectively or appropriately, and adding police to schools does not result in a reduction in bullying.[16]

Instead, police presence in schools is correlated with student alienation, poor school climate, and decreased feelings of safety.[17] Many students feel that school police practices are fundamentally unfair, so police presence on campus damages their trust and engagement with other school staff.[18] Police presence in schools also often correlates with punitive practices such as searches, interrogations, drug–sniffing dogs, pepper spraying, police intimidation, verbal abuse, sexual harassment, handcuffing, and excessive force against students.[19]

A 2018 Texas study found that schools that received additional federal funding to hire law enforcement officers between 1999–2008 experienced decreases in graduation rates and college enrollment rates.[20] The same study found that school police were associated with an increase in middle school discipline rates.[21] A 2018 U.S. congressional report examined statistics on school police and expressed concern that police presence in schools may "result in more children either being suspended or expelled or entering the criminal justice system for relatively minor offenses."[22]

The negative effects of school police and surveillance fall heavily on students of color.[23] Black and Brown students, as well as low–income students, are more likely to attend schools with heightened policing and surveillance, including law enforcement, even when neighborhood crime, school crime, and school disorder are factored in.[24] Moreover, the presence of law enforcement does not represent the same thing for white and Black students: a 2020 study found that school police in a district serving more white students were primarily concerned about external dangers that may harm students such as intruders, while school police in a district serving more Black students "were primarily concerned with students themselves as threats."[25] The findings of this report further confirm the results of multiple studies that demonstrate a correlation between law enforcement and higher rates of exclusionary discipline for Black, Latine, and low–income students relative to their peers.[26] School police presence is associated with poorer academic achievement, particularly among Black boys.[27] Further, a 2020 survey of students in New Orleans found that most Black students do not report feeling safer in the presence of police.[28] For Black youth, therefore, police contact can result not only in increased discipline, but also in psychological trauma and anxiety.[29]

In a previous report, the California affiliates of the ACLU analyzed data from the 2013—14 school year and found that Black students were three times, Native American students were two times, and Hawaiian and Pacific Islander students were one—and—a—half times more likely than white students to be arrested at California schools.[31] More recent analysis of nationwide data by the Georgetown Law Center on Poverty and Inequality and New York University found that, compared to white girls, Black girls had 3.66 times the risk of arrest at school and Native American girls had 3 times the risk of arrest.[32] In 2020, The Children's Partnership released a report collecting studies on law enforcement in schools which ultimately concluded that "policing [is] a racist institution that produces persistent and chronic inequities and [has a] disparate impact on the health and wellbeing of children[.]"[33] Finally, in 2021, a study compared 33 schools that enhanced police staffing with 72 schools that did not and found that "increases in offenses and exclusionary reactions due to increased [school police] presence were most evident for Black and Hispanic as opposed to White students."[34]

Having a disability makes a student even more likely to be targeted by police in school—and when those students are also Black or Latine, they will carry the highest risk of any student demographic group of being targeted by school police. Students with disabilities are nearly three times more likely to be arrested and referred to law enforcement than students without disabilities (and this disparity increases up to tenfold in some states).[35] When those students with disabilities were also Black boys, they were five times more likely than all students to be subjected to school arrests.[36] Latino boys with disabilities experienced school arrest rates 10 times higher than the rates for all students in three different states.[37] A recent national study confirmed these findings, explaining that "[s]tudents with disabilities experience high and racially disparate rates of referrals to law enforcement," with 811 school districts having rates of referral to law enforcement for secondary students with disabilities between 2% and 45% in 2017—2018, including many districts in California.[38] In 53 districts, the law enforcement referral rates for Black students with disabilities in secondary school exceeded the rates for their white peers by at least 5%.[39] School policing subjects students to the traumatizing intersectional impacts of racism and ableism.

"There was a huge brawl that took place where security and police showed up and brutalized brown students near the main entrance of Chaffey High School.

This is one of the many incidents that students experience due to security or even OPD [Ontario Police Department]...

Yet, where are the mental health counselors that are trained accordingly and do not resort to calling the police?

Students got seriously hurt."

CHAFFEY HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT[30]

"**The police system was built by white supremacy.** There's this superiority ingrained in the institution that can be extremely harmful, especially to our Black and Brown folks. There's no way folks who are not white feel safe with officers.

Instead, **our Brown and Black communities deserve resources** such as expanded and improved counseling services that can help destigmatize therapy in our cultures, hence have spaces where one can learn to heal from inter—generational trauma."

FORMER LOS ANGELES USD STUDENT

THE PRESENCE OF LAW ENFORCEMENT IN SCHOOLS IS ROOTED IN WHITE SUPREMACY

The uprisings against police brutality and calls for racial justice in 2020 forced policymakers to reckon with the inequalities and white supremacy[40] that have persisted since the foundation of the U.S. Policing in America is rooted in slave patrols—squads that enforced laws enslaving Black people by violently capturing and punishing any enslaved person who attempted to escape to freedom—beginning in the early 1700s as part of a formal system to implement and protect systemic white supremacy.[41] After the Civil War, local sheriffs in the south started to function like slave patrols to enforce segregation, Black Codes, convict leasing laws, and the disenfranchisement of freed Black people.[42]

In California, the 1850 Act for the Governance and Protection of Indians legalized the enslavement of Indigenous people for decades thereafter. The federal government also sanctioned and funded massacres of California's Tribal communities, genocide, and dispossession of Indigenous people from their ancestral lands.[43] Public education was a tool of this oppression. Indigenous students were separated from their families and forced into boarding schools and other hostile school environments where their community beliefs, values, language and education system were subjugated to colonial settler culture.[44] In fact, the Yurok word for "police" translates to "they take people" from the Boarding School Era when law enforcement officers took Yurok children from their communities and put them in boarding schools.[45] This legacy of violent oppression continues to the present day, as Native Americans are killed by law enforcement at a higher rate than any other group, and Indigenous youth are far more likely to suffer the most severe punishments in the juvenile legal system.[46]

School police share similar origins as a tool for the enforcement of white supremacy against Black, Indigenous, and Latine youth. In 1948, a security unit designed to patrol schools in newly integrated neighborhoods was the genesis of what would become the Los Angeles School Police

Department.[47] In 1950s Oakland, white anxiety over the city's changing racial demographics led the police to surveil, monitor, and even arrest youth whom school staff described as "delinquent." According to historian Donna Murch, "in this context, the discourse of 'juvenile delinquency' took on a clear racial cast, leading to wide–scale policing and criminalization of Black youth."[48] And in 1968, when 15,000 Chicano students walked out of Los Angeles classrooms to demand culturally relevant curriculum and bilingual education, they were met with armed police who assaulted and arrested them. In the aftermath of the protest, 13 youth organizers faced up to 66 years in prison.[49]

> "The 'sheriff' security guards have a Blue Lives Matter [sticker] on their car. Multiple students had it as phone backgrounds and stickers. **As a Brown kid, I don't feel safe**."
>
> RANCHO CUCAMONGA HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT

Still, by 1970, there were only 200 school police nationwide.[50] Today, several school districts *by themselves* maintain a school police force with significantly more than 200 officers. For example, in 2016, the Los Angeles School Police Department employed more than 400 police officers, and Chicago Public Schools had at least 248 police officers in schools.[51] There are now more than 40,000 police officers in schools across the country.[52] As a result, during the 2015–16 school year, more than 14 million students in the United States attended schools that have a police officer but no counselor, nurse, social worker, or psychologist.[53]

Critically, police officers are not evenly distributed among all schools. Instead, they are concentrated in schools serving more students of color. This historical context explains why many communities are demanding the complete removal of police from schools to end generations of violence and injustice.

AVAILABLE DATA SOURCES

This report focuses primarily on analyses of three datasets: the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights 2017—18 Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC), the California Racial and Identity Profiling Act stops dataset, and data from local school districts obtained through California Public Records Act (PRA) requests.

On October 15, 2020, the U.S. Department of Education released its most recent set of CRDC files (2017—18). These files contained information related to its Office for Civil Rights' enforcement responsibilities over public schools and their respective local educational agencies (LEAs) (e.g., school districts) throughout the nation. All data contained in the CRDC are reported by LEAs in response to a detailed questionnaire. The CRDC dataset includes information about comprehensive public schools, charter schools, schools in juvenile justice facilities, alternative schools, adult schools, and all other public school types serving grades pre—K through 12.

The authors of this report accessed the 2017—18 CRDC data files and analyzed data on California schools pertaining to law enforcement officers assigned to schools, school security and support personnel, student demographics, school—based referrals to police, arrests, and criminal offenses. This report presents analyses of the most recent 2017—18 dataset.

California's Racial and Identity Profiling Act of 2015 (RIPA) was designed to eliminate racial and identity profiling in law enforcement, in part by requiring the collection of data on police stops. Under RIPA, law enforcement agencies must report this data to the California Attorney General. RIPA defines a "stop" as a detention and/or search of an individual, including both pedestrian and vehicle stops.[54] When officers report RIPA data, they are required to indicate their perception of the identity of the person stopped, including race/ethnicity, gender identity, sexual orientation, age, and disability status.

Officers are also required to report whether the stop is of a K—12 public school student and whether the stop takes place at a K—12 school site.[55] The authors of this report examined data from the public datafile for stops made in 2019 by the 15 California law enforcement agencies employing more than 667 sworn personnel, focusing specifically on stops of students aged 5—19 at school. This data analysis was supplemented by reference to the RIPA data dashboard and the 2021 Annual Report from the RIPA Board.[56]

Finally, some school districts and law enforcement agencies maintain their own data related to law enforcement. Because California lacks uniform requirements about how school districts must collect and report data, each school district does it differently—if at all. This report analyzes data provided by Stockton USD as a case study because—as a result of years of work from advocates and researchers—that district has provided one of the most complete datasets about policing publicly available in California. Specifically, Stockton USD has released data about the numbers of law enforcement officers on campus, arrests, citations, and calls for service; and disaggregates that data by race, age, gender, low—income status, foster youth status, and disability status of the student, among other categories.
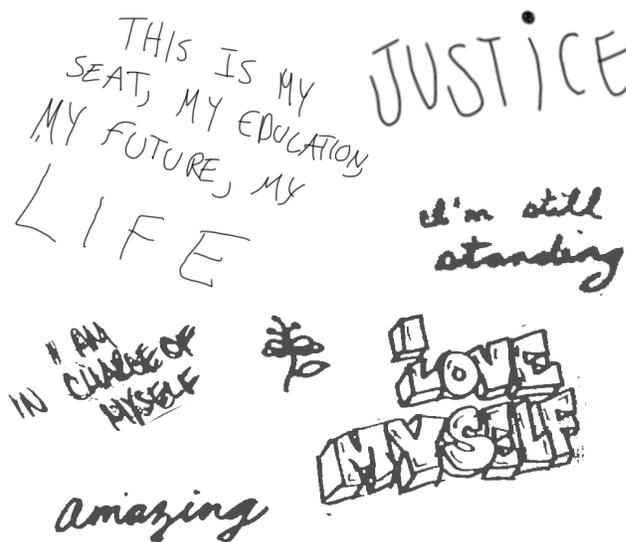
"I know none of us deserve the conditioning that occurs from being policed. We all deserve to be asked, "How are you feeling?" Cared for at the moment we need it the most. Instead, **when we are deemed a problem, we are alienated from our own communities**."

CAROLINE, POMONA STUDENT UNION
YOUTH ORGANIZER AND HIGH SCHOOL STUDENT

FINDINGS

The CRDC Shows Students of Color and Students with Disabilities in California are Under—Supported and Overpoliced

The CRDC shows that students of color and students with disabilities are especially vulnerable to referrals to police and arrest in California:

- Black students are three times as likely as white students to be referred to law enforcement. Black students were referred to law enforcement at a rate of 9.8 per 1,000 compared to the rate of 2.8 for white students.

- Black students are 6% of California enrollment but 15% of student arrests. Black girls are 6% of the female student population but 18% of female student arrests.

- Latino boys are 28% of California's students but represent 44% of student arrests.

- Students with disabilities are 11% of California's students but 26% of student arrests.

- Black and Latino boys with disabilities are 5% of California's students but 13% of referrals to law enforcement and 15% of school arrests.

Further, our analysis shows that schools with an assigned law enforcement officer had higher rates of student arrest and referrals to law enforcement than schools without an assigned law enforcement officer.[57] For all student racial/ethnic and disability groups, referral rates were at least three times greater in schools with assigned law enforcement officers.[58] The data reported in Tables 1 & 2 also clearly show that students with disabilities and Black students are especially vulnerable to referrals to police and arrest.

