



Stuck Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Disentangling the Intersections of Student Behavior, School Discipline, and School Safety in the Post-COVID Era



Richard O. Welsh and Kathryn James McGraw
Vanderbilt University

May 2025

National Education Policy Center

School of Education
University of Colorado Boulder
nepc.colorado.edu

Acknowledgements

NEPC Staff

Faith Boninger
Publications Manager

Jeff Bryant
Academic Editor

Elaine Duggan
Production Design

Alex Molnar
NEPC Director

Kevin Welner
NEPC Director

Suggested Citation: Welsh, R.O. & James McGraw, K. (2025). *Stuck between a rock and a hard place? Disentangling the intersections of student behavior, school discipline, and school safety in the post-COVID era*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. Retrieved [date] from <http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/safety>

Funding: This policy brief was made possible in part by funding from the Great Lakes Center for Educational Research and Practice.



Peer Review: *Stuck Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Disentangling the Intersections of Student Behavior, School Discipline, and School Safety in the Post-COVID Era* was double-blind peer-reviewed.



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/).

This publication is provided free of cost to NEPC's readers, who may make non-commercial use of it as long as NEPC and its author(s) are credited as the source. For inquiries about commercial use, please contact NEPC at nepc@colorado.edu.

The National Education Policy Center (NEPC), a university research center housed at the University of Colorado Boulder School of Education, sponsors research, produces policy briefs, and publishes expert third-party reviews of think tank reports. NEPC publications are written in accessible language and are intended for a broad audience that includes academic experts, policymakers, the media, and the general public. Our mission is to provide high-quality information in support of democratic deliberation about education policy. We are guided by the belief that the democratic governance of public education is strengthened when policies are based on sound evidence and support a multiracial society that is inclusive, kind, and just. Visit us at: <http://nepc.colorado.edu>



Stuck Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Disentangling the Intersections of Student Behavior, School Discipline, and School Safety in the Post-COVID Era

Richard O. Welsh and Kathryn James McGraw
Vanderbilt University

May 2025

I. Executive Summary

Student behavior, educators' perceptions of student behavior, and the management of perceived misbehavior in classrooms and schools were urgent concerns even prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Post-pandemic, they have only grown in urgency. To better understand what is known about student behavior, school discipline policies, and school safety post-COVID, this policy brief examines the historical and contemporary relationship between student behavior and school safety.

School discipline and school safety are interrelated topics. But they are also distinct and have been conflated by policymakers and others who discuss them as a singular or combined challenge in K-12 education. School safety can involve violent behavior as well as instances of harm or clear and present risk of harms. School discipline is concerned with the everyday, non-violent, non-severe, subjective interpretation of and response to how students behave in classrooms and schools.

Policymakers' conflation of these two topics can be traced back to the 1990s. School discipline problems are often framed as a school safety issue, and school safety reforms are offered as a solution to challenges in student behavior, without full consideration of the implications for longstanding disparities in students' disciplinary outcomes. Some politicians and appointees have connected school shootings to discipline reform efforts, such as limiting suspension or introducing restorative practices.

In many ways, the problem with conflating school safety with school discipline originated in federal government policy. Laws such as the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement

Act and the Gun-Free Schools Act (GFSA) frame exclusionary school discipline practices as the means by which to address safety concerns. The “tough-on-crime” approach these laws ushered into schools, known as “securitization,” mushroomed into schools incorporating ever more aspects of the criminal justice system into the management of student behavior. The spread of securitization practices and policies, such as hiring school resource officers (SROs) and installing technologies like metal detectors and video surveillance, exemplify the conflation of positing school safety reforms to address school discipline concerns regarding the management of student behavior. Securitization and other discipline-as-safety measures are not only associated with adverse implications for the disciplinary experiences and outcomes of students of color, especially for Black students, but they also fail to make schools safer. In other words, responses to student behavior not supported by research evidence can create more problems than they solve.

Districts and schools are continuing to grapple with the aftereffects of COVID-19. The pandemic worsened existing inequities and increased the needs and trauma of students and educators in schools. The pandemic affected the mental health of everyone involved in schooling and shaped not only student behavior but also the perception and response to misbehavior. These realities heighten challenges for teachers, school leaders, and district officials seeking to make schools safe and provide an inclusive learning environment for all students. The increase in student misbehavior, particularly verbal and physical aggression, can also have adverse effects on teacher retention and recruitment. And the pandemic’s adverse impact on the mental health and well-being of both students and educators has far outpaced supports. In response to the post-pandemic uptick in student misbehavior, states are hardening their approach to managing student behavior by accelerating various forms of exclusionary discipline, reverting to exclusionary policies at the state and district levels, giving additional discretion to teachers to remove students from classrooms, and securitizing schools.

The pandemic affected the mental health of everyone involved in schooling and shaped not only student behavior but also the perception and response to misbehavior.

The distinction between school safety and school discipline is crucial as the definition of the problem shapes and constrains policy solutions. When schools conflate discipline problems with safety, they often respond to an uptick in behavioral challenges with

harsher school safety measures, such as SROs and metal detectors. Although only a minor proportion of school discipline infractions are serious offenses, they seem to play a major role in shaping the direction of both school discipline reforms and school safety initiatives. Disentangling school discipline from school safety is essential to creating safer schools and restoring instructional time robbed from Black students when they have experienced exclusionary discipline.

A growing evidence base provides some insights on how to do this. They include investing in supportive approaches to behavior management, bolstering support for educators and students, and addressing the underlying forces that shape student behavior and educators’ perceptions and responses to misbehavior. Cascading these supports at various educational governance levels paves the way to addressing school safety and school discipline concerns as distinct issues with overlapping yet separate reforms that result in improving school safety and reducing discipline disparities. To create safer and more supportive schools, we rec-

commend that policymakers and educational leaders take the following actions:

Federal and State-Level Policymakers:

- Provide funding for mental health support for educators and students, such as implementing evidence-based programs like hiring and retaining personnel (e.g., counselors or therapists) and adopting an Interconnected Systems Framework.
- Provide funding for coaching and professional development for educators through ESSA Title II, Part A, for evidence-based programs, such as Double Check and My Teaching Partner coaching.
- Invest in student threat assessment programs, such as by training a new team to conduct behavioral threat assessments or evaluating the effectiveness of an existing threat assessment team.
- Invest in social-emotional programs for both educators and students (e.g., collaborative consultations for teachers and curricula like Leader in Me for students) to foster a positive school climate, which in turn creates safer schools and reduces discipline disparities.

District and School Leaders:

- Prioritize educator and student well-being by investing in programs targeted to schools' contexts and needs (e.g., the Safe School Ambassador Program, Interconnected Systems Framework, and the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program).
- Adopt policies that clearly define the role of SROs in schools and state how and when they can and cannot be engaged in the disciplinary process in schools.



Stuck Between a Rock and a Hard Place? Disentangling the Intersections of Student Behavior, School Discipline, and School Safety in the Post-COVID Era

Richard O. Welsh and Kathryn James McGraw
Vanderbilt University

May 2025

II. Introduction

Student behavior, educators' perceptions of students' behavior, and the management of perceived misbehavior in classrooms and schools were urgent concerns prior to the COVID-19 pandemic.¹ Since COVID-19, educators reported that behavioral issues among K-12 students have been on the rise in the U.S. A majority, 59%, of district leaders surveyed in the fall of 2021 described increased school discipline issues as a moderate or major concern.^{2,3} Additionally, school shootings, though still relatively rare, have increased in recent years.⁴ The uptick in student misbehavior, coupled with high-profile shooting incidents, has made school discipline and school safety two of the most important educational policy issues in the post-pandemic period.⁵

Although school discipline and school safety are separate, yet sometimes interrelated, topics, policymakers and others have often conflated the two issues and discussed them as a singular or combined challenge in K-12 education.^{6,7} In this brief, we begin with defining and distinguishing between school safety and school discipline and explain why these distinctions are fundamental to making schools safer and reducing racial inequities in students' disciplinary outcomes (see Appendix Table 1 outlining similarities and differences between the two policy challenges).

School discipline is the process of responding to perceived student misbehavior and rule violations (i.e., "infractions, involvement or engagement in behaviors that violate rules"),⁸ ranging in severity from out-of-uniform socks to sexual assault and guns on campus. Student behavior is managed in different ways across states, districts, and schools through a range of practices, personnel, and policies, such as school climate interventions, behavior

specialists, and codes of conduct.⁹ *Exclusionary discipline* refers to policies, practices, and personnel that respond to undesired behaviors by removing students from the classroom and/or school—such as in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, expulsion, and alternative school.¹⁰ School safety, on the other hand, “is often defined as the absence of a negative, such as the absence of violence, bullying and harassment, or substance use.”¹¹ The NIJ-funded Comprehensive School Safety Initiative (CSSI) suggests that there are three key components of school safety: a) school climate, b) student behavior, and c) physical security.¹² Some specific misbehaviors—such as fighting, sexual assault, or bringing a weapon to campus—are both disciplinary infractions and safety issues. Despite the reality that many behavior infractions are *not* safety concerns, policymakers have a history of using exclusionary discipline tactics to respond to rises in school safety concerns.¹³

Certainly, some student behaviors may make teachers and other students feel unsafe and can raise school safety concerns, but perceptions of student behaviors, such as insubordination and disruption, are mostly subjective and require some discretion when making decisions about disciplinary consequences, such as suspensions and expulsions. As such, it is important to differentiate the severity and nature of student behavior when considering the distinctions between school discipline and school safety. While school safety is concerned with more severe and objective behavior, such as weapons possession or sexual assault, school discipline is concerned with well-documented racialized differences in how subjective disciplinary infractions (e.g., student incivility, defiance) is perceived and addressed. While school safety concerns violent behavior by students, or others, and instances of harm or clear and present risk of harms, school discipline is concerned with the everyday, non-violent, non-severe, subjective interpretation of and response to how students behave in classrooms and schools.

Teacher and administrator perceptions and discretion are at the core of the school discipline policy challenge. Adults in schools make determinations of whether, when, and how severely a student is misbehaving or posing a threat to the safety of themselves or others. A wealth of research documents that these evaluations are rife with racial bias and stereotypes.¹⁴ Both legitimate connections between school safety and school discipline, as well as inaccurate conflation of them, are often racialized (see Appendix Table 1).

When schools don’t address discipline and safety separately, students of color, male students, and students with disabilities encounter discipline policies that cause irreparable harm. This is especially the case for Black children.¹⁵ Race is one of the most important factors that determines how teachers and administrators view and respond to student behavior.¹⁶ For example, when taught by a teacher who does not share their same racial or ethnic identity, Black and/or Latino¹⁷ students are at increased risk of being rated as disruptive and inattentive.¹⁸ These students do not misbehave more than White students. Rather, a growing number of studies pinpoint differential treatment as a key contributor to racial discipline disparities.^{19, 20} For instance, a 2024 report by the United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) found that:

Black girls comprised 15 percent of all girls in public schools but received almost half of suspensions and expulsions. Further, GAO’s analysis of school year 2017–18 infraction or behavior data showed that Black girls received harsher

punishments than White girls even when the infractions that prompted disciplinary action were similar. For example, Black girls had higher rates of exclusionary discipline compared to White girls for similar behaviors such as defiance, disrespect, and disruption. The data also show that in every state in the U.S., Black girls are disciplined at higher rates. When they also had a disability, exclusionary discipline rates of Black girls grew larger.²¹

These discipline disparities matter and are consequential for the lives and livelihoods of students. A robust literature links exclusionary discipline to worse outcomes in achievement, health, and adult well-being.²² A 2024 report from the Centers for Disease Control & Prevention highlighted the prevalence of unfair disciplinary practices, as reported by students, and the link between exclusionary discipline and a variety of health risks, calling school discipline “an urgent public health problem.”²³

Emerging post-pandemic school discipline trends mirror those pre-COVID-19, and, as students settled back into in-person learning after the pandemic, racial disparities in school discipline returned. Both the 2020-2021 Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) data and state and district data reveal school discipline in the aftermath of the pandemic continues trends from prior to the pandemic.^{24,25} For instance, in North Carolina, the Southern Coalition for School Justice 2022-2023 Racial Equity Report Cards found that Black students were roughly four times more likely to receive a short-term suspension than White students.^{26, 27}

This policy brief examines the historical and contemporary relationship between student behavior and school safety to determine what we know about student behavior, school discipline policies, and school safety post-COVID. We review several different forms of interdisciplinary research including literature reviews, surveys, journal articles, and reports on student behavior post-pandemic, mental health, school discipline, school safety, and post-pandemic stressors. First, we discuss the intersection of school safety and school discipline going back to the 1990s. Next, we delve deeper into how the pandemic may have shaped the dynamics of student behavior and the response of states and districts, via school discipline policy, to the post-pandemic uptick in student misbehavior. We conclude with recommendations for policymakers and practitioners.

III. Review of the Literature: The Historical Relationship Between School Discipline and School Safety

Conflating School Discipline With School Safety Prior to the Pandemic

Since the 1990s, policymakers conflated school safety and school discipline. School discipline problems are often framed as a school safety issue, and school safety reforms are offered as a solution to challenges in student behavior without full consideration of the implications for longstanding disparities in students’ disciplinary outcomes. Some politicians and appointees have connected school shootings to discipline reform efforts, such as limiting suspension or introducing restorative practices.²⁸ For example, in 2013, Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Florida implemented a school-based diversion program that provided

behavioral supports, counseling, mentoring, and connections to county-funded wraparound services to students involved in nonviolent infractions.²⁹ This program, called PROMISE, served students when their disciplinary infractions were not violent in nature but their infractions made them eligible for out-of-school suspension and/or juvenile arrest.³⁰ Florida Senator Marco Rubio and others blamed this program for the mass shooting of 14 students and three staff which occurred there in 2018, despite the fact that commissions investigating the shooting found no relationship between the program and the tragedy.³¹

In many ways, the problem with conflating school safety with school discipline originated in federal government policy. In the 1980s and 1990s, crime rates and public concern with crime both rose.³² In 1994, Congress passed the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act and the Gun-Free Schools Act (GFSA). Both laws advanced “tough on crime” narratives and included similar policy mandates, such as mandatory minimum sentences for specific offenses.³³ The GFSA, which stipulates that eligibility for federal Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) funding hinges on state law requiring the expulsion of students with a weapon on campus, solidified the connection between school discipline policies and school safety policies and entrenched a “tough on crime” policy response in schools.^{34, 35} The law frames exclusionary discipline as the means by which to address safety concerns. The GFSA also directed local education agencies to develop policies requiring school leaders to refer students with firearms at school to law enforcement. Scholars cite this requirement as the modern genesis of the school-to-prison pipeline.³⁶ The Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994 paved the way for hiring police in schools and elevated the idea that the challenge of responding to student misbehavior is equivalent to keeping students safe in schools. A zero-tolerance approach to managing student behavior unified the policy approach to both school safety and school discipline by framing the two as the same problem.

The GFSA only required zero-tolerance, mandatory-expulsion policies for weapons on campus. However, following this act, throughout the 1990s and 2000s, states applied zero tolerance and mandatory exclusion responses to a growing list of nonviolent and subjective behaviors including offenses such as fighting, defiance, and truancy.³⁷ Scholars attribute this growth in state and local mandatory expulsion and zero tolerance policies to the GFSA.³⁸

Throughout the 2010s, changes to state discipline policies moved away from exclusionary approaches and towards less punitive policies and practices.³⁹ Thirty-six states enacted laws limiting the use of suspension or expulsion and 30 states provided guidance and/or funding for districts and schools to implement preventative and/or restorative behavior management and discipline policies and practices.⁴⁰ The Education Commission of the States’ state legislation tracking database reveals a steep decline in the number of state zero-tolerance policies, declining from an average of five zero-tolerance policies passed annually from 2000-2004 to only seven zero-tolerance discipline laws passed from 2014-2019.⁴¹

The Nature and Impact of a Zero-Tolerance Approach to Student Behavior

“Zero tolerance” does not have a single, consistent meaning.⁴² For example, the federal Department of Education’s Office of Civil Rights defines zero tolerance as a policy that “re-

quires mandatory expulsion of any student who commits one or more specified offenses,”⁴³ whereas some literature uses the phrase to refer to all exclusionary discipline. Still others use the term to refer to policies and practices which perpetuate the school-to-prison pipeline or “securitized” school environments.^{44,45} As a result of the GFSA’s impacts on funding eligibility, all 50 states and the District of Columbia require expulsion for students with weapons on campus but may or may not explicitly use zero-tolerance language.⁴⁶

Zero-tolerance and mandatory expulsion policies function to criminalize students in schools, disproportionately impacting Black students. Policies mandating expulsion for non-weapons offenses, policies not required by the GFSA, are more common in districts serving a large proportion of racially marginalized students.⁴⁷ Zero-tolerance and mandatory expulsion policies are not linked to improvements in student behavior but are tied to widening discipline disparities between Black and White students.⁴⁸ Furthermore, they mirror and exacerbate the criminalization Black and Latinx youth experience outside of school.⁴⁹

The Securitization Response to Student Behavior

The response to student behavior, school violence, school safety, and discipline concerns can be broadly classified into two general types of approaches: a) hardening or securitizing schools through an increase in physical security measures, surveillance technology, and security personnel, and b) a comprehensive support strategy of improving school climate and student behavior supports, alongside select physical security tactics (see Appendix Table 2).⁵⁰ Although educational leaders, nationally, are charged with strengthening their security and addressing school discipline,⁵¹ and there is a solidifying consensus that corrective actions to address school safety are needed, there is less consensus on what to do.⁵² Interest and advocacy groups, state legislators, local school boards, and governors propose an array of measures including arming teachers, increasing police officers in schools, adding security cameras, and revising school discipline policies.⁵³ Several states have adopted Florida’s approach, following the Parkland shooting, which required or expanded armed “guardians”—school resource officers (SROs) or armed educators/staff—while also investing in mental health supports.⁵⁴

In the two decades since the Gun-Free Schools Act’s (GFSA’s) passage, the “tough-on-crime” approach it ushered into schools mushroomed into schools incorporating ever more aspects of the criminal justice system. This trend, known as “securitization,” also increased in response to school shootings.^{55,56} While not the dominant policy response, there was also uneven investment in student- and community-centered approaches during this time.⁵⁷

Research consistently finds that policies intended to increase safety on school campuses through securitization actually decrease students’ feelings of safety.⁵⁸ Additionally, surveillance and securitization policy responses to safety concerns are disproportionately implemented in schools and districts serving large proportions of Black and brown students.^{59,60} Despite the fact that proponents justify securitization using examples of extreme school violence, it is most often deployed in instances of disorderly or disruptive conduct, vandalism, and other nonviolent behaviors.⁶¹ The spread of securitization practices and policies, such as hiring SROs and installing technologies like metal detectors and video surveillance,

exemplifies the conflation of school discipline with school safety reforms.⁶²

Securitization and broader discipline-as-safety policies are best predicted by the racial composition of a school, even when controlling for school and neighborhood crime and youth delinquency.⁶³ Just as exclusionary discipline practices have been linked to a host of negative in- and out-of-school outcomes, securitization practices, such as metal detectors and law enforcement, are associated with worse school climate, decreased student trust of school adults, lower academic performance, increased absenteeism, and higher rates of student arrest.^{64,65} These linkages perpetuate the school-to-prison pipeline, which disproportionately ensnares Black and brown students.^{66,67} Disparities in student arrest rates are the widest for students with intersectional marginalized racial and ability identities. Black boys and girls with a disability are arrested at rates four and three times the overall student rate, respectively.⁶⁸ Non-securitization safety policies, such as threat assessment⁶⁹ and mental health supports for students, are not associated with widening disparities, although they have not been found to consistently mitigate disparities.⁷⁰

In addition to the negative student outcomes associated with securitization and other discipline-as-safety measures, scholars have long critiqued the failure of these policies to produce safer schools.⁷¹ In 2010, Gregory and colleagues highlighted that “there is little research identifying the characteristics of a safe school.”⁷² This is still true today. Scheel and colleagues, in their 2024 review of 25 years of research on school safety in charter school settings, found that the literature focuses on perceptions of safety and incident frequency with noted gaps in safety assessment measures.⁷³ Suspending or expelling students does not create more effective instructional environments.⁷⁴ In a systematic review of 12 school securitization technologies, Schwartz and colleagues did not identify evidence that any of them significantly improved safety in schools, despite the fact that some, such as video monitoring, have been found to reduce property crime in non-school settings.⁷⁵ Researchers examining the outcomes associated with securitization policies, programs, and personnel frequently found increases in exclusionary disciplinary actions but no significant improvements in safety.⁷⁶ However, public health approaches and threat assessments are associated with reductions in school violence.⁷⁷

IV. Recent Developments in Student Behavior, School Discipline, and School Safety

As pandemic-related mandates and masks fade from our recent memories, research is revealing the nature and depth of learning loss as well as the long road to academic recovery.⁷⁸ Incoming high schoolers in the 2023-2024 school year are nearly a year behind academically.⁷⁹ And the effects of the pandemic took a devastating toll on the mental health and well-being of both students and educators.⁸⁰

Since the COVID-19 pandemic, multiple salient changes are shaping school discipline and school safety: (a) perceived and actual worsening of student behavior, (b) deteriorating mental health of students, and (c) declining educator well-being. As detailed below, surveys and interviews with parents, educators, and medical practitioners highlight a growing and

concurrent educator and student mental health and well-being crisis.⁸¹ Any efforts to address the discipline disparities and safety crises in schools are also complicated by the fact that student behavior is perceived through racialized lenses.⁸² Furthermore, poor educator well-being is associated with poor student mental health and increased student behavior challenges.⁸³

Post-COVID stressors such as the loss of parent or caregiver were widespread and disproportionately affected Black and brown communities.⁸⁴ Other COVID-related traumas that continue to shape students' behavior in the post-pandemic period include social isolation, academic struggles in remote learning, youth suicide, educator exhaustion and burnout from myriad adjustments in instructional modes, and the murder of George Floyd and its aftermath. We explore each of these factors in the contexts of how student behavior is perceived in classrooms and schools and how policymakers at all levels have responded.

