

October 01, 2010

Adolescent youth and social control: the changing role of public schools

Aviva Meena Rich-Shea
Northeastern University

Recommended Citation

Rich-Shea, Aviva Meena, "Adolescent youth and social control: the changing role of public schools" (2010). *Law, Policy, and Society Dissertations*. Paper 27. <http://hdl.handle.net/2047/d20002800>

This work is available open access, hosted by Northeastern University.

ADOLESCENT YOUTH AND SOCIAL CONTROL:
THE CHANGING ROLE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

A dissertation presented

by

Aviva Meena Rich-Shea

to the
Law, Policy and Society Program

In partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

In the field of Law, Policy and Society

Northeastern University
Boston, Massachusetts

October 2010

ADOLESCENT YOUTH AND SOCIAL CONTROL:

THE CHANGING ROLE OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by

Aviva Meena Rich-Shea

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Law, Policy and Society
in the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences
of Northeastern University, October, 2010

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

School violence and safety has become an area of increasing public concern, particularly following the series of highly publicized school shootings in the late 1990s and early 2000s. In an effort to secure the educational environment by applying community policing policies, the federal Office of Community Oriented Policing Services initiated the “COPS in Schools” program to fund the hiring of School Resource Officers. Between 1999 and 2005, this funding stream placed 138 SROs in Massachusetts public schools and thousands more nationwide.

This study looks at the recent partnership developed between School Resource Officers (SROs) and public high schools in the Commonwealth of Massachusetts as one of the strategies being employed to control student behavior. Two aspects of this alliance were studied. The first area of consideration was that of interagency collaboration between the school administrations (ADMs) and the local police departments. Management issues that arise from two very diverse institutional structures working together within the school context have the potential to impact student discipline. The second aspect of the SRO phenomenon is the impact on student discipline and the potential for the criminalization of normative childhood behavior through the use of more formal methods of student discipline (e.g. arrests, summonses, court referrals), in lieu of previously utilized informal methods of social control (e.g. administrator contacts with parents).

Twenty five school administrators and fifteen SROs, representing 14 schools with SROs and 11 control group schools without SRO programs, were interviewed in this study. The findings showed that, compared to non-SRO schools, SRO schools tended to criminalize normative childhood behavior, such as defiance—redefining it as disorderly conduct or disturbing school assembly. However, it is not clear that this is a result of the presence of the SRO. The more fully the ADM embraces a zero tolerance approach, the more likely the school is both to have an SRO and to use the SRO to institute more formal methods of social control. The SRO appears to be a tool in the formal social control toolkit utilized disproportionately by authoritarian school administrators.

Relationships between ADMs and SROs fell into four distinct categories: Conflict and Confusion, Cooperative with Conflict, Cooperative, and Collaborative. The typology of each ADM-SRO relationship was generated based on the nature of the agreement between them, their level of interaction, the SRO placement decision, and whether the SRO was expected to intervene in routine discipline. In the most collaborative schools the SRO and ADM work together to mitigate the potential legal consequences students may face. The Conflict and Confusion group, on the other hand, is characterized by outright hostility from both sides of the relationship.

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the memory of my paternal grandmother, Mina Reich, for who I am named. Mina was 34 years old living in Vienna, Austria when she was forced to place her three sons ages 11, 7 and 3 years on the Kindertransport. She was transported to Warsaw, Poland. Mina died somewhere between the Warsaw Ghetto and Auschwitz and there is no record of her place or date of death. Mina died because no country would provide her refuge. The best legacy to Mina is my survival and that of my children and grandchildren. Never Again.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So many wonderful people have helped me on this incredible journey and I would like to take a moment to thank some of them. First, I would like to thank each member of my committee. Every member of my committee has been critically instrumental in both my completed dissertation and my current career in academia.

First, my Chair, Donna Bishop has stuck with me throughout the years and not only helped me but refused to let me slide by or talk my way around some of the most complex and complicated theoretical conundrums. Her wisdom and intellectual insights served to guide me and teach me to be a real researcher. I will always be especially grateful for the understanding and support Donna showed me when my own teenager needed me and I took time off to raise him.

Joan Fitzgerald became one of my heroes as soon as I met her. She has mentored me and supported me throughout this entire process and has served as an amazing role model for women in academia. Joan has continuously encouraged me, and wanting to please both Donna and her kept me moving forward in my most despairing moments.

My entire criminal justice career began with a Friendly's meeting with Jamie Fox, where he encouraged me to take the GREs and pursue a Masters in CJ. From that minute on, he has consistently been supportive and helpful to me with kind words and

methodological and statistical advice. I am proud to have Jamie tell me I have moved from being a promising student to a valued colleague.

I met Susan Krumholz at ASC thousands of miles from home to discover we both came from both LPS and Massachusetts! Thanks to Susan's consistent requests I discovered teaching to be a true calling for me, and for this I am grateful. The rich tapestry of connection, community and learning I experience through interacting with my students is a gift Susan extended to me. Her guidance and mentoring has provided me with the skills and experience to obtain my dream job in academia. I was a high school drop-out who started out in Community College. Mostly, Susan's dedication and commitment to her students has inspired me and kept me going at the times when I never believed I would see this day.

I need to thank all my women friends, most of whom know more about SROs than they ever wanted to, and have encouraged and supported me throughout this entire process. I would like to mention Arlene Cardoso who wrote the book, "Sequencing," in which she suggests that women can have it all - but not all at once! For my beautiful daughters, Atara and Amanda, and my beautiful grand-daughter, Carleigh, this is my legacy to you: You can take the time you need to raise a family and still have a successful career.

Most of all I would like to thank my husband and life-partner, Lewis. A more unique and special human being has yet to be discovered. The truth is this could never have happened without Lewis and all his love and support and help from day one. I just don't know what I did to get so lucky to have Lewis in my life, but it must have been good! Thank you for never letting me give up, for listening to me, and for letting me wake you up in the middle of the night with my panic attacks about not finishing! Thanks for being the love of my life. For us, this is another major step forward in our amazing journey through life together.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION.....	3
DEDICATION.....	5
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	6
TABLE OF CONTENTS	9
1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	12
Effect of the SRO on the School Disciplinary Process.....	14
Organization of Study	16
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	17
Zero Tolerance	17
Juveniles Tried as Adults	19
Moral Panic over Sensationalized Incidents of School Violence	21
Emergence of the School Resource Officer	24
Legal Context for Police in Schools.....	26
Erosion of Formal / Informal Social Control Boundaries.....	34
Prior Research on School Resource Officer Programs	38
Impact of the SRO on Disciplinary Practices.....	38
The Relationship between the School Resource Officer and the School Administration	47
Where the Present Study Fits	54
3. METHODS	57

	10
Hypotheses.....	58
Research Questions.....	61
SRO – School Discipline Research Questions	61
Organizational Interaction Research Questions.....	61
Research Design	62
Sample Selection	64
Data Collection.....	67
Data Analysis.....	73
4. FINDINGS: SRO-ADM ORGANIZATIONAL COLLABORATION.....	78
SRO Training.....	81
The Memorandum of Understanding	83
Conflict and Confusion (<i>n=3</i>)	85
Cooperative with Conflict (<i>n=4</i>)	93
Cooperative (<i>n=3</i>)	99
Collaborative (<i>n=4</i>).....	103
The Role of the SRO	107
Focus of SRO Activities	111
5. FINDINGS: THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO SCHOOL CULTURES	113
The Scenarios	113
MA DOE Data on Discipline.....	120
Economic Considerations for SRO Placement.....	125
Non-SRO Case Studies	129

	11
Attempts to Mitigate Formal Consequences	136
6. CONCLUSIONS	140
Review of Hypotheses	140
Implications for Policy.....	148
Evaluation of Research.....	152
APPENDIX A: SURVEY FOR SRO ADMINISTRATOR.....	154
APPENDIX B: SURVEY FOR NON-SRO ADMINISTRATOR.....	163
APPENDIX C: SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICER SURVEY.....	171
APPENDIX D: RECRUITMENT SCRIPT FOR STUDY PARTICIPANTS	177
APPENDIX E: UNSIGNED INFORMED CONSENT FORM.....	179
REFERENCES.....	180

1. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

High profile shootings in public schools during the late-1990s heightened public fears about school violence and safety. In response, school administrators took a number of steps to improve school safety. They introduced metal detectors and surveillance cameras, adopted zero tolerance policies for students found in possession of weapons and drugs, and hired School Resource Officers (SROs) – sworn police officers assigned to middle and high schools. SROs are ordinarily assigned a triad of functions; to enforce the law, to teach students, and to function in counseling/mentoring roles, although research suggests that there is considerable variation across schools in the relative emphasis placed on each of these roles (Finn et al., 2005).

Although of relatively recent vintage, SRO programs have grown tremendously over the past decade, primarily through federal government support. In 1999, as part of the effort to advance community policing, the federal Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) initiated the “COPS in Schools” program to fund the hiring of SROs “to engage in community policing in and around primary and secondary schools” (Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2008). The COPS in Schools program has two primary objectives: 1) to improve student and school safety, and 2) to help police agencies build collaborative partnerships with local schools.

Between 1999 and 2005, the COPS office awarded more than \$750 million to over 3,000 agencies to hire SROs, along with an additional \$23 million to train SROs and administrators in

participating schools. The COPS office also awarded an additional \$11.5 million through the Safe Schools/Healthy Students Initiative and the Office of Justice Programs' Gang Reduction Project (Office of Community Oriented Policing Services, 2005; 2008). Today it is estimated that there are approximately 17,000 SROs in schools nationwide (Wald and Thureau 2010). However, very little is known about the impact of SRO programs on students and the safety of public schools, or about the viability of the partnerships they have facilitated between public schools and police organizations.

The placement of police officers in schools marks the confluence of intertwining influences of Law, Policy, and Society. As stated above, the driving force is federal policy, but any SRO implementation is based on disciplinary policy in the local school. The school administration is faced with the decision of how to incorporate an officer of the law into their strategies for ensuring an orderly educational environment. Questions must be answered concerning the boundaries between rule-breaking and law-breaking and to what extent the criminal justice system becomes a venue for student discipline. Organizational dynamics between the local police department and the school Principal's office bear heavily on the degree to which authority over juveniles in the town is reconciled with authority over juveniles in the school. The amount of social capital commanded by parents' organizations and other local community groups can influence the balance between informal and formal social control of misbehaving students.

Although SRO programs are intended to address and prevent both school violence and student fear of victimization, a number of concerns have been raised regarding the actual functioning of these programs. There have been reports of jurisdictional disputes over which group—the school administration (ADM) or the SRO—has ultimate decision-making authority over disciplinary actions. Further, because rates of violence and victimization of public school students in school or on school grounds are relatively low compared to the behavior of these students outside of the school setting, this has provided an opportunity for SROs to extend their influence into disciplinary intervention with respect to behaviors that do not involve lawbreaking. Concern for the consequences of having a permanently assigned armed law enforcement presence in schools has been expressed by many diverse groups. The concerns range from the possibility of exacerbating disproportionate minority involvement and contact with police and courts; referring students to the courts for behaviors that have traditionally been handled well by school administrators and parents; the criminalization of normative childhood behaviors (e.g. classroom “clowning,” schoolyard fighting); to the impact of SRO intervention on increased suspensions, expulsions and ultimately school exclusions (Advancement Project, 2000; Ayers et al., 2001; Bazemore et al, 2004; Insley, 2001; Morrison, 2003; Reyes, 2003).

Effect of the SRO on the School Disciplinary Process

This dissertation focuses on the injection of police into the public high schools, with Massachusetts as the setting, in the form of SROs. One goal is to look at the involvement of the police in school disciplinary processes and the subsequent implications for students. One

hypothesis suggested by recent research is that the introduction of SROs may lead to higher levels of formal disciplinary action (e.g., suspension, expulsion, arrest, referral to court) against students for behaviors that previously have been handled informally. Several studies have shown the positive correlation between suspensions and dropping out (Rich-Shea, 2009).

In addition to investigating the effects on the disciplinary process in Massachusetts public high schools of the introduction of School Resource Officer programs, this dissertation explores the dynamics of the working relationship between SROs and school administrators. Specific questions to be explored are what this collaboration between schools and police has meant for the handling and processing of students, what the school's role is in handling rule violations and any changes therein, and a look at the various issues of interpersonal and administrative interaction between the SRO and the school administration. Do school officials defer to the formal social control of the SRO in a disciplinary situation? Are there problems relinquishing controls, and where does the ultimate authority lie in the decision-making process? How does the SRO respond to the expectations of the administration and staff regarding her/his role in the disciplinary process? The present study looks at the way that these two loosely coupled organizational systems work together.

Organization of Study

Chapter 2 reviews the research literature on SRO programs and their impacts as well as the literature on formal agency collaborations in people-serving organizations. The literature review covers the three perspectives of Law, Policy and Society, and their relevance to the problem being studied. Chapter 3 explains the research design and methods used in the present research. Research findings are presented in two parts in Chapters 4 and 5. Chapter 6 discusses the conclusions, the strengths and limitations of the research, directions for future research, and explores policy recommendations.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

Zero Tolerance

In 1994, Congress passed the Gun-Free Schools Act, a response to inner city gang-related shootings fueled by the crack cocaine epidemic and its concomitant “turf wars” (Feld, 1998; Fox and Burstein, 2010). This act made states’ receipt of federal funding for K-12 education contingent upon their passage of legislation requiring that any student found in possession of a firearm on school property be expelled for a minimum of one year. By the end of 1995, all fifty states had enacted laws compliant with this directive (Brady, 2002). As the 1990’s progressed, rates of juvenile offending dropped dramatically. Regardless, the get tough policy push was just gathering steam, and began to accelerate rapidly with the passage of zero tolerance approaches to student discipline (Ayers et al, 2001; Blumenson and Nilsen, 2002; Casella, 2003; Insley, 2001).