Table 1.

Average Rates of Referral to Police (per 1000 students) in Schools with and without Assigned Law Enforcement by Racial/Ethnic Group and Disability

	Rate of Referral in Schools without Assigned Law Enforcement	Rate of Referral in Schools with Assigned Law Enforcement	Increased Likelihood of Referral in Schools with Law Enforcement
All Students*	1.7	7.7	4.5x
Latine*	1.7	7.5	4.4x
American Indian/ Alaska Native*	2.6	9.3	3.6x
Asian	0.7	4.1	
Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander*	1.7	12.5	7.4x
Black*	3.9	18.3	4.7x
White*	2.0	8.7	4.4x
Students with Disabilities (IDEA)*	3.2	14.8	4.6x

*indicates stastically significant difference at p>0.05 or better

Table 2.
Average Arrest Rates (per 1000 students) in Schools with and without Assigned Law Enforcement by Racial/Ethnic Group and Disability

	Rate of Arrest in Schools without Assigned Law Enforcement	Rate of Arrest in Schools with Assigned Law Enforcement	Increased Likelihood of Arrest in Schools with Law Enforcement
All Students*	0.11	0.68	6.2x
Latine*	0.10	0.69	**6.9x**
Asian	0.03	0.13	4.3x
Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander	0.07	0.48	
Black*	**0.26**	**1.93**	**7.4x**
White*	0.11	**0.86**	**7.8x**
Two or More Races	**0.16**	**1.18**	**7.5x**
Students with Disabilities (IDEA)*	**0.29**	**1.39**	4.8x

*indicates stastically significant difference at p>0.05 or better

Further, regardless of whether a school has an assigned law enforcement officer, Black students are targeted for arrest and referral to law enforcement as compared to students in most other racial/ethnic groups. The significant over—policing of Black and students with disabilities is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1.
Arrest Rates in Schools With and Without Assigned Law Enforcement
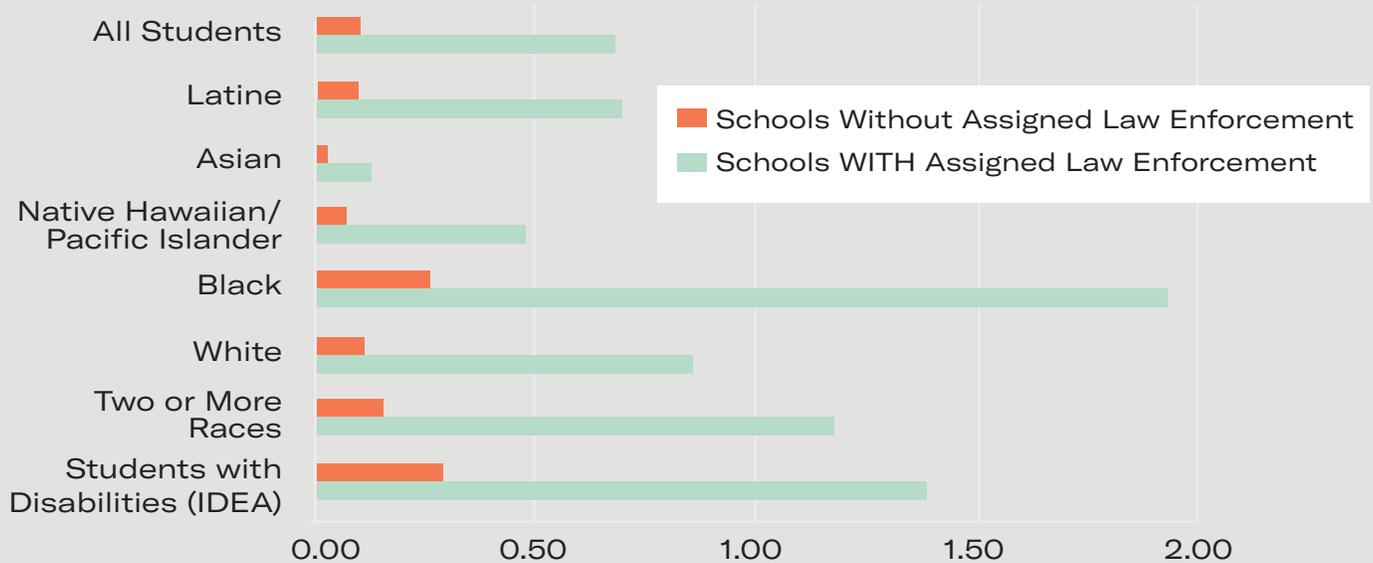
These disparities in referrals to law enforcement and arrests are more acutely visible when the data are examined at the district level. For example, in Sacramento City USD, 75% of arrests were of Black students, even though Black students comprise only 16% of students enrolled. In Redondo Beach Unified School District, Soledad Unified School District, and Sierra Sands Unified School District, 100% of referrals to law enforcement were of students with disabilities, even though students with disabilities comprise 15% or less of students enrolled in each of those districts. The top districts for law enforcement referral rates are listed in Table 3 below (See Appendix B for the top districts for arrest reates).

The available data are unclear about the impact of law enforcement on Native American or Indigenous students, though they suggest that **Native Americans are being disproportionately criminalized**. The data show that Native American students are nearly 35 times more likely to be arrested in those schools, but the sample size is small, with only 21 arrests for Native American students. The data are inconclusive, in part, because Native American students are likely to be underreported as many of them are subsumed into the "two or more races" category.

In 2010, the Census Bureau found that those identifying as American Indian/Alaska Native on the census were the most likely of any respondent to report more than one race. Of the 5.2 million AI/AN respondents, 44% (2.3 million) reported AI/AN and *at least* one other race.[59]

	Rate of Arrest in Schools without Assigned Law Enforcement	Rate of Arrest in Schools with Assigned Law Enforcement	Increased Likelihood of Arrest in Schools with Law Enforcement
American Indian/ Alaska Native*	0.08	2.78	34.8x

Table 3.

Top Districts for Law Enforcement Referral Rates by Race and Disability Status Per 1,000 Students

SCHOOL DISTRICT OR LEA	Student Referrals	Student Enrollment	Referrals to Law per 1,000	Students with Disabilities	Black	Latine	Native American	Pacific Islander	White	Asian
STATE	**23,727**	**6,207,885**	**3.8**	**6.9**	**9.8**	**4.0**	**5.9**	**3.1**	**2.8**	**1.8**
Dublin Unified	1,538	11,315	139.9	131.3	440.1	141.1	0.0	0.0	200.1	75.6
Moreno Valley Unified	2,108	33,198	63.5	5.5	134.3	52.9	40.5	45.3	52.1	20.5
Bret Harte Union High	30	686	43.7	117.6	0.0	41.1	125.0	0.0	45.5	0.0
Hanford Joint Union High	163	3,792	43.0	84.9	111.8	46.7	40.0		21.8	18.2
Upper Lake Unified	36	843	42.7	86.4	166.7	70.0	85.4	0.0	15.7	0.0
Sausalito Marin City	5	120	41.7	0.0	83.3	0.0	0.0		0.0	0.0
Santa Ynez Valley Union High	35	945	37.0	71.4	200.0	36.4	200.0	0.0	31.8	0.0
Apple Valley Unified	426	12,867	33.1	62.1	68.1	34.5	0.0	61.5	22.9	28.7
Chowchilla Union High	33	1,129	29.2	12.0	111.1	23.2	0.0	0.0	36.5	100.0
Lassen Union High	23	824	27.9	154.9	105.3	23.4	63.5	0.0	22.9	0.0
Calaveras Unified	81	2,905	27.9	65.3	62.5	29.9	61.2	0.0	25.2	0.0
Baldwin Park Unified	347	12,918	26.9	0.0	55.6	28.5	0.0	0.0	12.5	6.2
Lemoore Union High	51	1,958	26.0	86.8	99.2	23.5	44.1	76.9	15.6	0.0
Klamath-Trinity Joint Unified	25	1,009	24.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	27.5	0.0	20.8	0.0
Fort Bragg Unified	43	1,848	23.3	73.2	0.0	17.4	55.6	0.0	29.8	0.0
Capay Joint Union Elementary	4	182	22.0	111.1	0.0	26.3	0.0	0.0	19.8	0.0
Centinela Valley Union High	130	6,311	20.6	24.4	49.5	13.6	0.0	109.1	32.8	9.0
Healdsburg Unified	31	1,521	20.4	37.0	90.9	23.7	0.0	0.0	14.8	0.0

Law enforcement proponents attempt to explain the correlation between police in schools and heightened rates of arrests and referrals by speciously arguing that schools with assigned permanent law enforcement officers are inherently more dangerous. Baldwin Park Unified School District serves as an instructive counterexample to this assertion. From 2010–2017, the District had no police on staff. It then hired six officers in September 2017 and increased the police force to nine officers in 2019.[60] According to the CRDC, the District reported 114 referrals to law enforcement in 2015–16. Law enforcement referrals more than doubled to 347 in the 2017–18 CRDC after the District hired the police officers. Critically, during that time, arrests actually fell from 70 to 52, suggesting that the officers were called for issues that did not warrant arrests and should have been handled by school staff. See Appendix C for more details and trends.

## Racial Profiling Data Show Stark Disparities in Law Enforcement Stops of Children and Youth at School

During 2019, California's 15 largest law enforcement agencies reported 2,602 stops of students aged 5—19 in schools under the Racial and Identity Profiling Act.[61] Of the students stops, 1,189 were Latine students, 683 were Black students, and 4 were Indigenous students. Black students are significantly over—represented in these data, comprising 26% of law enforcement stops although Black students are only 7.6% of the population of the schools where the stops were made. Over 9% (241) of the 2,602 police stops involved children aged 12 or younger, and *26 stops were of children aged five through nine*.

Of the stops of students made by these major law enforcement agencies, 16% (411) were made "to determine whether student violated school policy." That is, sworn law enforcement officers detained and confronted children and youth over supposed school rule violations. Another 7.5% (195) of the stops were made for the reason of "Possible conduct under Education Code." Among stops recorded as based on education code violations,

29.2% fell under sections (c) and (d) of Education Code § 48900, the sections pertaining to substance possession or use. Only 5.6% of stops based on the education code were for Education Code § 48900(b), which regards possession of a weapon, explosive, or other "dangerous object."

The RIPA dataset indicates that Black and Latine students' behaviors are more likely to be framed by police as criminal activity as opposed to a school policy or education code violation. Nearly 40% (996) of the reported stops of students at school were marked as having occurred in response to a "call for service." Nearly two—thirds (66.1%) of these stops were for "reasonable suspicion" of a crime, which means the officer claimed to have reasonable suspicion that the person stopped was engaged in criminal activity, while 24.1% involved violation of a school policy or the Education Code. This proportion shifted with racial demographics. Roughly 31% of stops related to calls for police intervention with white students involved a suspected school policy or Education Code violation, compared to 19% of such calls for Latine students and 17% for Black students. Figure 2 provides a visual representation of the reasons for stops disaggregated by race.

Figure 2.
Reason for Student Stops by Race

Legend: Reasonable Suspicion · School Policy Violation · Ed Code Policy Violation · Other
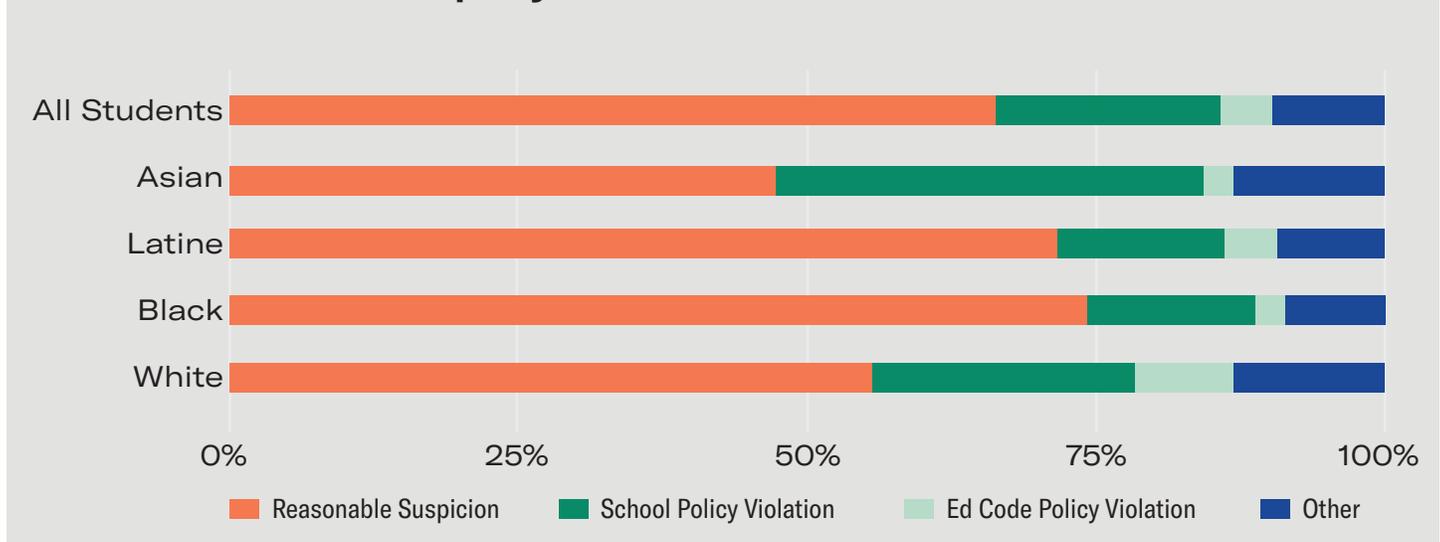
The most common reported suspected "offenses" for stops based on "reasonable suspicion" of a crime were for offense codes related to marijuana possession (21.5%), assault and battery without injury (17.8%), and fighting (11.9%). All of these suspected "offenses" can also be treated as violations of the Education Code, and it is up to the person recording to select the category to assign.