Perceived and Real Worsening of Student Behavior

Multiple recent surveys suggest that student behavior is an increasing concern among educators. A December 2024 survey of teachers and school and district leaders found an overall increase, compared to 2021 and 2023, in the share of educators who said student misbehavior is worse than it was in the fall of 2019 (pre-pandemic) and an increase in those saying misbehavior is “a lot” worse.⁸⁵ The share of educators reporting more misbehavior, compared to the fall of 2019, consistently increased from 2021 through 2024.⁸⁶ A survey of teachers, principals, and district leaders conducted in 2023 found that educators at all levels were more likely to respond that student behavior is a top-five concern than they were prior to the pandemic.⁸⁷ Respondents signaled that the most common types of undesired behaviors—such as opposition and disconnect or disengagement—were the same as before the pandemic, but starkly more common.^{88,89} A 2023 American Psychological Association survey found that verbal assault and threats against teachers are declining from their COVID-era peaks, but remain higher than pre-COVID levels.⁹⁰ The most recent NCES data, meanwhile, find that the percentage of teachers reporting being physically threatened or injured by a student has decreased since 2010.⁹¹

Educators associate changes in student behavior with the pandemic. Most principals, 84%, agreed or strongly agreed that students' behavioral development has been negatively impacted by the pandemic.⁹² When asked about specific behavior changes attributable to the pandemic, 56% of principals reported increases in disruptive student misconduct, 48% reported increased disrespect of teachers and staff, and 33% reported an increase in fights or physical attacks.⁹³ Teachers and support staff, such as school-based social workers, connected a rise in concerning behaviors, ranging from disengagement to physical fights, to isolation and trauma students endured during the pandemic.⁹⁴ Although many school and district leaders acknowledged social, emotional, and psychological harms students experienced throughout the pandemic, they framed exclusionary discipline as a necessary response to student misbehavior and the need to keep students from falling further behind in the wake of pandemic-related learning loss.⁹⁵

Over the course of the pandemic, 40% of students suffered at least one adverse childhood

experience, including loss of a parent, food insecurity, or family separation.⁹⁶ By June 2021, more than 140,000 American children lost a caregiver to COVID-19.⁹⁷ These losses were not experienced evenly across the population. Although Black and Latinx individuals comprise 13% and 18% of the overall U.S. population, respectively, they composed 22% and 34% of summer 2020 COVID-19 cases. Also, the COVID-19 mortality rate was over twice as high for Black patients compared to White patients.⁹⁸ Black and Hispanic youth, respectively, were 2.4 and 1.8 times more likely than White youth to lose a parent or caregiver to COVID.⁹⁹ Medical and public health scholars understand these disparities to be shaped by the structural social determinants of health.^{100,101}

Deteriorating Student Mental Health

The pandemic compounded an existing student mental health crisis that had, to some extent, flown under the radar.¹⁰² During the pandemic, rates of stress, anxiety, and depression worsened for children and youth.¹⁰³ The 2021 CDC Youth Risk Behavior Survey, the first following the pandemic, highlighted the urgency of the mental health crisis. According to the survey findings, nearly half of high school students (42%) felt sad or hopeless regularly, compared to 26% in 2009.¹⁰⁴ As of March 2024, 70% of public school teachers recommended at least one student receive mental health support or intervention in the 2023-2024 school year.¹⁰⁵

National survey data consistently describe a decline in youth mental health and suggest that the mental health crisis is not analogous to concerns over school safety and youth violence.¹⁰⁶ Josh Weber, the director of juvenile justice programs for the Council of State Governments, noted that the surge in media and political attention on school safety and youth crime post-COVID focused on extreme cases of youth violence and neglected to report the ways in which the juvenile justice system became a common means through which youth received mental health supports.¹⁰⁷ Growing evidence suggests that experiencing exclusionary discipline is associated with increased odds of depression and anxiety symptoms, thus compounding the heightened needs unleashed by the pandemic.¹⁰⁸

Educators nationwide report that students' mental health is in crisis.¹⁰⁹ When surveyed, 92% of superintendents responded that mental health crises are “worse now” than prior to the start of the pandemic, with 57% responding “significantly worse.”¹¹⁰ Superintendents' concerns about mental health, along with reports of in-person and online bullying, are roughly constant regardless of the proportion of low-income students their districts serve. And educators aren't the only ones who are concerned—71% of parents said the pandemic harmed their child's mental health.¹¹¹ Mental-health related emergency room visits have increased,¹¹² as have hospitalizations for self-harm.¹¹³ Spikes in hospitalizations for suicide attempts and depressive symptoms are aligned with the school calendar, at the start of a semester and with state testing season.¹¹⁴

Declining Educator Well-Being

Surveys of teachers' mental health in the aftermath of the pandemic are also concerning:

48% of public school teachers and 32% of private school teachers report their mental health has a negative impact on their work.¹¹⁵ A spring 2024 survey of teachers who left the profession found that burnout was a contributing factor for over 70% of former teachers.¹¹⁶ While survey data on educator mental health do not reach a consensus regarding whether there have been improvements or declines in 2023 and 2024, it is apparent that teacher well-being has declined compared to before the pandemic, and teachers are doing far worse than other working adults.^{117,118} Teachers who reported that their own mental health has a negative impact on their work were more likely to also respond that students' mental health had a negative impact on academic and behavioral outcomes in the classroom.¹¹⁹

The limited evidence on the relationship between teacher well-being and student behavior in the wake of COVID suggests that student behavior is a source of stress and, for some teachers, a safety concern.¹²⁰ A 2023 RAND survey found that managing student behavior was the top source of job-related stress, with 46% of all teachers reporting it was one of the top three sources of stress at their job.¹²¹ Twenty-seven percent selected "supporting my students' mental health and well-being" as one of the top three sources of stress. While 26% of teachers said they "sometimes" or "often" fear for their physical safety at school, and 31% said they rarely fear for their safety at school, over half of those with safety fears attributed their fear to student misbehavior. Over half of teachers responding that they fear for their physical safety were afraid of an active shooter at the school, and a third were afraid of students' physical fights.¹²² A systematic review on teachers' depression and anxiety found that teachers reporting more student problem behaviors and worse school climate report depression and anxiety at higher rates than teachers reporting fewer problem behaviors and/or stronger school climate.¹²³ Relatedly, teachers who reported higher confidence managing student behaviors reported fewer symptoms of depression or anxiety and lower intentions to leave teaching.¹²⁴

Post-COVID-19 Changes in School Discipline Policy

How are districts and schools responding to the all-time highs in students' and teachers' mental health needs? The emerging evidence suggests that districts and schools that are changing their discipline policies to respond to changes in student behavior in the post-pandemic era. However, they are continuing to conflate school discipline and school safety. As we discuss below, the policy response at state and district levels often resembles a return to zero-tolerance,¹²⁵ or a ramping up of some forms of exclusionary discipline, such as suspensions or assignments to alternative school, or a slowdown in policies endorsing non-exclusionary punishment.

Education law scholar Thalia Gonzalez describes the contemporary school discipline policy landscape as a "period of retrenchment."¹²⁶ Indeed, changes in student behavior, and the public dialogue around the changes, tend to provoke political and policy attention to school discipline.¹²⁷ In 2023, state and local school discipline policy in many states received media attention for expanding exclusionary approaches. State legislation commonly expanded or protected teachers' ability to remove students from classrooms (sometimes by force) or repealed restrictions on suspensions for elementary students.¹²⁸

Since the onset of COVID-19, 37 states have enacted 163 legislative changes to school discipline policy. Most of these laws (96 of 163) modify the guidelines for administering punitive discipline. In the 2023 legislative cycle, 20 of the 26 bills on punitive discipline widened the use of exclusionary punishment.¹²⁹ Relatedly, the number of states allowing students to be excluded for “defiant” or “disruptive” behavior increased to 40 in the post-COVID period.¹³⁰ These developments are particularly concerning given that subjective offenses like “disruptive” behavior drive racial disparities in students’ disciplinary outcomes.¹³¹ The number of states allowing exceptions to statutory limits on exclusionary discipline, such as bans on suspensions for K-2 students, also increased post-COVID.¹³² Such legislation used language describing students in criminalizing or adultifying ways, such as Illinois HB219, which allows for restraint or solitary time-out if the student poses an “imminent danger.” Legislation like this can legitimize a pathway through which Black children may be subjected to physically harsh exclusionary discipline once they are deemed a “danger” by school staff.¹³³ The numbers of bills or laws which offer guidelines for narrowing punitive discipline or alternatives to punitive discipline is also shrinking, which is a stark shift from Obama-era state school discipline policy. Then, many states passed reforms banning the use of suspension for certain offenses—like truancy or disrespect—or in specific grade bands such as pre-K-2.¹³⁴

The political response to post-pandemic behavior incidents is bipartisan, a notable divergence from pre-pandemic political action on school discipline policy.¹³⁵ Media coverage of state legislative activity on school discipline highlights that new laws not only authorize stricter punishments for students deemed disruptive, but also lower the bar for what is considered disruptive to include behavior like using profanity or exhibiting willful disobedience.¹³⁶ Similarly, new laws—such as Rhode Island S2578, Tennessee HB16, and Tennessee S1755—all widen the use of exclusionary punishment. These bills implicitly describe student behavior as not responsive to school-based intervention, using language like “the student is not benefiting from the student’s assignment to the alternative school.”¹³⁷ Teachers’ unions in states ranging from Nevada to Massachusetts publicly supported more exclusionary school discipline policies.¹³⁸

School Discipline Policy at the District Level

Following the murder of George Floyd, many school districts also revised school discipline and school safety policies by canceling or restricting the presence of law enforcement and/or school resource officers (SROs).¹³⁹ Many districts, including Minneapolis, Denver, and Portland, fully ended their relationship with local police departments, while others, like Los Angeles, amended their contracts to reduce police presence at school. These policy changes were typically paired with an investment in social workers, mental health professionals, or other student supports.¹⁴⁰ Districts also invested resources in staff and programming aiming to better address the root causes of student behavior by, for instance, adding behavior analysts in Jefferson County (Louisville), Kentucky, or expanding restorative justice in New York City.¹⁴¹ Teachers also reported that, upon returning to school in the fall of 2020, administrators emphasized the need to give students “grace,” thus, connecting changes in student behavior to both the racial justice reckoning and the collective trauma students endured during the pandemic.¹⁴² But, unlike removing police from schools or hiring support staff,

“grace” is not a formal policy commitment. Some districts implemented a discipline matrix to create consistency between schools regarding how teachers and administrators should address student behaviors.¹⁴³ Districts also amended their codes of conduct in response to investigations by the federal government during this period. For example, following federal investigations, Wichita, Kansas, introduced a tiered system to determine the response for specific offenses, and Rapid City, South Dakota, implemented restrictions on the use of law enforcement in school discipline.¹⁴⁴

In contrast, motivated by changes in student behavior, some districts revised their codes of conduct to endorse more exclusionary discipline post-COVID—even reversing earlier policy changes like those described above. Common revisions included allowing teachers to remove students from their classrooms or widening the circumstances in which administrators can suspend students—by, for instance, expanding eligibility for suspension by adding more offense types and/or decreasing the number of qualifying offense occurrences.¹⁴⁵ Some districts that initially implemented discipline matrices to encourage more consistent and less exclusionary responses to misbehavior amended their matrices to emphasize when and how students can be suspended or expelled.¹⁴⁶ Examples of such districts that made these changes in response to violence on school campuses include Baltimore, Detroit, and Denver. Yet, community members and advocates have questioned whether expanding exclusion will address the root causes of school violence.¹⁴⁷

V. Discussion and Analysis

Attempts like those described above to revise codes of conduct may potentially reduce inequities in school discipline, especially when subjective offenses are the reported reason for exclusion. Yet, these policy changes are necessary but not sufficient to disrupt discipline disparities.¹⁴⁸ Changes in school discipline policy, at both the state and district levels, have led to a reduction of suspensions or the general use of exclusionary discipline, but racial disparities remain persistent. Policy changes, such as bans on suspensions for specific offenses, have been shown to decrease the overall frequency of exclusionary punishment without narrowing racial disparities.¹⁴⁹ Below, we discuss how educator development programs such as My Teaching Partner and Double Check (two teacher coaching interventions) *have* been effective in reducing disparities in office discipline referrals and suspensions (see Appendix Table 2 for complete list of evidence-based strategies).

The distinction between school safety and school discipline is crucial as the definition of the problem shapes and constrains policy solutions.¹⁵⁰ Although school safety and student discipline concerns may occasionally overlap, they are separate and distinct issues. When schools conflate discipline problems with safety, they often respond to an uptick in behavioral challenges with harsher school safety measures, such as school resource officers (SROs) and metal detectors. Although only a minor proportion of school discipline infractions are serious offenses, they seem to play a major role in shaping the direction of both school discipline reforms and school safety initiatives. Incidences of violent and physical experiences in classrooms are relatively rare and separate from incidences of Black students and students with disabilities (SWD) being disciplined for subjective offenses, which are quite commonplace.¹⁵¹ In the five years prior to the pandemic, over a million suspensions were issued

for vague, subjective offense types like “disruption,” “other,” or “violation of student code of conduct”—over 70 percent of all suspensions in some states.¹⁵² Black students are more likely to be suspended for such subjective reasons, and thereby lose instructional time and educational opportunity.¹⁵³

Responding to student misbehavior by hardening schools and imposing exclusionary poses multiple problems. First, exclusionary discipline fails to address post-pandemic increases in students’ needs and risks, widening inequities in students’ short- and long-term academic, health, and social outcomes. Also, hardening schools typically results in educators responding to subjective, non-severe infractions as if they were more severe threats to student and teacher safety. When schools respond to subjective disciplinary infractions with exclusionary discipline, well-documented racial inequities result, with Black students largely bearing the brunt. Even when school discipline reforms lead to declines in the overall number of suspensions and expulsions, Black students still experience disproportionate levels of exclusionary discipline. Districts and schools that respond to an uptick in student behavior by giving teachers more discretion to use exclusionary discipline or by hardening schools with safety reforms, such as SROs, raise real and urgent concerns about Black students being criminalized, disproportionately referred to the office, suspended, and exposed to law enforcement for minor behavioral infractions.

When schools respond to student behavior with security measures instead of discipline reforms, students of color face heightened exposure to law enforcement instead of support. The number of SROs in schools has increased over time, to where, now, roughly half of all schools use SROs.¹⁵⁴ Even when safety reforms explained as school discipline responses, such as the presence of SROs, result in safety benefits like crime reduction, the benefits may come at a cost to school discipline by increasing suspension rates and worsening racial disparities in educational and well-being outcomes.^{155,156} In some districts, the post-COVID debate over returning police to schools engaged with topics of racism and structural inequality. In Denver, for example, parent advocates voiced concerns that Black and brown students were disproportionately impacted by spikes in school violence but were also disproportionately harmed by police in schools.¹⁵⁷ A growing number of studies have highlighted the importance of clarifying the role of SROs and their engagement in the disciplinary process in schools, especially the use of non-sworn security guards relative to SROs.¹⁵⁸ An increase in the presence of SROs is associated with a decline in positive perceptions of school climate and safety and an increase in reports of minor incidents of misbehavior.¹⁵⁹ Students’ encounters with SROs—especially for non-severe, subjective disciplinary infractions—and involvement with the juvenile justice system can disrupt lives and livelihoods in deeply consequential ways.¹⁶⁰

Creating Safer Schools and Disrupting Discipline Disparities

So, how do we make schools safer? A 2025 review of the evidence produced by the National Institute of Justice’s (NIJ) Comprehensive School Safety Initiative (CSSI) concluded that increased safety is a result of “evidence-based strategies for addressing school climate, student behavior, and physical security with consideration for the school’s unique needs and resources.”¹⁶¹ The CSSI report emphasized that responses to concerning student behavior produce safer schools only when schools address the underlying causes of the behavior,

such as trauma or anxiety. The CSSI review of the evidence on programs and policies that create safer schools found that the key components of safe schools are: a) positive school climate, b) approaches to student behavior that “enhance the protective factors (e.g., supportive relationships) and mitigate the risk factors (e.g., deviant peers, victimization) for problem behavior and violence,”¹⁶² and c) physical security strategies or technologies that meet data-identified needs, do not cause harm, and align with “[schools’] norms, values, and relationships.”¹⁶³ While not directly naming the conflation of discipline and safety, the report arrived at a similar conclusion as we report here: Responding to concerns about misbehavior with exclusionary discipline tactics not only worsens racial disparities in discipline, but also damages school climate, slows academic gains, and does nothing to produce safer schools.^{164,165} Prior scholarship has found that responding to unsatisfied mental health needs with disciplinary action likely fuels the school-to-prison pipeline.^{166,167,168}

Investments in fostering a positive school climate can make schools safer and reduce discipline disparities.¹⁶⁹ Scholars and the federal government have found that improving school climate can reduce racial discipline inequalities.¹⁷⁰ These studies recommend collecting data using climate surveys to best match evidence-based climate programs, like the Safe School Ambassador Program and the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program, with school needs.¹⁷¹ Researchers who have examined how investments in school climate can create safer schools have suggested multiple ways this happens; for example, by preventing more concerning behaviors, by creating an environment of trust, or by facilitating reporting when concerning behaviors do occur.¹⁷² Many elements of positive school climates, which have psychosocial protective factors like high-quality teacher-student relationships and parent connectedness, can ward off students’ depression and anxiety symptoms.¹⁷³

Investments in supporting the well-being of both students and educators can also create safer schools and reduce discipline disparities. Given consideration of post-COVID stressors, it is apparent that students are not the only priority—educators also need support. Yet, educators are often left out of the conversations on how to disrupt discipline disparities. Supporting teachers and school leaders is essential to addressing the toll of the pandemic and post-pandemic recovery on educator well-being.

Another evidence-based strategy to create safer schools is the student threat assessment. Threat assessment programs that aim to prevent violence and enhance school safety have also been found to reduce student suspensions.¹⁷⁴ As outlined in the recently released School Threat Assessment Toolkit, there are three stages of behavioral threat assessment and management:

- (1) identifying an individual as threatening violence, (2) gathering information to assess the nature and seriousness of the threat, and (3) implementing interventions to reduce the risk that the threat will be carried out. In some cases, the interventions should be extended over time and require ongoing monitoring and evaluation of their effectiveness.¹⁷⁵

Enacting stricter gun control laws in the U.S. is another, albeit polarizing, way to make schools safer. However, this is a larger social and cultural issue beyond the purview and agency of educational leaders and practitioners. As the case of Tennessee in recent years

demonstrates, investments in fortifying schools, paired with wanton gun access, makes creating safer schools a fleeting illusion. Gun violence is perhaps the biggest threat to school safety, evinced by the disturbingly frequent instances of school shootings. Even beyond Tennessee's local instances of gun violence, the national climate surrounding police at school has shifted, as 2022 set a record for the number of school shootings in a year (46).

Policies that support school administrators and teachers, by emphasizing educator-focused interventions as much as student-focused programs, constitute an important strategic direction in discipline reform.¹⁷⁶ Surveys have found that school leaders can support teachers in the disciplinary process by, for instance, prioritizing educator well-being and providing time for teachers to collaborate and swap best practices.¹⁷⁷ Research has shown that promising, evidence-based, educator-focused school discipline reforms that may reduce discipline disparities include developing an empathic mindset, coaching programs like Double Check and My Teaching Partner, and providing educators professional development in classroom management and culturally responsive practices (see Appendix Table 2).¹⁷⁸ Federal legislators can expand existing funding for such educator-focused professional learning programs through ESSA Title II, Part A.¹⁷⁹ At the federal level, legislation that promotes an ethos of support in schools, such as the Counseling Not Criminalization in Schools Act and the Ending PUSHOUT Act, also constitutes an important strategy for discipline reform.¹⁸⁰ At state and district levels, investments in discipline reform can support teachers and school leaders to respond to non-severe, subjective behaviors without resorting to exclusionary discipline by enhancing their skills, empathy, and capacity to build relationships with diverse student populations and improve classroom management. Examples are the Interconnected Systems Framework (ISF) or Okonofua and colleagues' empathetic mindset interventions.¹⁸¹ Also, state policymakers can support teachers and school leaders by providing funding for coaching and professional development programs shown to help narrow racial disparities. State departments of education and teacher preparation programs can also ensure that teachers are equipped with culturally responsive classroom management practices by providing license endorsements for such training or requiring it outright, following the lead of states like Colorado and Illinois.¹⁸² Similarly, investing in student and educator well-being and social-emotional competencies will likely have positive benefits for students' disciplinary outcomes and experiences, given the association between poor educator well-being and poor student outcomes and the documented teacher and student outcomes associated with social-emotional initiatives like Leader in Me (LiM) and collaborative consultations to foster teachers' critical reflexivity.¹⁸³

Summing It Up

Both policymakers and researchers often lump together their responses to racial disparities in school discipline referrals and suspensions with their responses to school shooting and safety concerns. Thus, policy and research conversations about school discipline are connected and conflated with the discourse on interventions for school safety. Even though worrying trends in educators' and students' mental health and well-being have accelerated in the post-pandemic period, discipline policy has rehardened. But disentangling discipline policies from school safety issues will make schools safer and keep students, especially Black

students, in classrooms and schools.

When there are upticks in student misbehavior, state, district, and school leaders have alternatives to hardening schools. These include investing in supportive approaches to behavior management, bolstering support for educators and students, and addressing the underlying forces that shape student behavior and educators' perceptions and responses to misbehavior. Federal and state policymakers can play an instrumental role in funding additional school personnel and educator-focused programs to help support the management of student behavior. Leaders in education policymaking and provision, at all levels of government, have a role to play in prioritizing and investing in more mental health support for students and educators, including investing in access to mental health services for both educators and students and evidence-based programs that reduce discipline disparities.¹⁸⁴ Cascading these supports is a pathway to not only improving school safety but also to reducing discipline disparities.

VI. Recommendations

Addressing student behavior challenges and unprecedented learning loss and heightened student and educator needs in the post-pandemic world is an important educational policy and equity matter. School safety is not school discipline, even though the two issues overlap in the most violent infractions where students pose a threat to themselves, peers, and teachers or their schooling environment. To achieve the separate goals of creating safer schools and reducing racial inequities in exclusionary discipline, we recommend that policymakers follow the evidence-based pathway outlined below:

Federal and State-Level Policymakers:

- Provide funding for mental health support for educators and students, such as implementing evidence-based programs like hiring and retaining personnel (e.g., counselors or therapists) and adopting an Interconnected Systems Framework.
- Provide funding for coaching and professional development for educators through ESSA Title II, Part A, for evidence-based programs, such as Double Check and My Teaching Partner coaching.
- Invest in student threat assessment programs, such as by training a new team to conduct behavioral threat assessments or evaluating the effectiveness of an existing threat assessment team.
- Invest in social-emotional programs for both educators and students (e.g., collaborative consultations for teachers and curricula like Leader in Me for students) to foster a positive school climate, which in turn creates safer schools and reduces discipline disparities.

District and School Leaders:

- Prioritize educator and student well-being by investing in programs targeted to schools' contexts and needs (e.g., the Safe School Ambassador Program, Interconnected Systems Framework, and the Olweus Bullying Prevention Program).
- Adopt policies that clearly define the role of SROs in schools and state how and when they can and cannot be engaged in the disciplinary process in schools.

Appendix

Table 1: Differences and Overlaps Between School Safety and School Discipline

	School Safety	School Discipline
Definition(s)	<p>“Safety is often defined as the absence of a negative (such as the absence of violence, bullying and harassment, or substance use) . . . but rather [is] the existence of positive elements such as interconnection, belonging, voice, and agency.”¹⁸⁵</p> <p>Many scholars understand safety as the product of positive school climate: “safe and supportive learning environments . . . promote student well-being and academic success”¹⁸⁶</p> <p>Policymakers and law enforcement personnel often frame school safety as about crime and the “real or perceived threat of youth violence.”¹⁸⁷</p>	<p>The “disciplinary process [proceeds] from perceived misbehavior to exclusionary disciplinary consequences . . . [encompassing] the relationship between the prevalence, differential selection, and differential processing of office discipline referral (ODRs) and suspensions.”¹⁸⁸</p> <p>Misbehavior “also referred to as infraction, describes involvement or engagement in behaviors that violate rules.”¹⁸⁹</p>
Policy Challenge/Objective	Keeping schools safe	Reducing racialized differences in how perceived student misbehavior is addressed and transforming racial inequities in students’ disciplinary outcomes
Student Behavior of Interest	Severe, serious, threatening	Subjective, non-severe, minor, non-serious
Key Actors	<p>Students within a school—e.g., group fights and school shooters from inside school</p> <p>Outside threats—e.g., shooters from outside of school</p>	<p>Disruptive students inside classrooms, hallways, and on the school bus</p> <p>Teachers and school leaders responding to student behavior</p>
Key Research Evidence Motivating Policy Problem	Increase in school shootings	Persistent racial disparities afflicting largely Black students

<p>Connections</p>	<p>Social “control is deeply embedded in the design of safety and discipline policies and practices in educational settings, resulting in the creation of exclusionary forms of discipline, the placement of physical barriers around spaces of learning, and the increasing use of law enforcement on campuses.”¹⁹⁰</p> <p>“Deficit narratives describing school environments and young people frame exclusionary discipline and policies of control as crucial to achieving and maintaining school safety. Not only do these practices and policies often fail to achieve school or public safety, but they often cause harm to young people...”¹⁹¹</p> <p>“The discipline code of conduct refers to the guidelines put in place to ensure that students can engage in learning without distractions. It is also designed to sustain and maintain school safety.”¹⁹²</p>	
<p>Racialized Elements</p>	<p>Perceptions and judgements of ‘safety threats’ are often racialized, shaped by implicit and/or explicit bias. The behavior of Black and brown boys and girls is often interpreted through racial tropes (e.g., “Jezebel,” “angry Black girl,” “dangerous Black man”); even when schools have identical safety ratings and technologies, non-Black parents and students rate predominantly Black schools as less safe than schools with other racial compositions.¹⁹³</p> <p>Securitization (e.g., metal detectors, cameras) and school police are more prevalent in schools serving mostly students of color—especially Black students. Furthermore, “in predominantly Black enrollment schools, SROs see their role as protecting staff and students from the students themselves.”¹⁹⁴</p> <p>‘School safety’ concerns emerged in the late 1960s amid youth activism for and against racial justice on college and high school campuses. Safety discourse surged in the 1980s in connection with the War on Drugs, which disproportionately brought securitization measures to schools serving students of color and low-income students.¹⁹⁵</p>	<p>Subjective disciplinary offenses like “disrespect” or “disruptive behavior” are subject to educator discretion. Discretion is subject to centuries-old stereotypes and biases. For example, research documents that Black students are more likely than students of other races to be perceived as adultlike, threatening, or criminal by adults in schools.¹⁹⁶</p> <p>Racial disparities in disciplinary outcomes are driven by racial disparities in referral and exclusion rates for subjective offenses.¹⁹⁷</p> <p>Racial disparities in exclusionary discipline emerged after school integration and are best understood as one of many educational manifestations of structural racism. As early as 1975, the Children’s Defense Fund issued reports on racial disparities in discipline, spotlighting how discipline policies were used to exclude Black children from “integrated” schools.¹⁹⁸</p>

Table 2: Evidence-Based Strategies to Make Schools Safer and Reduce Discipline Disparities

	School Safety¹⁹⁹	School Discipline²⁰⁰
<i>Policies</i>	<p>State policies on the roles and responsibilities of school resource officers</p> <p>District weapons policies (e.g., what “counts” as a weapon for mandatory expulsion)</p> <p>Emergency Operations Plans (i.e., detailing how staff respond in the event of a fire, active shooter, etc.)²⁰¹</p>	<p>District Codes of Conduct</p> <p>Guidance on reporting/ referring (e.g., chart of office-managed or classroom-managed behaviors)</p> <p>State discipline policies (e.g., suspension bans for K-2 or as a consequence for truancy)²⁰²</p>
<i>Programs and Practices</i>	<p>Student Threat Assessment²⁰³</p> <p>Securitization (e.g., installing metal detectors, requiring student IDs, surveillance cameras, fencing/ restrictions on points of access, presence of drug dogs, clear backpacks, weapon detection software, shatter-resistant film)²⁰⁴</p> <p>Partnerships between school districts and law enforcement</p> <p>School Climate</p>	<p>School-wide Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS)²⁰⁵</p> <p>Restorative practices²⁰⁶</p> <p>Social Emotional Learning²⁰⁷</p> <p>Empathy Intervention²⁰⁸</p> <p>Project REACT²⁰⁹</p> <p>GREET-STOP-PROMPT²¹⁰</p> <p>Culturally Responsive Teaching²¹¹</p> <p>Double Check model²¹²</p> <p>Student self-affirmations²¹³</p> <p>Coaching and professional development²¹⁴</p> <p>Interconnected Systems Framework (ISF)²¹⁵</p> <p>School climate interventions</p>
<i>Personnel</i>	<p>School Resource Officers (SROs)²¹⁶</p>	<p>Behavior specialists supporting students and educators in the disciplinary process</p> <p>Paraprofessionals or teachers assigned to administer in-school suspension (ISS)</p> <p>Restorative coordinators and personnel supporting the implementation of programs²¹⁷</p>

Notes and References

- 1 In a 2019 survey on the frequency of disruptive behaviors over the last three years, between 29-45 percent of school and district administrators, teachers, and support staff responded that there are “more now”– and 29-39 percent said there are “significantly more now.” Specifically, teachers reported the following behaviors to be “frequent” (several times a week) or “very frequent” (several times a day): (a) disruptions: tantrums or oppositional defiance (52% report), (b) unresponsiveness (46%), bullying (21%), or (c) verbal abuse of other students (19%).