States quickly expanded the list of behaviors subject to expulsion and suspension. Although the Gun-Free Schools Act only mandated punishment for possession of firearms, many school systems extended that to any type of weapon (Pinard 2003), such as knives (including penknives and plastic knives and then scissors and nail files). In over 80% of public high schools, policies were expanded further to include possession and use of drugs, alcohol, and tobacco, and ultimately to many other behaviors, such as fighting, and defiance or disobedience of school rules (Hirschfield, 2008). These mandatory policies fueled increasing rates of school

suspensions and expulsions throughout the 1990s, during the same time period that the justice system was documenting a drop in youthful offending (Ayers, et al, 2001; Casella, 2003; Insley, 2001, Reyes, 2003).

Skiba et al (2006) conducted a meta-analysis of research on the effectiveness of zero tolerance policies: *Are Zero Tolerance Policies Effective in the Schools? An Evidentiary Review and Recommendations, A Report by the American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force*. The task force examined the impact of ZT policies on school safety, consistency in discipline, improvement in school climate, and student behavior. Their evidentiary review showed no evidence that ZT increases school safety or reduces inconsistency in school discipline. They also found that school climates deteriorate and academic achievement declines in the face of increased school exclusions. Among their most salient findings, they reported that not only do ZT policies not deter misbehavior, but students to whom they are applied subsequently have higher rates of misbehavior, exclusions, and school dropout.

Other social scientists have critiqued ZT from a number of different points of view. Lorenz (2010) argued that since it lacks any consideration for due process or for the intent of the accused, it, therefore, lacks any legitimacy as law. Gorman and Pauken (2003) focused on the potential for zero tolerance to alienate students from the adults at their schools because it is antithetical to “the development of caring trusting relationships between children and adults. (p. 32). Another concern voiced by experts in both adolescent development and education is that zero tolerance policies do not take the developmental stage of the adolescent into account.

Therefore, they argue, these “one size fits all” formal methods undermine the developmental process of adolescence and exert a negative influence on the child’s need to develop autonomy and competence in an environment that provides both the structure and support for student engagement and academic success (Gregory & Cornell, 2009).

Juveniles Tried as Adults

In his book, *The Cycle of Juvenile Justice*, (1992), Thomas Bernard describes a cycle wherein, following a few highly publicized and egregious incidents of juvenile delinquency, public outrage and pressure precede a major toughening up of laws and rules regarding juvenile crime. The prevailing attitude of lawmakers is to respond with tougher sanctions and a more punitive approach, with the goal that offenders will either be deterred by the threat of severe consequences or incapacitated through detention and incarceration. After a few years, anecdotal evidence will emerge showing the fallacy of using such a severe approach and the pendulum will swing back to a rehabilitative model.

According to Bernard, this cycle has been replaying itself throughout the history of juvenile justice (and before there even was a juvenile justice system), in America. When faced with the two options of only rehabilitating or harshly punishing offenders, public attitudes swing back and forth as neither approach is effective. In Massachusetts, one of the most recent examples of this cycle can be found in the case of Eddie O’Brien, who was the catalyst for

legislation in Massachusetts to change the ages for waiver to adult court and indeed for the age to be considered an adult in all criminal proceedings (O'Brien, 1997).

In 1995, O'Brien was a 15-year-old, 6'4" 240 lb teenager when he stalked a 42-year-old female neighbor, then killed her by methodically stabbing her over 90 times. Prosecutors sought to have O'Brien transferred to criminal court but the judge, believing that the boy could be rehabilitated, ruled that he should be retained in juvenile court, which meant that the state could not hold him beyond the age of 21. It took two years of court fights before prosecutors succeeded in having O'Brien's trial waived from juvenile to adult court, where he received a sentence of life without possibility of parole. The public outcry that followed the initial decision to retain O'Brien in the juvenile system prompted the Massachusetts legislature to make transfer automatic for anyone over 14 who is charged with a serious violent offense. Since that time, the trend has been to increase punishments for a wider range of juvenile offenses.

The most recent publication of Juvenile Court Statistics 2003–2004 (Stahl et al., 2007) offers evidence that the formal handling of juveniles has increased at the expense of more informal processes. "Informal (i.e., nonpetitioned) dispositions may include a voluntary referral to a social service agency, informal probation, or the payment of fines or some form of voluntary restitution. Formally handled cases are petitioned and scheduled for an adjudicatory or waiver hearing (Stahl et al., 2007, p. 2)." According to the report, formally handled cases have increased from 45% of the total in 1985 to 56% in 2004. Over 80% of referrals to the juvenile court were made by law enforcement officers, with an increasing number coming from non-law

enforcement sources (e.g., schools). The data also indicate that children are being handled more formally at younger and younger ages.

Moral Panic over Sensationalized Incidents of School Violence

The late 1990's witnessed a disturbing acceleration in school violence when a small number of teenage students committed mass killings in their schools with the use of illicit arms and ammunition. On December 1, 1997, Heath High School in West Paducah, Kentucky was the site of carnage when a fourteen-year-old student opened fire and killed three students and wounded an additional five. In Jonesboro, Arkansas on March 24, 1998, after a false fire alarm emptied the Westside Middle School, two students shot at their classmates and teachers from the woods, killing four students and one teacher and wounding ten other people. The most widely known of these incidents occurred at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado on April 20, 1999, where fourteen students (including the killers) and one teacher died and twenty three others were wounded. These fatal incidents are three of the most highly publicized among roughly two dozen that occurred over a period of nine years from 1996 - 2005. These school shootings and other similar incidents had a dramatic effect on public policy regarding control of the school environment.

A continuous loop of sensational news coverage of every school shooting - almost all suburban, white schools - raised the level of panic and fear. Bracy and Kupchik (2009) looked at the way school shootings and violence were portrayed in the media between 2000 and 2006.

They found that the media employed an emotional approach, reminding the public constantly about “Columbine,” and suggesting that shootings were a random, unpredictable and growing menace. They also found that stories were presented out of context, as they did not include the data on the degree of risk, and particularly ignored the rarity of such episodes. At the same time the media was exploiting this issue, students themselves were reporting that they were experiencing and committing less crime in schools than previously. However, security issues became a dominant focus for school systems and families.

The concept of “moral panic” was first developed by the Sociologist Stanley Cohen in his landmark book, *Folk Devils and Moral Panics* (1972), and was furthered by the work of Erich Goode and Nachman Ben-Yehuda in *Moral Panics: The Social Construction of Deviance* (1994). Moral panic occurs when a dramatic and newsworthy incident, in this case of a criminal nature, is magnified by the media into a national crisis, based upon doomsday predictions that this anti-social behavior is becoming a widespread societal problem. The behavior is viewed as a threat to the social fabric or health of society and is accompanied by cries of “something must be done.” A major component of this process is the targeting of scapegoats, constructing an “us vs. them” perspective within the public. Under these exigent circumstances, public opinion acquiesces to a diminishing of basic civil rights (for the perpetrators and potential perpetrators) as the price of public safety.

The characteristics of a moral panic were further developed by Goode and Ben-Yehuda (1994) who explain its development in terms of the following five steps: The first is *concern* - a

heightened anxiety following continuous prominent coverage of an event or incident by the media. Such concern is often manifest in the introduction of legislation to control the behavior. This is followed by *hostility* - at this stage the public looks for a scapegoat to blame the anti-social behavior on. These scapegoats are vilified as deviant, outside the social order, to be feared and loathed. *Consensus* is a critical component in the development of a moral panic. At this point, the crisis caused by the problem is considered widespread and serious enough to mobilize the societal forces necessary to combat this imminent threat. *Disproportionality* is a major feature of moral panics. The cause of the panic is often presented to the public accompanied by graphs, charts, statistics and cost data which contribute to the belief that the behavior is widespread and constitutes a serious danger. In actuality, the risk is small compared to the myriad of other threats faced by society.

The final stage of a moral panic is *volatility*. Moral panics come on very fast and disappear just as quickly. However, there may be lasting effects from the moral outrage expressed by the public during a moral panic, in the enduring form of increased social control through legislation and regulation. The implementation of social control practices and policies is neither reviewed nor revised when the 'fever' of moral panic subsides, and we are left with laws and rules based on the social construction of a problem (Welch et al., 2002).

The issue of school safety, specifically in the form of school shootings, meets the definition of a moral panic: Sensationalized incidents received massive publicity which generated public concern out of all proportion to the actual threat to individuals either within or outside the school

setting. There followed the demonization and scapegoating of violent, out-of-control youth in dire need of reigning in, with subsequent calls that “something must be done.”

Emergence of the School Resource Officer

In Flint, Michigan during the 1950’s the concept of community policing was established (Girouard, 2001). The goal was to bring more police officers out of their patrol cars and onto neighborhood streets to encourage police-community interaction. Community policing offered a new paradigm that focused on community-police collaborations with a problem-solving orientation. This was a departure from the traditional focus on preventative patrol and incident-based crime control. Community policing emphasized the importance of maintaining social order and reducing the criminogenic effects of disorganized or disorderly communities (Gowri, 2003). By addressing incipient signs of disorder such as vandalism or graffiti, community-policing advocates aimed to prevent disorder from escalating into more serious forms of criminality. This approach is exemplified by George Kelling and Catherine Coles in their book, *Fixing Broken Windows* (1996). The goal is to develop trust between police and neighborhood residents. The police officer often becomes a service delivery provider in the first-line of defense against crime by encouraging orderly communities. As an extension of this new community policing model, police officers began to be sent into public schools.

The Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act of 1968 was the first to officially identify the role of the School Resource Officer,

...a career law enforcement officer, with sworn authority, deployed in community-oriented policing, and assigned by the employing police department or agency to work in collaboration with school and community-based organizations. (Girouard, 2001)

This concept of the SRO was well received in a few states during the 1960s and 1970s, but interest leveled off during the next two decades until the Department of Justice aggressively accelerated the funding of the placement of School Resource Officers in 2000. In the first year, 289 communities were able to hire 599 SROs with grants from the COPS in Schools program administered by the Office of Community Oriented Policing Servicing (“COPS grants”).

A 1991 report by the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS) entitled “School Crime: A National Crime Victimization Survey Report” (Bastian and Taylor, 1991) offered an overview of current school security measures. These measures included mandatory sign-in practices, hall monitors, and teacher monitors. There is no mention of SROs or police presence in public schools. A subsequent series of reports offer some insight into the growth of SRO programs across the US during the following two decades. These studies are based on surveys of local police departments and indicate how many officers are employed and in what capacity. According to BJS, in 1997 there were 9,446 SROs permanently assigned for thirty hours or more per week to public schools across the US. By 2000, after federal COPS funds were made

available, the number of SROs had grown to 13,760. By 2003, the count of SROs had risen to 14,337 (Hickman and Reaves, 2006, 2003, 2001; Reaves and Goldberg, 2000; Reaves, 1996). Between 1999 and 2005, the federal COPS office had awarded more than \$750 million to more than 3,000 agencies to fund SRO programs, and there were approximately 17,000 SROs in schools nationwide (Brown 2006).

Legal Context for Police in Schools

The growing role of law enforcement officers in public education has been occurring in the United States within a specific legal context, and has had to adapt to the Constitutional restraints and limitations therein. These parameters are addressed in a government publication produced for the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention by the American Prosecutors Research Institute (Morrison, 2003). This publication discusses students' Constitutional rights and explains the legal standards that govern stops, searches and seizures of students (Fourth Amendment issues) as well as Fifth Amendment limits on interviews and interrogation of students.

First Amendment Rights

The First Amendment to the United States Constitution guarantees the right to free speech, among others. This is not an unlimited right and the court has ruled regarding the limits of free

speech. For example, in *Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire* (1942) SCOTUS held that certain types of speech were not protected. Specifically, “fighting words,” defined as language that could be interpreted as constituting a verbal threat or inciting violence or the threat thereof, is not protected. For example, yelling “fire” in a crowded theater or inciting a group to riot or commit vandalism is not considered protected speech.

How has the court interpreted first amendment rights for students? The most clear language regarding the First Amendment Rights of public school students arrived at the court through a case originating in Iowa, *Tinker v. Des Moines School District*, 393 U.S. 506, 1969. There, a group of students were suspended for wearing black armbands to protest the Vietnam War. When they brought suit to protest the abrogation of their First Amendment Rights, the Supreme Court of the United States (SCOTUS) agreed with them and reversed the earlier rulings affirming their school dismissals. According to SCOTUS,

It can hardly be argued that either students or teachers shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate.

The basis of this ruling was the determination that the wearing of the black armbands was not provocative and could not be interpreted as being either threatening or disruptive; clearly important guidelines to be considered whether a certain type of speech is protected or not within the school setting. In *Tinker*, the Court established a new standard for limiting student speech to what they determined to be the “true threat” standard.