A review of the list of "offenses" cited by police reveals numerous actions that appear patently trivial—or even absurd—as a justification for calling police to campus to confront a child or youth. These offenses include:

- Vandalism
- Send false fire alarm
- Offensive words in a public place or at school
- Annoying phone calls
- Loitering at school
- Display in public, imitation firearm
- Minor attending a prizefight
- Minor buying smoking paraphernalia
- Willful disturbance of a school zone
- Loud/unreasonable noise at school
- Gambling

Black students suffer harsher consequences when their teachers or administrators call police to campus. Police handcuffed 15.7% of all students stopped in response to calls for service and 27.1% of all Black students stopped in response to calls for service. Within these incidents, law enforcement handcuffed five Black children aged 12 or younger—the youngest of these children was only 8 years old. Three of these five students, a 10—year—old girl, a 12—year—old girl, and an 11—year—old boy, were placed in a patrol car in addition to being handcuffed. Two of the five students were arrested: one for the suspected "offense" of "threatening a school employee" and the other for "assault with a caustic chemical." For the other three children, the stop ended with a psychiatric hold. These five cases represent five very young Black lives impacted by the trauma of handcuffing and police car detention instead of proper care and support by school adults.

Table 4 provides a breakdown of the most common actions (handcuffing, parole car detention, search of student, search of property, and seizure of property) taken by police during stops disaggregated by race.

Table 4.
Police Actions During Student Stop by Race[62]

	Handcuffed	Patrol Car Detention	No Action	Student Searched	Property Searched	Property Siezed
All Students	16%	12%	34%	29%	18%	13%
Asian	11%	13%	47%	26%	18%	11%
Black	27%	14%	34%	33%	20%	8%
Latine	11%	9%	35%	27%	14%	17%
White	12%	15%	30%	24%	21%	15%

Table 5.
Results of Student Stops by Race

	Warning	Citation	Custodial Arrest w/o Warrant	Psychiatric Hold	Referred to Administrator	Referred to School Counselor
All Students	5%	36%	15%	12%	26%	12%
Asian	5%	13%	8%	**37%**	11%	**21%**
Black	4%	34%	**20%**	7%	26%	14%
Latine	4%	**44%**	13%	12%	25%	12%
White	4%	30%	12%	16%	**29%**	13%

Stark disparities mark the resolution of police stops of students. For white students, stops in response to calls for service resulted in a citation 30% of the time and a custodial arrest without a warrant 11.8% of the time.[63] By contrast, 44.8% of stops of Latine students resulted in a citation and 13.3% resulted in custodial arrest without a warrant. For Black students, 34.6% of these stops resulted in a citation and 20.4% resulted in a custodial arrest without a warrant. The RIPA stop data show that these police interactions have far harsher consequences for Black and Latine students and confirm that those students are being disproportionately criminalized in schools.

In California, statutes that require school staff to notify police for certain incidents are one significant driver of student criminalization and the school to prison pipeline. These laws eliminate educator discretion and cause unnecessary and damaging contact between students and law enforcement.

For example, in California, school staff must notify law enforcement if a student possesses marijuana or alcohol, has a box cutter, or is suspected of being intoxicated on campus—no matter the circumstances. In some instances, these laws even authorize fines for educators if they fail to report incidents.

Black students, Latine students, other students of color, and students with disabilities are disproportionately referred to law enforcement, cited, and arrested as a result of these zero tolerance policies.

Before the 2019 data was released in 2021, we also examined the 2018 RIPA data dashboard showing data from over 6,000 stops related to truancy, school policy violations, and violations of the Education Code. Many of these stops occurred outside of schools. These stops are mostly low—level, non—criminal offenses. Racial disparities are similarly prevalent in these types of stops:

- Black youth comprised 8% of students in San Bernardino County but were 21% of truancy stops, 36% of stops for Education Code violations, and 50% of stops for violating school policies as reported by the **San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department**.

- Black youth comprised 7% of students in the City of Los Angeles but were 22% of truancy stops by the **Los Angeles Police Department**.

- Latine students comprised 65% of students in L.A. County but 87% of truancy stops by the **Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department**.

- Black youth comprised 8% of students in San Francisco but 30% of truancy stops by the **San Francisco Police Department**.

- Black youth comprised 8% of students in San Diego but 23% of truancy stops by the **San Diego Police Department**.

- Black youth comprised 4% of students in San Diego County but 40% of police stops for Education Code violations by the **San Diego County Sheriff's Office**.

"I really hope they get rid of school police. Growing up in a low—income community we see the way the police treat our neighbors, parents, tíos, tías, and even us outside of school. **We are raised to be afraid of police because what goes on in our communities**.

Some students have classmates DIE at the hands of police.

That energy is then brought into school with the use of police on campus."

FORMER LOS ANGELES USD STUDENT

California's RIPA dataset is among the first to track the perceived gender identity and sexuality of students interacting with police. **Research consistently demonstrates that people from the LGBTQ+ community are disproportionately targeted and harmed by police**.[64] Although RIPA is pathbreaking in this respect, RIPA relies on officers to report their perception of a student's gender and sexual identity, which suggests that LGBTQ+ youth may be underreported in the data.

Despite these limitations, the RIPA data suggest disproportionate policing of gender non—conforming youth for low—level violations. For example, 15% of all stops of youth reported as gender—nonconforming by the San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department were to investigate an alleged truancy violation, whereas only 3% of stops of cisgender students were to investigate truancy.

Police should be removed from the SUSD campuses! Due to police brutality and systemic racism students already have so much to deal with and worry about; and being afraid of the possibility of going to jail just due to their skin or for school infractions is inhumane.

The 8 million dollars a year spent on officers at SUSD can be spent on students.

Students deserve to have the best education, healing space, and the newest technology programs.

TELCIA, STOCKTON USD PARENT

CASE STUDY: STOCKTON USD'S LAW ENFORCEMENT PROGRAM CREATES DEEP INEQUITIES AND DAMAGES SCHOOL CLIMATE

For almost a decade, the Stockton Education Equity Coalition (SEEC) has been **centering equity for students in its advocacy to challenge systems of power that are rooted in oppression**. SEEC works to eliminate school practices that push Black and Brown students out of schools.

While this report has a statewide focus, an analysis of Stockton USD is instructive as a case study. This district exemplifies the difficulty of obtaining local data and the inequities that come to light once the data becomes available; SEEC obtained the data only through repeated, sustained advocacy over several years. Once SEEC received and analyzed the data, it discovered severe disproportionalities reflecting that Black students and students with disabilities are particularly likely to be targeted for arrest and citation by Stockton USD police.
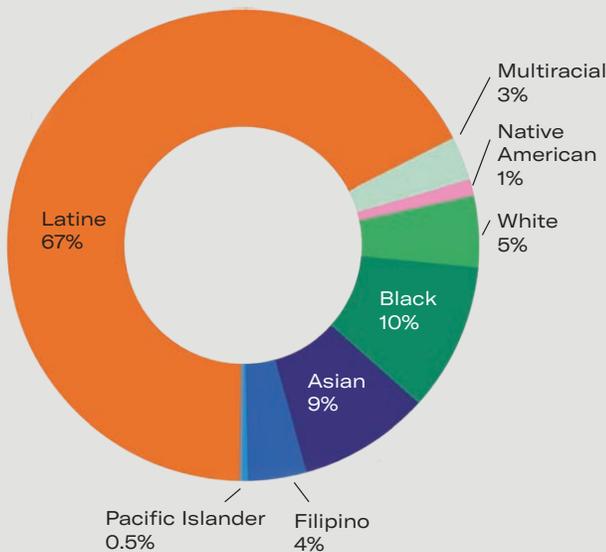
In 2015, the Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice released data showing that Stockton USD police officers consistently respond to students with brute and excessive force, arresting children under the age of 10 at a rate *37 times higher* than that of the rest of California.[65] Stockton USD's response to the report was to claim the data was inaccurate or misleading. The ACLU submitted a PRA request to the District about school police interactions with Stockton students so that SEEC could conduct its own analysis, but Stockton USD refused to provide the data. After the ACLU successfully sued in 2016 to obtain the data,[66] SEEC released analysis in 2017 showing that Black students were more than two times as likely to be arrested by school police than white students, and Black students were over three times more likely than every other student group in the school district to be arrested or cited for the vague and subjective offense of "disturbing the peace."[67]

SEEC shared this information with the California Department of Justice[68] and helped those attorneys identify and interview students impacted by the school district's discriminatory and damaging police practices. SEEC also submitted detailed recommendations for reform to the California Department of Justice. In 2019, Attorney General Xavier Becerra announced that his office had entered into a settlement agreement with Stockton USD "to address system—wide violations of civil and constitutional rights of African American and Latino students and students with disabilities."[69] The school district now claims that its issues with harmful and discriminatory law enforcement practices impacting Stockton's Black, Native American, and Latine students are no longer present. In July 2020, SEEC submitted a new PRA request to analyze the most recent data on school police interactions with students and educational funds spent by Stockton USD to station police in schools (particularly while schools are in distance learning due to the COVID—19 pandemic). The data below was obtained by SEEC from that new PRA request.

Demographics

In 2019, Stockton USD had 35,255 students, making it one of the largest school districts in the Central Valley. Eighty percent of Stockton USD students are categorized as "socioeconomically disadvantaged," 23.4% are English Learners, and 11% are students with disabilities.[70]

Figure 3.

Distribution of Student Race/Ethnicity in Stockton USD, 2017-2020

- Multiracial 3%
- Native American 1%
- White 5%
- Black 10%
- Asian 9%
- Filipino 4%
- Pacific Islander 0.5%
- Latine 67%

Calculated as an average of annual total enrollment for academic years 2017, 2018, and 2019. Enrollment numbers from CA Dataquest. Official categories are listed as African American, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian, Filipino, Hispanic or Latino, Pacific Islander, Two or More Races, and White. Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.
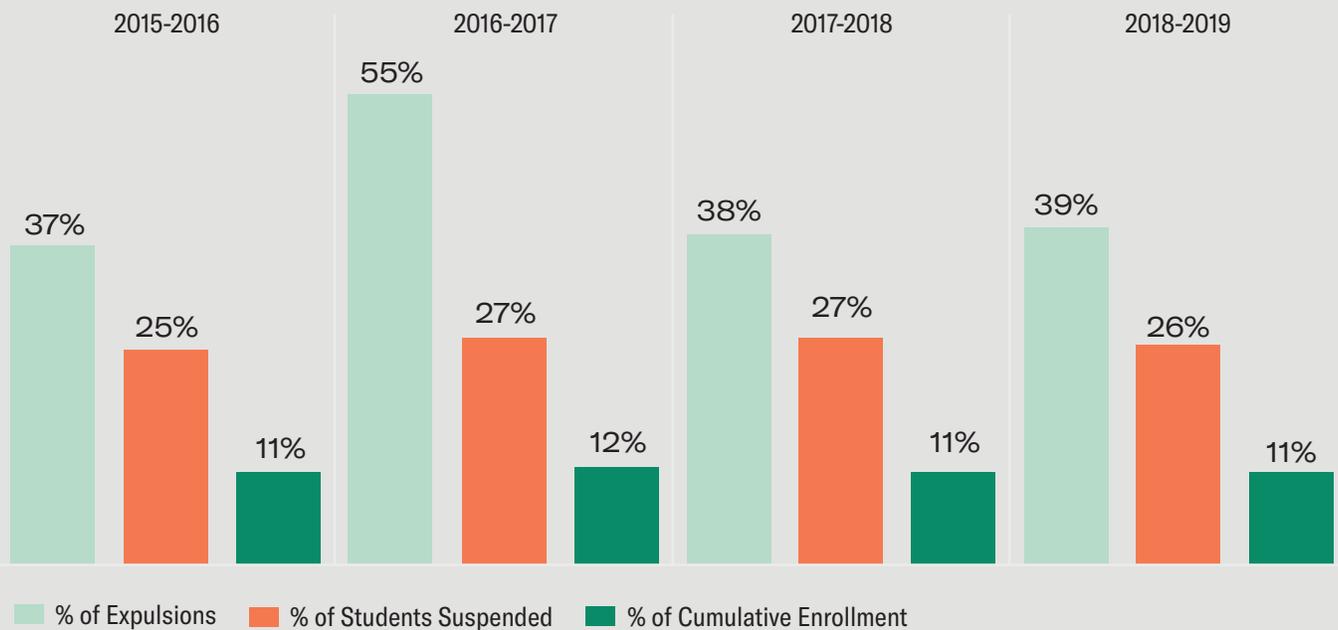
Data analysis by Social Movement Support Lab.