EAB. (2019). *Breaking bad behavior: The rise of classroom disruptions in early grades and how districts are responding* (No. 36571; District Leadership Forum). EAB. Retrieved June 20, 2024, from <https://pages.eab.com/rs/732-GKV-655/images/BreakingBadBehaviorStudy.pdf>

- 2 Both *school discipline* and *student discipline* have been used interchangeably in the past to refer to how school manage student behavior and assign disciplinary consequences. We deliberately use *school discipline* instead of *student discipline*, following prior research (e.g., Gregory et al., 2017; Skiba et al., 2002; Welsh & Little, 2018). Although students and not schools are disciplined or punished, the use of the term *school discipline* shifts the burden of racial inequities away from student behavior by positioning districts and schools as the primary agents of change in reducing racial inequality in school discipline.

Gregory, A., Skiba, R.J., & Mediratta, K. (2017). Eliminating disparities in school discipline: A framework for intervention. *Review of Research in Education*, 41(1), 253–278. Retrieved September 14, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X17690499>

Skiba, R.J., Michael, R.S., Nardo, A.C., & Peterson, R.L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The Urban Review*, 34(4), 317–342. Retrieved September 19, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021320817372>

Welsh, R.O. & Little, S. (2018). The school discipline dilemma: A comprehensive review of disparities and alternative approaches (p. 4, Supplementary material). *Review of Educational Research*, 88(5), 752–794. Retrieved September 1, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654318791582>

- 3 Diliberti, M.K. & Schwartz, H.L. (2022, February 7). *District leaders’ concerns about mental health and political polarization in schools: Selected findings from the fourth American School District Panel Survey*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 29, 2023, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA956-8.html

- 4 Shootings resulting in casualties at schools were at their highest level since data collection began in 2000.

Keierleber, M. (2018, March 29). Despite focus on school shootings, classroom violence is on the decline— And 5 other key facts from a new federal report on school safety. *The 74*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.the74million.org/despite-focus-on-school-shootings-classroom-violence-is-on-the-decline-and-5-other-key-facts-from-a-new-federal-report-on-school-safety/>

Keierleber, M. (2018, August 9). Inside the \$3 billion school security industry: Companies market sophisticated technology to ‘harden’ campuses, but will it make us safe? *The 74*. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://www.the74million.org/article/inside-the-3-billion-school-security-industry-companies-market-sophisticated-technology-to-harden-campus-but-will-it-make-us-safe/>

Mallett, C.A. (2020). School shootings and security lock-downs: Myths, positive school climates, and safer campuses. *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, 71(4), 5–21. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/jfcj.12184>

National Center for Education Statistics. (2022, July 6). *More than 80 percent of U.S. public schools report*

pandemic has negatively impacted student behavior and socio-emotional development. National Center for Education Statistics Annual Report. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from https://nces.ed.gov/whatsnew/press_releases/07_06_2022.asp

- 5 “School safety” can imply varied and even conflicting meanings: physical safety, mental safety, safety for students, safety from students, safety from outside environments.

Cowan, K.C., Vaillancourt, K., Rossen, E., & Pollitt, K. (2015). *A framework for safe and successful schools. Updated*. National Association of School Psychologists. Retrieved October 23, 2024, from <https://eric-ed-gov.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/?id=ED612657>

Hyman, I.A. & Perone, D.C. (1998). The other side of school violence: Educator policies and practices that may contribute to student misbehavior. *Journal of School Psychology, 36*(1), 7–27. Retrieved November 13, 2024, from [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405\(97\)87007-0](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0022-4405(97)87007-0)

Lacoe, J.R. (2015). Unequally safe: The race gap in school safety. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice, 13*(2), 143–168. Retrieved November 13, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204014532659>

Moon, B. & McCluskey, J. (2020). An exploratory study of violence and aggression against teachers in middle and high schools: Prevalence, predictors, and negative consequences. *Journal of School Violence, 19*(2), 122–137. Retrieved November 13, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2018.1540010>

Scott, J.T., Moses, M.S., Finnigan, K., Trujillo, T., & Jackson, D. (2017). *Law and order in school and society: How discipline and policing policies harm students of color, and what we can do about it*. National Education Policy Center. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/law-and-order>

Shean, M. & Mander, D. (2020). Building emotional safety for students in school environments: Challenges and opportunities. In R. Midford, G. Nutton, B. Hyndman, & S. Silburn (Eds.), *Health and Education Interdependence: Thriving from Birth to Adulthood* (pp. 225–248). Springer. Retrieved November 13, 2024, from https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-3959-6_12

Tanner-Smith, E.E., Fisher, B.W., Addington, L.A., & Gardella, J.H. (2018). Adding security, but subtracting safety? Exploring schools’ use of multiple visible security measures. *American Journal of Criminal Justice, 43*(1), 102–119. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-017-9409-3>

- 6 Researchers, too, have sometimes conflated discipline with safety, with some scholarship discussing more inclusive discipline as “balanced” with school safety concerns.

McCarthy, M.R. & Soodak, L.C. (2007). The politics of discipline: Balancing school safety and rights of students with disabilities. *Exceptional Children, 73*(4), 456–474. Retrieved November 12, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/001440290707300404>

Johnson, O., Jabbari, J., Williams, M., & Marcucci, O. (2019). Disparate impacts: Balancing the need for safe schools with racial equity in discipline. *Policy Insights from the Behavioral and Brain Sciences, 6*(2), 162–169. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/2372732219864707>

- 7 Yet, scholars have been cautioning for decades that disciplinary responses to safety concerns – especially zero-tolerance responses – increase exclusion and exacerbate racial disparities without producing safer schools.

Kupchik, A. (2010). *Homeroom security: School discipline in an age of fear*. NYU Press.

Morrison, G.M., Redding, M., Fisher, E., & Peterson, R. (2006). Assessing school discipline. In S.R. Jimerson & M. Furlong (Eds.), *Handbook of school violence and school safety: From research to practice* (pp. 211–220). Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers. Retrieved September 30, 2024, from <https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2006-03632-014>

Osher, D., Bear, G.G., Sprague, J.R., & Doyle, W. (2010). How can we improve school discipline? *Educational*

Researcher, 39(1), 48–58. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X09357618>

- 8 Irby, D.J. (2013). Net-deepening of school discipline. *The Urban Review*, 45(2), 197–219. Retrieved October 17, 2023 from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-012-0217-2>

Skiba, R.J., Chung, C.G., Trachok, M., Baker, T.L., Sheya, A., & Hughes, R.L. (2014). Parsing Disciplinary disproportionality: contributions of infraction, student, and school characteristics to out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *American Educational Research Journal*, 51(4), 640–670. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831214541670>

Welsh, R.O. & Little, S. (2018). The school discipline dilemma: A comprehensive review of disparities and alternative approaches (pp. 4, Supplementary material). *Review of Educational Research*, 88(5), 752–794. Retrieved September 1, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654318791582>
- 9 Welsh, R.O. (2021). Economics of urban education: Race, resources, and control in schools. In H.R. Milner IV & K. Lomotey (Eds.), *Handbook of Urban Education* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- 10 Rodriguez, L.A. & Welsh, R.O. (2022). The dimensions of school discipline: Toward a comprehensive framework for measuring discipline patterns and outcomes in schools. *AERA Open*, 8. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584221083669>
- 11 Trout, L., Pate, C., Wu, K., & McKenna, J. (2022). *Reimagining school safety: A guide for schools and communities* (p. 1). Center to Improve Social and Emotional Learning and School Safety. Retrieved January 3, 2024, from https://selcenter.wested.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/SEL_Reimagining-School-Safety-A-Guide-for-School-and-Communities_ADA-2.pdf
- 12 Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework*. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>

Office of Justice Programs. (2025). *Five things about comprehensive approaches to school safety* (NCJ 309995; Advancing Justice through Science) (p. 1). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/five-things-about-comprehensive-approaches-school-safety>
- 13 Wall, P. (2023, March 28). Lawmakers across U.S. push for harsher school discipline as safety fears rise. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2023/3/28/23658974/school-discipline-violence-safety-state-law-suspensions-restorative-justice>
- 14 Baker, T.L. (2019). Reframing the connections between deficit thinking, microaggressions, and teacher perceptions of defiance. *Journal of Negro Education*, 88(2), 103–113. Retrieved June 3, 2024, from <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/417/article/802584>

Brown, A.L. (2018). From subhuman to human kind: Implicit bias, racial memory, and Black males in schools and society. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 93(1), 52–65. Retrieved June 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2017.1403176>

Carey, R.L. (2024). Criminalized or stigmatized? An intersectional power analysis of the charter school treatment of Black and Latino boys. *Urban Education*, 60(5), 1187–1221. Retrieved February 8, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859241227947>

Carter Andrews, D.J., Brown, T., Castro, E., & Id-Deen, E. (2019). The impossibility of being “Perfect and White”: Black girls’ racialized and gendered schooling experiences. *American Educational Research Journal*, 56(6), 2531–2572. Retrieved June 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831219849392>

Epstein, R., Blake, J., & González, T. (2017). *Girlhood interrupted: The erasure of Black girls’ childhood* (SSRN Scholarly Paper 3000695). Retrieved June 6, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3000695>

Farinde-Wu, A., Butler, B.R., & Allen-Handy, A. (2022). Policing Black femininity: The hypercriminalization of Black girls in an urban school. *Gender and Education*, 34(7), 804–820. Retrieved January 3, 2025 from <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2022.2072477>

Gadson, C.A. & Lewis, J.A. (2022). Devalued, overdisciplined, and stereotyped: An exploration of gendered racial microaggressions among Black adolescent girls. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 69(1), 14–26. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000571>

Medina Falzone, G. (2022). Case studies in social death: The criminalization and dehumanization of six Black and Latino boys. *The Urban Review*, 54(2), 233–254. Retrieved January 3, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-021-00617-y>

Monroe, C.R. (2005). Why are “Bad Boys” always Black?: Causes of disproportionality in school discipline and recommendations for change. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, 79(1), 45–50. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3200/TCHS.79.1.45-50>

Morris, E.W. (2005). “Tuck in that Shirt!” Race, class, gender, and discipline in an urban school. *Sociological Perspectives*, 48(1), 25–48. Retrieved June 2, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2005.48.1.25>

- 15 A growing number of recent studies have made it abundantly clear that Black children experience the largest disciplinary disparities of all racial/ethnic groups. These disparities are even more stark when examined using an intersectional lens (e.g., Black girls, Black boys with disabilities). Research on Latinx students’ discipline disparities is not as consistent or alarming: Latinx students are more likely to experience exclusionary discipline than White students, but less likely than Black students, with variation by schooling level, with some studies finding elementary Latinx students are *underrepresented* in discipline data. Nationwide, Black students have the highest rates of both in-school suspensions (ISS) and out of school suspensions (OSS). Black students lose the most instructional time due to exclusionary discipline. Black students are twice as likely to be suspended as White students. Black students, as a group, experience discipline in schools differently.

Darling-Hammond, S. & Ho, E. (2024). No matter how you slice it, black students are punished more: The persistence and pervasiveness of discipline disparities. *AERA Open*, 10. Retrieved December 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584241293411>

Gage, N.A., Katsiyannis, A., Carrero, K.M., Miller, R., & Pico, D. (2021). Exploring disproportionate discipline for Latinx students with and without disabilities: A national analysis. *Behavioral Disorders*, 47(1), 3–13. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0198742920961356>

Losen, Daniel J. & Paul Martinez. (2020). *Lost opportunities: How disparate school discipline continues to drive differences in the opportunity to learn*. Retrieved April 17, 2025, from <https://escholarship.org/uc/item/7hm2456z>

School Discipline Lab. (n.d.). *School Discipline 101*. Retrieved April 17, 2025, from <https://www.disciplinelab.com/>

Welsh, R.O. & Little, S. (2018). The school discipline dilemma: A comprehensive review of disparities and alternative approaches (pp. 4, Supplementary material). *Review of Educational Research*, 88(5), 752–794. Retrieved September 1, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654318791582>

Welsh, R.O., & Rodriguez, L.A. (2024). The plight of persistently disciplined students: Examining frequent flyers and the conversion of office discipline referrals into suspensions. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 46(1), 160-170.

Welsh, R.O., Rodriguez, L.A., & Joseph, B. (2025). Racial threat, schools, and exclusionary discipline: Evidence from New York City. *Sociology of Education*, 98(2), 87-109. Retrieved April 17, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/00380407251321387>

U.S. GAO. (2024). *Nationally, Black girls receive more frequent and more severe discipline in school*

than other girls (Report Congressional Requesters GAO-24-106787; K-12 Education). U. S. Government Accountability Office. Retrieved April 17, 2025, from <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-24-106787.pdf>

- 16 Owens, J. (2023). Seeing behavior as Black, brown, or White: Teachers' racial/ethnic bias in perceptions of routine classroom misbehavior. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 86(3), 298–311. Retrieved October 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/01902725231177644>

Tanase, M. & Gorksi, P. (2025). Personal deficiency, racism, or culture clash?: Teacher candidates' beliefs about why racial discipline disparities exist. *Teaching and Teacher Education*, 154, 104852. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.tate.2024.104852>

Sack, J.K., Griffith, A.N., & Crimmins, B. (2024). “How about you just ask?": Uplifting black adolescent girls' reflections on educators' decisions in the context of discipline disproportionality. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 1-24. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2024.2427599>

- 17 We use “Hispanic,” “Latino/a,” or “Latinx” following the term(s) used in the original scholarship we cite. Given that individuals participating in research studies chose which term(s) did or did not describe their identities, we honor their self-description by preserving it here.

- 18 Redding, C. (2019). A teacher like me: A review of the effect of student–teacher racial/ethnic matching on teacher perceptions of students and student academic and behavioral outcomes. *Review of Educational Research*, 89(4), 499–535. Retrieved December 9, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654319853545>

- 19 Ferguson, Z.E., Jarvis, S.N., Antonoplis, S., & Okonofua, J.A. (2023). Principal beliefs predict responses to individual students' misbehavior. *Educational Researcher*, 52(5), 315–319. Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X231158389>

Gilliam, W.S., Maupin, A.N., Reyes, C.R., Accavitti, M., & Shic, F. (2016). *Do early educators' implicit biases regarding sex and race relate to behavior expectations and recommendations of preschool expulsions and suspensions?* Yale University Child Study Center. Retrieved May 1, 2024, from https://www.jsu.edu/scholars/files/2017/03/Preschool-Implicit-Bias-Policy-Brief_final_9_26_276766_5379.pdf

Goff, P.A., Jackson, M.C., Di Leone, B.A.L., Culotta, C.M., & DiTomasso, N.A. (2014). The essence of innocence: Consequences of dehumanizing Black children. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 106(4), 526–545. Retrieved November 12, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0035663>

Jarvis, S.N. & Okonofua, J.A. (2020). School deferred: When bias affects school leaders. *Social Psychological and Personality Science*, 11(4), 492–498. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1948550619875150>

Legette, K.B., & Anyon, Y. (2023). Just go to the office! An intersectional exploration of the role of race and gender in discipline referral reasons. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 1–21. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2023.2192946>

Legette, K.B., Supple, A., Harris, J., & Halberstadt, A.G. (2023). Teachers' racialized anger: Implications for discipline disparities. *Journal of School Psychology*, 99, 101221. Retrieved May 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2023.05.004>

Okonofua, J.A. & Eberhardt, J.L. (2015). Two strikes: Race and the disciplining of young students. *Psychological Science*, 26(5), 617–624. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0956797615570365>

Markowitz, D.M., Kittelman, A., Girvan, E.J., Santiago-Rosario, M.R., & McIntosh, K. (2023). Taking note of our biases: How language patterns reveal bias underlying the use of office discipline referrals in exclusionary discipline. *Educational Researcher*, 52(9), 525-534. Retrieved October 16, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X231189444>

- Barrett, N., McEachin, A., Mills, J.N., & Valant, J. (2021). Disparities and discrimination in student discipline by race and family income. *Journal of Human Resources*, 56(3), 711-748. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3368/jhr.56.3.0118-9267R2>
- 20 Owens & McLanahan examined the main contributors to racial disparities in suspensions and expulsions (i.e., mechanisms) and found that the differential treatment and support of students with similar behaviors accounted for the majority of disparities in exclusionary discipline.
- Owens, J. & McLanahan, S.S. (2020, June 12). Unpacking the drivers of racial disparities in school suspension and expulsion. *Social Forces*, 98(4), 1548–1577. Retrieved April 3, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soz095>
- 21 U.S. GAO. (2024). *Nationally, Black girls receive more frequent and more severe discipline in school than other girls* (Report Congressional Requesters GAO-24-106787; K-12 Education). U.S. Government Accountability Office. Retrieved April 17, 2025, from <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-24-106787.pdf>
- 22 Davison, M., Penner, A.M., Penner, E.K., Pharris-Ciurej, N., Porter, S.R., Rose, E.K., Shem-Tov, Y., & Yoo, P. (2022, April 1). School discipline and racial disparities in early adulthood. *Educational Researcher*, 51(3), 231–234. Retrieved November 2, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X211061732>
- Hemez, P., Brent, J.J., & Mowen, T.J. (2020, July 1). Exploring the school-to-prison pipeline: How school suspensions influence incarceration during young adulthood. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 18(3), 235–255. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204019880945>
- Losen, D.J. & Martinez, P. (2020). Lost opportunities: How disparate school discipline continues to drive differences in the opportunity to learn. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved January 25, 2025, from https://learningpolicyinstitute.org/media/508/download?inline&file=CRDC_School_Discipline_REPORT.pdf
- Niño, M., Angton, A., Norton-Smith, K., & Allison, K. The long arm of school punishment: The role of school suspension on self-rated health from adolescence to midlife. *Socius* 10 (2024). Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23780231241284942>
- Noltmeyer, A.L., Ward, R.M., & McLoughlin, C. (2015, June 1). Relationship between school suspension and student outcomes: A meta-analysis. *School Psychology Review*, 44(2), 224–241. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.17105/spr-14-0008.1>
- Welsh, R.O. & Little, S. (2018, November 1). Caste and control in schools: A systematic review of the pathways, rates and correlates of exclusion due to school discipline. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 94, 315–339. Retrieved April 21, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.09.031>
- 23 Krause, K.H., Bell, C., Jordan, B., et al. *Report of unfair discipline at school and associations with health risk behaviors and experiences – Youth Risk Behavior Survey*, United States, 2023. MMWR Suppl 2024;73(Suppl-4), 69–78. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from <http://dx.doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.su7304a8>
- 24 Similar trends include (a) disparities as early as preschool—Black preschool children accounted for 17 percent of preschool enrollment but 31 percent of children who received one or more OSS, (b) more ISS than OSS - 786,600 students received one or more ISS compared to 638,700 students receiving one or more OSS (c) racial disparities persist—Black boys were roughly twice as likely as White boys to receive an OSS and Black girls were nearly twice as likely to receive an ISS (or OSS) than White girls and (d) suspensions results in lost instructional time—students receiving one or more OSS missed more than 2 million school days.
- Office of Civil Rights. (2023). *2020-21 Civil Rights data collection student discipline and school climate in U.S. public schools*. U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved November 10, 2023, from https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/crdc-discipline-school-climate-report.pdf?utm_content=&utm_medium=email&utm_name=&utm_source=govdelivery&utm_term=

- 25 In the 2022-23 year, Black female and male students in Ohio were six and 4.3 times more likely to be suspended or expelled than their White peers, respectively. OSS rates may have even increased in some urban districts.

Tebben, S. (2024, August 23). Report: Ohio school-to-prison pipeline bolstered by “exclusionary discipline,” absenteeism. *Ohio Capital Journal*. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://ohiocapitaljournal.com/2024/08/23/report-ohio-school-to-prison-pipeline-bolstered-by-exclusionary-discipline-absenteeism/>

In New York City, administrators issued 5.5% more superintendent suspensions (i.e., lasting five or more days) and 0.8% fewer principal suspensions (i.e., fewer than five days) in the fall of 2023 compared to the fall of 2022 – an overall increase of 0.6%. These numbers are a 7% increase from the fall of 2019, the last semester pre-COVID.

Zimmerman, A. (2024, July 30). Lengthy suspensions in NYC schools ticked up during the first half of last year. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/newyork/2024/07/30/nyc-school-superintendent-suspensions-tick-up/>

- 26 Sussman, J. & Li, A. (2024). *North Carolina’s education system stuck in cycle of racism*. Southern Coalition for Social Justice. Retrieved June 2, 2024, from <https://southerncoalition.org/report-north-carolinas-education-system-stuck-in-cycle-of-racism/>
- 27 Additionally, a 2024 report by the Council of Great City Schools found an increase in out-of-school suspension (OSS) rates, with notable jumps in Black and Hispanic female OSS rates, when comparing 2018-2019 and 2022-2023 school years.
- Garcia, B., Holland, C., Sarfo, A.O., & Hart, R. (2024). *Academic key performance indicators report*. Council of Great City Schools. Retrieved November 10, 2024, from https://www.cgcs.org/cms/lib/DC00001581/Centricity/Domain/35/Academic%20KPI%20Report%205%20Year%20Full%20Report%202024_10_07.pdf
- 28 Critics of the Obama-era discipline guidance insist that the guidelines used to “mitigate the school-to-prison pipeline, reduce suspensions and expulsions, and prevent racially biased discipline” create unsafe educational environments in exchange for reduced suspension and expulsion rates.
- Freedberg, L. (2018, March 13). Linking a school massacre to Obama-era school discipline policies. *EdSource*. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://edsource.org/2018/linking-a-school-massacre-to-obama-era-school-discipline-policies/594551>
- Green, E.L. (2018, March 13). Trump finds unlikely culprit in school shootings: Obama discipline policies. *The New York Times*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2018/03/13/us/politics/trump-school-shootings-obama-discipline-policies.html>
- 29 Office of Communications & Legislative Affairs. (208 C.E., May 17). The PROMISE program. Broward County Public Schools. Retrieved January 7, 2025, from <https://www.browardschools.com/site/default.aspx?PageType=3&DomainID=14020&ModuleInstanceID=65966&ViewID=6446EE88-D30C-497E-9316-3F8874B3E108&RenderLoc=0&FlexDataID=85265&PageID=0>
- 30 Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Public Safety Commission. (2018). *PROMISE program follow-up*. Florida Department of Law Enforcement. Retrieved January 7, 2025, from <https://www.fdle.state.fl.us/MSDHS/Meetings/July-Meeting-Documents/Presentations/July-10-845am-PROMISE-Program-Follow-Up.aspx>
- 31 The Parkland shooter was referred to the diversion program in middle school following an act of vandalism, but did not participate. He was expelled from Marjorie Stoneman Douglas High School and was not a student at the time of the shooting.

Freedberg, L. (2018, March 13). Linking a school massacre to Obama-era school discipline policies. *EdSource*.

Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://edsources.org/2018/linking-a-school-massacre-to-obama-era-school-discipline-policies/594551>

Shear, M.D. (2024, March 23). Kamala Harris visits Parkland and urges states to adopt red-flag gun laws. *The New York Times*. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2024/03/23/us/politics/kamala-harris-parkland-guns.html>

Staff, C.S. (2018, July 13). Stoneman Douglas Commission: Restorative justice, diversion program had no impact on shooting. *Campus Safety Magazine*. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://www.campussafetymagazine.com/news/stoneman-douglas-commission-restorative-justice-no-impact-shooting/55377/>

- 32 Ray, R. & Galston, W. (2020, August 28). *Did the 1994 crime bill cause mass incarceration?* Brookings. Retrieved June 28, 2023, from <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/did-the-1994-crime-bill-cause-mass-incarceration/>
- 33 Nance, J.P. (2016). Dismantling the school-to-prison pipeline: Tools for change. *Arizona State Law Journal*, 48(2), 313–372. Retrieved June 27, 2023, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/arzjl48&i=310>
- 34 Department of Education. (2018, November). *Guidance concerning state and local responsibilities under the Gun-Free Schools Act*. Retrieved May 24, 2023, from <https://oese.ed.gov/files/2020/07/Guidance.Gun-Free-Schools-Act.pdf>
- 35 Giroux, H. (2003, July 1). Racial injustice and disposable youth in the age of zero tolerance. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(4), 553–565. Retrieved June 27, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0951839032000099543>
- Hirschfield, P. J. (2008, February 1). Preparing for prison?: The criminalization of school discipline in the USA. *Theoretical Criminology*, 12(1), 79–101. Retrieved June 27, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480607085795>
- 36 Nance, J.P. (2015). Students, police, and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Washington University Law Review*, 93(4), 919–988. Retrieved June 27, 2023, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/walq93&i=944>
- 37 Cardichon, J. & Darling-Hammond, L. (2020). *Protecting students' civil rights: The federal role in school discipline*. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://steinhardt.nyu.edu/metrocenter/protecting-students-civil-rights-federal-role-school-discipline>
- Curran, F.C. (2019, March 1). The law, policy, and portrayal of zero tolerance school discipline: Examining prevalence and characteristics across levels of governance and school districts. *Educational Policy*, 33(2), 319–349. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817691840>
- 38 Curran, F.C. (2019, March 1). The law, policy, and portrayal of zero tolerance school discipline: Examining prevalence and characteristics across levels of governance and school districts. *Educational Policy*, 33(2), 319–349. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817691840>
- Curran, F.C. & Finch, M.A. (2021, April 1). Reforming school discipline: Responses by school district leadership to revised state guidelines for student codes of conduct. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 57(2), 179–220. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X20925893>
- Richards, J. (2004). Zero room for zero tolerance: Rethinking federal funding for zero tolerance policies comment. *University of Dayton Law Review*, 30(1), 91–118. Retrieved May 24, 2023, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/udlr30&i=99>
- Skiba, R.J. & Knesting, K. (2001). Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice.

New Directions for Youth Development, 2001(92), 17–43. Retrieved May 24, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.23320019204>

- 39 Cardichon, J. & Darling-Hammond, L. (2020). *Protecting students' civil rights: The federal role in school discipline*. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://steinhardt.nyu.edu/metrocenter/protecting-students-civil-rights-federal-role-school-discipline>
- Kang-Brown, J., Trone, J., Fratello, J., & Daftary-Kapur, T. (2013, December). *A generation later: What we've learned about zero tolerance in schools*. Vera Institute of Justice. Retrieved October 14, 2023, from <https://www.vera.org/downloads/publications/zero-tolerance-in-schools-policy-brief.pdf>
- Rafa, A. (2018, August 28). *50-state comparison: State policies on school discipline*. Education Commission of the States. Retrieved July 28, 2023, from <https://www.ecs.org/the-status-of-school-discipline-in-state-policy/>
- Rafa, A. (2019, January). *The status of school discipline in state policy*. Education Commission of the States. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://www.ecs.org/the-status-of-school-discipline-in-state-policy/>
- 40 Rafa, A. (2018, August 28). *50-state comparison: State policies on school discipline*. Education Commission of the States. Retrieved July 28, 2023, from <https://www.ecs.org/50-state-comparison-state-policies-on-school-discipline/>
- Rafa, A. (2019, January). *The status of school discipline in state policy* (ED592549). Education Commission of the States. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://www.ecs.org/the-status-of-school-discipline-in-state-policy/>
- 41 Rafa, A. (2019, January). *The status of school discipline in state policy* (ED592549). Education Commission of the States. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://www.ecs.org/the-status-of-school-discipline-in-state-policy/>
- 42 American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations. *American Psychologist*, 63, 852-862. Retrieved November 13, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.63.9.852>
- Curran, F.C. (2019, March 1). The law, policy, and portrayal of zero tolerance school discipline: Examining prevalence and characteristics across levels of governance and school districts. *Educational Policy*, 33(2), 319–349. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817691840>
- Skiba, R.J. & Knesting, K. (2001). Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice. *New Directions for Youth Development*, 2001(92), 17–43. Retrieved May 24, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1002/yd.23320019204>
- Camacho, K.A., Fenning, P.A., Hyzer, R.H., Green-Robinson, K., & Chakkalakeel, S. (2024). Advocating for disciplinary reform through a systematic review of school discipline laws and state guidance across the United States. *School Psychology Review*, 1–16. Retrieved November 20, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2024.2369496>
- 43 Civil Rights Data Collection. (2021). *An overview of exclusionary discipline practices in public schools for the 2017-18 school year*. Office of Civil Rights. Retrieved September 2, 2022, from <https://civilrightsdata.ed.gov/assets/downloads/crdc-exclusionary-school-discipline.pdf>
- 44 Securitization refers to the swath of safety responses that emphasize physical safety measures (e.g., fences, metal detectors, scanning into buildings), security staff (e.g., arming instructional personnel, SROs, school police), and security technology (e.g., cameras, digital tracking, etc.).
- Madfis, E., Hirschfield, P., & Addington, L.A. (2021, July 3). School securitization and its alternatives: The social, political, and contextual drivers of school safety policy and practice, p. 197. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 191–205. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1855063>
- 45 As such, Curran (2019) emphasized the importance of distinguishing between explicit zero tolerance—policies

which explicitly use the phrase “zero tolerance,” regardless of the punishment administered—and mandatory expulsion—policies requiring expulsion, as well as other exclusion-based policies.

Bush, M.D. & Dodson, K.D. (2024). To arrest or to serve: School resource officers’ perceptions of zero-tolerance and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, 22(1), 66–88. Retrieved May 21, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2024.2324444>

Curran, F.C. (2019, March 1). The law, policy, and portrayal of zero tolerance school discipline: Examining prevalence and characteristics across levels of governance and school districts. *Educational Policy*, 33(2), 319–349. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817691840>

- 46 Rafa, A. (2019, January). *The status of school discipline in state policy* (ED592549). Education Commission of the States. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://www.ecs.org/the-status-of-school-discipline-in-state-policy/>

Scholars also attribute the continued expansion of zero-tolerance policies in the 2000s to No Child Left Behind and subsequent state accountability reforms, which created incentives for schools to push out students who “threatened” accountability performance.

Kennedy-Lewis, B. (2014). Using critical policy analysis to examine competing discourses in zero tolerance legislation: Do we really want to leave no child behind? *Journal of Education Policy*, 29(2), 165–194. Retrieved May 22, 2023, from <https://www.tandfonline-com.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/doi/abs/10.1080/02680939.2013.800911>

Nance, J.P. (2016). Dismantling the school-to-prison pipeline: Tools for change. *Arizona State Law Journal*, 48(2), 313–372. Retrieved June 27, 2023, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/arzjl48&i=310>

Skiba, R.J., Michael, R.S., Nardo, A.C., & Peterson, R.L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The Urban Review*, 34(4), 317–342. Retrieved September 19, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021320817372>

Williams, J.A., Mallant, C., & Svajda-Hardy, M. (2022). A gap in culturally responsive classroom management coverage? A critical policy analysis of states’ school discipline policies. *Educational Policy*, 37(5), 1191–1216. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/08959048221087213>

- 47 Curran, F.C. (2019, March 1). The law, policy, and portrayal of zero tolerance school discipline: Examining prevalence and characteristics across levels of governance and school districts. *Educational Policy*, 33(2), 319–349. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904817691840>

- 48 Curran, F.C. (2016). Estimating the effect of state zero tolerance laws on exclusionary discipline, racial discipline gaps, and student behavior. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 38(4), 647–668. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373716652728>

Hoffman, S. (2014). Zero benefit: Estimating the effect of zero tolerance discipline policies on racial disparities in school discipline. *Educational Policy*, 28(1), 69–95. Retrieved May 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904812453999>

- 49 Hirschfield, P.J. & Celinska, K. (2011). Beyond fear: Sociological perspectives on the criminalization of school discipline. *Sociology Compass*, 5(1), 1–12. Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1751-9020.2010.00342.x>

Kupchik, A. & Monahan, T. (2006). The new American school: Preparation for post-industrial discipline. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27(5), 617–631. Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/01425690600958816>

Scott, J.T., Moses, M.S., Finnigan, K., Trujillo, T., & Jackson, D. (2017). *Law and order in school and society: How discipline and policing policies harm students of color, and what we can do about it*. National Education

Policy Center. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/law-and-order>

- 50 Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework*. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025. from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>
- 51 Blad, E. (2018, March 1). After shooting, tension mounts between security quick-fixes and long-term solutions. *Education Week*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/after-shooting-tension-mounts-between-security-quick-fixes-and-long-term-solutions/2018/03>
- 52 Blad, E. (2018, March 1). After shooting, tension mounts between security quick-fixes and long-term solutions. *Education Week*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/after-shooting-tension-mounts-between-security-quick-fixes-and-long-term-solutions/2018/03>
- Blad, E. (2018, March 19). Civil rights groups sound the alarm about safety plans after Parkland shooting. *Education Week*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/civil-rights-groups-sound-the-alarm-about-safety-plans-after-parkland-shooting/2018/03>
- Blad, E., Banjeri, O., Peetz, C., & Stanford, L. (2024). Reimagining school safety: A holistic approach (Spotlight). *EducationWeek*. Retrieved December 4, 2024, from https://fs24.formsite.com/edweek/images/12-2-24_SchoolSafetySpotlight_Sponsored.pdf
- Felix, E. (2024, September 10). We can't wait for someone else to stop school shootings. *Education Week*. Retrieved January 8, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/opinion-we-cant-wait-for-someone-else-to-stop-school-shootings/2024/09>
- 53 Burnette II, D. (2018, March 2). *States are taking action on school security—and facing hurdles*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/states-are-taking-action-on-school-security-and-facing-hurdles/2018/03>
- 54 Curran, F.C. (2020). *The expanding presence of law enforcement in Florida schools*. Education Policy Research Center. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://education.ufl.edu/eprc/files/2020/09/Curran-The-Expanding-Presence-of-Law-Enforcement-in-Florida-Schools.pdf>
- 55 Although overall school safety has improved over time, the trend is markedly different for school shootings. Media and researchers have documented large increases in school shootings and school mass shootings since the 2017-2018 school year. 2021–22, the most recent year for which federal data are available, set the record for the most school shootings with casualties – 188. This is over twice as high as the next-highest number (93), documented in the 2020-2021 year. Prior to the 2021-22 school year, the largest year-to-year change in either direction was 47%. Since 2010, the rate of nonfatal criminal victimization at schools (e.g., theft, assault) has significantly decreased. Federal data, however, tell a notably different story: School-based violence, such as theft and assault, and bullying declined in the most recent rounds of data collection. Only school shootings increased, continuing pre-pandemic trends on both fronts.
- Arango, T. (2023, June 27). Schools bring police back to campuses, reversing racial justice decisions. *The New York Times*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/27/us/school-police-resource-officers.html>
- Cox, J.W., Rich, S., Trevor, L., Muyskens, J., & Ulmanu, M. (2024, July 1). More than 378,000 students have experienced gun violence at school since Columbine. *Washington Post*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/interactive/school-shootings-database/>
- Irwin, V., Wang, K., Cui, J., & Thompson, A. (2023, September). *Report on indicators of school crime and safety: 2022* (NCES 2023-092 / NCJ 307328). National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, and Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2023092>

Katsiyannis, A., Rapa, L.J., Whitford, D.K., & Scott, S.N. (2023, March 1). An examination of U.S. school mass shootings, 2017–2022: Findings and implications. *Advances in Neurodevelopmental Disorders*, 7(1), 66–76. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s41252-022-00277-3>

Keierleber, M. (2024, August 22). 10 charts that explain how schools have grown less violent since COVID. *The 74*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.the74million.org/article/10-charts-that-explain-how-schools-have-grown-less-violent-since-covid/>

- 56 Madfis and colleagues noted that “in the wake of tragedies, punitive disciplinary policies and for-profit security technologies were often implemented in direct response to the fear of extreme violent events like rampage attacks.”

Madfis, E., Hirschfield, P., & Addington, L.A. (2021, July 3). School securitization and its alternatives: The social, political, and contextual drivers of school safety policy and practice, p. 197. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 191–205. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1855063>

See also:

Monahan, T. (2006). The surveillance curriculum: Risk management and social control in the neoliberal school. In *Surveillance and Security*. Routledge.

Sheikh, S., Stolberg, A., & Gilmour, A.F. (2024). Investigating advanced school surveillance practices and disproportionality: A systematic review. *Urban Education*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859241279446>

- 57 Even as discipline-as-safety securitization policies proliferated, schools and policymakers concurrently adopted student- and community-centered safety approaches, such as violence prevention and social-emotional learning initiatives. The federal government’s first major investment in non-securitization safety initiatives was the 1998 Safe Schools, Healthy Students Initiative, which allowed states to invest funding in programs and personnel ranging from decreasing counselor-student ratios to mental health treatment. Under the Obama administration, the Supportive School Discipline Initiative and Comprehensive School Safety Initiative funded research on the causes of school violence and evidence-based practices to disrupt school violence. These initiatives provided funds to schools implementing non-exclusionary means of addressing student behavior (e.g., PBIS or restorative practices).

Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework*. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>

Madfis, E., Hirschfield, P., & Addington, L.A. (2021, July 3). School securitization and its alternatives: The social, political, and contextual drivers of school safety policy and practice, p. 197. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 191–205. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1855063>

National Institute of Justice. (2020, February 21). *Ongoing comprehensive school safety initiative research*. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/ongoing-comprehensive-school-safety-initiative-research>

Office of Justice Programs. (2014, May). *Comprehensive school safety initiative report*. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED575728.pdf>

Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. (2012, June). *Justice and Education Departments move forward in joint effort to keep children in school and out of the justice system*. OJJDP News at a Glance. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from https://ojjdp.ojp.gov/sites/g/files/xyckuh176/files/newsletter/archives/238636/sf_1.html

Office of Public Affairs. (2011, July 21). *Attorney General Holder, Secretary Duncan announce effort to*

respond to school-to-prison pipeline by supporting good discipline practices. United States Department of Justice. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/attorney-general-holder-secretary-duncan-announce-effort-respond-school-prison-pipeline>

- 58 Bracy, N.L. (2011). Student perceptions of high-security school environments. *Youth & Society*, 43(1), 365–395. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X10365082>
- Hailey, C.A. (2025). Racial prisms: Experimental evidence on families' race-based evaluations of school safety. *Social Forces*, soaf012. Retrieved February 1, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soaf012>
- Mowen, T.J. & Freng, A. (2019). Is more necessarily better? School security and perceptions of safety among students and parents in the United States. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 44(3), 376–394. Retrieved October 8, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-018-9461-7>
- Sheikh, S., Stolberg, A., & Gilmour, A.F. (2024). Investigating advanced school surveillance practices and disproportionality: A systematic review. *Urban Education*. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859241279446>
- Tanner-Smith, E.E., Fisher, B.W., Addington, L.A., & Gardella, J.H. (2018). Adding security, but subtracting safety? Exploring schools' use of multiple visible security measures. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43(1), 102–119. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-017-9409-3>
- 59 Kupchik, A. & Ward, G. (2014). Race, poverty, and exclusionary school security: An empirical analysis of U.S. elementary, middle, and high schools. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 12(4), 332–354. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204013503890>
- Nance, J.P. (2016). Student surveillance, racial inequalities, and implicit racial bias. *Emory Law Journal*, 66(4), 765–838. Retrieved November 15, 2024, from <https://heinonline.org/HOL/P?h=hein.journals/emlj66&i=789>
- 60 Above and beyond the disproportionate use of securitization practices in schools with larger proportions of racially marginalized students, racial composition of schools is associated with students' and parents' perceptions of school safety. In a survey experiment which randomly varied racial composition, school and neighborhood safety ratings, graduation rates, and the presence of securitization technology like metal detectors, Hailey found that, even when schools had identical security technology and safety ratings, White and Asian parents and students rated Black and Latine schools as less safe and Latine parents and students rated Black schools as less safe. School racial composition did not influence the safety ratings assigned by Black parents and students.
- Hailey, C.A. (2025). Racial prisms: Experimental evidence on families' race-based evaluations of school safety. *Social Forces*, soaf012. Retrieved February 1, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soaf012>
- 61 Kupchik, A. (2010). *Homeroom security: School discipline in an age of fear*. NYU Press.
- 62 King, S. & Bracy, N.L. (2019, August 1). School security in the post-Columbine era: Trends, consequences, and future directions. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 35(3), 274–295. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986219840188>
- 63 Kupchik, A. & Ward, G. (2014). Race, poverty, and exclusionary school security: An empirical analysis of U.S. elementary, middle, and high schools. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 12(4), 332–354. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204013503890>
- Muñiz, J.O. (2021, December 1). Exclusionary discipline policies, school-police partnerships, surveillance technologies and disproportionality: A review of the school to prison pipeline literature. *The Urban Review*, 53(5), 735–760. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-021-00595-1>
- Welch, K. & Payne, A.A. (2010, February 1). Racial threat and punitive school discipline. *Social Problems*,

57(1), 25–48. Retrieved October 8, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2010.57.1.25>

- 64 King, S. & Bracy, N.L. (2019, August 1). School security in the post-Columbine era: Trends, consequences, and future directions. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 35(3), 274–295. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986219840188>

Gottfredson, D.C., Crosse, S., Tang, Z., Bauer, E.L., Harmon, M.A., Hagen, C.A., & Greene, A.D. (2020). Effects of school resource officers on school crime and responses to school crime. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 19(3), 905–940. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12512>

Peguero, A.A., Portillos, E.L., & González, J.C. (2015, October 1). School securitization and Latina/o educational progress. *Urban Education*, 50(7), 812–838. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085914534860>

Tanner-Smith, E.E., & Fisher, B.W. (2016, January 1). Visible school security measures and student academic performance, attendance, and postsecondary aspirations. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 45(1), 195–210. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-015-0265-5>

Welch, K. & Payne, A.A. (2025). Unequal “in”security: How differential school security approaches discriminate against students of color. In *Handbook of Anti-Discriminatory Education* (pp. 1–15). Springer, Cham. Retrieved February 3, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-47411-8_69-1

- 65 Welch and Payne note the importance of distinguishing between securitization measures intended to protect the school from outside threats versus from students themselves. Policies and programs which position students as a threat are particularly likely to be implemented in schools serving disproportionate numbers of Black and brown students, furthering the likelihood of harm.

Welch, K. & Payne, A.A. (2025). Unequal “in”security: How differential school security approaches discriminate against students of color. In *Handbook of Anti-Discriminatory Education* (pp. 1–15). Springer, Cham. Retrieved February 3, 2025, from https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-031-47411-8_69-1

Tanner-Smith and colleagues found that securitization decreased the likelihood of property crime, but were otherwise associated with worse safety outcomes.

Tanner-Smith, E.E., Fisher, B.W., Addington, L.A., & Gardella, J.H. (2018). Adding security, but subtracting safety? Exploring schools’ use of multiple visible security measures. *American Journal of Criminal Justice*, 43(1), 102–119. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12103-017-9409-3>

- 66 Deming, D.J., Bacher-Hicks, A., & Billings, S.B. (2019). *The school to prison pipeline: Long-run impacts of school suspensions on adult crime*. NBER Working Paper Series, 26257. Retrieved May 9, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3386/w26257>

Hirschfield, P.J. (2008, February 1). Preparing for prison?: The criminalization of school discipline in the USA. *Theoretical Criminology*, 12(1), 79–101. Retrieved June 27, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1362480607085795>

Noguera, P.A. (2003, November 1). Schools, prisons, and social implications of punishment: Rethinking disciplinary practices. *Theory Into Practice*, 42(4), 341–350. Retrieved October 18, 2023, from https://doi.org/10.1207/s15430421tip4204_12

- 67 Gottlieb and colleagues examined the links between exclusionary discipline, youth involvement with the criminal justice system, and academic achievement. They found that roughly 30 percent of the association between suspension and GPA is explained by youth-police contact.

Gottlieb, A., Mirakhor, Z., & Schindeler, B. (2024, February 26). School discipline, police contact, and GPA: a mediation analysis. *Educational Researcher*, 0013189X241231988. Retrieved February 29, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X241231988>

- 68 U.S. Government Accountability Office. (2024, July). *Differences in student arrest rates widen when race, gender, and disability status overlap* (GAO-24-106294). United States Government Accountability Office. Retrieved August 16, 2024, from <https://www.gao.gov/assets/gao-24-106294.pdf>
- 69 While some disproportionalities in threat assessment exist with respect to race and disability status, they are not consistently statistically significant. When statistically significant, they are significantly smaller than disparities associated with traditional exclusionary responses. Although some scholars have raised equity concerns about threat assessment and students' rights, schools implementing a threat assessment approach to safety also experience declines in their suspension rates – which stands to benefit students most at risk of exclusion. Unlike exclusionary discipline, neither the racial nor socioeconomic composition of a school significantly predict threat assessment rates. Concerningly, and in line with public media reports, research finds that the percentage of students with a disability is significantly positively associated with threat assessment rates. This disparity, and its implications for students with disabilities' experiences and outcomes, is an important issue for researchers, practitioners, and policymakers to address; in light of the improvements in outcomes for racially and socioeconomically marginalized students, this brief endorses threat assessment with the caution that schools and districts must be particularly attuned to potential disparate impacts on students with disabilities and encourages policymakers to extend manifest determination protections for students with disabilities to the threat assessment process. Importantly, behavioral threat assessment scholars emphasize that threat assessment “is not a disciplinary process and is not used for the majority of students whose behavior results in OSS” (Cornell et al., 2025, p. 8).
- COPAA. (2022). *K-12 threat assessment processes: Civil rights impacts*. Council of Parent Attorneys and Advocates. Retrieved March 21, 2025, from https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.copaa.org/resource/resmgr/docs/2022_docs/k-12_threat_assessment_proce.pdf
- Cornell, D.G., Kerere, J., Konold, T., Maeng, J., Afolabi, K., Huang, F., & Cowley, D. (2025). Referral rates for school threat assessment. *Psychology in the Schools*, Retrieved February 4, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.23399>
- Cornell, D. & Lovegrove, P. (2015). Student threat assessment as a method of reducing student suspensions. In D.J. Losen (Ed.), *Closing the School Discipline Gap: Equitable Remedies for Excessive Exclusion*. Teachers College Press.
- Cornell, D.G., Maeng, J., Winter, S., Huang, F., Konold, T.G., Kerere, J., Afolabi, K., & Cowley, D.. (2025). Behavioral Threat Assessment and Equity in Exclusionary School Discipline. *School Psychology Review*, 1–17. Retrieved February 21, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2025.2457006>
- Madfis, E., Silva, J.R., Crepeau-Hobson, F., & Sulkowski, M.L. (2025). School threat assessment team recommendations: Surveillance versus social support and racial/ethnic equity. *School Psychology Review*, 1–14. Retrieved January 5, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2024.2439240>
- Maeng, J.L., Cornell, D.G., & Edwards, K.D. (2024). Threat assessment and disparities in school discipline. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management*, 11(3), 186–196. Retrieved March 23, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/tam0000213>
- 70 Bohnenkamp, J.H., Schaeffer, C.M., Siegal, R., Beason, T., Smith-Millman, M., & Hoover, S. (2021). Impact of a school-based, multi-tiered emotional and behavioral health crisis intervention on school safety and discipline. *Prevention Science*, 22(4), 492–503. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-020-01195-3>
- Flannery, D.J., Fox, J.A., Wallace, L., Mulvey, E., & Modzeleski, W. (2021). Guns, school shooters, and school safety: What we know and directions for change. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 237–253. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1846458>
- King, S. & Bracy, N.L. (2019, August 1). School security in the post-Columbine era: Trends, consequences, and

future directions. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 35(3), 274–295. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986219840188>

- 71 American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations. *American Psychologist*, 63, 852–862. Retrieved November 13, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/0003-066X.63.9.852>
- Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework*. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>
- 72 Gregory, A., Cornell, D., Fan, X., Sheras, P., Shih, T.-H., & Huang, F. (2010, May). Authoritative school discipline: High school practices associated with lower bullying and victimization (p. 485). *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 102(2), 483–496. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018562>
- 73 Scheel, N.L., Allen, J.P., O'Neill, R.J., & Jimerson, S.R. (2024). A scoping review of school safety in charter school settings: Advancing science, practice, and policy in charter school safety. *Journal of School Choice*, 0(0), 1–32. Retrieved January 2, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15582159.2024.2437822>
- 74 Skiba, R.J., Eckes, S.E., & Brown, K. (2010). African American disproportionality in school discipline: The divide between best evidence and legal remedy. *New York Law School Review*, 54(4), 1071–1114.
- 75 Schwartz, H.L., Ramchand, R., Barnes-Proby, D., Grant, S., Jackson, B.A., Leuschner, K.J., Matsuda, M., & Saunders, J. (2016, April 1). *The role of technology in improving K–12 school safety* (RR-1488-NIJ). RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR1488.html
- 76 Gottfredson, D.C., Crosse, S., Tang, Z., Bauer, E.L., Harmon, M.A., Hagen, C.A., & Greene, A D. (2020). Effects of school resource officers on school crime and responses to school crime. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 19(3), 905–940. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12512>
- James, N. & McCallion, G. (2013, June 26). *School resource officers: Law enforcement officers in schools* (R43126). Congressional Research Service. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from <https://sgp.fas.org/crs/misc/R43126.pdf>
- Na, C. & Gottfredson, D.C. (2013, August 1). Police officers in schools: Effects on school crime and the processing of offending behaviors. *Justice Quarterly*, 30(4), 619–650. Retrieved July 8, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/07418825.2011.615754>
- 77 In a review of the literature on school safety, Flannery and colleagues find that a public health approach emphasizing mental health, social-emotional learning, and school climate is more effective in preventing school shootings than using SROs, school “hardening” (i.e., securitization), or threat assessment. Single-district studies examining such public health approaches to behavior, like Osher et al., do not speak to preventing school shootings but do find evidence of meaningful reductions in school violence, fighting, and bodily injury.