One area that has seen limited standards regarding threatening speech is that of false threats. Most lower courts recently have ruled that, due to the recently changed and more threatening environments of public schools, false threats can no longer be dismissed as harmless ranting by students. Indeed, they have asserted that in the current atmosphere of fear of school violence, most students should know better and realize that school staff and faculty no longer have the luxury of ignoring hyperbole by students. It is incumbent upon students to understand that any type of threat is taken very seriously by school personnel and, according to the courts, justifiably so.

Procedural Due Process

The SCOTUS addressed the procedural due process question of whether schools may suspend students without a hearing in *Goss et al. v. Lopez* (1975). The Court first found that the state had created a fundamental right to an education (by statute, not based in the Constitution) which it was not then free to ignore. The Supreme Court ruled that education was not a fundamental right enshrined within the constitution but was instead a *property right* afforded by the individual states:

The due process clause protects students against expulsion from the public school system, since expulsion deprives them of protected interests in property and liberty. 419 U.S. 565, 1975

The Court further explained that these

...protected interests in property...are created in and defined in...state statutes or rules...” entitling benefits.

The Court held that the state could not rescind its obligation to educate a student based on student misconduct without first providing notice and a hearing. The practical application of the ruling in *Goss* delineated the steps a school system must follow when attempting to suspend or expel a student. Anytime a student is faced with suspension or expulsion, the student must be informed of the charges against them, be given appropriate time to prepare a rebuttal or a defense, and be provided with a hearing or its functional equivalent.

Fourth Amendment Protection for Public School Students

The Fourth Amendment protects the public against unreasonable searches and seizure. In 1960, the SCOTUS ruled in *Elkins v. United States*, 364 U.S. 206, against the use of illegally obtained evidence in the prosecution of criminal cases (Campbell, 2003). This holding came to be known as the exclusionary rule. Courts have repeatedly seen case after case thrown out as a result of these “poisoned fruit” challenges. How does the Fourth Amendment apply to public school students? Barely, and decreasing every day. The most definitive ruling in this area is a case called *New Jersey v. T.L.O.*, 469 U.S. which involved a female student accused of smoking tobacco in the bathroom with another student. The other student admitted to smoking and T.L.O.

continued to deny participating. They were both taken to the Principal's office where the principal decided to search T.L.O.'s pocketbook and subsequently found not only a pack of cigarettes but drug paraphernalia and marijuana. Attempting to have the evidence suppressed as a result of the poisoned-tree doctrine that asserts that any evidence illegally obtained is inadmissible in court, T.L.O. sought redress through the courts.

The SCOTUS handed down two critically important rulings in this case. The first holding asserted that school officials do not need a warrant in order to search students. The second holding determined that the fairly high standard of probable cause did not apply to students being challenged by school administrators, but instead the lower standard of proof, reasonable suspicion, would suffice. However, this type of search must be proportional to the, "seriousness of the suspected act and the likely harm of not conducting the search." (Campbell, 2003, p. 13).

Another holding in this case asserted that, unlike on the streets, there need not be what is termed 'individualized suspicion' and that 'generalized suspicion' is acceptable within the public school setting. This established the legitimate use of random searches by metal detectors, pat-downs, locker searches, drug sniffing dogs, etc. This type of search is termed generalized due to the fact it is performed on all students entering the school, for example. The administration does not need to articulate individual suspicion of a student in order to search them if they don't pass the metal detection test. If they randomly search the student and then find a weapon (knife, etc.), by virtue of the finding they have fulfilled the probable cause requirement for arresting the student.

The main constraint on search and seizure articulated in T.L.O. is the line drawn by the court in the determination of who was allowed to conduct this type of search. As previously mentioned, the courts have acknowledged the rights of schools and states to control the behavior of students, due to the vested interest they have in maintaining a safe and effective learning environment. However, this concept is not extended to law enforcement officers. *The court held, specifically, that police officers had to retain the probable cause standard when determining whether or not to search a student.* This is one of the critically important distinctions between school staff and administration, and SROs. Are they school employees or are they acting in a law enforcement capacity? This crucial difference determines the legality of the search. Although the SRO program advertises itself as being in collaboration with the school and prides itself on being part of the school community, ultimately the SRO is a law enforcement officer beholden to the local police department, laws, and statutes of the state they operate within. This somewhat unclear status of the SRO is often the source of confusion and misunderstandings on the part of school boards, administrations, and the SROs themselves (Rabinowits, 2006; Jackson, 2002).

In a recent case decided by the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Commonwealth vs. Lawrence L., a Juvenile, 439 Mass. 817, 2003, the defendant was searched by the vice-principal of the Breed Middle School in Lynn after he smelled a strong odor of marijuana emanating from his person, having called him to the office for questioning regarding another matter. Vice-Principal Ridley found Lawrence L. to be in possession of a small amount of marijuana. Parents

and police were notified, and Lawrence L. was placed under custody and charged with two counts of possession of marijuana that included one charge from a previously pending incident. The Court refused to suppress the evidence, saying the Vice Principal only needed reasonable suspicion to search the student, which was based on the odor of drugs.

An even more recent ruling came out of the Court of Appeals of North Carolina in 2005 that effectively merged the school resource officers with the school administration. In the Matter of: S.W., 171 N.C. App. 335, 2005, a school resource officer (SRO) smelled marijuana on a student and proceeded to search him, whereupon he discovered several plastic bags of marijuana. The juvenile brought a motion to dismiss based on the fact that the search was illegal due to the SRO having conducted it on the reasonable suspicion standard, instead of the more restrictive standard of probable cause. The North Carolina Appeals Court denied the motion to suppress and went further than the SCOTUS T.L.O. decision regarding warrantless searches of students in schools in saying that:

while the holding in T.L.O. was limited to searches by school administrators and officials, our Court has recently adopted an extension of this reasonableness standard to searches conducted by law enforcement officials. We have since held that the T.L.O. standard governs searches conducted by resource officers working ‘in conjunction with school officials,’ where these officers are primarily responsible to the school district rather than the local police department. (395 N.C. 411, 2005)

The standards regarding student rights pertaining to their Fourth Amendment guarantees against unreasonable search and seizure have been on a slippery downward slope for a while. The Courts have applied lower standards, going from probable cause to reasonable suspicion regarding searches. The same is happening with seizures by SROs on school property (Blumenson and Nilson, 2002; Bough, 1999; Pinard, 2003; Rabinowitz, 2006).

Regardless of the standard employed to search students, there has never been a reasonable claim to privacy in the case of student's lockers: lockers belong to the school, and, therefore, they have ultimate proprietary control over them and are entitled to search them at any time. The legality of student searches is further expanded to the student's vehicles parked on school property. The reasonable suspicion standard for searching a student's car without requiring a warrant is met when the administrator has determined the student has been using contraband, for example, but after a fruitless search of the student's locker and person does not turn up anything. Thus supported by articulable facts that would warrant a reasonable person to conclude that criminal activity is afoot (*Terry v. Ohio*), they are then free to extend the search to the student's vehicle. Dog searches and sniff tests are considered reasonable in this context. Even the sniffing of a student by school administrators is considered reasonable, as an extension of the "plain view" doctrine to "plain smell", when staff smells marijuana, alcohol, or tobacco on a student's person.

The most recent SCOTUS ruling regarding search and seizure within schools was in *SAFFORD UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT #1 et al. v. REDDING* (No. 08-479), decided June

2009. The case was brought by a 13-year-old girl who was subjected to a strip search down to her underwear to prove she was not concealing an illicit substance, in this case, prescription-strength ibuprofen, a common pain reliever. Once in her underwear she was asked to shake out her bra and pull out her underpants to show she was not concealing anything illicit and thus exposing her breasts and genitalia at the same time. The court held that this last part of the search involving the strip search was unreasonable under the Fourth Amendment test for searches of children by school officials set out in *New Jersey v. T. L. O.*, 469 U. S. 325, establishing that measures to root out contraband must be "reasonably related to the objectives of the search and not excessively intrusive in light of the age and sex of the student and the nature of the infraction."

Erosion of Formal / Informal Social Control Boundaries

Donald Black, in his seminal work *The Behavior of Law*, posits that not only is law a quantifiable variable within a society that ebbs and wanes, but that it is very possible to quantify the amount of "law," or formal social control, that a given society condones or utilizes. Black tells us that "law" is about government social control that can be measured by the number and scope of prohibitions, obligations, and standards, in addition to the quantity and rate of legislation, litigation, and adjudication. Black informs us that this quantifiable variable of "law," or formal processing, varies in time and space and throughout societies, regions, and

communities. Most importantly, for the theoretical underpinnings of the present study, Black asserts that

Law varies inversely with other social control. (p.6)

This constant asserted by Black is echoed by Bazemore et al. (2004) in their argument regarding the nexus between formal and informal social control in the context of the school. Bazemore asserted that when informal social controls break down, then formal controls and processes will move in and take over.

The decline of informal social control is discussed by Carolyn Boyes-Watson (2005) who notes the increasing social alienation experienced on the community level (the “crisis of weakened communities”). She describes how communities and neighborhoods have experienced a downward trajectory of cooperation and coordination as a result of the demise of the once dense, reinforcing networks of long-term relationships and connections that were based on face-to-face civic and political engagement, with the goal of mutual benefit (the working definition of “social capital”). According to Boyes-Watson, community is defined as a type of social bond or “perception of personal connectedness” involving mutuality of care, connection, identity, awareness and obligations to others. This type of bond motivates behaviors that are mutually nurturing, interactive and interdependent. It is believed that such a powerful bond can inhibit negative behavior, as “shame and pride vis-à-vis one’s community are a potent source of conformity.” Boyes-Watson suggests that the opposite value has emerged, that of excessive

individualism characterized by a “lack of empathy and indifference to the fate of others” (p. 363). It is this emerging norm that “underlies both criminal offending and institutionalized social injustice” (p. 363).

With informal social networks disappearing, communities have developed an increasing reliance on formal organizations to care for the young, infirm, disabled, old, disruptive, and so on. Activities previously the purview of families, kinship groups, neighborhoods, and religious and other community structures have been turned over to formal service organizations in health care, education, elder care, insurance, financial, and criminal justice systems. Although the decline of informal social controls produces increased dependence on formal organizations, the strengthening of formal organizations further undermines the vitality of informal social controls and structures dependent on the development of social capital within the community. The paradox of this process is that the more often formal organizations step in to deal with any crisis, the worse the deficit in social capital becomes.

Gordon Bazemore et al. (2004) studied a large law-enforcement-led truancy intervention program in an unidentified urban county in the southeastern United States as an example of the erosion of the boundary between formal and informal social control. The authors employ the term, “reaching down”, to describe the expansion of a disciplinary approach based in the criminal justice system, which they see as increasingly criminalizing normative childhood misbehaviors. They view this trend as a result of the failure of institutions of informal control that were once rooted in families, neighborhoods, and schools to contain youth behavior.

Additionally, Bazemore et al see three trends propelling the juvenile justice system to widen its jurisdiction over low-level misconduct it previously ignored: 1) zero tolerance policies increasingly enforced by school-based police officers; 2) the injection of law enforcement into social service and public health functions through new system collaborations; and 3) the rise of new specialty courts for issues such as smoking, truancy, or curfews. The end result is that, through the use of on-site arrests and summonses, problematic conduct such as defiant behavior and interpersonal conflict is being elevated to criminal offenses that result in the student becoming involved in the justice system (see also Stinchcomb et al., 2006).

As part of an initiative by the U.S. Department of Education and the National Academy of Sciences, Katherine Newman led a team of researchers in an in-depth study of two communities that had suffered mass school shooting – Heath, Kentucky and Westside, Arkansas. They conducted 163 interviews of a wide range of people touched by these tragedies, including students, school personnel, families of the victims, families of the perpetrators, officials of the justice system, psychologists, and members of the media. In response to these incidents, both communities placed full-time police (School Resource Officers) in their high schools. In a positive review of this policy of more formal social control, Newman (2004) noted its acceptance despite consequences similar to those that concerned Bazemore:

There are unintended consequences to having law enforcement personnel on campus. The presence of an SRO clearly leads to more student interaction with the criminal justice system. Where school authorities might have invoked their own ‘law’ in the past, these days all violations that can be construed as ‘criminal,’ including fighting in the hallway,

have become the province of the Sheriff's Office. The Westside SRO told us, 'Fighting is illegal. Fighting is battery.' Local juvenile court officials process more students from schools with an SRO than without one. Kids who might have had a discipline record at school now have an arrest record in the courts. This can create problems for them later, because employers are often troubled by delinquency. However, as with all interventions, *the consequences of the change are mixed, and on balance we think the pros outweigh the cons.* (p. 282). (Italics added)

Prior Research on School Resource Officer Programs

Impact of the SRO on Disciplinary Practices

School Resource Officers are police officers assigned full or part time to public schools. They are armed and in uniform, and remain primarily under the jurisdiction of their local police departments. There are three primary roles assigned to the SRO. The first is *law enforcement*, which involves maintaining order within the school and taking action as needed. The second role is that of *mentor or counselor*, which is designed to help the SRO connect with the students in order to facilitate trust, and help the students to view the SRO in a problem-solving capacity. *Teaching and/or coaching* is the third role of the SRO. This is usually accomplished through coaching sports teams, teaching drug or gang control classes or perhaps health classes, and is intended to serve an educational function.

The Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention has issued guidelines for SRO programs that delineate these three roles and areas of responsibility (Girouard, 2001). The actual

percentage of time an officer spends on each of these three areas varies drastically from school to school, district to district, and state to state. McDevitt, et al (2005) conducted a four part study of SROs involving survey data, and determined that SROs spent 60-65% of their time on law enforcement activities, 25-30% on mentoring and/or counseling and 10-15% on teaching and/or coaching students.

Johnson (1999) conducted a case study of the effectiveness of an SRO program introduced into one middle school and four high schools in Birmingham, Alabama in order to provide a safe school environment by reducing the prevalence of weapons, drugs, and gang-related activities. She administered surveys to 17 SROs and 17 school personnel (5 principals, 5 assistant principals, 7 teachers), as well as conducting informal interviews with another 30 teachers and 46 students, in order to gain everyone's perceptions of the SRO program that had been introduced the previous year. In addition, Johnson compiled data on responses and arrests from school incident reports compiled by SROs from January to May 1996, and collected data on suspensions published by the study schools for academic years 1994-1995 (pre-SRO), 1995-1996 (post-SRO), and the first half of 1996-1997.

The SROs maintained an active and visible presence in the schools throughout the day, checking students' IDs and backpacks, securing exterior doors, monitoring student movement between classes and in the lunchroom, interacting with and counseling students, and intervening immediately in dangerous situations such as fights, drug-related activity, and gang identification. In their incident reports for January to May 1996, the SROs reported 97 responses involving

drugs, 49 responses for weapons, and 157 responses concerning gang-related activities, resulting in 145 total arrests. There was no comparable data for any other time period.

The SROs strongly believed that their presence and activities had a positive effect on school safety, citing perceived reductions in weapons, gang-related activities, drugs, misdemeanors, and felonies. While not quite as unanimous as the SROs, the majority of school officials endorsed the program, observing reductions in the use of weapons, fighting, drugs, gambling, illicit sexual behavior, and dress code violations. Overall, the students expressed that the presence of a uniformed police officer in their school gave them a sense of security, that it caused students to curtail misbehavior, and that the sight of a student being immediately arrested and handcuffed was clearly a deterrent. Johnson reported a decline in total suspensions for all Birmingham middle and high schools from 7,316 in 1994-95 (pre-SRO) to 6,470 in 1995-96 (post-SRO) as an indication of the SRO program's effectiveness. She did not address, however, the 4,067 total suspensions logged for August – November 1996, which project to over 8,000 for the 1996 – 1997 school year, a significant increase over the pre-SRO year.

In their study of SROs in 16 Massachusetts school districts, Thureau and Wald (2010) noted a similar widespread perception on the part of SROs that their permanent presence in a school over a period of several years resulted in a reduction in arrests, although the researchers were unable to compile corroborating data. The officers attributed the decrease to the relationships that they had formed with students.

Barnes (2008) conducted an evaluative study of the SRO program in North Carolina, the largest statewide SRO program in the country. Mail surveys were sent to all known SROs (n=137) and ADMs (n=133) in all 117 school districts and responses were received from 75% and 77% of recipients respectively. Surveys were designed to assess perceptions of the SRO program and its implementation. Barnes also conducted an analysis of crime data comparing the incidence of violence before and after the introduction of SROs. The study concluded that both the ADMs and the SROs liked the partnership they developed, and felt it changed some student behaviors by inhibiting students from bringing contraband to school. However, the Barnes study found that neither the ADMs nor the SROs perceived a safer school environment as a result of the program. Further, the analysis of crime data revealed no reduction in crime in the schools studied.

Jackson (2002) evaluated the impact of interaction with school resource officers on young people's attitudes toward police, attitudes toward offending, and perceptions that they would be caught were they to engage in delinquent behavior. He surveyed a sample of 271 students from one school that had recently adopted an SRO program and two nearby non-SRO schools that served as control groups. Surveys were administered to the same students both at the beginning of the school year (T1) and again nine months later (T2). Jackson compared the responses of students from SRO and non-SRO schools, and also examined change over time in the aggregate responses of students from the SRO school. The results showed no significant differences in student attitudes toward police or offending, but did show that students in the SRO school

perceived the likelihood of being caught for wrongdoing as lower than students in the non-SRO schools. Jackson went on to suggest that:

This finding may be due to the school administrators and staff relinquishing their rule enforcement responsibilities upon the arrival of the SRO, whereas, the control school, due to the lack of an SRO, still utilizes a combined effort of education, detection, and punishment from all school faculty and staff. (p. 646)

Brady et al (2007) looked at school–police partnerships in a study of the impact and effectiveness of a NYC program developed to combat crime in some of the city’s most crime-ridden schools. This program, NYC Impact Schools Initiative, was based on the “broken windows” (Kelling & Coles, 1998) approach to crime control and a “zero tolerance” policing strategy that emphasized the containment of low-level disruptive and problematic behaviors, with the goal of deterring their escalation. Following the model of targeting hotspots of violence and criminal activity within the city’s communities, schools that were determined to be hotspots of delinquency and violence were chosen to participate in this pilot program, which saturated the identified schools with police officers.

Brady et al used school-level data in the form of suspensions, attendance, and criminal incidents reported by the Department of Education (DOE) to the New York City Police Department (NYPD) and employed a comparison group of schools without a police presence that enrolled similar numbers of students with a similar racial mix. Data were collected for the year (academic year 2002-2003) prior to the implementation of the Initiative and then again 1 ½ years

later (academic year 2004-2005). Between these two points in time, the suspension rate per 1000 students at the Impact schools rose from 78.5 to 114.1, a 45% increase, while the control group experienced a more modest change of 21% from 73.8 to 89.5. Differences over the same time period for rates of noncriminal police incidents per 1000 students showed a similar pattern – a sharp rise of 54% in the Impact schools as opposed to virtually no change in the control group. Clearly, the added police were doing the job set out for them, and the rate per 1000 students for major crimes fell 15% to 2.8, although the control group showed a larger decrease of 28% to 2.1. One cost of the initiative was that the attendance rate at the Impact schools fell by 9% to 71.5 against a drop of 4% in the control group to 78.1.

Hallett (2004) took a critical look at one aspect of the SRO program in Jacksonville, FL, namely the Monitoring At Risk Students (MARS) program run by the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office. Based on a weekly download of student conduct violations from the Duval County Public Schools, MARS identified students with 5 or more incidents for police department monitoring and used a weighting system to target "top offenders" for direct contact by the local SRO. Hallett pointed out that over 95% of the reported incidents were not in any way criminal activity, but rather tardiness or common oppositional behavior such as failure to follow directions or classroom disruption, even for those students labeled top offenders. He noted that MARS appeared to be initiated and operated with little or no oversight from the school system or the community, whereas North Carolina, with one of the oldest and most comprehensive SRO programs in the country, strictly prohibited the use of student education records by SROs, owing to the strong involvement of the state School Board. Hallett concluded that Jacksonville would

be better served by following U.S. Department of Justice indicators (e.g. abuse, neglect, exposure to domestic violence, poverty, developmental disability) to identify “at risk” students instead of singling out children who misbehave in class.

Theriot (2009) investigated the impact of SROs on school-based arrests by comparing the number of arrests over a three year period at thirteen middle and high schools with SROs and fifteen middle and high schools without SROs in the same district. His findings were twofold. First, having an SRO more than doubled the rate of arrest for disorderly conduct, even when controlling for school-to-school differences in economic disadvantage. Theriot saw this as evidence of the criminalization of student behavior, previously discussed by Bazemore and alluded to by Newman. He did point out, however, that since an officer can exercise a great deal of discretion in making the charge of disorderly conduct, school administrators and SROs could work out policies and procedures to minimize the chance that an oppositional student would end up arrested. Secondly, when compared to schools without SROs, schools with SROs had significantly lower arrest rates for the serious crimes of assault (by 52%) and weapons charges (by 73%). Echoing Johnson (1999), Theriot surmised that these reductions could be due to the deterrence of having a law enforcement officer on patrol within the school environment. He also suggested that having an SRO could make students feel safer and less inclined to carry a weapon for protection, and that this perception of safety would reduce aggression and fights between students.

Martin Scheffer (1987) published a case study on the Boise, Idaho SRO program that at that time was twelve years old and implemented in all of the city's elementary, middle and high schools. Scheffer described the duties of the SRO as mainly prevention, education, and counseling. This program de-emphasized the formal social control function of law enforcement for the SRO, and presented an approach similar to what Theriot suggested as a way to handle misbehavior without arrest. In fact he suggested that SROs can be "instrumental in reducing the number of minor and first offense cases from reaching the courts (p.53)". This was accomplished through the use of Behavioral Agreements between the student and the SRO:

The Behavioral Agreement is an informal effort to avoid the risk of further stimulating a youth's delinquency either in response to the official labeling processes or because court sanctions are often interpreted as meaningless to minor and first-time offenders. (p.54)

A report issued by the Center for Problem-Oriented Policing (2002) reviewed the effectiveness of an SRO program developed for two small communities (Salem and Vandalia) through a collaboration of the Illinois State Police (ISP) and high school administrators, court probation units, local police, and mental health groups. The program hired and trained 10 off-duty ISP officers as part-time SROs "to interact with students, design and implement a graduated enforcement protocol, provide classroom teaching, and participate in counseling sessions for students and parents" (p. 3).

The genesis of this effort was a mental health survey repeated over several years of 8th and 12th grade students in all 17 school systems in the county, which depicted high rates of depression and illegal substance abuse, accompanied by vandalism and thefts. A joint task force of the ISP, school administrators, and mental health providers identified four factors for local youth involvement in criminal behavior: 1) Perceived lack of formal sanctions for law-breaking; 2) Easy access to illegal substances; 3) Lack of informal social control due to limited community and parental involvement; 4) Low self esteem and depression. In response, the ISP proposed the SRO-based community collaboration described above, which was enthusiastically accepted by school and mental health professionals in Salem and Vandalia. In this model, “SROs served four basic functions: enforcement, counseling, teaching and technical assistance (p. 9)”.

At the end of the first year, the program reported a significant reduction in violence, drug use, and truancy at both schools. At Salem Community High School, serious misconduct cases dropped by 86% and overall truancy fell by 85%. While teachers at Vandalia were sending more students to the administration for discipline, expulsions for alcohol use dropped by 100%, for truancy by 68%, and for drug use by 50%. Perhaps the most telling finding was the following: “More than 90% of the juvenile problems which surfaced in the first year were addressed outside of the court system. Problems were immediately identified, and appropriate sanctions or treatments were imposed with the help of the school, parents, and counselors.” (p. 16).

The Relationship between the School Resource Officer and the School Administration

Organizational structure is viewed as having two basic dimensions: structural complexity and structural control and coordination. Structural complexity refers to the division of work and tasks in an organization, and looks at the established hierarchical differentiation of various levels of management. It involves an analysis of the number of levels between the top of the organization and those on the bottom, often by “using a standardized measure of income disparity between the lowest and highest ranking employees.” (Maguire, 2003. p.15) This multi-layered differentiation can result in a cumbersome process of decision-making by those at the top of the hierarchy that the bottom workers must carry out or follow through on. Police agencies are predominantly hierarchical in their organizational structure with a disproportionately large number of employees (e.g. patrol officers) concentrated at the bottom rung.

Structural control and coordination is concerned with three differing mechanisms: administration, formalization and centralization. The administrative function of an organization is defined as all work related to the maintenance of the organization, as distinct from the work done that furthers the mission or “core task of the organization” (Ibid. p.61). Formalization is defined by the degree to which formal rules and regulations are adhered to in day to day operations. Some organizations have very little formalization, and running the organization can be through informal social controls such as word of mouth. Police organizations tend to be highly formalized in structure and defined by rules, regulations, official forms and procedures

that are highly adhered to even when they become cumbersome and redundant. (Maguire, 2003; Brown, 2006; Paoline, 2003).

Centralization within an organization refers to the extent that management and decision-making functions are concentrated within one or more individuals or groups. One further dimension of structural complexity which is relevant to the present study is the issue of spatial differentiation, which looks at the geographic distribution of an organization. Recently, there has been a trend toward decentralization of command with the spread of community policing and satellite police stations designed to promote the integration of police officers and communities (Renauer, 2007). Community policing advocates encourage the decentralization of decision making to streamline the process and to diffuse decision making down to the officers on the ground level, who can be more responsive to the sites or communities they are serving (Bazemore & Senjo, 1997; Boyes-Watson, 2003; Kenney, Fuller, & Barry, 1995). One goal of this policy change is to increase the autonomy and discretion of the police officer by reducing the layers of administrative bureaucracy (Brown, 2006; Renauer, 2007). The placing of SROs in public secondary schools is viewed as a continuation of this trend.

In a school environment, however, the handling of disciplinary matters tends to be highly centralized. This is especially true in Massachusetts, where the principal has the ultimate authority when disciplinary exclusions are being considered. (Massachusetts M.L.A. Ed reform act, 1993). An organizational clash becomes more likely between an administration used to

acting unilaterally in disciplinary matters and an SRO who may be used to exercising considerable discretion.