Student Discipline

School policing is one part of the continuum of the criminalization of students of color; student discipline is another. Studies have shown not only that Black students and other students of color are far more likely to be subjected to exclusionary discipline, but that such discipline has "negative life outcomes, including adult incarceration and employment."[71] Overall, the number of suspensions has dropped significantly in Stockton USD, from a high of 11.8% of students suspended in 2012—13[72] down to 6.4% of students suspended in 2018—19,[73] though this lower rate was still nearly twice the statewide suspension rate for 2018—19.[74] These suspension numbers represent a huge loss of learning time for Stockton USD students: in 2015—16, when the overall suspension rate was 10.2%,[75] students lost a total of 12,819 school days to suspension.[76] Moreover, while overall suspension numbers have dropped, the rate of suspension remains high among middle school students: the suspension rate for 7th— and 8th—graders in 2018—19 (24 suspensions per 100 students) was three times higher than the rate for 9th— through 12th—graders (8 suspensions per 100 students).[77] The data show that Black and Native American students are also disproportionately pushed out from Stockton USD schools. During the 2013—14 school year, Black students were suspended at over twice their rate of enrollment, and Native American/Alaska Native students with disabilities were suspended at nearly four times their rate of enrollment.[78] During the 2018—19 school year, the rates of suspension for Black 7th— and 8th—graders were at least double statewide suspension rates, with rates among Black 7th— and 8th—grade girls at 55 suspensions per 100.[79] Analysis by the Social Movement Support Lab found that, from 2015—2019, Black students were consistently suspended at 2 to 2.5 times their rate of enrollment in Stockton USD, whether measured by total number of suspensions or total number of students suspended. During that same period, Black students were also expelled at rates 3.5 to 4.5 times their rate of enrollment in the District.[80] (See Figure 4.)

Figure 4.

Expulsions and Suspensions of Black Students in Stockton USD, 2015-16 through 2018-19

	2015-2016	2016-2017	2017-2018	2018-2019
% of Expulsions	37%	55%	38%	39%
% of Students Suspended	25%	27%	27%	26%
% of Cumulative Enrollment	11%	12%	11%	11%

From CA Dataquest. Percentages rounded to nearest whole number.

Data analysis and visualization by the Social Movement Support Lab.

School is a place to learn, grow, be loved, be poured into. School is not a place where children should have anything taken from them, especially not their freedom. We know reactionary policing is responsible for more than 85% of arrests of children in our community, and over 80% of juvenile probationers, and that the very dollars our schools use for these punitive measures could be used to heal and educate our community. We know more proactive solutions like counseling, mental health services, and more summer and after school programs like Freedom Schools are actually beneficial for our children and our community.

We need to stop criminalizing our children for being children.

CAMERON BROWN & BROWN FAMILY, STOCKTON USD PARENT

Figure 5.

Distribution of Bookings/Citations by Student Race, 2017-2020

- Multiracial 4%
- Native American 5%
- White 4%
- Latine 55%
- Black 29%
- Filipino 1%
- Asian 1%
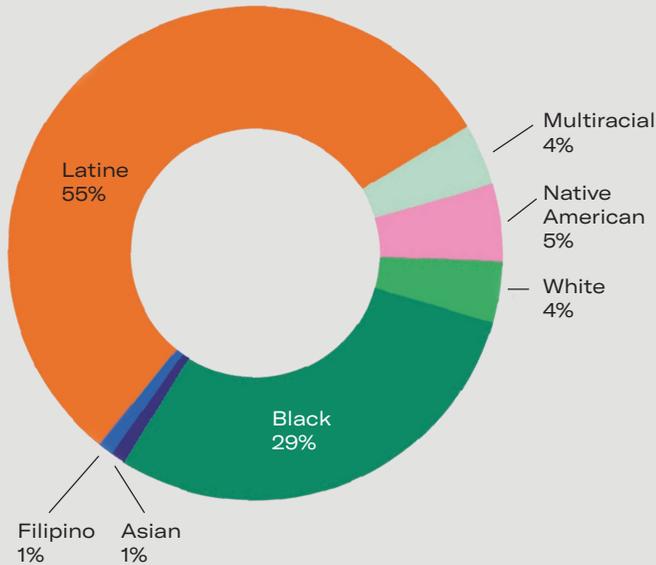
From Student Arrests and Referrals to Police, cleaned PRA data. Includes individuals who were booked/cited more than once. Percentages are rounded to nearest whole number.

Data analysis by the Social Movement Support Lab.

Figure 6.
Bookings/Citations per 1000 Students Enrolled, 2019-2020

Race or Ethnicity

Black	12.4
Native American	6.1
Multiracial	5.2
Latine	2.6
White	1.9
Filipino	0.7
Asian	0.6

Calculated by number of bookings and citations (from PRA data, Student Arrests and Referrals to Police) divided by students enrolled in that racial/ethnic group, times 1000 for academic year 2019-20. Total enrollment numbers pulled from CA Dataquest. This includes individuals who were booked/cited more than once. Rounded to nearest decimal point.

Data analysis by the Social Movement Support Lab.

Student Interactions with School Police

From July 2012 through November 2016, **41% of student arrests** and citations by school police were for the lowest–level student incidents: disturbing the peace, truancy, and curfew violations.[81] During that time period, Black students were over three times more likely than every other student group in the District to be arrested or cited for the vague offense of "disturbing the peace."

More recently, the data show fewer bookings and citations overall, but continuing severe racial disproportionalities. From 2017–2020, Black and Native American students were significantly overrepresented in bookings and citations compared to their enrollment, as seen in Figure 5. Native American students were booked or cited by Stockton USD police at *five times* their rate of enrollment in school, and Black students were booked or cited at nearly three times their rate of enrollment. In 2019, as shown in Figure 6, Black students were *six–and–a–half times* more likely than white students to be booked or cited by Stockton USD police, and Native American students were over three times more likely than white students to be booked or cited by Stockton USD police.

During the pandemic, Stockton USD has been relying on law enforcement to visit students' homes. In fact, **all school requests for Stockton USD police assistance from April–June 2020 were for such "welfare checks" despite police being some of the least qualified and trained on the welfare of children**. From July to September 2020, 66% of school requests for Stockton USD police assistance were for "welfare checks." Other districts have more appropriately used mental health professionals to check on students during the pandemic.[82]

Figure 7.
Yearly Trends: Bookings/Citations per 1000 Students Enrolled in Stockton USD by Race/Ethnicity, 2017–2020
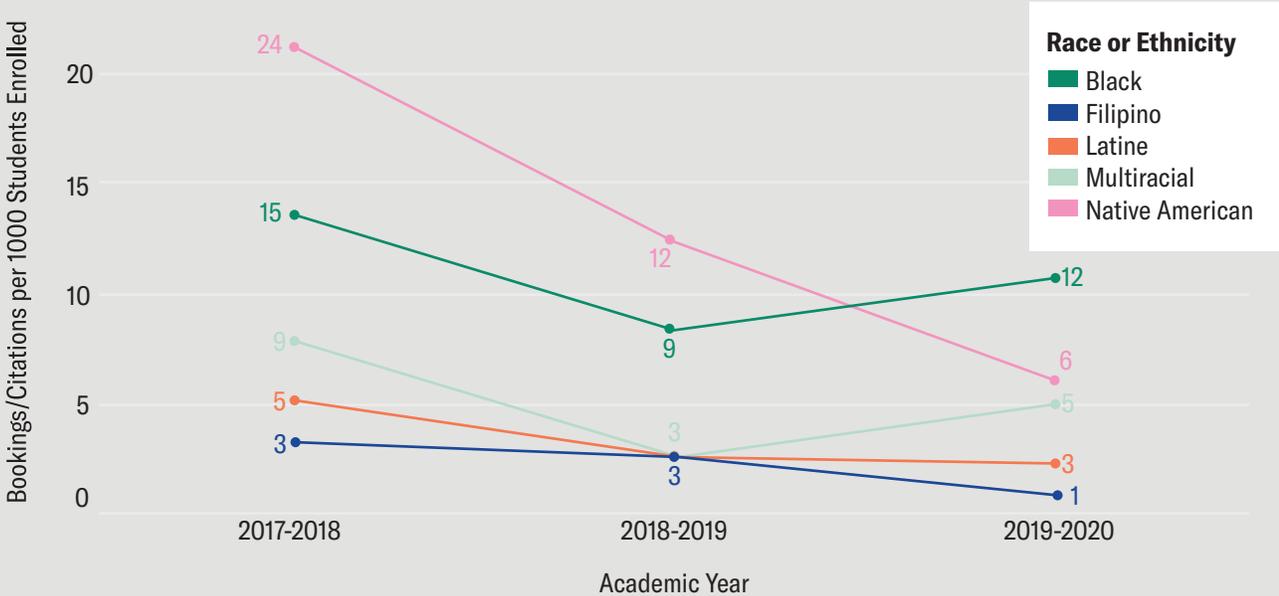
From Student Arrests and Referrals to Police, PRA Data. Calculated as number of incidents/bookings per 1000 students enrolled in academic years 2017, 2018, and 2019. Total enrollment pulled from Dataquest. Numbers rounded to nearest whole number. Not all racial groups included for purposes of visualization.

Data analysis and visualization by the Social Movement Support Lab.

Figure 8.
Resolutions of School Requests for Police in Stockton USD, by Outcome and Alleged Offense, 2020
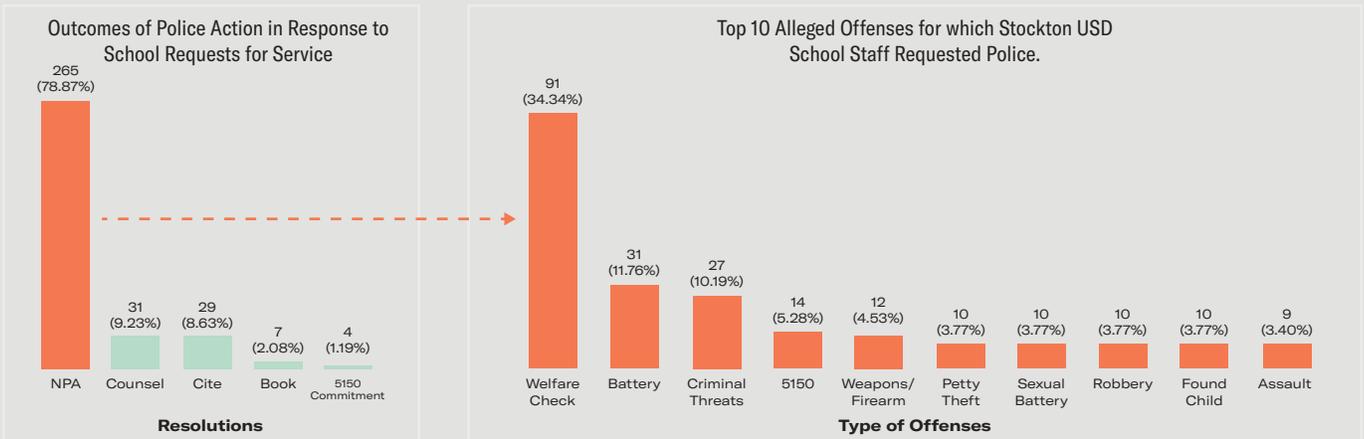
78.87% of school requests in 2020 were resolved with "NPA" (no subsequent police action).