Studies have linked the structure and support elements of school climate to less bullying and victimization. Gerlinger and Wo tested the security measures versus school climate (authoritative school climate of high support and structure) debate and found that positive school climate was associated with less bullying whereas security measures had no to little association.

Following the Sandy Hook massacre, Connecticut invested in school-based health clinics and crisis intervention services rather than securitization policies. Investing in mental and behavioral health exemplifies a turn towards understanding behavioral and safety concerns not as issues of insufficient discipline or security, but unaddressed behavioral and mental health needs. The Affordable Care Act helped make this fiscally possible for schools and districts, as mental health services provided in schools were covered by expanded

behavioral health care coverage. Under the Biden administration, the Center for Medicare and Medicaid Services has issued multiple guidances clarifying what behavioral health services are covered, how schools can recoup some administrative costs of providing behavioral and mental health care on-site, and how state education and Medicaid agencies can better coordinate.

Many districts allocated federal COVID relief dollars to hire staff and provide mental health supports to students, which is significant given that roughly 80 percent of youth mental healthcare occurs in school settings. Prioritizing mental health when allocating their ESSER and ARPA funds responds to known links between concerning behaviors, mental health, and changing patterns of technology use.

Belsha, K. (2021, September 27). Students are struggling with behavior. Here's how schools are responding. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2021/9/27/22691601/student-behavior-stress-trauma-return/>

Donnelly, C. & Chakrabarti, M. (Directors). (2023, April 6). How to fix the growing discipline problem in U.S. classrooms [Broadcast]. In *On Point*. WBUR. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.wbur.org/onpoint/2023/04/06/how-to-fix-the-growing-discipline-problem-in-u-s-classrooms>

Flannery, D.J., Fox, J.A., Wallace, L., Mulvey, E., & Modzeleski, W. (2021). Guns, school shooters, and school safety: What we know and directions for change. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 237–253. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1846458>

Gerlinger, J. & Wo, J.C. (2016, April 2). Preventing school bullying: Should schools prioritize an authoritative school discipline approach over security measures? *Journal of School Violence*, 15(2), 133–157. Retrieved September 18, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2014.956321>

Gil, J.M. (2015, May 31). *School mental health programs see increased use in Connecticut*. Connecticut Health Investigative Team. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://c-hit.org/2015/05/31/school-mental-health-programs-see-increased-use-in-connecticut/>

Gregory, A., Cornell, D., Fan, X., Sheras, P., Shih, T.H., & Huang, F. (2010). Authoritative school discipline: High school practices associated with lower bullying and victimization. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, 102(2), 483–496. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/a0018562>

Holthaus, D. (2024, April 23). *Our schools have become a chief source of treatment—and concern—for youth mental health*. Soapbox Cincinnati. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.soapboxmedia.com/features/schools-are-focus-of-mental-health-care-and-issues.aspx>

Osher, D.M., Poirier, J.M., Jarjoura, R.G., Brown, R., & Kendziora, K. (2014). Avoid simple solutions and quick fixes: Lessons learned from a comprehensive districtwide approach to improving student behavior and school safety. *Journal of Applied Research on Children*, 5(2). Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <http://digitalcommons.library.tmc.edu/childrenatrisk/vol5/iss2/16>

Panchal, N., Mudumala, A., & Rudowitz, R. (2024, April 23). *Examining new Medicaid resources to expand school-based behavioral health services*. Kaiser Family Foundation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://www.kff.org/mental-health/issue-brief/examining-new-medicaid-resources-to-expand-school-based-behavioral-health-services/>

Vaillancourt, K. & Kelly, J. (2014). The Affordable Care Act and school-based mental health services. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 96(4), 63–63. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0031721714561449>

78 Dewey, D., Fahle, E., Kane, T., Reardon, S., & Staiger, D. (2024, June). *Federal pandemic relief and academic recovery*. Education Recovery Scorecard. Retrieved November 28, 2024, from <https://educationrecoverycard.org/wp-content/uploads/2024/06/June2024ERS-Report.pdf>

Goldhaber, D. & Falken, G. (2024). *ESSER and student achievement: assessing the impacts of the largest*

one-time federal investment in K-12 schools. CALDER Working Paper No. 301-0624. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://caldercenter.org/publications/esser-and-student-achievement-assessing-impacts-largest-one-time-federal-investment>

Lewis, K. & Kuhfeld, M. (2024, July). *Recovery still elusive: 2023–24 student achievement highlights persistent achievement gaps and a long road ahead*. NWEA Research. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from https://www.nwea.org/uploads/recovery-still-elusive-2023-24-student-achievement-highlights-persistent-achievement-gaps-and-a-long-road-ahead_NWEA_researchBrief.pdf

Mahnken, K. (2025, February 11). *Research: Learning recovery has stalled, despite billions in pandemic aid*. The 74. Retrieved February 11, 2025, from <https://www.the74million.org/article/new-scorecard-release-shows-stalled-growth-weak-returns-on-federal-aid/>

- 79 Lewis, K. & Kuhfeld, M. (2024, July). *Recovery still elusive: 2023–24 student achievement highlights persistent achievement gaps and a long road ahead*. NWEA Research. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from https://www.nwea.org/uploads/recovery-still-elusive-2023-24-student-achievement-highlights-persistent-achievement-gaps-and-a-long-road-ahead_NWEA_researchBrief.pdf#45t

- 80 Pothero, A. (2023, April 20). Student behavior isn't getting any better, survey shows. *Education Week*. Retrieved May 20, 2023, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/student-behavior-isnt-getting-any-better-survey-shows/2023/04>

Shen-Berro, J. (2023, March 7). Students still struggling to adjust to life in classroom, educators say. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2023/3/7/23628032/student-behavior-covid-school-classroom-survey/>

- 81 Court, B., Rubenstein, G., & Schiemer, J. (2023). *2023 Voice of the superintendent: Key survey findings and crucial conversations for the year ahead*. EAB. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://pages.eab.com/rs/732-GKV-655/images/EAB%202023%20Voice%20of%20the%20Superintendent%20Survey%20Brief.pdf>

Kurtz, H. (2024, August 7). The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/research-center/reports/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-mental-well-being-of-teachers-and-their-students/2024/08>

Naff, D., Williams, S., Furman-Darby, J., & Yeung, M. (2022, January 1). The mental health impacts of COVID-19 on PK-12 students: A systematic review of emerging literature. *AERA Open*, 8, 23328584221084722. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584221084722>

- 82 Baker, T.L. (2019). Reframing the connections between deficit thinking, microaggressions, and teacher perceptions of defiance. *Journal of Negro Education*, 88(2), 103–113. Retrieved June 3, 2024 from <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/417/article/802584>

Carey, R.L. (2024). Criminalized or stigmatized? An intersectional power analysis of the charter school treatment of Black and Latino boys. *Urban Education*, 00420859241227947. Retrieved February 8, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859241227947>

Carter Andrews, D.J., Brown, T., Castro, E., & Id-Deen, E. (2019). The impossibility of being “Perfect and White”: Black girls’ racialized and gendered schooling experiences. *American Educational Research Journal*, 56(6), 2531–2572. Retrieved June 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831219849392>

Epstein, R., Blake, J., & González, T. (2017). *Girlhood interrupted: The erasure of Black girls’ childhood* (SSRN Scholarly Paper 3000695). Retrieved June 6, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3000695>

Farinde-Wu, A., Butler, B.R., & Allen-Handy, A. (2022). Policing Black femininity: The hypercriminalization of Black girls in an urban school. *Gender and Education*, 34(7), 804–820. Retrieved January 3, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2022.2072477>

Monroe, C.R. (2005). Why are “bad boys” always Black?: Causes of disproportionality in school discipline and recommendations for change. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, 79(1), 45–50. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3200/TCHS.79.1.45-50>

Morris, E.W. (2005). “Tuck in that shirt!” Race, class, gender, and discipline in an urban school. *Sociological Perspectives*, 48(1), 25–48. Retrieved June 2, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2005.48.1.25>

- 83 Doan, S., Steiner, E.D., Pandey, R., & Woo, A. (2023). *Teacher well-being and intentions to leave: Findings from the 2023 State of the American Teacher Survey*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1108-8.html

Kurtz, H. (2024, August 7). The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/research-center/reports/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-mental-well-being-of-teachers-and-their-students/2024/08>

Merrimack College. (2024, August 5). *The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers* (Third Annual Merrimack College Teacher Survey). EdWeek Research Center. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/products/whitepaper/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-well-being-of-teachers>

- 84 Hillis, S.D., Blenkinsop, A., Villaveces, A., Annor, F.B., Liburd, L., Massetti, G.M., Demissie, Z., Mercy, J.A., Nelson III, C.A., Cluver, L., Flaxman, S., Sherr, L., Donnelly, C.A., Ratmann, O., & Unwin, H.J.T. (2021, December 1). COVID-19–associated orphanhood and caregiver death in the United States. *Pediatrics*, 148(6), e2021053760. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2021-053760>

Tai, D.B.G., Shah, A., Doubeni, C.A., Sia, I.G., & Wieland, M.L. (2021, February 15). The disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. *Clinical Infectious Diseases*, 72(4), 703–706. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/cid/ciaa815>

- 85 The share saying there was just “a little” more misbehavior than there was in 2019 decreased from 36% in 2023 to 24% in 2024. Those saying there was “a lot more” student misbehavior increased from 33% to 48%.

Peetz, C. (2025, January 8). Is student behavior getting any better? What a new survey says. *Education Week*. Retrieved January 9, 2025, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/is-student-behavior-getting-any-better-what-a-new-survey-says/2025/01>

- 86 The share of reporting more misbehavior went from 66% in 2021 and 70% in spring 2023 to 72% in December 2024.

Peetz, C. (2025, January 8). Is student behavior getting any better? What a new survey says. *Education Week*. Retrieved January 9, 2025, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/is-student-behavior-getting-any-better-what-a-new-survey-says/2025/01>

- 87 Rios, O., Watts, M., & Woll, S. (2023). *Building a better behavior management strategy for students and teachers: Key findings from EAB’s student behavior survey* (38438). EAB. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://pages.eab.com/rs/732-GKV-655/images/EDIL-Student%20Behavior%20Executive%20Briefing-PDF.pdf>

- 88 Over twice as many educators report observing frequent opposition (69%) and disconnect (61%) compared to pre-COVID surveys.

Rios, O., Watts, M., & Woll, S. (2023). *Building a better behavior management strategy for students and teachers: Key findings from EAB’s student behavior survey* (38438). EAB. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://pages.eab.com/rs/732-GKV-655/images/EDIL-Student%20Behavior%20Executive%20Briefing-PDF.pdf>

- 89 Among superintendents, 81% responded that student behavioral concerns are “worse” or “significantly worse”

than they were prior to the pandemic. Superintendents in districts where 75% or more of the students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch reported the highest overall levels of concern about student behavior. However, these superintendents also reported that *changes* in student behavior following the pandemic have not been as severe as they have been elsewhere.

Court, B., Rubenstein, G., & Schiemer, J. (2023). *2023 Voice of the superintendent: Key survey findings and crucial conversations for the year ahead*. EAB. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://pages.eab.com/rs/732-GKV-655/images/EAB%202023%20Voice%20of%20the%20Superintendent%20Survey%20Brief.pdf>

- 90 The proportion of teachers reporting at least one incident of verbal harassment or threatening behavior was down from a high of 80% to 65%, but it was 33% before the pandemic.

Goldman, A. (2024, July 22). Rising reports of school violence are pushing teachers to want to quit. *Education Week*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/rising-reports-of-school-violence-are-pushing-teachers-to-want-to-quit/2024/07>

- 91 Irwin, V., Wang, K., Cui, J., & Thompson, A. (2023, September). *Report on indicators of school crime and safety: 2022* (NCES 2023-092 / NCJ 307328). National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2023092>

- 92 The School Pulse Panel, a monthly survey instituted by the National Center for Education Statistics to measure the impacts of COVID-19 on education, asked about student behavior in the May 2022 survey.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2022, July 6). *More than 80 percent of U.S. public schools report pandemic has negatively impacted student behavior and socio-emotional development*. National Center for Education Statistics Annual Report. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from https://nces.ed.gov/whatsnew/press_releases/07_06_2022.asp

- 93 The School Pulse Panel survey administered by the NCES asked respondent principals to report increases in specific behaviors influenced by COVID, increases not influenced by COVID, behaviors which remained the same as before COVID, decreases influenced by COVID, and decreases not influenced by COVID. Principals could also respond that they did not know/that that or that a behavior does not occur.

For classroom disruptions due to misconduct, four percent reported increases not due to COVID, 32 percent said disruptions remained the same, and five percent reported don't know/ does not occur. For non-abusive acts of disrespect directed towards teachers or staff, three percent said there were increases not due to COVID, 30 percent of principals reported that levels remained about the same as before COVID and 15 percent said they don't know or this doesn't occur. Six percent of principals reported increases in fights or physical attacks, but did not attribute the increase to COVID; 39 percent reported the behavior remained the same, eight percent reported there were decreases due/ not due to COVID (four percent each), and 15 percent said they didn't know or this behavior didn't occur. Fights/ physical attacks was the only behavior of these three for which responses reporting a decrease had standard errors below 30 and 50 percent; NCES reports all data, but encouraged caution when interpreting other behaviors..

National Center for Education Statistics. (2022, July 6). *More than 80 percent of U.S. public schools report pandemic has negatively impacted student behavior and socio-emotional development*. National Center for Education Statistics Annual Report. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from https://nces.ed.gov/whatsnew/press_releases/07_06_2022.asp

Belsha, K. (2022, July 6). Pandemic effect: More student fights and classroom disruptions this past year, data show. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2022/7/6/23197094/student-fights-classroom-disruptions-suspensions-discipline-pandemic>

- 94 Belsha, K. (2021, September 27). Students are struggling with behavior. Here's how schools are responding. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2021/9/27/22691601/student-behavior->

stress-trauma-return/

- 95 Jacobson, L. (2022, June 23). In a year of ‘abysmal’ student behavior, Ed Dept. seeks discipline overhaul. *The 74*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.the74million.org/article/in-a-year-of-abysmal-student-behavior-ed-dept-seeks-discipline-overhaul/>
- 96 McMurdock, M. (2024, June 23). ‘Astonishing’ absenteeism, trauma rates root of academic crisis. *The 74*. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://www.the74million.org/article/astonishing-absenteeism-trauma-rates-root-of-academic-crisis/>
- 97 Office of the Surgeon General. (2021). *Protecting youth mental health: The U.S. Surgeon General’s advisory*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/surgeon-general-youth-mental-health-advisory.pdf>
- 98 Tai, D.B.G., Shah, A., Doubeni, C.A., Sia, I.G., & Wieland, M.L. (2021, February 15). The disproportionate impact of COVID-19 on racial and ethnic minorities in the United States. *Clinical Infectious Diseases*, 72(4), 703–706. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/cid/ciaa815>
- 99 Hillis, S.D., Blenkinsop, A., Villaveces, A., Annor, F.B., Liburd, L., Massetti, G.M., Demissie, Z., Mercy, J.A., Nelson III, C.A., Cluver, L., Flaxman, S., Sherr, L., Donnelly, C.A., Ratmann, O., & Unwin, H.J.T. (2021, December 1). COVID-19—associated orphanhood and caregiver death in the United States. *Pediatrics*, 148(6), e2021053760. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2021-053760>
- 100 Dalsania, A.K., Fastiggi, M.J., Kahlam, A., Shah, R., Patel, K., Shiau, S., Rokicki, S., & DallaPiazza, M. (2022, February 1). The relationship between social determinants of health and racial disparities in COVID-19 mortality. *Journal of Racial and Ethnic Health Disparities*, 9(1), 288–295. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s40615-020-00952-y>
- Green, H., Fernandez, R., & MacPhail, C. (2021). The social determinants of health and health outcomes among adults during the COVID-19 pandemic: A systematic review. *Public Health Nursing*, 38(6), 942–952. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/phn.12959>
- 101 Students, families, and communities from marginalized backgrounds experienced disproportionate rates of death and hospitalization due to COVID-19, which both compounded and was compounded by existing pre-pandemic intersectional injustices and stressors in spheres ranging from job loss and economic security to criminal justice to mental health and wellbeing. In her speeches and writings, education scholar Gloria Ladson-Billings refers to this confluence of crises as the “dual pandemic”—COVID-19 and racism—and the “four pandemics”—COVID-19, racism, climate change, and economic pressures. COVID-related changes in families’ well-being—such as losing health insurance or childcare and becoming food insecure—aggravated existing disparities in students’ well-being outside of school and deepened structural barriers to Black students’ educational success. In-school challenges also ballooned, with 6.5 million more students chronically absent in 2021-2022 school year than in 2018-2019, a 91% increase. While public K-12 school enrollment fell by more than 1.2 million, over a third of this decline is not explained by increases in homeschooling, private school enrollment, or state-level migration, suggesting that rates of unregistered homeschooling and truancy have increased in the post-pandemic period.
- Bowen, J. (2021, March 25). ‘I want to hold our feet to the fire around justice:’ Gloria Ladson-Billings discusses education after COVID, civil unrest during Don C. Locke Multiculturalism and Social Justice Symposium. *NC State College of Education News*. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://ced.ncsu.edu/news/2021/03/25/i-want-to-hold-our-feet-to-the-fire-around-justice-gloria-ladson-billings-discusses-education-after-covid-civil-unrest-during-don-c-locke-multiculturalism-and-social-justice-sympo/>
- Dee, T.S. (2023, June 1). Where the kids went: Nonpublic schooling and demographic change during the pandemic exodus from public schools. *Teachers College Record*, 125(6), 119–129. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/01614681231190201>

Dee, T.S. (2024, January 16). Higher chronic absenteeism threatens academic recovery from the COVID-19 pandemic. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, 121(3), e2312249121. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.2312249121>

Ladson-Billings, G. (2024, November). *This is us! Educating post covid/post civic unrest America—Tragedy or opportunity?* [Keynote address]. UCEA Annual Conference, Minneapolis.

Patrick, S.W., Henkhaus, L.E., Zickafoose, J.S., Lovell, K., Halvorson, A., Loch, S., Letterie, M., & Davis, M.M. (2020, October 1). Well-being of parents and children during the COVID-19 pandemic: A national survey. *Pediatrics*, 146(4), e2020016824. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-016824>

White, A.L. & Ladson-Billings, G. (2022). The dual pandemic: A commentary (guest editorial). *Journal of Negro Education*, 91(3), 269–272. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://muse.jhu.edu/article/901985>

102 Office of the Surgeon General. (2021). *Protecting youth mental health: The U.S. Surgeon General's advisory*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/surgeon-general-youth-mental-health-advisory.pdf>

103 During the pandemic, rates of stress, anxiety, and depression worsened for children and youth, and COVID-related traumas—such as loss of access to school-based meals or health insurance, parental unemployment, and bereavement—heightened mental health challenges post-pandemic. Declining rates of social interaction and the loss of routine caused by COVID mitigation measures also contributed to declines in mental health.

Naff, D., Williams, S., Furman-Darby, J., & Yeung, M. (2022, January 1). The mental health impacts of COVID-19 on PK–12 students: A systematic review of emerging literature. *AERA Open*, 8, 23328584221084722. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584221084722>

Ibrahimi, S., Yusuf, K.K., Dongarwar, D., Maiyegun, S.O., Ikedionwu, C., & Salihu, H.M. (2020). COVID-19 devastation of African American families: Impact on mental health and the consequence of systemic racism. *International Journal of Maternal and Child Health and AIDS*, 9(3), 390–393. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.21106/ijma.408>

Jones, K., Mallon, S., & Schnitzler, K. (2023, January 1). A scoping review of the psychological and emotional impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on children and young people. *Illness, Crisis & Loss*, 31(1), 175–199. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/10541373211047191>

Office of the Surgeon General. (2021). *Protecting youth mental health: The U.S. Surgeon General's advisory*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/surgeon-general-youth-mental-health-advisory.pdf>

Patrick, S.W., Henkhaus, L.E., Zickafoose, J.S., Lovell, K., Halvorson, A., Loch, S., Letterie, M., & Davis, M.M. (2020, October 1). Well-being of parents and children during the COVID-19 pandemic: A national survey. *Pediatrics*, 146(4), e2020016824. Retrieved August 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2020-016824>

104 Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. (2024). *Youth Risk Behavior Survey data summary & trends report: 2013-2023*. U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://www.cdc.gov/yrebs/dstr/index.html>

105 Merrimack College. (2024, August 5). *The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers* (Third Annual Merrimack College Teacher Survey). EdWeek Research Center. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/products/whitepaper/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-well-being-of-teachers>

106 School safety concerns also illustrate the intersection of concerns about mental health, social media, and

technology use with students' physical and psychological well-being. Despite widespread media and political attention on mental health supports following school shootings, research finds no direct link between psychopathology or mental health disorders and school shootings and/or mass shootings (though depression, suicidality, narcissism, and paranoia are common in the perpetrators). The National Association of School Psychologists advises educators on the threat social media poses to managing safety crises in schools, as social media can be used to disseminate rumors of threats to school campuses and/or false information in the wake of safety crises on school campuses. However, some argue that, particularly in Republican-controlled states and sessions of Congress, a focus on mental health is not a legitimate investment in whole-child services but rather a distraction from policy change on issues of gun access and gun control.