Rabinowitz (2006) relates the following highly charged incidents from New York City to illustrate the potential consequences of conflict between the school administration and school resource officers regarding jurisdiction:

Scuffle Leads To Principal's Arrest, N.Y. Times, Feb. 4, 2005, at B6. A school aide was also arrested. The principal was led away from the school in handcuffs... The student whose arrest the principal had sought to prevent was charged with disorderly conduct and resisting arrest. According to a media report that cited the officer's statement to the police, the officer had tried to issue a summons for disorderly conduct to an unruly student who had screamed at him and a school aide and had then fled into a classroom. The officer claimed that the principal had pushed him, which the principal denied... In March 2005, two teachers at another Bronx high school were arrested and charged with disorderly conduct after they sought to prevent police officers from arresting students who had gotten into a fight in a school bathroom. Catriona Stuart, Two Teachers Arrested After Students' Brawl, N.Y. Sun, Mar. 9, 2005, at 10. (Rabinowitz, 2006, footnote N58).

Other researchers have studied the dynamics of the school-police partnership with findings that are not so sensational, but nonetheless interesting and relevant to the present study.

Minor et al (2002) studied the interagency collaboration between school administrations and justice/law enforcement agencies in the context of the reporting of incidents of school crime. They selected a middle school and high school in each of three communities: one rural, one suburban, and one urban. Over the course of a school year, they conducted 99 interviews with 33 different officials: school administrators, court intake workers, prosecutors, justice workers and school-based law enforcement officers. Although not specifically identified as SROs, the school-based police were placed either full or part-time in the schools and functioned as a liaison between the police, schools and courts.

Distinct differences became clear between the three venues. Rural schools showed effective inter-agency collaboration due to established personal relationships or the individual characteristics of those involved. Suburban schools demonstrated a lack of collaboration unrelated to personal relationships and based on more distinct definitions of the boundaries between schools and police. In particular, suburban school administrators had a pronounced sense of entitlement to information on the processing and outcomes of student referrals, and did not hesitate to make demands on police and justice agencies. In the urban schools, not only were there no personal contacts between the school and police, they were often so geographically distant from each other that communication became close to non-existent.

In general, Minor et al reported, “In all three communities, the police and other justice system agencies had priorities different from those of the schools” (Ibid., p. 95). The administrations’ goals were to promote what the Supreme Court has ruled a legitimate interest of

the school—an appropriate, orderly learning environment. They wanted the police to “get rid of the problem students” (Ibid., p. 97), whereas the police felt it was the job of the school to socialize and educate the students, and control their negative behavior. Schools viewed their role as that of educators and felt the family was responsible for the socialization and misbehavior of their children. School administrators lacked a clear understanding of legal issues, processes, and procedures, and had a problem distinguishing between rule violations and violations of law. Police often felt resentful that they were expected to pick up after the failure of the school to control student behavior, because they saw themselves as professionals who were there to counsel students and provide a law enforcement presence. Schools tended to view them as there to establish disciplinary norms and enforce school rules.

In their recent study for Harvard Law School on SROs in Massachusetts, Thureau and Wald (2010) interviewed police chiefs and SROs from 16 school districts employing 81 SROs. They highlight “the tremendous variation in approaches to school policing used by police officers and school districts” (p. 985). In one school with 1800 students in an impoverished city, for example, a pair of SROs estimated that at least 400 students were subject to CHINS and another 400 were in DSS custody. In this type of environment, some SROs perceived themselves as caring male role models offering counseling, coaching, and “firm but fair” discipline for misbehavior. They found that many families enlisted them as intermediaries with schools and other social institutions, especially if the officer were bilingual. Other SROs in urban schools with a majority of non-white students, however, reflected the zero tolerance approach of the school administration and took a hard line on minor infractions like the ban on wearing hats. In

contrast, some SROs in affluent white suburban schools portrayed their administrators as wanting to minimize formal processing of in-school crime in order to protect students and the school's reputation.

Within the context of school-to-school variations, Thureau and Wald stratified the ADM-SRO relationship into two basic categories: Cooperation and Collaboration, and Confusion and Conflict. In the first group, school administrators carved out significant consultative roles for SROs, often to the point where the police handled discipline so that principals could focus on academics. The close working relationships in this group were based on constant communication in the form of regular daily or weekly meetings and shared radio systems that enabled the SROs to monitor discussions between administrators. Three schools fell into the Confusion and Conflict group, marked by overt hostility on the part of school administrators towards SROs. Per the SROs and their department superiors, these were the affluent suburban schools more interested in protecting their reputations than seriously addressing real dangers that threaten school safety. It should be noted that, in this study, school administrators were not provided a voice to comment on any of the officers' observations.

Lambert and McGinty surveyed expectations of the SRO's role in their 2002 study of School Resource Officers in North Carolina, a state that has been a trailblazer in the implementation of SRO programs. SROs were introduced into virtually all of their public schools, beginning with high schools, diffusing to middle schools, and with the goal of entering all elementary schools. The researchers mailed surveys to all high schools known to have SROs, all SROs currently

assigned to high schools, and all identified law enforcement administrators who were supervisors of SROs. A 60% response rate returned the surveys of 161 school principals, 159 SROs, and 57 police administrators, with the goal of determining the job expectations of the SRO, and the role they are expected to fill within the school setting.

The authors were surprised by the sheer number of significant differences between the responses to survey items of the principals and those of the SROs and their superiors. The primary divergence came through the disciplinary role the principals envisioned for the SRO. They saw the SRO as a strong enforcer of school rules and regulations, while the views of the SROs and their law enforcement administrators reflected the state's SRO training focus on intervention in student violations of law. SROs, on the other hand, placed far more emphasis on the counseling aspect of the triad of responsibilities than did the principals. Despite these differences of emphasis on individual survey items, Lambert and McGinty summarized:

...all groups agree that law enforcement and safety functions should be the SRO's first priority, and that counseling and classroom teaching are of lesser importance.
(Ibid. p. 264)

They did observe a basic discrepancy that principals view the SROs primarily as traditional security officers with minor responsibility for counseling and education, while SROs also see law enforcement as primary but put more emphasis than principals on the latter two.

Do these differences in views of the SRO's role affect the success of the program? We have no empirical evidence that they do, but there is clearly potential for conflict between the SRO and the principal, which can hardly be conducive to a healthy program. (Ibid. p. 265)

Where the Present Study Fits

Research on the SRO – school administration relationship presents three basic sets of findings. Minor et al (2002) noted effective collaboration in rural settings based on established relationships, a lack of collaboration in suburban and urban communities due to established authority boundaries and minimal personal contact, and a consistent difference in the perception of the police officer's role. Administrators wanted the police to take care of the student trouble-makers, while the officers chafed at having to deal with what they saw as the failure of school administration discipline. The police saw themselves as providing counseling to students and a professional law enforcement presence.

Other researchers reported similar observations. Barnes (2008) related that administrators and SROs liked the partnerships that they developed. Lambert and McGinty (2002) speculated that the differences between administrators and SROs in their perceptions of the SRO role could affect program success, but generated no empirical evidence. Rabinowitz (2006) mentioned a couple of sensational examples of jurisdictional conflict between SROs and administrators. Thureau and Wald (2010) wrote about a wide range of approaches to school policing, but

presented the two basic ADM-SRO interactions previously cited – close working partnerships and dysfunctional relationships where SROs were treated with hostility.

One goal of the present study is to build on this body of work by looking at the ADM-SRO relationship in more depth and noting its impact on the student disciplinary environment.

The second aspect of the present study is the impact of the presence of an SRO on the school disciplinary process. Here, the research results are mixed. Johnson (1999) reported a decline in total suspensions in the first year of an SRO program, but did not address the even greater increase in the second year. Scheffer (1987) described a program where SROs worked with misbehaving student to reduce involvement with the courts by utilizing behavioral agreements in lieu of arrests or summonses. CPOP (2002) observed significant reductions in violence, drug use, and truancy at two problem schools via a combined effort of state police, local police, school administration, court probation units, mental health groups, and parents. More than 90% of the juvenile problems were addressed outside the court system.

Brady et al (2007) and Theriot (2009) presented generally similar findings of the impact of police in schools – increased formal controls for minor offenses, but decreasing rates for serious crimes. Brady et al, however, also noted that major crimes decreased even more in their control group of schools without police. Theriot's results were more straightforward – having an SRO doubled the rate of arrest for disorderly conduct, but significantly reduced arrest rates for the serious crimes of assault and weapons charges.

Thurau and Wald (2010) and Barnes (2008) related that SROs and administrators felt that the presence of a police officer in the school reduced arrests or incidents of student misbehavior, but could not present any collaborating data.

The present study seeks to assess the impact of the SRO presence on school discipline in a number of ways. Rates of suspensions for the experimental group of schools with SROs and the control group of schools without SROs are compared. All study participants are asked to discuss how they would handle four hypothetical scenarios of student misbehavior. Their responses can provide insight into differences in disciplinary approaches between the SRO schools and those without. Administrators at schools with SROs are asked whether discipline has changed since the SRO placement. And, finally, SROs are asked to report the number of arrests and summonses for the school year.

3. METHODS

There are two main objectives to this study. The first is to look at the impact of the SRO on disciplinary practices in Massachusetts public schools. This involves looking at consequences for the students in the Commonwealth. As children grow up, they are bound to test the limits of their boundaries as they attempt to enter the adult world. Having police in schools introduces a formal governmental agent of control into the world of adolescence - a heretofore forgiving world of trial and error and learning within an informal environment filled with adults trained in child development and education.

The second objective of this study is to examine the relationship between the SRO and the school administration. Not only do police and schools represent very different organizations, they also involve individuals who bring their own personalities and policy agendas that are often in conflict with each other. One focus of the study is to look at the rationale behind obtaining the SRO, and whether that affected the relationship between the ADM and the functioning of the SRO. Another area of interest involves the compatibility of SROs' and ADMs' orientation toward school discipline. Finally, I consider whether and how the relationship between the SRO and the ADM affects the disciplinary process.

Hypotheses

Specific hypotheses to be tested are the following:

The introduction of School Resource Officers into MA public high schools will result in a change in disciplinary practices and procedures. Because this study breaks new ground in looking at the organizational intersection of police departments and schools, the hypothesis is a general one. SROs might usurp the disciplinary authority of the school administration, the school administration might voluntarily relinquish disciplinary authority to the SRO, the SRO might defer to the school administration on disciplinary issues, or the two might collaborate—perhaps by working in partnership on disciplinary matters or by creating areas of jurisdiction reflective of the traditional focus of police and school authorities (e.g., violations of law versus violations of school rules). While several researchers have reported an impact on the disciplinary process owing to the introduction of police officers in schools, the nature and substance of such changes can vary significantly. Hallett (2004) found SROs focusing their attention on the most frequent rule breaking students. The Center for Problem-Oriented Policing (2002) described a well-defined system of graduated rules developed for the SRO to enforce. Barnes (2008) related how both ADMs and SROs worked to form mutually satisfactory partnerships.

The introduction of School Resource Officers will result in more formal processing of disciplinary infractions, potentially leading to: increase in suspensions, increase in

expulsions, increase in arrests/summonses/court involvement, increase in drop-out rates. This hypothesis is based on Bazemore et al. (2004) and the concept that more formal social control moves in where informal social control breaks down. Theriot (2009) reported an increase in the arrest rate for disorderly conduct with the introduction of SROs, while Brady et al. (2007) observed an increase in suspensions as an impact of putting police in schools.

Two disparate organizational structures, one adhering to more formal processes (policing organization), and one traditionally committed to less formal processes (school organization) will experience and interpret disciplinary proceedings differently, potentially leading to miscommunication and misunderstandings. Several studies have identified a spectrum of results for school-police partnerships. Minor et al. (2002) noted discordant expectations for disciplinary responsibility between SRO and ADM, each expressing that the other should take the lead in student discipline. Lambert and McGinty (2002) observed ADMs who thought that SROs should be focused on discipline, while the SROs saw themselves more as counselors. Thureau and Wald (2010) reported that ADM–SRO relationships fell into two basic categories: Cooperation and Collaboration, and Confusion and Conflict.

For the purpose of this study the differences between formal and informal social control are defined as the following: Formal social control of students is operationalized through the use of detentions, suspensions (both in and out-of-school), exclusions, social service referrals, written summonses, citations and arrests. School staff (including SRO) and faculty

exercise informal social control by communicating directly with students and their families in order to reach a resolution that does not involve formal punishments or sanctions.

These definitions are grounded in Black's (1975) differentiation between the informal control exercised by family or community members over each other and the formal control imposed by a governing body through the application of law. They are consistent with similar distinctions made by other social scientists and researchers. Bazemore et al (2004) saw discipline based in the justice system taking the place of informal controls emanating from the schools and families. Brady et al (2007) reported a rise in suspensions as an indicator of the application of police to the control of student behavior in the NYC Impact Schools Initiative. Boyes-Watson, on the other hand, defined community as a social bond of mutual care and obligations that can inhibit negative behavior. Theriot (2009) drew a bright line between the punitive discipline of arrest and removal from the classroom, and behavioral counseling from teachers and other school staff. Scheffer (1987) portrayed an SRO program that de-emphasized the formal social control function of law enforcement, using informal Behavioral Agreements between the SRO and students. CPOP (2002) trumpeted the fact that SRO programs in 2 communities handled over 90% of student problems in the first year outside the court system with the help of the schools, parents, and counselors.

Research Questions

SRO – School Discipline Research Questions

How is the SRO program impacting discipline in the public schools in Massachusetts? Does the presence of an SRO increase the use of formal social controls? Does the presence of an SRO increase the likelihood that disciplinary action is routed through the courts/justice/judicial system rather than the principal's office? Does the presence of an SRO increase the likelihood that disruptive behavior will be treated as a criminal offense? Has the presence of the SRO contributed to an increase in the use of "disciplinary exclusions" (Skiba & Peterson, 2003) and referrals to the justice system? How have practices changed and at whose instigation? Have these changes been codified through school board regulations and formally written rules and guidelines?