Among 265 school requests resolved with "NPA" (no subsequent police action), the most common reason was Welfare Check (34.34%).

Among all 92 school requests for police assistance for "Welfare Check," 31 (98.91%) were resolved with "NPA" (no subsequent police action), and 1 resolved through police counseling the student ("Counsel").

Student Educational Outcomes

In 2019, 80% of Stockton USD students were unprepared for college or career under the "college/career readiness" indicator of the California Department of Education's (CDE) Accountability System.[83] This indicator is expansive and includes several different ways to demonstrate "preparedness" for college or a career, which makes these figures for Stockton students even more alarming.[84] At Stockton High School and Jane Frederick High School, from 2017–2019, between 0–3.3% of students graduated prepared, according to this metric.[85] Native American students, foster youth, English Learners, and students with disabilities are particularly underserved on this measure, with Stockton USD being given a "lowest performance" (red) indicator by CDE for those groups.[86] Stockton USD students are, on average, significantly less likely to attend college than the statewide average, and those numbers are drastically worse for students at both Stockton High School and Jane Frederick High School.[87]

SEEC Recommendations for SUSD

With the election of a more conservative school board in the November 2020 election cycle, SEEC is in a movement—building phase, solidifying its base and allies to come together in the shared goals of dismantling the infrastructure, culture, and practice of school policing and building a liberatory education system for Stockton students. The following are recommendations that SEEC has developed over the course of years of advocacy in Stockton USD to meet those goals:

- **Invest funds currently used for school police to hire more staff** who are trained to promote a positive school climate, including restorative justice coordinators, community school resource coordinators, counselors, additional teachers, and tutors who are trained in research—based methods to address student behavior and promote a positive, safe school climate; to initiate and expand programs such as the Healing Schools model; and to bolster and expand a districtwide ethnic studies program.

- **Do not suspend or expel students who are not meeting grade—level standards for literacy**. Commit to providing targeted academic and social interventions to improve students' educational outcomes.

- **Require ongoing district—wide training** of educational staff to enhance cultural competence and combat implicit bias.

- Ensure that in the limited circumstances when police must question or arrest a student at school, they possess a **legal warrant supported by probable cause** that the student poses an imminent danger of serious physical injury or death to a person on school property.

- **Ensure that Stockton USD police adhere to California Welfare & Institutions Code § 625.6**, which states that prior to a custodial interrogation and before the waiver of any Miranda rights, a youth 17 years of age or younger shall consult with legal counsel in person, by telephone, or by video conference.

- **Mandate that police never use physical force on a student in school**, including the use of mechanical restraints, unless the student's behavior poses an imminent danger of serious physical injury or death to a person on school property.

- **Immediately notify a student's parent or guardian** if police have arrested, searched, restrained, placed in seclusion, or questioned the student in school.

- **Collect comprehensive data** regarding school police officers' interactions with students, broken out by race, sex, English Learner status, and disability status. Also collect data on complaints filed against school police officers. Publicly report this data, how it was collected, and post it on Stockton USD's public website.

- **Create an oversight committee** that has the power to review applications for officers who want to work in the school district; conduct officer evaluations; investigate complaints; and review data to identify and work with the Stockton USD to address disproportionalities in school discipline, police interactions with students, and student educational outcomes. This committee should be made up of students, parents, educators, and community—based advocates.

"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.

Funding should be directed to progressive and meaningful education and counseling. Take it from a 2020 graduate: school should be a place of learning and growth, where students look forward to each day.

**Police do not contribute to this.
DEFUND THE POLICE**."

FORMER LOS ANGELES USD STUDENT
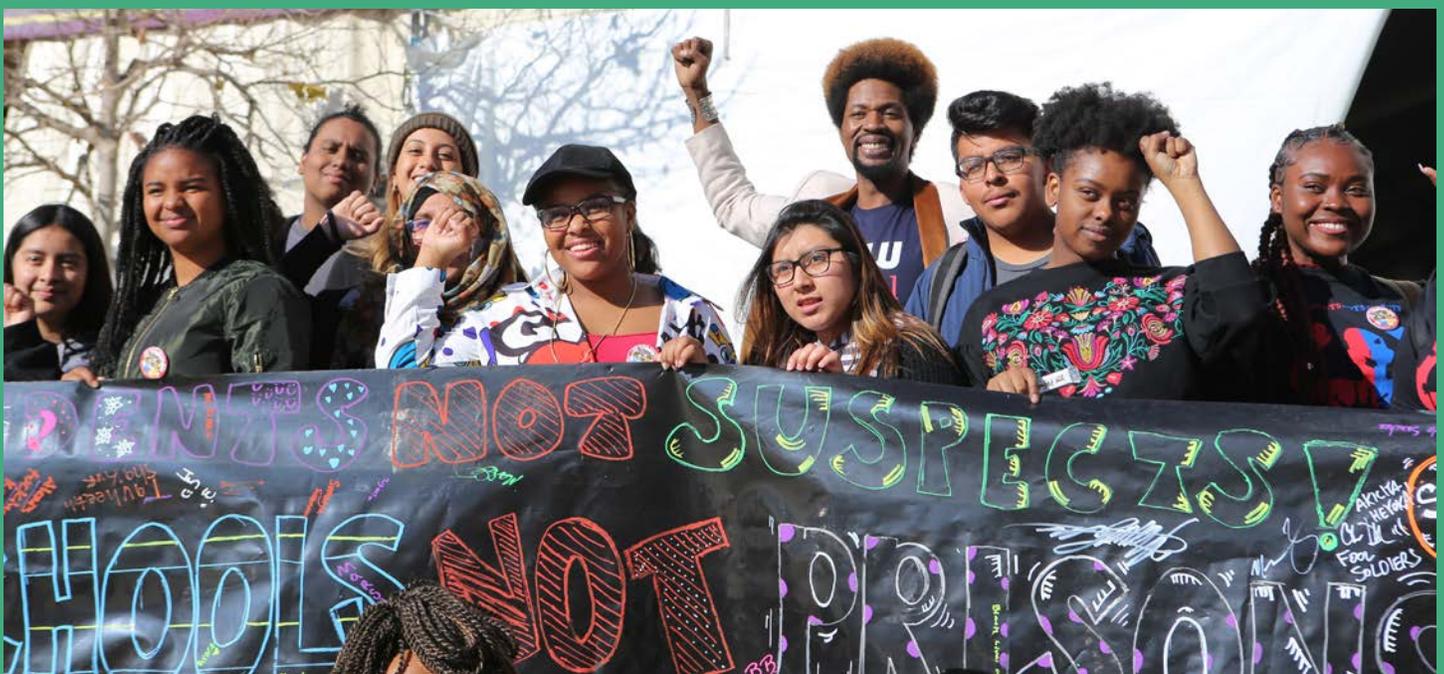
ADVOCATING FOR CHANGE IN OTHER SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Los Angeles Unified School District

The Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD) is the largest independent school police department in the U.S.[88] In 2020, LASPD had approximately 470 sworn police officers,[89] 101 non–sworn school safety officers, and 34 other staff members.[90] It is the 14th largest police department in California.[91] Although its finances are opaque, LASPD has maintained a budget of approximately $60–70 million.[92]

In May 2020, building on decades of power building and campaigns in Los Angeles from local grassroots organizations,[93] a broad coalition of youth, parent, and Black–led organizations, including Students Deserve, Black Lives Matter, Brothers Sons Selves Coalitions, CADRE, Youth Justice Coalition, and the Labor Community Strategy Center, with support from Public Counsel and the ACLU of Southern California, ran a campaign that reduced the LASPD budget by $25 million, or roughly 30%. The coalition vowed to continue its campaign until LASPD is completely defunded and eliminated.

In connection with the campaign, Students Deserve conducted a survey of 5,730 students about their experiences with, and feelings towards, LASPD. Their write–in responses have been included throughout this report. Roughly 87% of all survey respondents were in favor of defunding the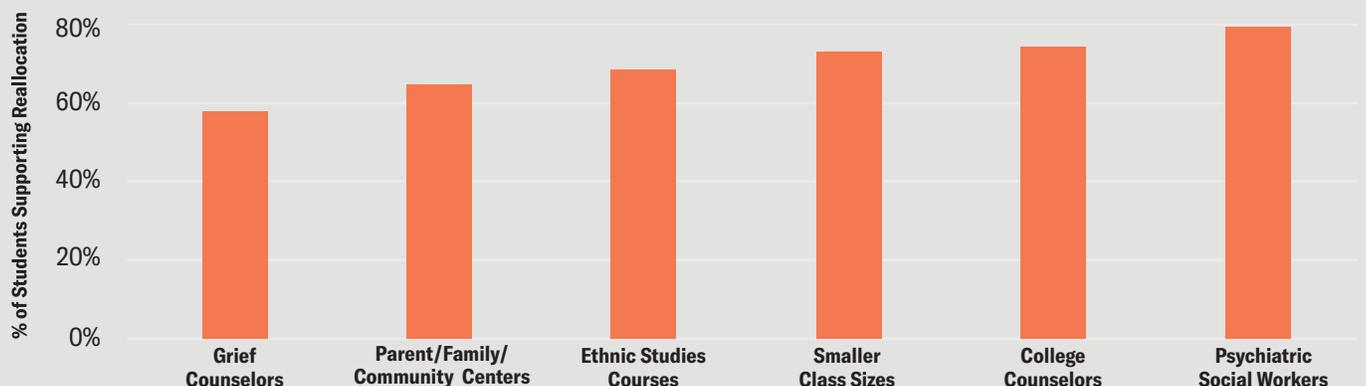 school police. These responses echoed a report by Million Dollar Hoods that found stark racial disparities in arrests.[94] Over 80% of students said that police in schools do not make them feel safer. Black students responding to the survey were 3 times as likely as white students to report being followed by the police. Black students were also 4 times as likely to report being racially profiled by police.

The survey also asked students "If all of this money [spent on police] could be invested in Black students & predominantly Black schools, which services would you invest in?" Students overwhelmingly responded that they wanted mental health supports, ethnic studies courses, and other supportive resources.

The survey also allowed students to write in their recommendations about how to reinvest funding currently spent on law enforcement. Words that occurred most frequently in the responses included "students" (111), "programs" (88), "teachers" (69), "arts" (69) and "nurses" (51). Other popular words included supplies, food, college, counselors, and field trips. These responses are visualized by the word cloud and the size of the word represents the frequency it was used. Less than 1% of the comments in this section indicated that the respondent supported maintaining school police funding, and an even smaller fraction of comments advocated for the funding to be spent on all students rather than on Black students specifically.

Figure 9.
Where Should Funds for School Police be Reallocated?

BOOKS HEALTH
TRAINING
CLUBS EXTRACURRICULAR
TRIPS ANYTHING
LAUSD COLLEGE TECHNOLOGY
COUNSELORS INVEST SPORTS
ACTIVITIES EDUCATION CAMPUS
LUNCHES
EQUIPMENT RESOURCES
MEALS KEEP
FOOD ARTS
COLOR
TEACHING
MATERIALS TEACHERS
SERVICES
TEACHER HELP NURSES
SUPPLIES
OPPORTUNITIES
STUDENT
NURSE CLASS MUSIC
COMMUNITY SUPPORT
PEOPLE FREE STUDENT
PROGRAMS

LAUSD students' recommendations for how to reinvest funds currently spent on law enforcement.

Moreno Valley Unified School District

Moreno Valley USD gives more than $1.5 million of its educational funding to the Riverside County Sheriff's Department to place nine permanent police officers in the District's schools, one in each high, middle, and continuation school.[95] This police presence has not improved school climate—instead, it has correlated with an increase in exclusionary discipline in Moreno Valley schools.[96] Indeed, in the summer of 2020, the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund (DREDF) and Disability Rights California (DRC) filed a complaint against the District for school police actions in discriminating against an 11–year–old Black student and using excessive force to handcuff him four separate times for displaying non–threatening behavior related to his disability.[97]

In 2017–2018, Moreno Valley USD had the highest rate of referrals to law enforcement of any California school district with 15,000 or more students, according to the federal CRDC data. Roughly 64 students per 1,000 received referrals to law enforcement, a rate that is 17 times higher than the statewide average for all students. Black students had a rate twice as high as the districtwide average for all students (134 per 1,000) and over 30 times higher than the state average.