Cox, J.W., Rich, S., Trevor, L., Muyskens, J., & Ulmanu, M. (2024, July 1). More than 378,000 students have experienced gun violence at school since Columbine. *Washington Post*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/interactive/school-shootings-database/>

Irwin, V., Wang, K., Cui, J., & Thompson, A. (2023, September). *Report on indicators of school crime and safety: 2022* (NCES 2023-092 / NCJ 307328). National Center for Education Statistics. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://nces.ed.gov/pubsearch/pubsinfo.asp?pubid=2023092>

Flannery, D.J., Fox, J.A., Wallace, L., Mulvey, E., & Modzeleski, W. (2021). Guns, school shooters, and school safety: What we know and directions for change. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 237–253. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1846458>

Jones, S. (2018, February 16). The mental health scapegoat. *The New Republic*. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://blink.net/iframe.html>

Mallett, C.A. (2020). School shootings and security lock-downs: Myths, positive school climates, and safer campuses. *Juvenile and Family Court Journal*, 71(4), 5–21. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/jfcj.12184>

National Association of School Psychologists. (2016). *Social media and school crises*. National Association of School Psychologists. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://www.nasponline.org/resources-and-publications/resources-and-podcasts/school-safety-and-crisis/media-and-social-media-resources/social-media-and-school-crises>

Office of the Surgeon General. (2021). *Protecting youth mental health: The U.S. Surgeon General's advisory*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/surgeon-general-youth-mental-health-advisory.pdf>

Peetz, C. (2024, August 1). The false narrative of a youth crime surge: What educators should know. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/the-false-narrative-of-a-youth-crime-surge-what-educators-should-know/2024/08>

107 Peetz, C. (2024, August 1). The false narrative of a youth crime surge: What educators should know. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/the-false-narrative-of-a-youth-crime-surge-what-educators-should-know/2024/08>

108 Angton, A., Niño, M., Tsuchiya, K., & Morimoto, S. (2024). The long-term consequences of school suspension and expulsion on depressive symptoms. *Advances in Life Course Research*, 61, 100631. Retrieved August 6, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.alcr.2024.100631>

Krause, K.H., Bell, C., Jordan, B., Carman-McClanahan, M., Ashley, C., McKinnon, I., Banks, D., Verlenden, J., Fodeman, A., Arrey, L., LIm, C., Everett Jones, S., & Mpofu, J. (2024). Report of unfair discipline at school and associations with health risk behaviors and experiences—Youth Risk Behavior Survey, United States, 2023. *MMWR Supplements*, 73(4), 69–78. Retrieved January 20, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.15585/mmwr.su7304a8>

Niño, M., Angton, A., Norton-Smith, K., & Allison, K. (2024). The long arm of school punishment: The role of school suspension on self-rated health from adolescence to midlife. *Socius*, 10, 23780231241284942. Retrieved December 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23780231241284942>

So, M., Freese, R.L., & Barnes, A.J. (2024). Pushed out and drawn in: Exclusionary discipline, mental health, and protective factors among youth in public schools. *Journal of School Health*, 94(2), 128–137. Retrieved January 27, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/josh.13405>

109 Symptoms associated with depression and anxiety doubled during the pandemic. Against this backdrop, the Surgeon General issued an advisory on protecting youth mental health in the fall of 2021. In the spring of 2023, the Surgeon General issued another advisory. The most recent advisory, on social media and youth mental health, emphasized that while research on the effects of social media on youth is not well-established, its use is widespread: 95% of young people aged 13-17 use social media, along with nearly 40% of those aged 8-12. While recognizing that social media does not uniformly impact all young people, research has found that youth aged 12-15 who spent more than 3 hours daily on social media face double the risk of depression and anxiety and that greater social media use is associated with online harassment, cyberbullying, and increased scores on depressive symptom scales. Furthermore, the National Association of School Psychologists reported that 1-5% of youth suicides are believed to be triggered by contagion crises facilitated by social media (i.e., seeing another young person's suicide or attempt through social media triggers another). Some educators link school discipline concerns, especially physical fights, to social media activity. Researchers have found that social media doesn't just exacerbate bullying and mental health concerns; it can escalate conflicts into "offline violence," which commonly presents itself at school.

Belsha, K. (2021, September 27). Students are struggling with behavior. Here's how schools are responding. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2021/9/27/22691601/student-behavior-stress-trauma-return/>

Elsaesser, C. (2021, April 21). How social media turns online arguments between teens into real-world violence. *The Conversation*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://today.uconn.edu/2021/04/how-social-media-turns-online-arguments-between-teens-into-real-world-violence-2/>

Elsaesser, C., Patton, D. U., Weinstein, E., Santiago, J., Clarke, A., & Eschmann, R. (2021, March 1). Small becomes big, fast: Adolescent perceptions of how social media features escalate online conflict to offline violence. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 122, 105898. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chidyouth.2020.105898>

National Association of School Psychologists. (2016). *Social media and school crises*. National Association of School Psychologists. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://www.nasponline.org/resources-and-publications/resources-and-podcasts/school-safety-and-crisis/media-and-social-media-resources/social-media-and-school-crises>

Office of the Surgeon General. (2021). *Protecting youth mental health: The U.S. Surgeon General's advisory*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.hhs.gov/sites/default/files/surgeon-general-youth-mental-health-advisory.pdf>

Office of the Surgeon General. (2023). *Social media and youth mental health: The U.S. Surgeon General's advisory*. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://pubmed.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/37721985/>

110 Court, B., Rubenstein, G., & Schiemer, J. (2023). *2023 Voice of the superintendent: Key survey findings and crucial conversations for the year ahead*. EAB. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://pages.eab.com/rs/732-GKV-655/images/EAB%202023%20Voice%20of%20the%20Superintendent%20Survey%20Brief.pdf>

111 Abramson, A. (2022, January 1). Children's mental health is in crisis. *Monitor on Psychology*, 53(1), 69. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.apa.org/monitor/2022/01/special-childrens-mental-health>

112 Compared to before the pandemic, mental-health related emergency room visits in the fall of 2020 were up 24% for children aged 5-11 and 31% for those 12-17.

Abramson, A. (2022, January 1). Children's mental health is in crisis. *Monitor on Psychology*, 53(1), 69. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.apa.org/monitor/2022/01/special-childrens-mental-health>

113 Hospitalizations for self-harm by children aged 5-17 were up 45% in 2021 compared to 2019.

Almandrez, E. (2021, November 2). *Sound the Alarm for Kids raises awareness of national mental health emergency*. Children's Hospital Association. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://www.childrenshospitals.org/news/newsroom/2021/12/sound-the-alarm-for-kids-raises-awareness>

114 Marshall, R., Ribbers, A., Sheridan, D., & Johnson, K.P. (2021, March). Mental health diagnoses and seasonal trends at a pediatric emergency department and hospital, 2015-2019. *Hospital Pediatrics*, 11(3), 199–206. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1542/hpeds.2020-000653>

115 Kurtz, H. (2024, August 7). The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/research-center/reports/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-mental-well-being-of-teachers-and-their-students/2024/08>

116 Fischer, H. (2024, September 3). Arizona teachers list burnout, student discipline as big reasons they leave, survey says. *The Daily Independent*. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://www.yourvalley.net/stories/arizona-teachers-list-burnout-student-discipline-as-big-reasons-they-leave-survey-says,532041>

117 Doan, S., Steiner, E.D., Pandey, R., & Woo, A. (2023). *Teacher well-being and intentions to leave: Findings from the 2023 State of the American Teacher Survey*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1108-8.html

Merrimack College. (2024, August 5). *The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers* (Third Annual Merrimack College Teacher Survey). EdWeek Research Center. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/products/whitepaper/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-well-being-of-teachers>

118 A January 2023 RAND survey found that teachers reported better well-being than in 2021 and 2022. However, a survey conducted by *Education Week* in the springs of 2023 and 2024 found that both educators' own job satisfaction and the mental health of their school colleagues were declining over time and that these two variables were correlated. The percentage of teachers who report that the mental health of teachers in their school is worse by midyear than it was at the start of the school year went up five percentage points in 2024 compared to 2023. Also, while 58% of teachers reported frequent stress in 2023, down from a high of 78% in 2021, the decline for all working adults was from 40% to 33% over the same period.

Doan, S., Steiner, E.D., Pandey, R., & Woo, A. (2023). *Teacher well-being and intentions to leave: Findings from the 2023 State of the American Teacher Survey*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1108-8.html

Merrimack College. (2024, August 5). *The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers* (Third Annual Merrimack College Teacher Survey). EdWeek Research Center. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/products/whitepaper/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-well-being-of-teachers>

119 Goldman, A. (2024, July 22). Rising reports of school violence are pushing teachers to want to quit. *Education Week*. Retrieved September 11, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/rising-reports-of-school-violence-are-pushing-teachers-to-want-to-quit/2024/07>

Kurtz, H. (2024, August 7). The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/research-center/reports/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-mental-well-being-of-teachers-and-their-students/2024/08>

not-all-right-improving-the-mental-well-being-of-teachers-and-their-students/2024/08

McMahon, S.D., Anderman, E., Espelage, D., Astor, R.A., Martinez, A., Reddy, L.A., & Worrell, F.C. (2022). *Violence against educators and school personnel: Crisis during COVID-19*. Technical Report (No. 506482023-001). APA Task Force on Violence Against Educators and School Personnel. Retrieved January 1, 2024, from <https://doi.apa.org/doi/10.1037/e506482023-001>

120 Doan, S., Steiner, E.D., Pandey, R., & Woo, A. (2023). *Teacher well-being and intentions to leave: Findings from the 2023 State of the American Teacher Survey*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1108-8.html

Kurtz, H. (2024, August 7). The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/research-center/reports/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-mental-well-being-of-teachers-and-their-students/2024/08>

121 Doan, S., Steiner, E.D., Pandey, R., & Woo, A. (2023). *Teacher well-being and intentions to leave: Findings from the 2023 State of the American Teacher Survey*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1108-8.html

122 Doan, S., Steiner, E.D., Pandey, R., & Woo, A. (2023). *Teacher well-being and intentions to leave: Findings from the 2023 State of the American Teacher Survey*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1108-8.html

123 Hooker, S.A., Olson-Bullis, B., Levin, A., Ziegenfuss, J.Y., Margolis, K.L., & Rossom, R.C. (2024). Depression and anxiety among K–12 teachers in the United States: A systematic review. *School Psychology*. Retrieved November 13, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000666>

Kurtz, H. (2024, August 7). The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/research-center/reports/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-mental-well-being-of-teachers-and-their-students/2024/08>

124 Herman, K.C., Sebastian, J., Reinke, W.M., & Huang, F.L. (2021). Individual and school predictors of teacher stress, coping, and wellness during the COVID-19 pandemic. *School Psychology*, 6, 483–493. Retrieved November 13, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000456>

Hooker, S.A., Olson-Bullis, B., Levin, A., Ziegenfuss, J.Y., Margolis, K.L., & Rossom, R.C. (2024). Depression and anxiety among K–12 teachers in the United States: A systematic review. *School Psychology*. Retrieved November 13, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000666>

Reinke, W.M., Herman, K.C., Stormont, M., & Ghasemi, F. (2025). Teacher stress, coping, burnout, and plans to leave the field: A post-pandemic survey. *School Mental Health*, 1–13. Retrieved February 1, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12310-024-09738-7>

125 Wall, P. (2023, March 28). Lawmakers across U.S. push for harsher school discipline as safety fears rise. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2023/3/28/23658974/school-discipline-violence-safety-state-law-suspensions-restorative-justice>

126 Povich, E.S. (2023, September 25). Shaken by post-pandemic disruptions, some states take a harder line on school discipline. *Stateline*. Retrieved October 15, 2023, from <https://stateline.org/2023/09/25/shaken-by-post-pandemic-disruptions-some-states-take-a-harder-line-on-school-discipline/>

127 Wall, P. (2023, March 28). Lawmakers across U.S. push for harsher school discipline as safety fears rise. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2023/3/28/23658974/school-discipline-violence-safety-state-law-suspensions-restorative-justice>

128 Wall, P. (2023, March 28). Lawmakers across U.S. push for harsher school discipline as safety fears rise. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2023/3/28/23658974/school-discipline-violence-safety-state-law-suspensions-restorative-justice>

discipline-violence-safety-state-law-suspensions-restorative-justice

Associated Press. (2023, January 21). Schools face pressure to take harder line on discipline. *Associated Press*. Retrieved May 1, 2023, from <https://www.ny1.com/nyc/all-boroughs/news/2023/01/21/schools-face-pressure-to-be-tougher-on-discipline>

- 129 James McGraw, K., Wood, D., & Welsh, R.O. (2024, March). *Examining state school discipline policy in the post-COVID-19 era* [Conference Presentation]. Association for Education Finance and Policy 2024 Convention, Baltimore, MD, United States.

James McGraw, K., Wood, D., & Welsh, R.O. (2024, April). *Return to zero tolerance? Examining state school discipline policy and media discourses in the post-COVID-19 era* [Conference Presentation]. American Education Research Association 2024 Convention, Philadelphia, PA, United States.

James McGraw, K., Wood, D., & Welsh, R.O. (2024, November). *Return to zero tolerance? Examining state school discipline policy and media discourses in the post-COVID-19 era* [Conference Presentation]. University Council for Educational Administration 2024 Convention, Los Angeles, CA, United States.

- 130 Alexander, B., Meek, S., Janssen, J., Cardona, M.R., Allen, R., Powell, T., Blevins, D., & Catherine, E. (2023). *National equity landscape of state exclusionary discipline policies across Pre-K–12 contexts*. The Children’s Equity Project. Retrieved June 15, 2024, from https://cep.asu.edu/sites/default/files/2023-12/state-discipline-120523_o.pdf

- 131 Austin, S.C., McIntosh, K., & Girvan, E.J. (2024). National patterns of vulnerable decision points in school discipline. *Journal of School Psychology, 102*, 101259. Retrieved October 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2023.101259>

Morris, E.W. & Perry, B.L. (2017). Girls behaving badly? Race, gender, and subjective evaluation in the discipline of African American girls. *Sociology of Education, 90*(2), 127–148. Retrieved June 2, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040717694876>

Skiba, R.J., Michael, R.S., Nardo, A.C., & Peterson, R.L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The Urban Review, 34*(4), 317–342. Retrieved September 19, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021320817372>

- 132 Alexander, B., Meek, S., Janssen, J., Cardona, M.R., Allen, R., Powell, T., Blevins, D., & Catherine, E. (2023). *National equity landscape of state exclusionary discipline policies across pre-K–12 contexts*. The Children’s Equity Project. Retrieved June 15, 2024, from https://cep.asu.edu/sites/default/files/2023-12/state-discipline-120523_o.pdf

- 133 Carey, R.L. (2024). Criminalized or stigmatized? An intersectional power analysis of the charter school treatment of Black and Latino boys. *Urban Education, 00420859241227947*. Retrieved February 8, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859241227947>

Monroe, C.R. (2005). Why are “bad boys” always Black?: Causes of disproportionality in school discipline and recommendations for change. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas, 79*(1), 45–50. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3200/TCHS.79.1.45-50>

Morris, E.W. (2005). “Tuck in that shirt!” Race, class, gender, and discipline in an urban school. *Sociological Perspectives, 48*(1), 25–48. Retrieved June 2, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2005.48.1.25>

- 134 James McGraw, K., Wood, D., & Welsh, R.O. (2024, March). *Examining state school discipline policy in the post-COVID-19 era* [Conference Presentation]. Association for Education Finance and Policy 2024 Convention, Baltimore, MD, United States.

James McGraw, K., Wood, D., & Welsh, R.O. (2024, April). *Return to zero tolerance? Examining state school discipline policy and media discourses in the post-COVID-19 era* [Conference Presentation]. American

Education Research Association 2024 Convention, Philadelphia, PA, United States.

James McGraw, K., Wood, D., & Welsh, R.O. (2024, November). *Return to zero tolerance? Examining state school discipline policy and media discourses in the post-COVID-19 era* [Conference Presentation]. University Council for Educational Administration 2024 Convention, Los Angeles, CA, United States.

Rafa, A. (2018, August 28). *50-state comparison: State policies on school discipline*. Education Commission of the States. Retrieved July 28, 2023, from <https://www.ecs.org/50-state-comparison-state-policies-on-school-discipline/>

Rafa, A. (2019, January). *The status of school discipline in state policy* (ED592549). Education Commission of the States. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://www.ecs.org/wp-content/uploads/The-Status-of-School-Discipline-in-State-Policy.pdf>

135 Wall, P. (2023, March 28). Lawmakers across U.S. push for harsher school discipline as safety fears rise. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2023/3/28/23658974/school-discipline-violence-safety-state-law-suspensions-restorative-justice>

136 Povich, E.S. (2023, September 25). Shaken by post-pandemic disruptions, some states take a harder line on school discipline. *Stateline*. Retrieved October 15, 2023, from <https://stateline.org/2023/09/25/shaken-by-post-pandemic-disruptions-some-states-take-a-harder-line-on-school-discipline/>

137 Pub. L. No. Public Chapter No. 603, Tennessee SB1755 (2020). Retrieved June 15, 2023, from https://custom.statenet.com/public/resources.cgi?id=ID:bill:TN2019000S1755&ciq=ncsl5&client_md=89786bce9133f9f80ea95fe5fa6e0018&mode=current_text

Rhode Island SB 2578. (2022). Retrieved June 15, 2023, from <http://webserver.rilin.state.ri.us/BillText22/SenateText22/S2578.pdf>

Teacher's Discipline Act, Pub. L. No. Public Chapter No. 77, Tennessee HB0016. (2021). Retrieved June 15, 2023, from <https://wapp.capitol.tn.gov/apps/Billinfo/default.aspx?BillNumber=HB0016&ga=112>

138 George, D.S. (2022, July 19). Biden warns schools not to overpunish students with disabilities. *Washington Post*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.washingtonpost.com/education/2022/07/19/school-discipline-special-ed-biden/>

Hernandez, R. (2022, May 1). Finger-pointing over school violence targets restorative justice law. *The Nevada Independent*. Retrieved July 29, 2023, from <https://thenevadaindependent.com/article/finger-pointing-over-school-violence-targets-restorative-justice-law>

139 Arango, T. (2023, June 27). Schools bring police back to campuses, reversing racial justice decisions. *The New York Times*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/27/us/school-police-resource-officers.html>

Cowan, J., Hubler, S., & Taylor, K. (2021, February 17). Protesters urged defunding the police. Schools in big cities are doing it. *The New York Times*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/17/us/los-angeles-school-police.html>

Preston, C. & Butrymowicz, S. (2021, February 20). How the past year has altered school discipline—Perhaps forever. *The Hechinger Report*. Retrieved August 3, 2024, from <https://hechingerreport.org/how-the-pandemic-has-altered-school-discipline-perhaps-forever/>

140 Cowan, J., Hubler, S., & Taylor, K. (2021, February 17). Protesters urged defunding the police. Schools in big cities are doing it. *The New York Times*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/02/17/us/los-angeles-school-police.html>

141 Belsha, K. (2022, July 6). Pandemic effect: More student fights and classroom disruptions this past year, data

show. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2022/7/6/23197094/student-fights-classroom-disruptions-suspensions-discipline-pandemic>

Zimmerman, A. (2024, May 14). Will NYC school restorative justice programs tumble over the fiscal cliff? *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/newyork/2024/05/14/nyc-school-restorative-justice-programs-face-federal-fiscal-cliff/>

- 142 Belsha, K. (2022, July 6). Pandemic effect: More student fights and classroom disruptions this past year, data show. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/2022/7/6/23197094/student-fights-classroom-disruptions-suspensions-discipline-pandemic>

Preston, C. & Butrymowicz, S. (2021, February 20). How the past year has altered school discipline—Perhaps forever. *The Hechinger Report*. Retrieved August 3, 2024, from <https://hechingerreport.org/how-the-pandemic-has-altered-school-discipline-perhaps-forever/>

- 143 In many districts, the discipline matrix also ensured students were not subjected to exclusion for minor behaviors. These revisions were typically framed as an attempt to disrupt existing discipline disproportionalities along racial and ethnic lines.

Butrymowicz, S., Khan, F., & Kolodner, M. (2024, March 31). Vague school rules at the root of millions of student suspensions. *The Hechinger Report*. Retrieved August 3, 2024, from <http://hechingerreport.org/vague-school-rules-at-the-root-of-millions-of-student-suspensions/>

- 144 Hallam, R. & Heilman, M. (2024, August 13). Wichita Public Schools updates student code of conduct, reflects shift in other districts. *KWCH*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.kwch.com/2024/08/14/wichita-public-schools-updates-student-code-conduct-reflects-shift-other-districts/>

U.S. Department of Education Press Office. (2024, May 29). *U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights announces resolution of investigation of discrimination against Native American students in Rapid City area schools, South Dakota*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.einpresswire.com/article/715928913/u-s-department-of-education-s-office-for-civil-rights-announces-resolution-of-investigation-of-discrimination-against-native-american-students-in>

- 145 Bakuli, E. (2023, July 18). Detroit district wants to give schools more power to suspend students. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved August 3, 2024, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/detroit/2023/7/18/23799036/detroit-public-schools-student-discipline-suspensions-conduct/>

- 146 Bakuli, E. (2023, July 18). Detroit district wants to give schools more power to suspend students. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved August 3, 2024, from <https://www.chalkbeat.org/detroit/2023/7/18/23799036/detroit-public-schools-student-discipline-suspensions-conduct/>

Asmar, M. (2024, June 15). New discipline guidelines to be rolled out by Denver Public Schools this fall. *Chalkbeat*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://denverite.com/2024/06/15/denver-public-schools-new-discipline-guidelines/>

- 147 Hatch, B. (Director). (2024, February 12). Suspensions are increasing in Baltimore City schools. Is that a solution, or another problem? [Broadcast]. *WYPR*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.wypr.org/wypr-news/2024-02-12/suspensions-are-increasing-in-baltimore-city-schools-is-that-a-solution-or-another-problem>

- 148 Mata, C. (October 21, 2024). *What are we learning from school suspension bans?* Brookings Institution. Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-are-we-learning-from-school-suspension-bans/>

- 149 Anderson, K.P. (2020). Academic, attendance, and behavioral outcomes of a suspension reduction policy: Lessons for school leaders and policy makers. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 56(3), 435–471.

Retrieved September 15, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X19861138>

Hashim, A.K., Strunk, K.O., & Dhaliwal, T.K. (2018). Justice for all? Suspension bans and restorative justice programs in the Los Angeles Unified School District. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 93(2), 174–189. Retrieved July 31, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2018.1435040>

Craigie, T-A. (2022). Do school suspension reforms work? Evidence from Rhode Island. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 44(4), 667-688. Retrieved September 9, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737221090264>

Lacoe, J. & Steinberg, M. P. (2018). Rolling back zero tolerance: The effect of discipline policy reform on suspension usage and student outcomes. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 93(2), 207–227. Retrieved September 15, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2018.1435047>

Lincove, J.A., Mata, C., & Cortes, K.E. (2024). *The effects of a statewide ban on school suspensions*. (EdWorkingPaper: 24-1004). Annenberg Institute at Brown University. Retrieved October 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.26300/rzkw-y763>

Nishioka, V., Merrill, B., & Hanson, H. (2021). *Changes in exclusionary and nonexclusionary discipline in grades K-5 following state policy reform in Oregon* (REL 2021-061). Regional Educational Laboratory Northwest. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from <https://eric.ed.gov/?id=ED610682>

Nishioka, V., Stevens, D., Deutschlander, D., Burke, A., Merrill, B., & Aylward, A. (2020). *Are state policy reforms in Oregon associated with fewer school suspensions and expulsions?* (REL 2020-036 U.S. Department Of Education). Regional Educational Laboratory Northwest. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://files-eric-ed-gov.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/fulltext/ED607760.pdf>

Steinberg, M.P. & Lacoe, J. (2018). Reforming school discipline: School-level policy implementation and the consequences for suspended students and their peers. *American Journal of Education*, 125(1), 29–77. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1086/699811>

Wang, R. (2022). The impact of suspension reforms on discipline outcomes: Evidence from California high schools. *AERA Open*, 8. Retrieved September 15, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584211068067>

150 The separation of school safety from school discipline will hopefully bring clarity and a better approach to the two issues that intersect only at the most severe offenses where students pose a clear and present danger to the schooling environment. It will draw a necessary distinction between resources for shatter-proof, gunshot resistant windows from resources for additional coaching for top-referrers. It will also create the clarity and space for a conversation on what is a commensurate response for a student making a death threat. A 10-day suspension? Assignment to alternative schools? Expulsion? Counseling and intensive “Tier 4” supports? And what comes next for such a student after appropriate disciplinary consequences?

151 Austin, S.C., McIntosh, K., & Girvan, E.J. (2024). National patterns of vulnerable decision points in school discipline. *Journal of School Psychology*, 102, 101259. Retrieved December 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2023.101259>

Butrymowicz, S., Khan, F., & Kolodner, M. (2024, March 31). Vague school rules at the root of millions of student suspensions. *The Hechinger Report*. Retrieved August 3, 2024, from <http://hechingerreport.org/vague-school-rules-at-the-root-of-millions-of-student-suspensions/>

Girvan, E.J., Gion, C., McIntosh, K., & Smolkowski, K. (2017). The relative contribution of subjective office referrals to racial disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Quarterly*, 32(3), 392–404. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000178>

Welsh, R. (August 19, 2021). Why, really, are so many Black kids suspended? *Education Week*. Retrieved September 20, 2022, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/opinion-why-really-are-so-many-black-kids->

suspended/2021/08

- 152 Subjective offenses, or infractions that are largely dependent on the discretionary disciplinary decisions of teachers and school administrators, are of particular concern. Most of the variation in disproportionality in school discipline is explained by the variation in subjective ODRs and there are vulnerable decision points in the disciplinary process that predict disproportionate discipline. The bias and discrimination in policing that resulted in the murder of George Floyd, Breonna Taylor and so many other Black souls may also contribute to disproportionate suspensions and students feeling less safe and welcomed in schools.