Organizational Interaction Research Questions

What is the nature of the relationship between the school administration and the School Resource Officer? Is there interaction between administrators and SROs regarding disciplinary methods and procedures? Do written guidelines, such as a memorandum of understanding (MOU), offer concrete boundaries regarding the behaviors of both the administration and the SRO? How is the decision to move a school's disciplinary practices from

an informal social control approach to a more formal approach involving police procedures/sanctions made? Who makes the decision to use formal social control involving agencies of the justice system such as the filing of CHINS (children in need of supervision/services for truancy, incorrigibility, etc.)? Who is the de facto authority in disciplinary actions involving the arrest of students, filing of delinquency petitions, in and out-of-school suspensions, or other “disciplinary exclusions”? How and by whom are referrals to social service agencies made (substance abuse, counseling, family interventions, etc.)? How has the school administration’s traditional role in disciplining students been affected by the presence of the SRO

Research Design

The present study is based on a quasi-experimental retrospective design in order to determine post-SRO intervention effects on school discipline and to assess the nature of the ADM-SRO relationship. One main goal is to measure change over time in 2 ways: from retrospective accounts of school administrators who have been in their schools prior to the introduction of the SRO program, and with a comparison of disciplinary practices across SRO and non-SRO schools through standardized surveys of administrators in both the experimental group of schools (with SRO) and the control group (no SRO). Additionally, within the experimental group, administrators and their SRO counterparts are similarly surveyed in order to assess the nature and impact of their relationship.

An experimental group, stratified by size, of 14 high schools with SROs was randomly selected from the population of 180 high schools in Massachusetts determined to be eligible (criteria presented below) for this study. As a control, 11 high schools without SROs, similarly stratified by size, were randomly selected from the same eligible population. Variation in school size was seen as the primary threat to internal validity, since the literature is replete with findings that differentiate by school size for the full spectrum of education policy (e.g. Strike (2008)).

In addition, several categories of schools were omitted from consideration in order to avoid potentially confounding factors. All Charter Schools, Alternative High Schools, Vocational Tech Schools and specialized high schools were omitted in order to avoid introducing influences based upon the unique mission of these schools and their select student populations. All schools that employ their own School Police Force such as Boston, Brockton, Worcester, or Springfield were not included, as they do not exclusively use SROs. This measure also excludes the largest urban communities with socio-economic profiles distinctly different from the predominantly suburban study population. High schools that are combined with middle schools were omitted - schools with only grades 9-12 were included, eliminating the potential for policies and practices differentiated for younger students. Also passed over were schools that had terminated an SRO program within the last 2 years, so that the nature of the experimental group of schools with SROs was clearly distinct from the control group of schools without SROs.

While the study population of high schools was predominantly suburban, no other sociodemographic factors, such as average household income, racial mix, or percent of students for whom English is not the first language were taken into account in sample selection. Certainly these characteristics need to be considered during analysis of the findings, but experimental and control group schools could not be matched on all of these variables.

Sample Selection

The selection of schools to be surveyed was determined through an examination of all public high schools identified on the Massachusetts State Department of Education database online at www.doe.mass.edu. From a total of 352 schools listed, 180 were chosen as candidates for the study, based on the exclusions described previously.

Schools were then separated into those with SROs and those without. Identifying the schools with SROs began with an examination of data from NIJ's COPS Program listing all the schools in MA that had received grants to acquire School Resource Officers. The COPS program office has funded all but a handful of the SRO programs in the state. The majority of COPS Grants awarded in the Commonwealth were made between 1999 and 2005 and placed 138 SROs in Massachusetts public schools. The information from the COPS program was confirmed by calling every school and/or local police station.

All schools were then ranked by student population and divided into small, medium, and large samples. The small schools range in size from 200-799; medium: 800-1199; and large: 1200+ students. Sample group size was set at 4 large, 3 medium, and 3 small schools in each of the SRO and Non-SRO groupings. In fact, more schools were included due to the nature of the process of obtaining interview appointments, and the need to follow through on commitments to administrators who decided to join the study two or three weeks after the initial contact. (see below).

Each school was assigned a random number which determined the order in which it was contacted for inclusion in the study. School administrators were each systematically called to request their participation. The phone interview request script (Appendix D) invited the principal/assistant principal to participate in the study. In some cases, a voicemail was left. In cases of nonresponse to the initial inquiry, schools received at least three calls before moving on to the next school on the list. In a few cases, the administrator called back a couple of weeks later and was therefore included in the study, resulting in larger groups than planned. No letters, posters, fliers, ads or websites were developed or used for this study.

A total of 42 schools with SROs and 22 schools without were contacted in order to produce the experimental and control groups. The SRO group can be summarized as Large (N=7), Medium (N=4), and Small (N=3). The non-SRO group breaks out as Large (N=5), Medium (N=3), and Small (N=3). SRO schools were defined as simply employing a police officer designated as a School Resource Officer. No further distinction was made based on duties

or time actually spent at the school. In fact, the findings present one SRO who made the decision to remove himself from the school and work in the community at large. For the purposes of this study, that officer helps to illustrate the variety of SRO behavior. On the other hand, non-SRO schools were still considered as such, even if they were occasionally visited by a community-based Youth Officer.

Table 1: Experimental and Control Groups by Size and Count of Students

	EXPERIMENTAL GROUP		CONTROL GROUP	
SIZE	CODE	STUDENTS	CODE	STUDENTS
LARGE	SROL1	1800	NONSROL1	1650
LARGE	SROL2	1650	NONSROL2	1600
LARGE	SROL3	1600	NONSROL3	1297
LARGE	SROL4	1500	NONSROL4	1250
LARGE	SROL5	1450	NONSROL5	1217
LARGE	SROL6	1450		
LARGE	SROL7	1250		
MEDIUM	SROM1	1100	NONSROM1	975
MEDIUM	SROM2	1048	NONSROM2	930
MEDIUM	SROM3	1000	NONSROM3	900
MEDIUM	SROM4	850		
SMALL	SROS1	759	NONSROS1	720
SMALL	SROS2	450	NONSROS2	520
SMALL	SROS3	343	NONSROS3	400

In order to preserve confidentiality, each school has been assigned a reference code that designates whether there is an SRO (SRO, NONSRO), size (S(mall), M(edium), L(arge)), and ranking within the size category by number of students. For example, SROM2 is the second

largest medium-sized school with an SRO, and NONSROS1 is the largest small-sized school without an SRO.

Data Collection

The methods used to gather information relevant to the research questions cited above are the following: 1) An onsite face-to-face interview of one key administrator (principal or vice principal) at each selected high school employing a School Resource Officer, preferably with an administrator who predates the SRO, which was possible in 11 of the 14 schools. The choice of administrator was made by the school principal, resulting in 8 principals and 6 vice principals. The basis for the interviews is the SRO Administrator Survey attached in Appendix A and explained below. 2). An onsite face-to-face interview of each School Resource Officer employed at the selected high schools. Since one school had 2 SROs, a total of 15 SROs were included in the study. The basis for the interviews is the SRO Survey attached in Appendix C and explained below. 3). An onsite face-to-face interview of one key administrator (principal or vice principal) at each selected high school not employing a School Resource Officer. The choice of administrator was made by the school principal, resulting in 5 principals and 6 vice principals. The basis for the interviews is the Non-SRO Administrator Survey attached in Appendix B and explained below.

The schools with SROs often required more than one visit, as the police officers were not always available on site at the school to be interviewed and had to be interviewed at the police station. The nature of high schools is very immediate and hands on. Appointments were easily cancelled due to exigent circumstances and needed to be rescheduled. Therefore, a certain amount of flexibility on the part of the researcher was necessary.

The actual school visit involved making an appointment to interview the administrator using the appropriate survey. The interviews lasted between 1 and 1 ½ hours. An unsigned informed consent form (Appendix E) was presented to each participant upon meeting and prior to beginning the interview. All discussions of student conduct or sanctions were done anonymously. Data regarding disciplinary procedures were requested and gathered in the aggregate to insure student confidentiality.

The SROs were interviewed at their office at the school, a private room at the school, or their office at the police station. In every case the SRO was concerned with privacy and confidentiality and wanted the door closed. During one SRO interview in a private conference room at the police station, the police Chief came in and stopped the interview and wanted to know what was going on. Once he was provided with an IRB approved unsigned consent form and an explanation including assurances of confidentiality, the interview resumed. More than one police department were concerned about negative publicity. All of the interviews took place over a 4 month period covering the last month of the school year and summer vacation. In every case, the SRO was eager to participate and cooperative regarding scheduling.

Data on formal disciplinary actions (suspensions and exclusions), dropout rates, and socio-economic statistics for each study school were collected from the Massachusetts Department of Education website accessed at: (http://profiles.doe.mass.edu/state_report/indicators.aspx). Beginning in 2002, the State of Massachusetts DOE changed the methodology for reporting and compiling statistics on school disciplinary exclusions. This resulted in more consistency among all public schools, but limits the availability of data to a window beginning in school year 2002-2003. Fortunately, 10 of the 15 SROs began their jobs in 2002 or later. While 5 predate 2002, 3 of these started in 2001. DOE statistics are used as a cross-check on the data provided directly by administrators and SROs regarding formal disciplinary actions and dropout rates.

The interview surveys contain closed questions, open-ended questions on topics relevant to the hypotheses, and four scenarios of student misbehavior. In response to each of the hypothetical scenarios, each administrator and SRO was asked to indicate how they believed the matter would be handled. In SRO schools, respondents were also asked to recall the disciplinary policies and practices as they were prior to the introduction of the SRO and to report changes that occurred after the implementation of the program. Administrators at Non-SRO schools answered similar questions regarding past and current disciplinary policies and practices, relationships with the local police department, and changes over the last 5 years.

The survey for ADMs with SROs covered 4 areas, in addition to the hypothetical scenarios (detailed below). 1) **Background and descriptive** questions were concerned with school size, administrative roles, and length of tenure. 2) Questions on the **ADM-SRO relationship** covered the definition of organizational and functional supervisors at the school and police department, the nature of the agreement or Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) governing roles and responsibilities, and the reasons for the SRO placement. 3) Details on the **disciplinary process and policies** were captured in questions regarding perceived types of misbehavior, who decides how to handle law-breaking behavior or rule-breaking behavior, what sanctions can be imposed by the ADM or SRO, counts and types of sanctions imposed over the current school year, whether in-school arrests are handled publicly or privately, the consequences for student arrested outside of school, whether the school has adopted Zero Tolerance policies, the role of parents in the disciplinary process, and whether and how the disciplinary process has changed since the arrival of the SRO and over the last 5 years. 4) **The role and expectations for the SRO** were investigated through questions about goals for the SRO and an appraisal of performance toward those goals, whether and how the SRO is expected to intervene in law-breaking or rule-breaking student misbehavior, the assigned enforcement areas for the SRO, and how much latitude the SRO has to exercise discretion independent of the school administration.

The survey for ADMs (without SROs) in the control group also covered 4 areas, in addition to the hypothetical scenarios (detailed below). 1) **Background and descriptive** questions were concerned with school size, administration roles, and length of tenure. 2)

Questions on the **ADM-local police relationship** covered the definition of organizational and functional supervisors at the school and police department, and the nature of the agreement or Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) governing roles and responsibilities. 3) Details on the **disciplinary process and policies** were captured in questions regarding perceived types of misbehavior, who decides how to handle law-breaking behavior or rule-breaking behavior, what sanctions can be imposed, counts and types of sanctions imposed over the current school year, whether in-school arrests are handled publicly or privately, the consequences for students arrested outside of school, whether the school has adopted Zero Tolerance policies, the role of the parents in the disciplinary process, and whether and how the disciplinary process has changed over the last 5 years. 4) **The absence of an SRO** was investigated through questions about whether one was ever offered, what factors influenced any related decision-making, and whether the school would now welcome an SRO program.

The survey for SROs covered 4 areas, in addition to the hypothetical scenarios (detailed below). 1) **Background and descriptive** questions were concerned with length of tenure and police department supervision. 2) Questions on the **ADM-SRO relationship** covered the definition of organizational and functional supervisors at the school and police department, the nature of the agreement or Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) governing roles and responsibilities, and the reasons for the SRO placement. 3) Details on the **disciplinary process and policies** were captured in questions regarding perceived types of misbehavior, who decides how to handle law-breaking behavior or rule-breaking behavior, is the SRO expected to intervene in non-law-breaking misbehavior, what sanctions can the SRO impose, counts and

types of sanctions imposed over the current school year, and whether in-school arrests are handled publicly or privately. 4) **The SRO role and image** were investigated through questions about whether they wear a uniform and carry a service weapon, what type of training have they had for the position, how they divide their time between enforcement, advising, and teaching, how they were selected, their assigned enforcement activities, whether and how they advise school staff on law-related issues or disciplinary policies and procedure, and what are the most and least satisfactory aspects of the job.