On June 15, 2020, many grassroots and policy organizations—including the Alliance for Boys and Men of Color—Riverside, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People—Riverside, Inland Equity Partnership, Public Advocates, Riverside County Black Chamber of Commerce, Congregations Organized for Prophetic Engagement, and others—submitted a letter asking the District and its Board of Education to remove all law enforcement officers from school campuses. On July 23, 2020, the District held a study session about law enforcement. Dozens of students, parents, and community members called on the Moreno Valley USD Board of Education to remove police from its schools.[98] Ultimately, despite the community's demands, the Board did not vote to eliminate the contract. Instead, it suspended the contract because schools were not in session and instructed district staff to develop a plan to "reduce" and "redefine" the role of law enforcement on campus.[99]

Fremont Unified School District

In the summer of 2020, the Fremont USD School Board convened a "School Resource Officer Task Force" and requested an evaluation of the District's school policing program. The Task Force compiled a 69–page report with three priority recommendations: (1) eliminate the school police program; (2) increase and enhance school–based mental health supports and restorative justice programs for students; and (3) restructure all law enforcement interactions with students.[100]

The Task Force report found that, during the 2017–18 school year, Latine students were referred to law enforcement at over double their rate of enrollment in the District, and Black students were referred at nearly eight times their rate of enrollment. From 2015–2018, although Black students represented only 2% of the District's student population, they made up more than 21% of arrests by police, "leading to a disproportionality factor of 10x their population in the District." During the 2016–17 school year, while students with disabilities made up less than 10% of the student population, they made up 42% of referrals to law enforcement.

In November 2020, the Fremont USD School Board voted 3–2 to adopt the Task Force recommendations in full and to eliminate the school police program. The student Board member also voted in favor of these recommendations. The vote represented a significant victory for student and community leaders, including GenUP, Engage Fremont, and the Fremont USD Alumni Association (FAA), who advocated for systemic school police reform for the District's 35,000 students. Unfortunately, in January 2021, a newly elected Board refused to hold to its commitment and voted to reinstate the school police program. Student and community leaders continue to work to hold the school board accountable and to work towards permanently eliminating the damaging school police presence in Fremont schools.

Student and community leaders working for systemic school police reform in Fremont Unified School District.

"I was the only Black student in my high school. If something bad happened, I was often seen as the instigator. **I felt racially profiled and targeted.**

When I was a senior, a teacher received a death threat. I was the first person to be interviewed despite having a good grade in her class and getting along with that teacher. The SRO that handled the matter was aggressive and accusatory. When my mother tried to file a complaint, she was told there wasn't really a way to do that."

ABENA O., FORMER FREMONT USD STUDENT

County Sheriffs in Schools

School districts have increasingly relied on county sheriff's departments to respond to student behaviors, which creates all the same harms described throughout this report. Further, these sheriff's departments have created new programs that further criminalize adolescence. For example, the San Bernardino County Sheriff's Department created Operation CleanSWEEP, a juvenile citation program for "first offenders." CleanSWEEP empowers and deputizes educators to issue students citations up to $1,000 for minor student misbehaviors. Specific harms of the program include:

- Taking resources from evidence—based, less punitive alternatives that keep students in school and on track. Recognizing this, the following districts have removed CleanSWEEP from their schools:
  - Chino Valley Unified School District
  - Coachella Valley Unified School District
  - Apple Valley Unified School District
  - Rialto Unified School District

- Students are mostly cited for behaviors that should be handled through school interventions instead of law enforcement. Examples of low—level incidents giving rise to student citations and fines include littering, daytime loitering, possession of spray paint container, graffiti, and keeping lost property.

- Students are required to appear in traffic or juvenile court. Students can have their license suspended before eligibility. Studies have shown that a single appearance in court makes students more likely to drop out of school and enter the criminal justice system.[101]
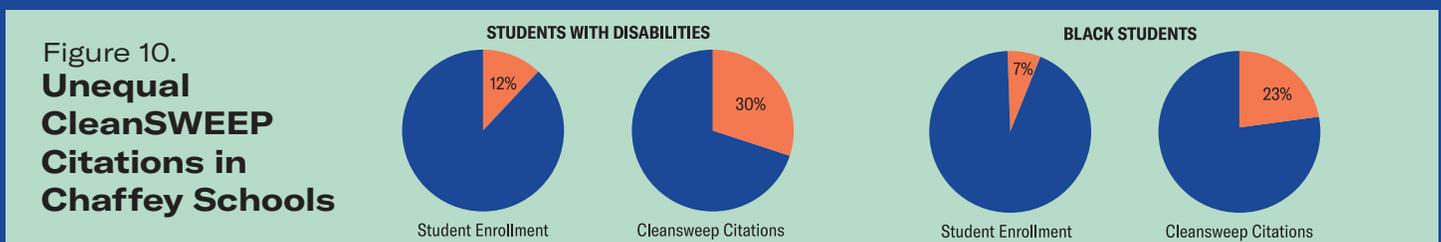
- Poor training and communication about the legal parameters of the program to school staff have resulted in students being cited for offenses that are no longer illegal.

- Schools are abusing their authority by citing or threatening to cite students for offenses outside the scope of the program.

Further, the program disproportionately targets and impacts students of color. For example, four out of the five schools that implemented the program most frequently were in Chaffey Joint Union School District (CJUSD). Despite CJUSD having roughly 7% Black students, over 23% of CleanSWEEP referrals were issued to Black students. Students with disabilities are also only 12% of CJUSD but comprised 30% of CleanSWEEP referrals.

Students have been cited through the CleanSWEEP program in several districts that continue to participate in the program. According to PRA documents received by the ACLU, the following districts are participating or have recently participated in CleanSWEEP:

- Bear Valley Unified School District
- Adelanto Elementary School District
- Central School District
- Colton Joint Unified School District
- Yucaipa—Calimesa Joint Unified School District
- Helendale Elementary School District
- Morongo Unified School District
- Alta Loma School District
- Victor Valley Union High School District*
- Redlands Unified School District*
- Cucamonga School District

*stated they no longer participate

Figure 10.
Unequal CleanSWEEP Citations in Chaffey Schools

STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES

12% — Student Enrollment

30% — Cleansweep Citations

BLACK STUDENTS

7% — Student Enrollment

23% — Cleansweep Citations

Probation in Schools

A disturbing trend has emerged in California: juvenile probation officers targeting and monitoring students because of normal, adolescent behavior such as talking back to school staff, truancy, or academic problems. School districts across California are hosting "informal probation" or "voluntary probation" programs where youth who have never been accused of any criminal behavior are referred to probation officers in school. Despite these programs being labeled "voluntary," law enforcement officers often coerce parents and youth into participating.

- Until 2018, thousands of L.A. County youth were placed on "voluntary probation," similar to court—ordered probation but the youth were not arrested and had no court order to be under probation supervision. A report by the Children's Defense Fund—California, Youth Justice Coalition, Urban Peace Institute, and the Anti—Recidivism Coalition found that these interventions:

  > . . . fall outside the mission, expertise and role of a probation officer. The practice runs counter to research, and risks widening the net of youth involved in the justice system. It also erodes opportunities to invest in education and community—based infrastructure to advance youth and community development in the long run, and deepens an historical disparity between resources for law enforcement and other county and community—based agencies whose lenses are human services, health and education.[102]

- In Riverside County, over 3,000 students—overwhelmingly Black and Brown youth—were placed on harsh, intrusive probation contracts for non—criminal offenses. Youth and their families were often coerced into the program with threats of prosecution, sometimes in the presence of armed officers, putting the lie to the label "voluntary probation."[103] Rather than "informal," youth were required to sign formal probation contracts agreeing to random searches, curfews, surprise home visits, drug tests, and interrogations.[104]

The ACLU and the National Center for Youth Law filed a lawsuit to stop the program and reached a settlement in 2019.[105] Now probation officers will no longer be stationed in schools in Riverside County, and the County will no longer enroll youth in the program for normal, non—criminal youth behavior.

- In Contra Costa County, school districts have partnered with the county probation department to allow surveillance of students.[106] Minor suspensions for behavior that should more appropriately be handled by school staff can now quickly turn into probation violations—which can result in students being detained in juvenile hall over technical violations of probation rather than new criminal offenses.

Numerous studies have shown that surveillance—oriented juvenile probation, particularly where interventions are focused on discipline such as "boot camps" and where youth are alleged to have committed minor offenses, is ineffective and may actually increase the likelihood of re—arrest.[107] To address this problem, California passed a law in 2020 that promotes a new vision of community— and school—based services to support youth, recognize their strengths, and keep students in school and on track to succeed. AB 901 limits "informal probation supervision" of youth, prohibits student referrals to probation officers for "disobedience," and reduces probation practices that increase youth contact with the juvenile legal system.

LIMITATIONS IN THE AVAILABLE DATA

Unlike other states, California currently does not require schools or other government agencies to report information about law enforcement interactions with students in schools. As such, researchers must rely on a patchwork of local, state, and federal datasets that are, to varying degrees, incomplete, inconsistent, and inaccurate.

For example, it is apparent that the CRDC data files are rife with underreporting and discrepancies with respect to the numbers of law enforcement on campus, particularly when compared to other available data sources, including across different CRDC data collections.[108] School and LEA personnel responsible for answering the many detailed questions in the survey can make typographical errors, errors based on confusion, or deliberate underreporting. Problems also arise from the wording of CRDC questions—for example, the CRDC asks how much police time is assigned to each school in full—time equivalent units but does not ask how many police officers are employed by or assigned to the LEA as a whole.

For many LEAs, the 2017—18 CRDC raw data file shows lower numbers of law enforcement officers than both prior and current data collection years appearing on the CRDC online data reporting tool.[109] Los Angeles USD exemplifies this underreporting: the District reports only 143 law enforcement officers assigned to its schools in 2017—18 CRDC, yet the District website itself states its school district police force includes "over 410 sworn police officers, 101 non—sworn school safety officers (SSO), and 34 civilian support staff . . . [LASPD is] the fifth largest police department in Los Angeles County, and the 14th largest in California."[110] Public records documents produced by the District in 2020 also listed over 500 officers and employees in the LASPD, and data collected by the state lists at least 296 sworn officers.[111] Only 16% of California schools in our CRDC analysis dataset reported having an assigned law enforcement officer, however other federal data collected by the National Center for Education Statistics in 2017—18 found at least 58% of schools nationwide had police that school year.[112]

Further, because there is no state mandate to collect and report such data, each LEA collects data in a different way, and some do not seem to collect it at all. As such, it is impossible to aggregate the local data and compare it across LEAs to identify problematic local practices or broader trends. And because LEAs do not report the data uniformly, researchers and advocates generally may only access it through PRA requests. Such requests require significant resources and are time consuming, with some LEAs taking months or years to provide the data. Indeed, some LEAs refuse to provide the data until they are sued and ordered to turn over the documents by a court order.

Finally, the RIPA dataset affords new and valuable insights into the impacts of law enforcement in schools, but only 15 law enforcement agencies are currently required to report data, covering relatively few schools across the state. Moreover, relying on police to perceive and report the intersectional identity (e.g., LGBTQ+, disability) of the people they search is likely leading to the underreporting or misreporting of stops of marginalized groups.

"Communities of color have disproportionately been harassed, targeted, racially profiled at the hands of police.

I can go on and on of personal stories of illegal misconduct by police officers who never made us feel safer at school or were held accountable for infringing upon our rights. Instead, the officers preyed upon young students who too often were not aware of their rights to advocate for their themselves.

How many of our friends, family members, and loved ones have been killed at the hands of LAPD, the most murderous police department in this nation?

How does it help our youth focus on school when they are forced in confined spaces with police officers consistently surrounding them?"

CURRENT LOS ANGELES USD STUDENT

CONCLUSION

Mass uprisings against police violence are making it increasingly difficult for California policymakers to ignore the harms of law enforcement in schools. Across California, youth are at the forefront of the movement to convince their school boards to end contracts with law enforcement agencies and to reduce or eliminate school district police departments. While they have achieved astounding progress over the past year, much more work remains. Removing police from schools is a necessary but insufficient condition to extricating white supremacy from the education system. Even without police, deep inequities and anti—Black racism endure. Black youth will still be more likely to attend schools that are grossly underfunded, to be subject to discipline because of implicit and explicit biases, and to be referred to outside law enforcement. To achieve justice for our youth and to provide them with the education they deserve, we must reevaluate the entire system: reimagining safety without police and school hardening measures, reinvesting in the positive supports that actually help our students, and fundamentally changing the culture of our schools.