Girvan, E.J., Gion, C., McIntosh, K., & Smolkowski, K. (2017). The relative contribution of subjective office referrals to racial disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Quarterly, 32*(3), 392–404. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000178>

Smolkowski, K., Girvan, E.J., McIntosh, K., Nese, R.N.T., & Horner, R.H. (2016). Vulnerable decision points for disproportionate office discipline referrals: Comparisons of discipline for African American and White elementary school students. *Behavioral Disorders, 41*(4), 178–195. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.17988/bedi-41-04-178-195.1>

- 153 De Francisco Lopes, V., & Novak, A. (2024). Disorderly to whom? A critical analysis of school-based disorderly conduct referrals. *Journal of School Violence, 0*(0), 1–15. Retrieved July 3, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2024.2368029>

Girvan, E.J., Gion, C., McIntosh, K., & Smolkowski, K. (2017). The relative contribution of subjective office referrals to racial disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Quarterly, 32*(3), 392–404. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000178>

Ritter, G.W. & Anderson, K.P. (2018, March 15). Examining disparities in student discipline: Mapping inequities from infractions to consequences. *Peabody Journal of Education, 93*(2), 161–173. Retrieved December 9, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2018.1435038>

Skiba, R.J., Michael, R.S., Nardo, A.C., & Peterson, R.L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The Urban Review, 34*(4), 317–342. Retrieved September 19, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021320817372>

- 154 Civil Rights Data Collection. (2021). *An overview of exclusionary discipline practices in public schools for the 2017-18 school year*. Office of Civil Rights. Retrieved September 2, 2022, from <https://civilrightsdata.ed.gov/assets/downloads/crde-exclusionary-school-discipline.pdf>

Office of Civil Rights. (2023). *2020-21 Civil Rights Data Collection student discipline and school climate in U.S. public schools*. U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved November 10, 2023, from https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/crde-discipline-school-climate-report.pdf?utm_content=&utm_medium=email&utm_name=&utm_source=govdelivery&utm_term=

- 155 Bailey, C.M. (2025). Does race matter: An analysis of the perceptions of the roles of school police. *Race and Justice, 0*(0). Retrieved February 13, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/21533687241310504>

Curran, F.C., Viano, S., Kupchik, A., & Fisher, B.W. (2021). Do interactions with school resource officers predict students' likelihood of being disciplined and feelings of safety? Mixed-methods evidence from two school districts. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 43*(2), 200–232. Retrieved June 7, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373720985904>

Mair, A., Tientore, N., & Rusley, J. (2025). The impact of school resource officers on adolescent students' wellbeing and safety. *Journal of Adolescent Health, 76*(3), S47. Retrieved February 10, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jadohealth.2024.11.106>

Weisburst, E K. (2019). Patrolling public schools: The impact of funding for school police on student discipline

and long-term education outcomes. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 38(2), 338–365. Retrieved June 24, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.22116>

156 Owens found safety improvements but concluded that “the increases in school safety associated with SROs may have come at a much larger cost”: Each additional SRO was associated with 0.33 fewer in-school violent incidents annually and 0.06 more monthly in-school criminal reports per month for violent crime. For Black female students in particular, SRO presence is associated with increases in ISS and OSS rates.

Owens, E.G. (2017). Testing the school-to-prison pipeline. *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, 36(1), 11–37. Retrieved June 24, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1002/pam.21954>

Williams III, J.A., Edosomwan, K., Grice, S., Richardson, S.C., & Young, J. (2023). Is the employment of school resource officers in high schools associated with Black girls’ discipline outcomes? *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 26(3), 398–418. Retrieved February 3, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2022.2160774>

Civil rights organizations fear that the current responses to school safety pose a serious threat to students of color and students with disabilities. Supporters of the Obama-era discipline guidance contend that the repeal of the civil rights protections expose Black students, who have not been the perpetrators of mass school shootings, to unintended consequences. Nationwide data from the 2021-22 CRDC highlighted that “Black students and Native American or Alaska Native students were 1.3 times more likely than White students to attend a school with a sworn law enforcement officer or security guard but no school counselor, and Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander students were 1.2 times more likely.” The interactions between students and school police are context-dependent as school police take on multiple, often-conflicting, roles of “care, education and support, as well as punitive social control strategies.” Black students articulate that while their relationships with school police often originate in a posture of care, those relationships are often then used to exert punitive control over the students themselves or others in their orbits. Perceptions of the various roles SROs and school police take on vary by educator and student race.

Allen, T., & Noguera, P. (2023). A web of punishment: Examining Black student interactions with school police in Los Angeles. *Educational Researcher*, 0(0). Retrieved May 25, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X221095547>

Bailey, C.M. (2025). Does race matter: An analysis of the perceptions of the roles of school police. *Race and Justice*, 0(0). Retrieved February 13, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/21533687241310504>

Khafaji-King, J.A. & Rodriguez, L.A. (2024). *Overpoliced? A descriptive portrait of school-based targeted police interventions in New York City*. (EdWorkingPaper: 24-1058). Annenberg Institute at Brown University. Retrieved November 19, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.26300/bds3-xc11>

Office of Civil Rights. (2025). *A first look: Students’ access to educational opportunities in U.S. public schools (2020-21 Civil Rights Data Collection)*. U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved January 25, 2025, from <https://www.ed.gov/media/document/2021-22-crdc-first-look-report>

157 This retrenchment to securitization was also evident in districts which returned police officers to school campuses after removing police in 2020. Districts nationwide – large urban districts like Denver, Seattle, and Washington D.C., along with midsize districts like Alexandria, VA and rural districts like Brocton, NY – have restored police to schools after removing them in the summer of 2020. Many such districts returned police to schools in the wake of high-profile violent incidents on their campuses. Denver; Montgomery County, MD; and Pomona, CA all announced the return of police to schools in response to campus shootings or the discovery of guns on campus.

Arango, T. (2023, June 27). Schools bring police back to campuses, reversing racial justice decisions. *The New York Times*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/06/27/us/school-police-resource-officers.html>

Riser-Kositsky, M., Sawchuk, S., & Peele, H. (2021, June 4). School police: Which districts cut them? Which brought them back? *Education Week*. Retrieved August 4, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/which-districts-have-cut-school-policing-programs/2021/06>

158 Fisher and colleagues highlighted how the racial composition of districts shaped the perceptions of students' behavior by SROs: "SROs in the district with a larger proportion of White students were primarily concerned about external threats (i.e., intruder-based and environment-based) that might harm the students, whereas SROs in the district with a larger proportion of Black students were primarily concerned with students themselves as threats." While research on security personnel who are not sworn law enforcement is still emerging, some scholars find the use of non-sworn security guards is not associated with suspension or arrest rates, diverging from patterns for school-based law enforcement. However, other scholars find similar patterns for sworn and non-sworn security personnel.

Curran, F.C., Fisher, B.W., Viano, S., & Kupchik, A. (2019). Why and when do school resource officers engage in school discipline? The role of context in shaping disciplinary involvement. *American Journal of Education*, 126(1), 33-63. Retrieved July 3, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1086/705499>

Curran, F.C., Viano, S., Kupchik, A., & Fisher, B.W. (2021). Do interactions with school resource officers predict students' likelihood of being disciplined and feelings of safety? Mixed-methods evidence from two school districts. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 43(2), 200-232. Retrieved June 7, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373720985904>

Fisher, B.W., Higgins, E.M., Kupchik, A., Viano, S., Curran, F.C., Overstreet, S., Plumlee, B., & Coffey, B. (2022). Protecting the flock or policing the sheep? Differences in school resource officers' perceptions of threats by school racial composition (p. 316). *Social Problems*, 69(2), 316-334. Retrieved October 18, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spaa062>

Vernon, K. & Curran, F.C. (2024). On guard but not sworn: The relationship between school security guards, school resource officers, and student behavior, discipline, and arrests. *Criminology & Public Policy*, 23(2), 327-360. Retrieved November 27, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/1745-9133.12653>

Viano, S., Curran, F.C., & Fisher, B.W. (2021). Kindergarten cop: A case study of how a coalition between school districts and law enforcement led to school resource officers in elementary schools. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 43(2), 253-279. Retrieved October 20, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373721989290>

Viano, S., Curran, F.C., Fisher, B.W., & Kupchik, A. (2023). The third administrator? Perceptions of school resource officers in predominantly White elementary schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 59(3), 633-666. Retrieved June 15, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X231175658>

159 Curran, F.C., Viano, S., Kupchik, A., & Fisher, B.W. (2021). Do interactions with school resource officers predict students' likelihood of being disciplined and feelings of safety? Mixed-methods evidence from two school districts. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 43(2), 200-232. Retrieved June 7, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0162373720985904>

Heise, M. & Nance, J.P. (2021). Defund the (school) police? Bringing data to key school-to-prison pipeline claims. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 111(3), 717-772. Retrieved January 20, 2025, from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/48617797>

160 LiCalsi, C., Osher, D., & Bailey, P. (2021). *An empirical examination of the effects of suspension and suspension severity on behavioral and academic outcomes*. American Institutes for Research. Retrieved January 25, 2024, from <https://www.air.org/sites/default/files/2021-08/NYC-Suspension-Effects-Behavioral-Academic-Outcomes-August-2021.pdf>

161 Office of Justice Programs. (2025). *Five things about comprehensive approaches to school safety* (NCJ

- 309995; Advancing Justice through Science) (p. 1). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/five-things-about-comprehensive-approaches-school-safety>
- 162 Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework* (p.18). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>
- Office of Justice Programs. (2025). *Five things about comprehensive approaches to school safety* (NCJ 309995; Advancing Justice through Science) (p. 1). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/five-things-about-comprehensive-approaches-school-safety>
- 163 Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework* (p. 29). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>
- 164 Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework*. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>
- Office of Justice Programs. (2025). *Five things about comprehensive approaches to school safety* (NCJ 309995; Advancing Justice through Science) (p. 1). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/five-things-about-comprehensive-approaches-school-safety>
- 165 Furthermore, after controlling for demographic characteristics, students who have experienced exclusionary discipline (i.e., suspension or expulsion) are more likely to perceive school climate as unfavorable.
- Mack, M.D., King, S., & May, D.C. (2025). School violence is more than physical: The association between intersecting identities and perceptions of school climate. *Youth & Society*, 0044118X251318041. Retrieved February 10, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X251318041>
- 166 Fabelo, T., Thompson, M.D., Plotkin, M., & Carmichael, D. (2011, July). *Breaking schools' rules: A statewide study of how school discipline relates to students' success and juvenile justice involvement*. Council of State Governments Justice Center. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://www.ojp.gov/ncjrs/virtual-library/abstracts/breaking-schools-rules-statewide-study-how-school-discipline>
- Mack, M.D., King, S., & May, D.C. (2025). School violence is more than physical: The association between intersecting identities and perceptions of school climate. *Youth & Society*, 0(0). Retrieved February 10, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0044118X251318041>
- Mallett, C.A. (2016, February 1). The school-to-prison pipeline: A critical review of the punitive paradigm shift. *Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal*, 33(1), 15–24. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10560-015-0397-1>
- 167 Office of Justice Programs. (2025). *Five things about comprehensive approaches to school safety* (NCJ309995; Advancing Justice through Science) (p. 1). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/five-things-about-comprehensive-approaches-school-safety>
- 168 Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework* (p. 18). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>
- Office of Justice Programs. (2025). *Five things about comprehensive approaches to school safety* (NCJ309995; Advancing Justice through Science) (p. 1). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/five-things-about-comprehensive-approaches-school-safety>
- 169 Office of Justice Programs. (2025). *Five things about comprehensive approaches to school safety* (NCJ 309995; Advancing Justice through Science) (p. 1). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025,

<https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/five-things-about-comprehensive-approaches-school-safety>

Rodriguez, L.A. & Welsh, R.O. (2023). The ties that bind: An examination of school-family relationships and middle school discipline in New York City. *Educational Researcher*, 53(2), 85–99. Retrieved October 26, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X231203696>

Rodriguez, L.A., Welsh, R.O., & Daniels, C. (2024). School climate, teacher characteristics, and school discipline: Evidence from New York City. *AERA Open*, 10, 23328584241263860. Retrieved August 16, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584241263860>

Santiago-Rosario, M.R., Austin, S.C., Izzard, S., Strickland-Cohen, M.K., Gallo, J.C.R., Newson, A., & McIntosh, K. (2024). Zero tolerance: Effects, bias, and more effective strategies for Improving school safety. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, 68(4), 290–299. Retrieved December 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1045988X.2023.2236054>

Welsh, R.O., Rodriguez, L.A., & Joseph, B. (2024). Examining student perceptions of school climate, school personnel, and school discipline: Evidence from New York City. *Journal of School Psychology*, 107, 101361. Retrieved September 7, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2024.101361>

170 Office of Civil Rights, & Civil Rights Division. (2014). *Joint dear colleague letter*. U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved May 20, 2024, from <https://www.ed.gov/sites/ed/files/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-residential-facilities-201412.pdf>

Gage, N.A., Larson, A., Sugai, G., & Chafouleas, S.M. (2016). Student perceptions of school climate as predictors of office discipline referrals. *American Educational Research Journal*, 53(3), 492–515. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831216637349>

Mitchell, M.M., Bradshaw, C.P., & Leaf, P.J. (2010). Student and teacher perceptions of school climate: A multilevel exploration of patterns of discrepancy. *Journal of School Health*, 80(6), 271–279. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1746-1561.2010.00501.x>

Skiba, R.J., Chung, C.-G., Trachok, M., Baker, T.L., Sheya, A., & Hughes, R.L. (2014). Parsing disciplinary disproportionality: Contributions of infraction, student, and school characteristics to out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *American Educational Research Journal*, 51(4), 640–670. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831214541670>

171 Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025 from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>

Lewis, A.K., Nguyen, C., Freshour, C., Hoover, S., Bohnenkamp, J.H., Schaeffer, C.M., & Slade, E. (2019). *Promoting school safety: A comprehensive emotional and behavioral health model* (No. 252849; National Criminal Justice Reference Service). U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved November 11, 2024, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/252849.pdf>

Plettinger, M., Moiser, M.S., Goodwin, H., Limber, S.P., Hudson-Flege, M., Thompson, M., & Sprague, J. (2021). *Testing integrative models to improve school safety: Positive behavior interventions and supports and the Olweus bullying prevention program* (No. 255990; National Criminal Justice Reference Service). U.S. Department of Justice. Retrieved November 11, 2024, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/grants/255990.pdf>

172 Goodrum, S., Mattson, S.A., Matthews, A., Kingston, B., Argamaso, S., & Witt, J. (2025). *Balancing the components of a comprehensive school safety framework*. National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://www.ojp.gov/pdffiles1/nij/308735.pdf>

173 So, M., Freese, R.L., & Barnes, A.J. (2024). Pushed out and drawn in: Exclusionary discipline, mental health,

and protective factors among youth in public schools. *Journal of School Health*, 94(2), 128–137. Retrieved January 27, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1111/josh.13405>

- 174 While there are statistically significant disparities in referring students with disabilities for threat assessment, rates of threat assessment – unlike exclusionary punishment like ISS and OSS – are not predicted by the racial/ethnic composition or socioeconomic status of a school. Furthermore, students’ demographic characteristics do not predict the degree to which they are assigned support or surveillance activities as a result of behavioral threat assessment.

Cornell, D.G., Kerere, J., Konold, T., Maeng, J., Afolabi, K., Huang, F., & Cowley, D. (2025). Referral rates for school threat assessment. *Psychology in the Schools*. Retrieved February 4, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1002/pits.23399>

Madfis, E., Silva, J.R., Crepeau-Hobson, F., & Sulkowski, M.L. (2025). School threat assessment team recommendations: Surveillance versus social support and racial/ethnic equity. *School Psychology Review*, 1–14. Retrieved January 5, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2024.2439240>

Maeng, J.L., Cornell, D.G., & Edwards, K.D. (2024). Threat assessment and disparities in school discipline. *Journal of Threat Assessment and Management*, 11(3), 186–196. Retrieved March 23, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/tam0000213>

Santiago-Rosario, M.R., Austin, S.C., Izzard, S., Strickland-Cohen, M.K., Gallo, J.C.R., Newson, A., & McIntosh, K. (2024). Zero tolerance: Effects, bias, and more effective strategies for improving school safety. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, 68(4), 290–299. Retrieved December 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1045988X.2023.2236054>

- 175 Cornell, D. & Maeng, J. (2024). *School threat assessment toolkit* (p. 9). National Center for School Safety. Retrieved October 15, 2024, from <https://nc2s.org/resource/school-threat-assessment-toolkit/>

- 176 Cruz, R. & Cunningham, M. (2024, November). *Has ending suspensions for willful defiance improved discipline disparities? Evidence from California*. The Urban Institute. Retrieved November 18, 2024, from https://www.urban.org/sites/default/files/2024-11/Has_Ending_Suspensions_for_Willful_Defiance_Improved_Discipline_Disparities.pdf

Perera, R.M. & Diliberti, M.K. (2023). *What does the research say about how to reduce student misbehavior in schools?* Brookings Institution. Retrieved November 17, 2023, from <https://www.brookings.edu/articles/what-does-the-research-say-about-how-to-reduce-student-misbehavior-in-schools/>

Santiago-Rosario, M.R., Austin, S.C., Izzard, S., Strickland-Cohen, M.K., Gallo, J.C.R., Newson, A., & McIntosh, K. (2024). Zero tolerance: Effects, bias, and more effective strategies for improving school safety. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, 68(4), 290–299. Retrieved December 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1045988X.2023.2236054>

Welsh, R.O. (2023, July 1). Up the down escalator? Examining a decade of school discipline reforms. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 150, 106962. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2023.106962>

Welsh, R.O. (October 6, 2023). I combed through 81 studies on school discipline. Here’s what educators need to know. *Education Week*. Retrieved November 1, 2023, from <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/opinion-i-combed-through-81-studies-on-school-discipline-heres-what-educators-need-to-know/2023/10>

Welsh, R.O. (2022, May 27). School discipline in the age of COVID-19: Exploring patterns, policy, and practice considerations. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 97(3), 291–308. Retrieved May 15, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2022.2079885>

- 177 Schwartz, S. (2024, August 29). 5 ways teachers want administrators to support them. *Education Week*.

Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/5-ways-teachers-want-administrators-to-support-them/2024/08>

Schultz, B. (2024, August 12). Teacher morale dips yet again: 5 takeaways from new survey. *Education Week*. Retrieved September 17, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/teaching-learning/teacher-morale-dips-yet-again-5-takeaways-from-new-survey/2024/08>

178 Bradshaw, C.P., Pas, E.T., Bottiani, J.H., Debnam, K.J., Reinke, W.M., Herman, K.C., & Rosenberg, M.S. (2018). Promoting cultural responsiveness and student engagement through Double Check coaching of classroom teachers: An efficacy study. *School Psychology Review, 47*(2), 118–134. Retrieved October 7, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.17105/SPR-2017-0119.V47-2>

Cook, C.R., Duong, M.T., McIntosh, K., Fiat, A.E., Larson, M., Pullmann, M.D., & McGinnis, J. (2018, June 1). Addressing discipline disparities for Black male students: Linking malleable root causes to feasible and effective practices. *School Psychology Review, 47*(2), 135–152. Retrieved October 7, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.17105/SPR-2017-0026.V47-2>

Gregory, A., Hafen, C.A., Ruzek, E., Mikami, A.Y., Allen, J.P., & Pianta, R.C. (2016). Closing the racial discipline gap in classrooms by changing teacher practice. *School Psychology Review, 45*(2), 171–191. Retrieved September 11, 2022 from <https://doi.org/10.17105/SPR45-2.171-191>

Gregory, A., Ruzek, E.A., DeCoster, J., Mikami, A.Y., & Allen, J.P. (2019). Focused classroom coaching and widespread racial equity in school discipline. *AERA Open, 5*(4). Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332858419897274>

Okonofua, J.A., Goyer, J.P., Lindsay, C.A., Haugabrook, J., & Walton, G.M. (2022, March 23). A scalable empathic-mindset intervention reduces group disparities in school suspensions. *Science Advances, 8*(12), eabj0691. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.abj0691>

Welsh, R.O. (2023, July 1). Up the down escalator? Examining a decade of school discipline reforms. *Children and Youth Services Review, 150*, 106962. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2023.106962>

179 DeAngelis, F., Greer, P., & Johnson, G. (2024, November 12). Our schools were victims of mass shootings. We know what Congress needs to do. *The 74*. Retrieved November 13, 2024, from <https://www.the74million.org/article/our-schools-were-victims-of-mass-shootings-we-know-what-congress-needs-to-do/>

Leung-Gagné, M., McCombs, J., Scott, C., & Losen, D.J. (2022). *Pushed out: Trends and disparities in out-of-school suspension*. Learning Policy Institute. Retrieved May 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.54300/235.277>

180 Counseling Not Criminalization in Schools Act, S.2125, 117th Congress, 2021–2022 (2021). Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/senate-bill/2125/text>

Ending PUSHOUT Act of 2021, H.R.2248, 117th Congress, 2021–2022 (2021). Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://www.congress.gov/bill/117th-congress/house-bill/2248>

181 Okonofua, J.A., Goyer, J.P., Lindsay, C.A., Haugabrook, J., & Walton, G.M. (2022). A scalable empathic-mindset intervention reduces group disparities in school suspensions. *Science Advances, 8*(12), eabj0691. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.abj0691>

Okonofua, J.A., Paunesku, D., & Walton, G.M. (2016). Brief intervention to encourage empathic discipline cuts suspension rates in half among adolescents. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 113*(19), 5221–5226. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1523698113>

Splett, J.W., Perales, K., Al-Khatib, A.M., Raborn, A., & Weist, M.D. (2020). Preliminary development and validation of the Interconnected Systems Framework-Implementation Inventory (ISF-II). *School Psychology, 35*(4), 255–266. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000369>

- Splett, J.W., Perales, K., Halliday-Boykins, C.A., Gilchrest, C.E., Gibson, N., & Weist, M.D. (2017). Best practices for teaming and collaboration in the interconnected systems framework. *Journal of Applied School Psychology, 33*(4), 347–368. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377903.2017.1328625>
- Weist, M.D., Splett, J.W., Halliday, C.A., Gage, N.A., Seaman, M.A., Perkins, K.A., Perales, K., Miller, E., Collins, D., & DiStefano, C. (2022). A randomized controlled trial on the interconnected systems framework for school mental health and PBIS: Focus on proximal variables and school discipline. *Journal of School Psychology, 94*, 49–65. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2022.08.002>
- 182 Williams, J.A., Mallant, C., & Svajda-Hardy, M. (2022). A gap in culturally responsive classroom management coverage? A critical policy analysis of states' school discipline policies. *Educational Policy, 37*(5), 1191–1216. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/08959048221087213>
- 183 Bergin, C., Tsai, C.L., Prewett, S., Jones, E., Bergin, D.A., & Murphy, B. (2024). Effectiveness of a social-emotional learning program for both teachers and students. *AERA Open, 10*. Retrieved December 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584241281284>
- Court, B., Rubenstein, G., & Schiemer, J. (2023). *2023 Voice of the superintendent: Key survey findings and crucial conversations for the year ahead*. EAB. Retrieved July 1, 2024, from <https://pages.eab.com/rs/732-GKV-655/images/EAB%202023%20Voice%20of%20the%20Superintendent%20Survey%20Brief.pdf>
- Davis, K.M., Nation, M., Christopher, C., & Fisher, B.W. (2024). The role of social emotional competencies in student discipline and discipline disparities. *Journal of School Violence, 23*(2), 250–263. Retrieved October 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2023.2297040>
- Doan, S., Steiner, E.D., Pandey, R., & Woo, A. (2023). *Teacher well-being and intentions to leave: Findings from the 2023 State of the American Teacher Survey*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RRA1108-8.html
- Ieva, K. & Beasley, J. (2022). Dismantling racism through collaborative consultation: Promoting culturally affirming educator SEL. *Theory Into Practice, 61*(2), 236–249. Retrieved October 31, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/00405841.2022.2036049>
- Kurtz, H. (2024, August 7). The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers. *Education Week*. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/research-center/reports/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-mental-well-being-of-teachers-and-their-students/2024/08>
- Merrimack College. (2024, August 5). *The teachers are not all right: Improving the well-being of teachers* (Third Annual Merrimack College Teacher Survey). EdWeek Research Center. Retrieved August 18, 2024, from <https://www.edweek.org/products/whitepaper/the-teachers-are-not-all-right-improving-the-well-being-of-teachers>
- Santiago-Rosario, M.R., Austin, S.C., Izzard, S., Strickland-Cohen, M.K., Gallo, J.C.R., Newson, A., & McIntosh, K. (2024). Zero tolerance: Effects, bias, and more effective strategies for Improving school safety. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth, 68*(4), 290–299. Retrieved December 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1045988X.2023.2236054>
- 184 Weist, M.D., Splett, J.W., Halliday, C.A., Gage, N.A., Seaman, M.A., Perkins, K.A., Perales, K., Miller, E., Collins, D., & DiStefano, C. (2022). A randomized controlled trial on the interconnected systems framework for school mental health and PBIS: Focus on proximal variables and school discipline. *Journal of School Psychology, 94*, 49–65. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2022.08.002>
- The Council of State Governments Justice Center. (2023). *Systems in crisis: Revamping the juvenile justice workforce and core strategies for improving public safety and youth outcomes*. Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention. Retrieved January 7, 2025, from https://projects.csgjusticecenter.org/systems-in-crisis/wp-content/uploads/sites/16/2023/10/Systems_in_Crisis_Brief-1.pdf