All administrators and SROs addressed the 4 hypothetical situations of student misbehavior, intended to gain insight into how the disciplinary process might actually function. Each of the situations depicted students in overtly defiant poses, aggressive overtures, and/or breaking a specific rule. The interviewee was asked, “What would be the standard procedure for managing the situation?” **Scenario #1- Lunchroom Disruption** depicts a female student causing a disruption: A sophomore girl is standing on a chair in the lunchroom and is refusing to get down or leave. She is approached by a lunchroom monitor/supervisor who attempts to talk her down, and she then spits at the staff member and refuses. **Scenario #2 – Classroom Disruption** depicts a male student in a similar pose: A junior boy is repeatedly defiant in the classroom and curses at the teacher. He is asked to leave by the teacher, and he refuses and becomes verbally abusive to the teacher. **Scenario #3 – Knife Fight** describes an altercation between 2 male students involving a weapon: Two students get into a fistfight during lunch outside the school. One student pulls a knife on the other student, and a group of students run to report the fight to the office. **Scenario #4 – Defensive Weapon** presents a complex situation of a female student

carrying a weapon for protection: A freshman girl is found to be carrying a weapon to school. She is called into the office to explain, and she claims to be a victim of threats and harassment on her way both to and from school.

Data Analysis

This study employs a mixed methods research design, combining both qualitative and quantitative data. The use of both quantitative and qualitative research methods has inspired an ongoing debate in the social sciences regarding the validity of mixed-methods and the role that each component plays (Neuman, 2008; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2006; Schulenberg, 2007). The proponents of a mixed methods approach suggest that combining qualitative and quantitative techniques can synergistically complement, enhance, and support the findings of the other. Opponents are concerned that qualitative research could take a supplemental or adjunct role to the quantitative approach, considered to be ‘real’ research due to the concrete, pragmatic and quantifiable quality of the data produced (Schulenberg, 2007).

The surveys used in the present study generated both quantifiable and qualitative data. Therefore, it was possible to “check the frequency and the distribution of phenomena” (Bachman & Schutt, 2001. p.310) (e.g. coded responses to standardized questions about disciplinary issues, approaches, and actions) while analyzing the intensive interview responses in depth. One main contribution of the qualitative approach is the opportunity to see beyond the how many or how often and delve deeper into the reasoning behind the why and the how of phenomena. This

combination offered the opportunity to continuously practice, “Juxtaposition, juxtaposition, juxtaposition” (Chenail, 1995. p. 3). According to Chenail, “...the essence of presenting qualitative research comes down to how well you are able to juxtapose the data with your descriptions, explanations, analysis, or commentaries.” (Ibid.). In this fashion, typologies were derived inductively from a combination of interview content and coded data.

The analysis and organization of the interview narratives was informed by the work of Lofland and Lofland (1995) and their text, *Analyzing Social Settings*. In the Findings chapter describing police-administration collaboration, the development of categories and particularly typologies was based on the Loflands’ discussion of analysis, especially framing, coding, and focusing on data.

This study generated three sources of data: answers to the survey questions; notes from each interview that illustrated survey answers with anecdotes and additional details, and captured the attitudes, opinions, and perceptions of the ADMs and SROs; and quantitative statistics gleaned from the MA DOE website.

Responses to the survey questions were uniformly coded to support quantitative analysis. From this perspective, questions fell into 3 categories. 1) Many offered a choice of yes/no or a finite set of defined answers. For example, in response to the question, “What are the major issues that faculty and administrators face on a day-to-day basis with respect to student misbehavior?” the respondents were offered 25 choices (drug dealing, drug use, alcohol use,

etc.). Analysis of questions in this category is based on the frequency of the answers given. 2) Some questions were based on a rating scale, such as the following, “How much latitude does the SRO have to exercise discretion independently.” Answer choices represent a scale of 1-5: none, minimal, some, a lot, complete. It is a straightforward process to convert these choices to numeric values that can be aggregated across groups, as well as compared individually. 3) Other questions were open-ended without a predefined response: “In order of importance, could you please list the 3 or 4 major goals of the SRO.” These items required the intermediate step of defining general categories from the discrete answers given, such as Law Enforcement, Advising, Teaching, Handling Student Rule-Breaking, etc. Then the analysis proceeded as in the first group of questions, based on the standard categories derived from, in this case, unstructured responses. The hypothetical scenarios also fell into this third category, since both types of ADMs and the SROs were simply asked to explain how they would handle the situation. Review of their answers revealed a finite set of options: Arrest the Student, ADM Counsels the Student, Suspend the Student, Call the Student’s Parents, etc. In the case of all 3 types of questions, once the responses can be expressed in a finite set, they can be compared across individuals, or aggregated and compared across groups.

Interview notes were compiled into a detailed narrative for each ADM and SRO. This is where the methods and approaches outlined above by Chenail and the Loflands became so valuable. Common themes emerge, such as the impact of the SRO placement decision on the ADM-SRO relationship. It becomes possible to go beyond the survey questions, identify a

concept such as Communication Style (between ADM and SRO), and then assess its effect on the ADM-SRO relationship and possible implications for the school disciplinary process.

As mentioned earlier, data from the MA DOE website covering 2003 through 2008 were compiled by year for each school in both the experimental (SRO) and control (non-SRO) groups, focusing on disciplinary exclusions and detentions, as well as dropout rates. This information was aggregated into average annual rates for the experimental and control groups. These rates were compared over time in search of differences across groups, with the overall MA state averages as background. Sociodemographic data from MA DOE were compiled in the same way, and also compared across groups and over time. As a result, it was noted that there were several SRO schools with Average Household Incomes in a range far below any of the non-SRO schools. Four of these outliers were removed from the SRO group in order to more closely mirror the control group. As a result, SRO group data are presented in the findings, adjusted for SES.

In terms of the study hypotheses, different groupings of data are relevant. Assessing the impact of the presence of the SRO on the disciplinary process involves a combination of ADM perceptions of change, with an analysis of whether the MA DOE data on disciplinary actions in SRO schools shows an increase over time not matched by the control group. Short of that, consistent differences between disciplinary statistics, or responses to the scenarios, between the experimental and control groups shed light on the effects of their policies and processes, but cannot necessarily be imputed to the presence of an SRO. In any case, it must be underlined that

the relatively small size of the experimental and control groups translate into statistics that are suggestive or illustrative at best.

For the ADM-SRO relationship and the potential impact of the merger of two differing organizations, there are specific relevant survey questions whose responses can be coded, compiled, and compared. As mentioned above, however, a qualitative analysis of the interview narratives promises to be a rich source of information for examining this relationship.

4. FINDINGS: SRO-ADM ORGANIZATIONAL COLLABORATION

The first issue I explored was how the SROs function within the context of the school. To this end I began by focusing on the nature of the relationship between the SROs and the ADMs. The data analysis process involved a review of the transcribed interviews, looking for themes, patterns, and commonalities. It became apparent that the dynamic between the SRO and ADM was dependent on specific criteria and conditions. Thureau and Wald (2010) stratified the ADM–SRO relationship into two basic categories: Cooperation and Collaboration, and Confusion and Conflict. I have adapted and expanded their categories of relationships in this study. As the data analysis progressed, these two categories became inadequate to properly capture the complexity and nuances of the relationships between the SROs and ADMs whom I interviewed. There were four distinct relational types that were found to share specific characteristics of communication and interaction:

1. **Conflict and Confusion**—overt hostility and antagonism/tension from both sides
 - Do not work well together
 - Minimal interaction

2. **Cooperative with Conflict**—ADM comfortable, underlying tension from the SRO

- Working relationship one-sided
- SRO another tool/strategy available to ADM

3. **Cooperative**—No underlying tension from either side

- Work well in a parallel manner
- Autonomous agents doing prescribed jobs with division of labor
- Mutual respect

4. **Collaborative**

- Working together at problem solving to further common goals
- Open continuous communication with shared decision making
- Mutual respect and camaraderie

Each successive group worked more smoothly together to ensure the students were the focus and gained the most benefit from the partnership.

Table 2: SRO - Administration Relationship Typology

Type	Atmosphere	Level of Interaction	Type of Agreement	SRO Expected by ADM to Intervene?	SRO Placement Decision
Conflict & Confusion (<i>n</i> =3)	Mutual overt hostility	Minimal interaction	MOU: vague, outdated, unseen	YES, NO, SOMETIMES	PD applied for a COPS Grant
Cooperative with Conflict (<i>n</i> =4)	ADM good, SRO tension	Interaction one-way	MOU—fluid agreement	YES	PD with COPS Safety post 9/11
Cooperative (<i>n</i> =3)	No underlying tension—mutual respect	Work parallel—regular communication	MOU plus verbal agreement	YES, rarely	ADM decision Gang activity
Collaborative (<i>n</i> =4)	Mutual respect and camaraderie	Continuous communication	MOU plus written AND verbal agreements	NO, Rarely	Columbine, Post 9/11, Substance abuse, Success in other schools

Before examining the details of the SRO-ADM relationships, some background is required on two topics that are key to the effectiveness of these partnerships – SRO training and the Memorandum of Understanding that documents their common understanding of how to work together.

SRO Training

In this study, the SROs had a range of training experiences. The most widely accessed and available training is provided by the National Association of School Resource Officers (NASRO), a private not-for-profit organization. They offer a basic and an advanced course for SROs, as well as specialty training in topics such as responding to an active shooter, interview and interrogation techniques, and school-related legal issues.

The basic 5-day curriculum covers the triad of law enforcement, teaching, and counseling. The teaching portion provides instruction on public speaking, law-related education, instructional techniques, classroom management, and lesson plan preparation. Counseling presents problem solving techniques focused on adolescents, dysfunctional families, and children with special needs. The law enforcement section includes school safety, emergency management, crime prevention, substance abuse, and school-related law.

NASRO's advanced 3-day course focuses on the Crime Prevention Through Environmental Design techniques of natural surveillance, natural access control, and territoriality, with a hands-on analysis and critique of a local school. In addition, time is spent on open discussions of topics driven by the attendees, such as relationships with school administrators, dress codes, or causes of school violence. A final piece of the advanced training presents strategies and techniques of working with the media, whether promoting the concept of police in schools or explaining the circumstances of an incident that makes the news.

Other training attended by some of the officers in this study includes various one or two day seminars on policing, schools, and youth provided by the Massachusetts Juvenile Police Officer's Association (a state charter member of NASRO), Massachusetts Chiefs of Police Association, and the Massachusetts Municipal Police Training Committee (MPTC). In addition, two officers had attended a three-day course covering legal issues training for police from Law Enforcement Dimensions.

The more highly specialized training was associated with schools in which the ADM-SRO relationship was characterized by cooperation and collaboration. The following two comments illustrate the importance of SRO training and demonstrate the kind of misunderstanding of adolescent behavior possible when SROs have not had specific training in juvenile development:

I told that kid once already. I don't want to have to go back and keep telling him the same thing over and over!

The girls these days don't have any self-respect with the way they dress—I sometimes say, “Why do you do that to yourself?”

The Memorandum of Understanding

In this study, as is common throughout Massachusetts, the schools with SROs had a formal Memorandum of Understanding between the local police department and the school district. They are standard documents prepared by the county district attorney's (DA) offices and distributed to the school administration as part of the standard paperwork for the initiation of an SRO program. The DAs in Massachusetts have been proactive regarding the promotion of the MOU. Some of the schools in the study were approached by the local police departments with a COPS grant to place an SRO in their schools and the local DA's office with a standardized MOU ready for implementing the program. In preparation for this study, the researcher discussed this topic with personnel in a county District Attorney's office. One assistant district attorney expressed the enthusiasm for the SRO program that underlies the MOU, "If you care about safety in the schools, you should make sure there is a police car outside of every school in Massachusetts."

MOUs formalize the relationship between the SRO and the ADM and often specify issues like the chain of command when reporting criminal activity, duties and hours of the SRO and even whether the SRO wears a uniform. Some other provisions include standard operating procedures (SOPs) for sharing information, interrogation of students, criminal investigation, search and seizure and arrests of students. In the course of this study, it became clear that the effectiveness of the MOU did not come from its content, however, but from its use as a basis for

ongoing discussions aimed at refining the working relationship. The SRO–ADM relationship typology clearly shows a steady progression of increasing written and verbal agreements correlated with a more collaborative and cooperative relationship between the ADM and the SRO.

Table 3: Conflict and Confusion Matrix (n=3)

School	Type of Agreement	SRO Placement Decision	SRO Training	SRO expected to intervene in rule violation	Communication Style
SROM2	MOU vague. "Whatever the principal says."	Police department. ADM: "Police chief got a COPS grant."	NASRO Basic. "All my abilities are underutilized: I could help with security planning and crisis management. . . ."	YES. SRO: "They want me to be the rule enforcer—kids coming in with hats, late, etc. How can I build a relationship when I'm always bugging them for little stuff?"	"Huge lack of communication." SRO: "Very disappointing. I'm notified, not consulted." SRO kept out of loop—not wanted. SRO not trusted by ADM. Previous SRO "was inappropriate with female students—he hit on the girls."
SROS3	SRO: MOU never seen. ADM: Verbal agreement	Police department. COPS grant. Chief pushed getting SRO—not ADM choice.	NO.	NO. SRO does not believe he is expected to intervene in any nonlegal disciplinary situations.	ADM: "No communication—SRO acts unilaterally."
SROL7	MOU believed to exist at one time - not ever seen.	Police department. COPS grant. ADM: "My School." vs. Police: "Our town."	NASRO Basic and Advanced	NO/SOMETIMES. Only after they have lost control of the situation, SRO: "They only bring you in if they can't handle it. They want me to enforce rules they can't."	Personality conflict between SRO and ADM. ADM: "SRO too reactive—does what he wants. Does not consult with ADM." SRO: "They don't want me there—lack of clear expectations."