"You can tell so much about a school district by the way they allocate funds. What does it say when a school district underfunds school counselors to the tune of undercutting the fiscal resource required by 60% to 75%? **Districts are misplacing resources that could be better used to enhance student wellness and prevent problems** - which is far more cost effective and life enhancing."

DR. LORETTA WHITSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR,
CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF SCHOOL COUNSELORS

RECOMMENDATIONS

No schools in California should have a permanent police officer. Specifically, LEAs should not be able to create their own police departments or reserve forces, nor should they coordinate with any outside law enforcement agency to station law enforcement on a school campus. Further, school staff should never call a police officer to campus unless there is an imminent danger of serious physical injury or death to a person on school property.[113] Similarly, they should not rely on surveillance measures—such as online monitoring software or cameras equipped with facial recognition software—on students and their families because these measures replicate the same harms as law enforcement presence on campus. As such, school staff shall never request the involvement of a law enforcement officer in a situation that can be safely and appropriately handled by the school district's internal student resources and procedures. Similarly, they should not use surveillance measures—such as online monitoring software, surveillance cameras, or face recognition—on students and their families because these measures replicate the same harms as law enforcement presence on campus.

Schools should instead implement policies and invest in resources that actually support students and keep them safe.

The following resources provide strategies on how to create a better vision of schools:

- Dignity in Schools California Framework for Abolishing Police in Schools:
https://dignityinschools—ca.org/state—policy—framework—dsc—ca/

- Central Valley Movement Building' Resource Guides:
https://www.cvmb.org/resource—guides/

- CADRE and Public Counsel's Report on Schoolwide Positive Behavior Interventions and Support Implementation:
http://dignityinschools.org/wp—content/uploads/2017/10/Final—SR—Report.CADRE_.Oct—2017.ENG_.pdf

- Positive Behavior Interventions and Support: 5—Point Intervention Approach for Enhancing Equity in School Discipline:
https://www.pbis.org/resource/a—5—point—intervention—approach—for—enhancing—equity—in—school—discipline

- Girls for Gender Equity's Toolkit for Educators to Sustain Police—Free Schools:
https://www.ggenyc.org/the—schools—girls—deserve/police—free—schools—toolkit/

- Fresno Barrios Unidos and Human Impact Partner's Report on Student Perspectives on Police Free Schools:
https://humanimpact.org/wp—content/uploads/2021/03/HIP—Health—and—Cultural—Wealth—Student—Perspectives—on—Police—Free—Schools—in—Fresno—California—March—2021.pdf

ACLU SoCal's Youth Liberty Squad's Fight for **#CounselorsNotCops**:

California is one of just four states where there is only one school counselor for every 600+ students. California schools faced a mental health cirsis and a lack of mental health supports even before 2020, and the pandemic worsened these problems. Students in our Youth Liberty Squad have been steadfast in demanding support. Youth Liberty Squad was created in 2019 to build the foundation for the next generation of social justice leaders with a focus on youth criminalization and school–based mental health. Important findings from their Student Wellness Survey are reported below, followed by a timeline of Youth Liberty Squad's advocacy.

Results from Student Wellness Survey (May 2020):

- Students shared hundreds of responses to open–ended questions that indicate significant stress. They are overwhelmed with schoolwork, the well–being of their families, general uncertainty, and missing out on their high school experiences. Some of the most frequent words used by students: bored, lonely, overwhelming, and anxious.

- 22% of students reported receiving mental health services before the pandemic, and an additional 32% feel they may now need services, indicating over half of California's students could now need mental health support.

- Less than 40% of students rated their current COVID–19 mental wellness at the same level.

- The number of students who rated their mental health a three or lower more than tripled after the pandemic began, from 7% to 23%.[114]

- More than half of student respondents had experienced serious stress, anxiety, or depression at least some time during the past year. An increasing number had suicidal thoughts.[115]

Results from Student Wellness Survey (April 2021)

- Over 40% of students reported that no one had personally asked them about their mental wellness over the past three months.

- The four most common people to check in on students' mental health were friends (35%), family (32%), teachers (12%), and counselors (11%), demonstrating the importance of school supports.

- Only 12% of students reported receiving mental health support in school and another 15% reported receiving support out of school.

- Many students reported continuing to feel tired, overwhelmed, and stressed. Students are worried about the health and well–being of their families and friends, job loss, and their academics.

California students' responses to the 2021 Student Wellness Survey.

Feeling useless knowing that my friends and family are going through hard times and I can't do anything... while also struggling through things myself and my grades going downhill real bad I still don't care at this point.

I find it pointless.

My grandma and uncle passed away in the same week and I was super close to my uncle.

I saw my mom almost dying and haven't had the time to heal because of school, grades, homework, testing, studying.

We've had three new people living in our house and most of them on distance learning, the internet was a huge struggle and I kept falling behind. I'd catch up and then lose motivation, I used to get straight A's and now have straight C's and D's as of now.

I have gone through incredibly intense depressive episodes starting around the eighth month of online learning and it had impacted my grades a lot. I have never had anything lower than a 3.4 GPA and starting this semester I struggled, so I am currently failing two classes.

I'm feeling suicidal and self harming often.

The trauma students experienced during the pandemic will be compounded by the trauma of being criminalized, discriminated against, and policed if they return to school and encounter school police. "Interactions with police—and specifically, school police—is correlated with higher levels of trauma and post—traumatic stress symptoms. Students are healthier when their trauma is met with understanding and care, not with policing and criminalization."[116] Experts estimate that it will take years for students to recover and heal from the trauma and emotional impact of the pandemic.[117]

Timeline of Youth Liberty Squad Advocacy for #CounselorsNotCops

MAY 2019 — Students create their banners to display at their school: "Counselors Not Cops," "Students not Suspects" and "Resources not Police Forces."

OCT 2019 — ACLU gathers over 200 students statewide for a multiday youth advocacy institute. Students learn about the ACLU's #CounselorsNotCops and student de—criminalization campaigns.

FEB 2020 — Students present at the California Association of School Counselors (CASC) conference about student mental health as a civil right.

APR 2020 — Students create and administer a survey about the impact of COVID—19 on student mental health. Over 600 students across the state complete the survey.

MAY 2020 — Students partner with CASC for California's first—ever Student Mental Health Week.

Students submit a letter and survey results to the Governor, State Superintendent, and other state officials with the support of more than 35 organizations and over 60 schools.

JUNE 2020 — Student Anthony Alvarez testifies in the California Senate Education Committee about student mental health and #CounselorsNotCops:

"In my district, LAUSD, there are more cops in schools than there are school nurses. Although administrators believe that the presence of police at our schools will improve school safety, it is from personal experience that I can confidently say I do not feel safe when I see police. Every morning, I wake up at 5:00 am, prepare my things for school, and make my daily journey from my small studio apartment in West Hollywood to Manual Arts High School in South Los Angeles. And every morning, if I'm not welcomed by the four police cars that are always parked conveniently in the front of the school, then I see the four police officers staring me down as I rush through the front doors of what was once a haven for me: my high school."

AUG 2020 — Students present to the California Department of Education's Student Mental Health Policy Workgroup.

SEP 2020 — Students submit advocacy letter to LAUSD.

OCT 2020 — Students launch their petition for #CounselorsNotCops and #ArtsNotArrests.

JAN 2021 — Students deliver their petition to state officials with thousands of signatures. Students host separate meeting with representatives from the California Senate, Assembly, and State Board of Education.

FEB 2021 — Students host the Power to the Youth summit with over 350 student attendees. Students Deserve and Youth Justice Coalition join to present on police—free schools. Student Angelina Duran creates #BreaktheStigma sticker sent to over 100 students across the state.

APR 2021 — Students administer their 2021 student wellness survey and receive hundreds of responses.

MAY 2021 — Students present survey findings for Student Mental Health Week 2021.

Don't Even Know Where To Begin
By Mya Edwards—Peña
(LAUSD Class of 2020, Students Deserve LA)

I don't even know where to begin, This is a problem that's been there
Starting at the root, Like the tree that grew from fertile ground.
The Earth feeds the tree water, sunlight, and everything good,
naturalizing and growing it just like the world wants it to.
This is a problem that's been there, starting at the root,
trauma filled past and bedrock racism that has Black kids growing up thinking they are worthless.

We show up to our schools and walk around our communities feeling we are the threats,
That we are the reason why the school police are standing in the hallways breathing down our necks.

This is a problem that's been there, starting at the root,
The purpose of the police was to be slave catchers and imprison any Black person they saw not
with their white masters.
And now we have police in our schools who are meant to protect, counsel, and mentor me and you.

I've never talked or spoke to a school policeman a day in my life,
But I have friends who've been questioned, searched, arrested, tested, even pepper sprayed, one,
two, three, four times.

See, this is the problem that's toxic from the root,
LAUSD chooses to invest seventy million dollars in a dangerous, outdated system that criminalizes
Black and Brown youth.

And I'm talking about all levels, from elementary, middle, to high school,
Coming into Black and Brown schools and classrooms picking out those who seem suspicious
and are not surrounded by large white groups. This is a problem that Black and Brown youth have to
face,
they take us away as "threats",

Where we come from, police don't speak to us, mentor us, or do anything with us respectfully,
they throw us down and treat us like dirt.
And this is a problem that has started at the root,
We are not here to remove, reform, or reimagine police,
We are here to defund and put those dollars towards students like me and you.
imagine caring for Black and Brown youth like the tree with the long roots,
Like us, dare I say, Love us,
nourish us with psychiatric social workers, school psychologists, nurses, college counselors, and
campus aides who want to see us improve.

Divest that money from the school police, and see how soon we'll flourish and bloom,
Because once we peep mental health resources in our schools,
Black and Brown students will blossom like the tree you planted too.
This movement, Black Lives Matter, has nourished the soil this society kept starving,
And now look how we are igniting.

If we stick together, our ability to love and create will kill this evil root
that systematic racism has planted within me and you.

Goodbye school□to□prison pipeline, defund school police,
together let's welcome the water, sunlight, and everything good our protesting, uprising, and strength
will bring,
We will seed new roots of institutionalized justice for all the names we recite, for all the kids out
of sight, and all the Black folxs that will never have to think twice.

Why We Need School Police?[119]

By Dashaxn
(LAUSD Class of 2020, Brotherhood Crusade, BSS Coalition)

Why we need school police? Yeah. I don't get it.
They causing the friction. I'm really not wit it.

We need more counseling. Nurses, the lunches
Not meeting criteria.

Why we need school police? I'll say it again man
these Cops killing kids And we scared of the cops.
The gov is basically Letting em in, I don't understand.

Why we need school police? If the kids fighting,
the police igniting, you get sent to Juvie,
now you a parolee.
But all you needed was some counseling.

This the closest thing To blasphemy.
Ima start fighting back Casualties.
They not harassing me. They is not saving me.

Why we need school police? They need vacationing.
Matter fact Abolishment. We know what time it is.
Tired of following orders .Some youth got disorders.

The cops do not know us,
Especially povershed communities soldier.
They don't need training, we don't need they forces.

They is not helping, so we gon ignore em, you heard em.

We told em Just listen to youth. Abolish they forces.