- 185 Trout, L., Pate, C., Wu, K., & McKenna, J. (2022). *Reimagining school safety: A guide for schools and communities* (p. 1). Center to Improve Social and Emotional Learning and School Safety. Retrieved January 3, 2024, from https://selcenter.wested.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/SEL_Reimagining-School-Safety-A-Guide-for-School-and-Communities_ADA-2.pdf
- 186 Blad, E., Banjeri, O., Peetz, C., & Stanford, L. (2024). Reimagining school safety: A holistic approach (Spotlight) (p. 1). *Education Week*. Retrieved December 4, 2024, from https://fs24.formsite.com/edweek/images/12-2-24_SchoolSafetySpotlight_Sponsored.pdf
- Bradshaw, C.P., Cohen, J., Espelage, D.L., & Nation, M. (2021). Addressing school safety through comprehensive school climate approaches. *School Psychology Review*, *50*(2–3), 221–236. Retrieved November 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2021.1926321>
- Office of Justice Programs. (2025). *Five things about comprehensive approaches to school safety* (NCJ 309995; Advancing Justice through Science). National Institute of Justice. Retrieved January 14, 2025, from <https://nij.ojp.gov/topics/articles/five-things-about-comprehensive-approaches-school-safety>
- 187 Bush, M.D. & Dodson, K.D. (2024). To arrest or to serve: School resource officers' perceptions of zero-tolerance and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Journal of Ethnicity in Criminal Justice*, *22*(1), 66–88. Retrieved May 21, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15377938.2024.2324444>
- 188 Rodriguez, L.A. & Welsh, R.O. (2022). The dimensions of school discipline: Toward a comprehensive framework for measuring discipline patterns and outcomes in schools (p. 2). *AERA Open*, *8*. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584221083669>
- 189 Skiba, R.J., Chung, C.G., Trachok, M., Baker, T.L., Sheya, A., & Hughes, R.L. (2014). Parsing disciplinary disproportionality: Contributions of infraction, student, and school characteristics to out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *American Educational Research Journal*, *51*(4), 640–670. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831214541670>
- Welsh, R.O. & Little, S. (2018). The school discipline dilemma: A comprehensive review of disparities and alternative approaches (p. 4, supplementary material). *Review of Educational Research*, *88*(5), 752–794. Retrieved September 1, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654318791582>
- 190 Trout, L., Pate, C., Wu, K., & McKenna, J. (2022). *Reimagining school safety: A guide for schools and communities* (p. 2). Center to Improve Social and Emotional Learning and School Safety. Retrieved January 3, 2024, from https://selcenter.wested.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/SEL_Reimagining-School-Safety-A-Guide-for-School-and-Communities_ADA-2.pdf
- 191 Trout, L., Pate, C., Wu, K., & McKenna, J. (2022). *Reimagining school safety: A guide for schools and communities* (p. 7). Center to Improve Social and Emotional Learning and School Safety. Retrieved January 3, 2024, from https://selcenter.wested.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/SEL_Reimagining-School-Safety-A-Guide-for-School-and-Communities_ADA-2.pdf
- 192 Perry, B.L. & Morris, E.W. (2014). Suspending progress: Collateral consequences of exclusionary punishment in public schools. *American Sociological Review*, *79*(6), 1067–1087. Retrieved March 3, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0003122414556308>
- Welsh, R.O. & Little, S. (2018). The school discipline dilemma: A comprehensive review of disparities and alternative approaches (p. 4, supplementary material). *Review of Educational Research*, *88*(5), 752–794. Retrieved September 1, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0034654318791582>
- 193 Brown, A.L. (2018). From subhuman to human kind: Implicit bias, racial memory, and Black males in schools and society. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *93*(1), 52–65. Retrieved June 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2017.1403176>

- Gadson, C.A. & Lewis, J.A. (2022). Devalued, overdisciplined, and stereotyped: An exploration of gendered racial microaggressions among Black adolescent girls. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 69(1), 14–26. Retrieved June 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/cou0000571>
- Hailey, C.A. (2025). Racial prisms: Experimental evidence on families' race-based evaluations of school safety. *Social Forces*, soaf012. Retrieved February 1, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/soaf012>
- Medina Falzone, G. (2022). Case studies in social death: The criminalization and dehumanization of six Black and Latino boys. *The Urban Review*, 54(2), 233–254. Retrieved January 3, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-021-00617-y>
- 194 Curran, F.C., Fisher, B.W., Viano, S., & Kupchik, A. (2019). Why and when do school resource officers engage in school discipline? The role of context in shaping disciplinary involvement. *American Journal of Education*, 126(1), 33–63. Retrieved July 3, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1086/705499>
- Fisher, B.W., Higgins, E.M., Kupchik, A., Viano, S., Curran, F.C., Overstreet, S., Plumlee, B., & Coffey, B. (2022). Protecting the flock or policing the sheep? Differences in school resource officers' perceptions of threats by school racial composition (p. 316). *Social Problems*, 69(2), 316–334. Retrieved October 18, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1093/socpro/spaa062>
- Skiba, R.J., Fergus, E., & Gregory, A. (2022). The new Jim Crow in school: Exclusionary discipline and structural racism (p. 218). In E.J. Sabornie & D.L. Espelage (Eds.), *Handbook of Classroom Management* (3rd ed., pp. 211–230). Taylor & Francis.
- Welch, K. & Payne, A.A. (2010, February 1). Racial threat and punitive school discipline. *Social Problems*, 57(1), 25–48. Retrieved October 8, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2010.57.1.25>
- 195 Cornell, D.G., Mayer, M.J., & Sulkowski, M.L. (2020). History and future of school safety research. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 143–157. Retrieved December 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1857212>
- Fuentes, A. (2013). *Lockdown high: When the schoolhouse becomes a jailhouse*. Verso Books.
- Kupchik, A. & Ward, G. (2014). Race, poverty, and exclusionary school security: An empirical analysis of U.S. elementary, middle, and high schools. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 12(4), 332–354. Retrieved July 5, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1541204013503890>
- 196 Baker, T.L. (2019). Reframing the connections between deficit thinking, microaggressions, and teacher perceptions of defiance. *Journal of Negro Education*, 88(2), 103–113. Retrieved June 3, 2024, from <https://muse.jhu.edu/pub/417/article/802584>
- Carey, R.L. (2024). Criminalized or stigmatized? An intersectional power analysis of the charter school treatment of Black and Latino boys. *Urban Education*, 60(5), 1187–1221. Retrieved February 8, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420859241227947>
- Carter Andrews, D.J., Brown, T., Castro, E., & Id-Deen, E. (2019). The impossibility of being “Perfect and White”: Black girls' racialized and gendered schooling experiences. *American Educational Research Journal*, 56(6), 2531–2572. Retrieved June 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831219849392>
- Epstein, R., Blake, J., & González, T. (2017). *Girlhood interrupted: The erasure of Black girls' childhood* (SSRN Scholarly Paper 3000695). Retrieved June 6, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3000695>
- Farinde-Wu, A., Butler, B.R., & Allen-Handy, A. (2022). Policing Black femininity: The hypercriminalization of Black girls in an urban school. *Gender and Education*, 34(7), 804–820. Retrieved January 3, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/09540253.2022.2072477>
- Monroe, C.R. (2005). Why are “bad boys” always Black?: Causes of disproportionality in school discipline and

- recommendations for change. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, 79(1), 45–50. Retrieved October 17, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3200/TCHS.79.1.45-50>
- Morris, E.W. (2005). “Tuck in that Shirt!” Race, class, gender, and discipline in an urban school. *Sociological Perspectives*, 48(1), 25–48. Retrieved June 2, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1525/sop.2005.48.1.25>
- 197 De Francisco Lopes, V. & Novak, A. (2024). Disorderly to whom? A critical analysis of school-based disorderly conduct referrals. *Journal of School Violence*, 0(0), 1–15. Retrieved July 3, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/15388220.2024.2368029>
- Girvan, E.J., Gion, C., McIntosh, K., & Smolkowski, K. (2017). The relative contribution of subjective office referrals to racial disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Quarterly*, 32(3), 392–404. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000178>
- Morris, E.W. & Perry, B.L. (2017). Girls behaving badly? Race, gender, and subjective evaluation in the discipline of African American girls. *Sociology of Education*, 90(2), 127–148. Retrieved June 2, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0038040717694876>
- Skiba, R.J., Michael, R.S., Nardo, A.C., & Peterson, R.L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *The Urban Review*, 34(4), 317–342. Retrieved September 19, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1021320817372>
- 198 Children’s Defense Fund. (1975). *School suspensions: Are they helping children?* Children’s Defense Fund. Retrieved January 14, 2024, from <https://files-eric-ed-gov.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/fulltext/ED113797.pdf>
- Skiba, R.J., Fergus, E., & Gregory, A. (2022). The New Jim Crow in school: Exclusionary discipline and structural racism. In E.J. Sabornie & D.L. Espelage (Eds.), *Handbook of Classroom Management* (3rd ed., pp. 211–230). Taylor & Francis.
- Skiba, R.J. & White, A.L. (2022). Ever since Little Rock: The history of disciplinary disparities in America’s schools. In N. Gage, L.J. Rapa, D.K. Whitford, & A. Katsiyannis (Eds.), *Disproportionality and Social Justice in Education* (pp. 3–33). Springer. Retrieved April 4, 2023, from https://doi-org.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/10.1007/978-3-031-13775-4_1
- 199 Flannery, D.J., Fox, J.A., Wallace, L., Mulvey, E., & Modzeleski, W. (2021). Guns, school shooters, and school safety: What we know and directions for change. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 237–253. Retrieved July 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1846458>
- King, S. & Bracy, N. L. (2019, August 1). School security in the post-Columbine era: Trends, consequences, and future directions. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice*, 35(3), 274–295. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1043986219840188>
- 200 Welsh, R.O. (2021). Economics of urban education: Race, resources, and control in schools. In H.R. Milner IV & K. Lomotey (Eds.), *Handbook of Urban Education* (2nd ed.). Routledge.
- 201 Keierleber, M. (2021, July 23). *A security mindset*. Education Writers Association. Retrieved January 6, 2024, from <https://ewa.org/issues/early-learning/a-security-mindset>
- 202 Anderson, K.P. (2020). Academic, attendance, and behavioral outcomes of a suspension reduction policy: Lessons for school leaders and policy makers. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 56(3), 435–471. Retrieved September 15, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0013161X19861138>
- Anderson, K.P., Egalite, A.J., & Mills, J.N. (2019). Discipline reform: The impact of a statewide ban on suspensions for truancy. *Journal of Education for Students Placed at Risk (JESPAR)*, 24(1), 68–91. Retrieved September 15, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/10824669.2018.1537794>
- Craigie, T-A. (2022). Do school suspension reforms work? Evidence from Rhode Island. *Educational*

Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 44(4). 667-688. Retrieved September 9, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/01623737221090264>

Fisher, B.W. & Devlin, D.N. (2024). Cops and counselors: How school staffing decisions relate to exclusionary discipline rates and racial/ethnic disparities. *Race and Social Problems*, 16(1), 19–46. Retrieved June 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12552-023-09395-6>

Hashim, A.K., Strunk, K.O., & Dhaliwal, T.K. (2018). Justice for all? Suspension bans and restorative justice programs in the Los Angeles Unified School District. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 93(2), 174–189. Retrieved July 31, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2018.1435040>

Lacoe, J. & Steinberg, M. P. (2018). Rolling back zero tolerance: The effect of discipline policy reform on suspension usage and student outcomes. *Peabody Journal of Education*, 93(2), 207–227. Retrieved September 15, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2018.1435047>

Steinberg, M.P. & Lacoe, J. (2018). Reforming school discipline: School-level policy implementation and the consequences for suspended students and their peers. *American Journal of Education*, 125(1), 29–77. Retrieved May 7, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1086/699811>

Wang, R. (2022). The impact of suspension reforms on discipline outcomes: Evidence from California high schools. *AERA Open*, 8, 23328584211068067. Retrieved September 15, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584211068067>

203 Cornell, D.G., Allen, K., & Fan, X. (2012). A randomized controlled study of the Virginia Student Threat Assessment Guidelines in kindergarten through Grade 12. *School Psychology Review*, 41(1), 100–115. Retrieved May 30, 2024 from <https://doi.org/10.1080/02796015.2012.12087378>

Cornell, D.G., Gregory, A., & Fan, X. (2011). Reductions in long-term suspensions following adoption of the Virginia Student Threat Assessment Guidelines. *NASSP Bulletin*, 95(3), 175–194. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0192636511415255>

Cornell, D. & Maeng, J. (2024). *School threat assessment toolkit*. National Center for School Safety. Retrieved October 15, 2024, from <https://nc2s.org/resource/school-threat-assessment-toolkit/>

204 Keierleber, M. (2021, July 23). *A security mindset*. Education Writers Association. Retrieved Jan 6, 2024, from <https://ewa.org/issues/early-learning/a-security-mindset>

Madfis, E., Hirschfield, P., & Addington, L.A. (2021, July 3). School securitization and its alternatives: The social, political, and contextual drivers of school safety policy and practice, p. 197. *School Psychology Review*, 50(2–3), 191–205. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1855063>

Nguyen, N. (2017). From school militarization to school securitization: National security finds its place in schools. *Critical Studies in Education*, 58(1), 52–68. Retrieved July 4, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2015.1117983>

205 Bradshaw, C.P., Koth, C.W., Thornton, L.A., & Leaf, P.J. (2009). Altering school climate through school-wide positive behavioral interventions and supports: Findings from a group-randomized effectiveness trial. *Prevention Science*, 10(2), 100–115. Retrieved June 11, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-008-0114-9>

Bradshaw, C.P., Mitchell, M.M., & Leaf, P.J. (2010). Examining the effects of schoolwide positive behavioral interventions and supports on student outcomes: Results from a randomized controlled effectiveness trial in elementary schools. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions*, 12(3), 133–148. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098300709334798>

Bradshaw, C.P., Waasdorp, T.E., & Leaf, P.J. (2012). Effects of school-wide positive behavioral interventions and supports on child behavior problems. *Pediatrics*, 130(5), e1136–e1145. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1542/peds.2012-0243>

- McIntosh, K., Girvan, E.J., Fairbanks Falcon, S., McDaniel, S.C., Smolkowski, K., Bastable, E., Santiago-Rosario, M.R., Izzard, S., Austin, S.C., Nese, R.N.T., & Baldy, T.S. (2021). Equity-focused PBIS approach reduces racial inequities in school discipline: A randomized controlled trial. *School Psychology, 36*(6), 433–444. Retrieved October 4, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/spq0000466>
- Caldarella, P., Shatzer, R.H., Gray, K.M., Young, K.R., & Young, E.L. (2011). The effects of school-wide positive behavior support on middle school climate and student outcomes. *RMLE Online, 35*(4), 1–14. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/19404476.2011.11462087>
- Gage, N.A., Grasley-Boy, N., Lombardo, M., & Anderson, L. (2020). The effect of school-wide positive behavior interventions and supports on disciplinary exclusions: A conceptual replication. *Behavioral Disorders, 46*(1), 42–53. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0198742919896305>
- Gage, N.A., Grasley-Boy, N., Peshak George, H., Childs, K., & Kincaid, D. (2019). A quasi-experimental design analysis of the effects of school-wide positive behavior interventions and supports on discipline in Florida. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions, 21*(1), 50–61. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098300718768208>
- Gage, N.A., Lee, A., Grasley-Boy, N., & Peshak George, H. (2018). The impact of school-wide positive behavior interventions and supports on school suspensions: A statewide quasi-experimental analysis. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions, 20*(4), 217–226. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/1098300718768204>
- Grasley-Boy, N.M., Gage, N.A., & Lombardo, M. (2019). Effect of SWPBIS on disciplinary exclusions for students with and without disabilities. *Exceptional Children, 86*(1), 25–39. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0014402919854196>
- Lee, A., Gage, N.A., McLeskey, J., & Huggins-Manley, A.C. (2021). The impacts of school-wide positive behavior interventions and supports on school discipline outcomes for diverse students. *The Elementary School Journal, 121*(3), 410–429. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1086/712625>
- 206 Acosta, J., Chinman, M., Ebener, P., Malone, P.S., Phillips, A., & Wilks, A. (2019). Evaluation of a whole-school change intervention: Findings from a two-year cluster-randomized trial of the restorative practices intervention. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 48*(5), 876–890. Retrieved June 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-019-01013-2>
- Augustine, C., Engberg, J., Grimm, G., Lee, E., Wang, E., Christianson, K., & Joseph, A. (2018). *Can restorative practices improve school climate and curb suspensions? An evaluation of the impact of restorative practices in a mid-sized urban school district*. RAND Corporation. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.7249/RR2840>
- Davison, M., Penner, A.M., & Penner, E.K. (2022). Restorative for all? Racial disproportionality and school discipline under restorative justice. *American Educational Research Journal, 59*(4), 687–718. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312211062613>
- Gregory, A., Huang, F., & Ward-Seidel, A.R. (2022). Evaluation of the whole school restorative practices project: One-year impact on discipline incidents. *Journal of School Psychology, 95*, 58–71. Retrieved July 31, 2023, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2022.09.003>
- Huang, F.L., Gregory, A., & Ward-Seidel, A.R. (2023). The impact of restorative practices on the use of out-of-school suspensions: Results from a cluster randomized controlled trial. *Prevention Science, 24*(5), 962–973. Retrieved June 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11121-023-01507-3>
- Joseph, A., Hnilica, R.J., & Hanson, M. (2021). Using restorative practices to reduce racially disproportionate school suspensions: The barriers school leaders should consider during the first year of implementation. *Taboo: The Journal of Culture and Education, 20*(2), 6. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://>

- 207 Bergin, C., Tsai, C.-L., Prewett, S., Jones, E., Bergin, D.A., & Murphy, B. (2024). Effectiveness of a social-emotional learning program for both teachers and students. *AERA Open*, *10*, 23328584241281284. Retrieved December 2, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/23328584241281284>
- 208 Goyer, J.P., Cohen, G.L., Cook, J.E., Master, A., Apfel, N., Lee, W., Henderson, A.G., Reeves, S.L., Okonofua, J.A., & Walton, G.M. (2019). Targeted identity-safety interventions cause lasting reductions in discipline citations among negatively stereotyped boys. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *117*(2), 229–259. Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000152>
- Okonofua, J.A., Goyer, J.P., Lindsay, C.A., Haugabrook, J., & Walton, G.M. (2022). A scalable empathic-mindset intervention reduces group disparities in school suspensions. *Science Advances*, *8*(12), eabj0691. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.abj0691>
- Okonofua, J.A., Paunesku, D., & Walton, G.M. (2016). Brief intervention to encourage empathic discipline cuts suspension rates in half among adolescents. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences*, *113*(19), 5221–5226. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1523698113>
- 209 McIntosh, K., Girvan, E.J., McDaniel, S.C., Santiago-Rosario, M.R., St. Joseph, S., Fairbanks Falcon, S., Izzard, S., & Bastable, E. (2021). Effects of an equity-focused PBIS approach to school improvement on exclusionary discipline and school climate. *Preventing School Failure: Alternative Education for Children and Youth*, *65*(4), 354–361. Retrieved June 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/1045988X.2021.1937027>
- 210 Cook, C.R., Duong, M.T., McIntosh, K., Fiat, A.E., Larson, M., Pullmann, M.D., & McGinnis, J. (2018). Addressing discipline disparities for Black male students: Linking malleable root causes to feasible and effective practices. *School Psychology Review*, *47*(2), 135–152. Retrieved October 7, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.17105/SPR-2017-0026.V47-2>
- 211 Larson, K.E., Pas, E.T., Bradshaw, C.P., Rosenberg, M.S., & Day-Vines, N.L. (2018). Examining how proactive management and culturally responsive teaching relate to student behavior: Implications for measurement and practice. *School Psychology Review*, *47*(2), 153–166. Retrieved January 15, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.17105/SPR-2017-0070.V47-2>
- 212 Bradshaw, C.P., Pas, E.T., Bottiani, J.H., Debnam, K.J., Reinke, W.M., Herman, K.C., & Rosenberg, M.S. (2018). Promoting cultural responsiveness and student engagement through Double Check coaching of classroom teachers: An efficacy study. *School Psychology Review*, *47*(2), 118–134. Retrieved October 7, 2022, from <https://doi.org/10.17105/SPR-2017-0119.V47-2>
- 213 Bal, A., Afacan, K., & Cakir, H.I. (2018). Culturally responsive school discipline: Implementing learning lab at a high school for systemic transformation. *American Educational Research Journal*, *55*(5), 1007–1050. Retrieved June 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.3102/0002831218768796>
- Binning, K.R., Cook, J.E., Purdie-Greenaway, V., Garcia, J., Chen, S., Apfel, N., Sherman, D.K., & Cohen, G.L. (2019). Bolstering trust and reducing discipline incidents at a diverse middle school: How self-affirmation affects behavioral conduct during the transition to adolescence. *Journal of School Psychology*, *75*, 74–88. Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2019.07.007>
- Borman, G.D., Choi, Y., & Hall, G.J. (2021). The impacts of a brief middle-school self-affirmation intervention help propel African American and Latino students through high school. *Journal of Educational Psychology*, *113*(3), 605–620. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/edu0000570>
- Caldarella, P., Larsen, R.A.A., Williams, L., & Wills, H.P. (2023). Effects of middle school teachers' praise-to-reprimand ratios on students' classroom behavior. *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions*, *25*(1), 28–40. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/10983007211035185>

- Goyer, J.P., Cohen, G.L., Cook, J.E., Master, A., Apfel, N., Lee, W., Henderson, A.G., Reeves, S.L., Okonofua, J.A., & Walton, G.M. (2019). Targeted identity-safety interventions cause lasting reductions in discipline citations among negatively stereotyped boys. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 117*(2), 229–259. Retrieved November 1, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1037/pspa0000152>
- 214 Gion, C., McIntosh, K., & Falcon, S. (2022). Effects of a multifaceted classroom intervention on racial disproportionality. *School Psychology Review, 51*(1), 67–83. Retrieved June 10, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/2372966X.2020.1788906>
- Gregory, A., Allen, J., Mikami, A., Hafen, C., & Pianta, R. (2014). Eliminating the racial disparity in classroom exclusionary discipline. *Journal of Applied Research on Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk, 5*(2), 12. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.58464/2155-5834.1212>
- Gregory, A., Hafen, C.A., Ruzek, E., Mikami, A.Y., Allen, J.P., & Pianta, R.C. (2016). Closing the racial discipline gap in classrooms by changing teacher practice. *School Psychology Review, 45*(2), 171–191. Retrieved September 11, 2022 from <https://doi.org/10.17105/SPR45-2.171-191>
- Gregory, A., Allen, J.P., Mikami, A.Y., Hafen, C., & Pianta, R.C. (2015). The promise of a teacher professional development program in reducing racial disparity in classroom exclusionary discipline. In D. J. Losen (Ed.), *Closing the School Discipline Gap: Equitable Remedies for Excessive Exclusion* (p. 168). Teachers College Press.
- Gregory, A., Ruzek, E.A., DeCoster, J., Mikami, A.Y., & Allen, J.P. (2019). Focused classroom coaching and widespread racial equity in school discipline. *AERA Open, 5*(4), 2332858419897274. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/2332858419897274>
- Havighurst, S.S., Edvoll, M., Tidemann, I., Bølstad, E., Holme, H., Bergum Hansen, M., Eikseth, H.C., & Nygaard, E. (2024). A randomized controlled trial of an emotion socialization intervention in Norwegian kindergartens. *Early Education and Development, 35*(3), 454–475. Retrieved October 18, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/10409289.2022.2160617>
- Okonofua, J.A., Perez, A.D., & Darling-Hammond, S. (2020). When policy and psychology meet: Mitigating the consequences of bias in schools. *Science Advances, 6*(42), eaba9479. Retrieved October 18, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1126/sciadv.aba9479>
- 215 Weist, M.D., Splett, J.W., Halliday, C.A., Gage, N.A., Seaman, M.A., Perkins, K.A., Perales, K., Miller, E., Collins, D., & DiStefano, C. (2022). A randomized controlled trial on the interconnected systems framework for school mental health and PBIS: Focus on proximal variables and school discipline. *Journal of School Psychology, 94*, 49–65. Retrieved May 30, 2024, from <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jsp.2022.08.002>
- 216 Munoz, I.G., Shores, K.A., Weathers, E.S., & Woods, S.C.. (2025). *Beyond school police officers: Racial/ethnic disparities in exposure to a fuller range of school disciplinary personnel* (No. 25–1125). EdWorkingPaper. Retrieved January 23, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.26300/ZS00-VV71>
- 217 Lustick, H. (2021). “Restorative justice” or restoring order? Restorative school discipline practices in urban public schools. *Urban Education, 56*(8), 1269–1296. Retrieved January 7, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1177/0042085917741725>
- Lustick, H. (2022). Schoolwide critical restorative justice. *Journal of Peace Education, 19*(1), 1–24. Retrieved January 7, 2025, from <https://doi.org/10.1080/17400201.2021.2003763>