APPENDIX B:
Top 25 Districts for School Arrests by Race and Disability Status per 1,000

Top 25 Districts for School Arrests by Race and Disability Status per 1,000

DISTRICT/LEA	Student Enrollment	Student Arrests	Student Arrests per 1,000	Students with Disabilities	Black	Latinx	Native American	Pacific Islander	White	Asian
STATE	**6,207,885**	**2,124**	**0.3**	**0.8**	**0.9**	**0.4**	**0.6**	**0.3**	**0.3**	**0.1**
Yuba County Office of Education	675	6	8.9	3.3	0.0	18.8	0.0	0.0	6.0	0.0
Janesville Union Elementary	352	3	8.5	40.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.4	0.0
Pixley Union Elementary	1,075	6	5.6	14.1	0.0	4.9	0.0	0.0	30.3	0.0
Central Union High	4,072	22	5.4	0.0	0.0	5.5	0.0	0.0	6.5	0.0
Huntington Beach Union High School District	16,174	76	4.7	11.5	0.0	5.8	0.0	0.0	4.7	4.5
Sequoia Union High	9,160	40	4.4	8.7	0.0	8.8	0.0	4.6	0.9	0.0
Baldwin Park Unified	12,918	52	4.0	0.0	41.7	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Madera County Superintendent of Schools	864	3	3.5	2.5	100.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
San Diego Unified	105,159	365	3.5	8.1	6.2	3.9	15.9	10.8	2.5	1.9
Calaveras Unified	2,905	9	3.1	5.2	0.0	5.3	40.9	66.7	1.5	0.0
Cloverdale Unified	1,429	4	2.8	5.1	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Chowchilla Union High	1,129	3	2.7	0.0	55.6	1.5	0.0	0.0	2.6	0.0
Mammoth Unified	1,196	3	2.5	35.7	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0
Torrance Unified	23,414	54	2.3	5.3	4.4	3.3	78.9	0.0	2.5	0.4
Tulare City	10,067	23	2.3	6.7	7.9	2.5	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.0
San Diego County Office of Education	1,418	3	2.1	6.9	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	11.8	0.0
Petaluma Joint Union High	5,256	11	2.1	4.1	0.0	1.2	0.0	0.0	2.3	0.0
Sonoma Valley Unified	3,959	8	2.0	5.2	52.6	1.6	0.0	0.0	2.2	0.0
Valley Center-Pauma Unified	4,023	8	2.0	8.2	0.0	2.8	2.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
Dinuba Unified	6,663	12	1.8	13.1	0.0	1.8	0.0	0.0	3.0	0.0
Lindsay Unified	4,447	8	1.8	0.0	0.0	1.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lompoc Unified	9,709	17	1.8	4.4	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Hacienda La Puente Unified	18,470	31	1.7	3.7	0.0	1.9	58.8	0.0	1.8	0.3
William S. Hart Union High	23,689	39	1.6	3.0	4.0	3.4	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0
Dos Palos Oro Loma Joint Unified	2,512	4	1.6	7.8	0.0	1.5	0.0	0.0	2.8	0.0
Clovis Unified	44,118	70	1.6	3.1	4.7	2.1	2.5	0.9	1.2	0.5

APPENDIX C:
Reported Incident by Type (LEO and Non—LEO Schools)

The CRDC dataset shows that schools with law enforcement do not experience a greater proportion of serious incidents than schools without law enforcement. The CRDC dataset tabulates school incident reports and the types of "offenses" involved in all reportable incidents. It is likely that some of these incidents involved referrals and arrest while others did not, but the dataset does not show the relationship between reported incidents and referrals or arrests. Instead, these data are interesting to report because they show that the vast majority of reported incidents or "offenses" that occur in schools are low—level incidents that do not involve a weapon. Further, the proportion of incident types is virtually identical across schools with and without an assigned law enforcement officer, which suggests that students in schools with assigned law enforcement officers are no more "violent" or "dangerous" than students in schools without law enforcement officers.

The "offenses" reported in the CRDC are incidents alleged to have occurred on—campus, at an off—campus event, or traveling to and from school or an event, regardless of whether the incident was during school hours and regardless of whether the incident involved a student. In schools with and without an assigned law enforcement officer, over 92% of reported incidents involved "Physical attack or fight without a weapon" and "Threats of physical attack without a weapon." Such incidents typically range from a student merely arguing or tussling with each other to a schoolyard scuffle.

	Schools WITH an assigned LEO	Schools without an assigned LEO
Physical attack or fight without a weapon	63.31%	62.22%
Threats of physical attack without a weapon	30.56%	30.71%
Robbery without a weapon	1.37%	0.93%
Possession of a firearm or explosive device	1.24%	1.41%
Physical attack or fight with a weapon	1.07%	1.50%
Sexual Assault (other than rape)	0.84%	0.98%
Threats of a physical attack with a firearm or explosive device	0.80%	0.44%
Threats of physical attack with a weapon	0.50%	1.34%
Robbery with a weapon	0.12%	0.06%
Rape or attempted rape	0.10%	0.06%
Physical attack or fight with a firearm or explosive device	0.07%	0.29%
Robbery with a firearm or explosive device	0.02%	0.06%

APPENDIX D:
School Police Salaries

The Transparent California website reports information on public salaries in various state agencies and can be used to gather data on police expenditures.[118] The chart below displays 2018 data on police salaries paid by 14 school districts throughout the state, including exorbitant spending on overtime pay. As seen below, these school districts take hundreds of thousands—or millions, in the case of Los Angeles USD—from classroom budgets to pay for police overtime. Recent school board resolutions to defund school police in Oakland USD and Los Angeles USD have significantly reduced district expenditures in overtime pay to police officers.

	% of Pay from Overtime	Total Pay	Overtime Pay	Total Pay & Benefit*
Inglewood USD	21%	$343,120	$71,459	$422,086
Los Angeles USD	19%	$36,529,567	$7,039,058	$50,439,659
Oakland USD	16%	$1,286,141	$1,286,141	$1,523,867
Hacienda La Puente USD	16%	$111,109	$694,070	$857,119
Kern Union High	16%	$2,918,163	$478,236	$3,877,294
Stockton USD	15%	$1,935,338	$287,213	$2,572,226
Fontana USD	14%	$1,805,878	$246,737	$2,386,753
Santa Ana USD	14%	$3,402,548	$489,266	$3,883,355
San Bernardino City	12%	$2,592,898	$301,085	$3,499,401
Twin Rivers	12%	$2,028,826	$244,930	$2,293,776
Compton USD	11%	$2,146,782	$243,802	$2,147,663
San Diego Unified	10%	$4,525,688	$430,635	$6,164,445
Montebello USD	7%	$166,237	$11,712	$247,682

Source: Transparent California 2017-2018

ENDNOTES

[1] "Latine" is a gender—inclusive term used in this report to replace the terms "Latina(s)," "Latino(s)," "Latinx(s)," and "Hispanic."

[2] Serious physical injury involves (1) a substantial risk of death; (2) extreme physical pain; (3) protracted and obvious disfigurement; or (4) protracted loss or impairment of the function of a bodily member, organ, or mental faculty.

[3] The San Joaquin County District Attorney subsequently filed criminal charges against the officer. Jennie Rodriguez—Moore & Elizabeth Roberts, D.A. Files Complaint in Strip Search of Teen, Recordnet.com (Feb. 3, 2015), http://www.recordnet.com/article/20150203/NEWS/150209938; Roger Phillips, Former SUSD Officer Pleads No Contest, Recordnet.com (Oct. 14, 2015), http://www.recordnet.com/article/20151014/NEWS/151019849.

[4] Scott Schwebke, Parents of 11—year—old Black Student Repeatedly Handcuffed by Deputies File Complaint Against Moreno Valley Unified, The Press—Enter. (July 16, 2020), https://www.pe.com/2020/07/16/parents—of—11—year—old—black—student—repeatedly—handcuffed—by—school—police—files—complaint—against—moreno—valley—unified/.

[5] Throughout this report, the term Indigenous is used to refer to populations that the data sources label American Indian, Alaska Native and Native American. These persons belong to the Indigenous tribes and villages of the continental United States and Alaska. Other students, such as Latine, Native Hawaiian, and First Nations students, among others, may also identify as Indigenous but are placed in a separate category in the data sets analyzed here.

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[55] OPEN JUST., *RIPA Stop Data*, CAL. DEP'T OF JUST., https://openjustice.doj.ca.gov/exploration/stop—data—k12.

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[57] To enable comparison of arrest and referral rates across schools with and without assigned police, the authors excluded from this analysis any online schools, homeschools, and schools with specific student populations such as students with disabilities, students with juvenile justice involvement, or students enrolled in continuation and community day school programs. Continuation education programs "provide[] a high school diploma that meets the needs of students of ages sixteen to eighteen who have not graduated from high school, are not exempt from compulsory school attendance, and are deemed at risk of not completing their education." *Continuation Education*, CAL. DEP'T OF EDUC. (July 21, 2020), https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/eo/ce/cefcontinuationed.asp. Community day schools are "schools for students who have been expelled form school or who have had problems with attendance or behavior" and administered by school districts. *Community Day Schools*, CAL. DEP'T OF EDUC. (Mar. 26, 2020), https://www.cde.ca.gov/sp/eo/cd/. A referral to law enforcement is defined by the Office for Civil Rights as "an action by which a student is reported to any law enforcement agency or official, including a school police unit, for an incident that occurs on school grounds, during school—related events, or while taking school transportation, regardless of whether official action is taken. Citations, tickets, court referrals, and school—related arrests are considered referrals to law enforcement." OFF. FOR CIV. RTS., *2017—18 Civil Rights Data Collection — School Form*, U.S. DEP'T OF EDUC. 73, https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/2017—18—crdc—school—form.pdf.

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[62] The highlighted numbers in Tables 4 and 5 represent actions during stops or stop results that were higher for racial groups that were more common for students in the indicated racial group than for all students stopped in response to calls for service.

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[77] Data analysis of 2018—2019 California Department of Education data by Tia Martinez (Forward Change) for Stockton Education Equity Coalition.

[78] Sᴛᴏᴄᴋᴛᴏɴ Eᴅᴜᴄ. Eǫᴜɪᴛʏ Cᴏᴀʟ., *supra* n.64.

[79] Data analysis of 2018—2019 California Department of Education data by Tia Martinez (Forward Change) for Stockton Education Equity Coalition.

[80] January 2021 Data Analysis by Social Movement Support Lab for the Stockton Education Equity Coalition.

[81] Sᴛᴏᴄᴋᴛᴏɴ Eᴅᴜᴄ. Eǫᴜɪᴛʏ Cᴏᴀʟ., *supra* n.64.

[82] Theresa Harrington, How Some California School Districts Deal With Students Absent From Virtual Classrooms, EdSource (Oct. 16, 2020), https://edsource.org/2020/how—some—california—school—districts—deal—with—absent—students/641504 (describing Oakland Unified School District's efforts to reach out to English Learner students through a translator who visited homes to enroll students and provide technology, and coordinated with social workers and counselors to find and support missing students).

[83] Cal. Sch. Dashboard, supra n.66.

[84] College/Career Readiness Calculation, Cal. Dep't of Educ., https://www.cde.ca.gov/ta/ac/cm/ccical.asp (listing 8 measures which are approved as indicating college or career readiness).

[85] Cal. Sch. Dashboard, Stockton High: Academic Performance (2019), Cal. Dep't of Educ., https://www.caschooldashboard.org/reports/39686760119784/2019/academic—performance#college—career; Cal. Sch. Dashboard, Jane Frederick High: Academic Performance (2019), Cal. Dep't of Educ., https://www.caschooldashboard.org/reports/39686763930211/2019/academic—performance#college—career.

[86] Cal. Sch. Dashboard, Stockton Unified: Academic Performance (2019), Cal. Dep't of Educ., https://www.caschooldashboard.org/reports/39686760000000/2019/academic—performance.

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[91] Id.

[92] Kyle Stokes, LAUSD Cuts School Police — A Major Victory for Activists — But Mostly Maintains Status Quo In Its Budget for Now, LAist (July 1, 2020), https://laist.com/2020/07/01/lausd_school_police_defund_budget_cuts_recap.php.

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[94] Terry Allen et al., Policing our Students: An Analysis of L.A. School Police Department Data (2014—2017), Million Dollar Hoods (Oct. 2018), http://milliondollarhoods.org/wp—content/uploads/2018/10/Policing—Our—Students—MDH—Report—Final.pdf.

[95] Moreno Valley Unified School District, MVUSD Board Meeting 7/23/20 (Study Session), YouTube, 2:00:00 (Jul. 23, 2020), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=34i9CGKtgLs.

[96] LCFF Budget Overview for Parents, Moreno Valley Unified Sch. Dist. (Jul. 12, 2019), https://4.files.edl.io/8b63/07/16/19/174715—7f382b37—8ad4—405e—807b—d522c7d83c8f.pdf.

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2006), https://www.masslegalservices.org/system/files/library/H.S.ed_and_arrest_—_ct_involvement_study_by_Sweeten.pdf.

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[108] In addition to under—reporting the number of police, the CRDC files appear to contain errors in school type. Correlating the CRDC files with similar information collected by the California Department of Education for the same school years showed that the CRDC undercounted the number of schools in juvenile justice facilities, the number of community day schools, and the number of schools serving special education populations. Despite addressing over 1700 variables, the CRDC files also do not contain crucial information related to social class, such as the number of students receiving free/reduced price meals.

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[110] L.A. UNIFIED SCH. DIST., *supra* n.85.

[111] COMM'N ON PEACE OFFICER STANDARDS AND TRAINING, *supra* n.58.

[112] Diliberti, *supra* n.49.

[113] Serious physical injury involves (1) a substantial risk of death; (2) extreme physical pain; (3) protracted and obvious disfigurement; or (4) protracted loss or impairment of the function of a bodily member, organ, or mental faculty.

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[115] Carolyn Jones, Why Mental Health Is Key to Dealing With Learning Loss, EDSOURCE (2021), https://edsource.org/2021/why—mental—health—is—the—key—to—dealing—with—learning—loss/653087.

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