Conflict and Confusion (n=3)

The first type of SRO-ADM relationship presented the least positive partnership and was unsatisfactory to all involved. It was characterized by outright hostility from both sides of the

relationship. It became apparent that the reason for placement of the SRO was an important issue and turned out to be an indicator of whether or not the relationship thrived into a cooperative partnership. In the case of all the Conflict and Confusion schools, the SRO was not wanted and knew it.

In one school, the current SRO was the fourth in the twelve years of the program. The principal predated the inception of the SRO program and had limited enthusiasm for it from the outset. She also reported that one prior SRO “had boundary issues and was inappropriate in his attention to the girls,” an experience that only hardened her resistance to having a police officer in the school. As was true throughout the Conflict and Confusion group, it was the police department that had initiated the placement of an SRO. In this instance, the police chief learned about the availability of COPS grants, then applied with the cooperation of the school superintendent’s office and received a grant to fund the SRO position. This scenario was typical and illustrated the lack of communication, at least on disciplinary policy, between high school principals and their local school boards, school committees, or superintendents. No administrator in any of the study schools mentioned any guidance or discussion with these local governing entities concerning the SRO program.

The current SRO had recently returned from military duty in Iraq and wanted to do a good job. He felt underutilized and wanted to offer his expertise on security issues, strategic planning, contingency plan implementation, and crisis management, in addition to being a positive role model for the students. He was asked to do “hat duty” and “tardy duty,” which

entailed enforcing “no hats” rules and taking down names of late students entering in the morning, and he felt demeaned. While he was trying to develop rapport with the students, he had to be “the enforcer” of arbitrary school rules. He did not believe the administration would tell him if they found contraband. In fact, there was a recent case where alcohol was involved and “they didn’t communicate that to me. I found out from the janitor.” The ADM did not want the SRO involved in any disciplinary issues that had potentially serious consequences and tried to relegate him to a marginal role where he could not have much impact on the way things had always been done in the school. The SRO was frustrated, had something to offer, but felt powerless.

One problematic area was jurisdictional. In one of the Conflict and Confusion partnerships, the SRO, who identified himself as part of the local police force, felt that “this was their [the police department’s] town” and that the school did not understand that. The ADM was concerned that the SRO would resort to arresting students in too many situations. He felt the SRO was a loose cannon that he had no control over: “We need to get on top of the situation; otherwise, he does what he wants. He needs to get out of the ‘street cruiser mindset.’” In addition, the ADM did not believe that being an SRO was a respected status job for a police officer—“the best officers did not become SROs.”

The SRO perceived himself as being the Director of Safety and Security at the school. There was some evidence of this “street cruiser mindset” during the SRO interview. The SRO opined, “I miss being out on the road, being on patrol. It’s a much busier schedule—I had more

freedom before.” The SRO clearly articulated that “They don’t want me there. They only use me as a last resort, and they expect me to be forthcoming with information, and they are not.” He mentioned that “They will call me to come down and deal with a kid who won’t take his hat off, but when a student has a gun they don’t [tell me anything].” In this partnership, like the previous one described, the SRO wants a greater role than the ADM is willing to grant him. This was another situation where the police chief was a firm believer in the SRO program and obtained a COPS grant to implement the program.

Another example of discord within the SRO-ADM relationship had to do with the amount of time that the SRO was actually present within the school. In one school, the SRO was listed as a full-time employee and reported that he was on campus about 30 hours per week, 6 hours per day. The ADM, on the other hand, only perceived him to be there half that time - 15 hours a week or 3 hours a day. The ADM’s view was consistent with his desire not to have the SRO there any more than necessary. Neither one was aware of this disagreement, nor was it ever discussed. The lack of communication between this ADM and SRO drove the lack of a cooperative relationship.

This misperception regarding the amount of time spent in the school was also found in the last of the schools within this typology category. In this case, the misperception was even more egregious than the last one. The ADM believed the SRO was in the school for 1 or 2 hours a week and did not want him there any more than that, whereas the SRO claimed to be there 15

hours a week. Neither of these actors in this partnership were aware of what the other one believed.

The SRO, interviewed at the police station, explained the police were very sensitive about bad publicity, and this influenced their decision making. For example, the SRO was concerned that the public and community did not understand law enforcement issues such as the need for police to use tasers on out of control youth. “We ordered them and they are an important crime fighting tool, but the Chief is afraid to let us use them.” Here was an SRO constrained from within the police department as well as the school administration. He also believed the “school and the teachers, particularly, do not follow through and enforce the rules.” The most satisfactory part of the job for the SRO was target hardening in the form of “revamped lock-downs—schools are all locked now, practice safety drills, camera installations, and door buzzer implementations.”

Interestingly enough, this ADM concurred with the SRO on the target-hardening aspect and focus of his job. “The most important activity performed by the SRO is assistance with school safety—planning and policies for safety. There’s no need for him to be here full time.” The SRO had received no specialized training for the position, which was reflected in the lack of awareness he exhibited regarding juvenile development and the SRO triad of responsibilities and activities. His approach was oriented toward conventional policing, rather than the community-based policing model that underpins the SRO program and he was not interested in learning

about and responding to the community's concerns, but rather preferred to function in a more autonomous manner disregarding the expectations of the ADM (Paoline, 2003).

The ADM in this case had, coincidentally, recently been an ADM at one of the other schools in this study that fit into the Cooperative group. She was used to a more extensive and responsive relationship with the SRO than she had at this school. At the previous school, they had met on a regular basis to define and document clear guidelines for roles and responsibilities to ensure school safety. The ADM inherited a dysfunctional SRO-ADM relationship at the new school, but also found that the SRO brought a more aggressive policing philosophy, witness the interest in carrying a taser expressed above. This SRO-ADM relationship reinforced the importance of both an ongoing discussion of job descriptions and parameters, as well as the value of training for the SRO specific to working with adolescents in an educational environment (Brown, 2006; Dickmann & Cooner, 2007; Finn et al., 2005; Thureau & Wald, 2010;).

The lack of choice in the decision to place the SRO in the school was resented by the ADMs in the Conflict and Confusion group, and set up an intrinsically antagonistic relationship, one, however, that could have been mitigated somewhat by the individuals involved. In fact, this possibility was alluded to by most administrators: the personal compatibility between the ADM and SRO had a great deal to do with their working relationship within the school. Their prevailing view was that an SRO and ADM could work out their differences if there was good chemistry between them. Without this personal connection, they both tended to retreat from the partnership and become more invested in the authority of their roles.

In the Conflict and Confusion relationships, the expectations of the ADMs for SRO intervention in disciplinary situations that did not involve legal transgressions fell into two categories. Both disempowered the SRO: one relegated him to inconsequential matters; the other had him take no role at all. In both, the SRO was weak, ineffectual and unimportant, and he knew it. In one case mentioned above, the SRO was expected to enforce a myriad of arbitrary rules and regulations (tardy duty, enforcing the 'no hats' policy) that undermined any opportunity to develop rapport with those kids wanting to challenge the authorities. In the other two schools were the two SROs who were not expected to do much as they were not even known to be in the building!

Table 4: Cooperative with Conflict Matrix (n=4)

School	Type of Agreement	SRO Placement Decision	SRO Training	SRO Expected to Intervene in Rule Violation	Communication Style
SROL4	MOU	Police department. COPS grant. Police station is next door.	NASRO Basic and Advanced	YES. SRO expected to “arrest this kid” when administration is unable to control a kid. “I’m not a rule enforcer!”	ADM: “...works well with SRO as valued team member.” SRO: “We have a great working relationship when ADM does not exceed boundaries.”
SROL5	MOU “Still being defined—a fluid agreement—I’m the deterrent.”	Unknown	NASRO Basic	YES. SRO: “That’s a problem. The school has their interests and I have mine. They can’t tell me to arrest and I can’t tell them to suspend.”	Communication only one-way. SRO: “They control the flow of information. I’m kept out of the loop. We are trained to take charge, the authority.”
SROM3	MOU	Police department. COPS grant. 9/11	Drug Abuse Resistance Education (DARE)	SOMETIMES. At the discretion of the ADM. SRO: “Not so much—only if it’s a safety issue.”	SRO works well with administration but has “issues with teachers—I want to do everything I can to resolve situations; they don’t.”
SROL3	SRO: believes there’s some agreement, never seen. ADM: MOU	9/11—safety concerns.	NASRO Basic	YES. SRO: “They use the authority of my office as a threat. If a student won’t comply, they’re told ‘you’re this far from being arrested.’”	SRO: “I’m out of the loop. They don’t tell me what’s going on, and I end up looking uninformed.” Feels excluded. ADM: “SRO is an active, valued member of the school team.”

Cooperative with Conflict (*n*=4)

In the Cooperative with Conflict category, the SRO placement was achieved in three of the schools as a result of a COPS grant obtained through the police department. The reason for SRO placement in the fourth school was unknown. These SROs each regularly make numerous arrests each year and issued anywhere from 15 to 25 summonses or citations mainly for misdemeanors such as disturbing school assembly or disorderly conduct, with fewer for possession of drugs, weapons, or alcohol. These formal SRO actions were largely precipitated by classroom or hallway disruptions, resulting in the criminalization of normative defiant behavior. Some cases involved the SRO acting independently, while others unfolded when school staff called in the SRO to deal with a student that had become out of their control.

The Cooperative with Conflict relationships evinced very little hostility or overt antagonism between SROs and school administrators. In fact, ADMs in this group thought highly of their SROs and were pleased with the working relationship they had developed over time. The SROs, on the other hand, did not share the belief that they worked well with the ADM. These SROs all believed that the ADM used them selectively. The ADMs were completely unaware of this resentment and expressed the belief that they communicated well with and valued their SROs. The SROs expressed that they experienced an underlying thread of tension that the corresponding ADMs did not. Although there were no negative interactions or confrontations, the SROs felt the relationship was decidedly one-way and not reciprocal.

The SROs felt the flow of information was one-sided—police records, incident reports, court dates, background information—going from them to the ADM, and was not reciprocated. The SROs wanted to know how situations were handled and resolved, and what the consequences were for the students. They were also involved with these young people and needed to know what the administration was doing so they could understand how the school operated, be able to answer questions they sometimes got from parents, and coordinate more effectively with the ADM. Frequently, this put an SRO in the position of being left out of the loop and feeling diminished as a result, another example of SRO disempowerment and marginalization. It could surface with a minor issue, such as the SRO not being aware of a 51A (report of abuse and/or neglect to the Massachusetts Department of Children and Families) being filed on a student and having to confess ignorance when the parent called. Other times were more serious. In one case, there had been allegations of a sexual assault of a girl in the gym that the ADM handled without informing the SRO. The SRO mentioned, “I was aggravated to be kept out of the loop. The family came in and wanted to know what we were doing, and I didn’t even know what they were talking about—and this was a potential crime scene!” Although this situation presented a possible criminal act, the school administration put a priority on maintaining exclusive control and did not see sufficient benefit to involving their local police officer.

In most of these schools, the SRO also had issues with the teachers who did not seem to understand the SRO’s role. This is an interesting situation and one barely mentioned in the literature. Recently, some articles have pointed out the confusion students feel about the status or

role of a uniformed SRO in the school (Price, 2009; Bracy, 2010), but this was the first time the issue of teacher expectations presented as a problem. In the Cooperative with Conflict category, both teachers and ADMs used the SRO as a threat against students who had repeatedly misbehaved or been defiant. When a teacher became frustrated with a student, he or she would warn the student, “You’re this far from being arrested!” and threaten to get the SRO or, alternately, would get the SRO and order him to make an arrest. Sometimes a faculty member or ADM would request that the SRO write a citation or a summons for actions/behaviors that had occurred earlier in the day. The SRO often found it frustrating to have to explain that he could not arrest or cite a student unless he witnessed the infraction, “They want me to charge a kid on their say-so hours later!” The SRO believed that the school personnel had an extremely limited understanding of law and legal issues, in particular, what types of behavior rise to the level of a crime and what evidence is needed for a criminal complaint. This created a conflict of expectations for the SRO.

All but one of the SROs in the present study viewed advising staff on the law as part of their roles, but were only able to do it on a limited ad hoc basis. None of them ever conducted any formal training in this area, most likely owing to the fact that only about one-third of study ADMs even recognized that it would be appropriate for SROs to advise staff in any way, shape, or form. All ADMs were asked to list their top four goals for the SRO. In the only case where being a legal advisor was mentioned, it was goal number three of four in a Cooperative school with two SROs.

The use of the SRO as a disciplinary threat even applied to the handling of special needs students. One SRO had as one of his primary responsibilities "... to help, counsel, and keep track of some of the STAR (Strategies for Teaching Based on Autism Research) kids." He was acutely aware of these children's social and behavioral limitations, and expressed his frustration regarding the ADM's expectation that he should "arrest this kid" following an extended episode of defiance and intractability on the part of a special needs student. The SRO expressed extreme concern about this situation: "I couldn't arrest this kid; he has emotional and mental problems. If I took him next door to the jail, he would be flipping out and crawling up the walls!"

The perception of the agreement between the ADM and SRO was consistent with other aspects of the communication style within this group – the administrators saw clear agreements, while the SROs felt they were working in the dark. The ADM believed that he or she had a comprehensive, official MOU that was understood to be a definitive working document, while conversely, the SRO had been told about the existence of an MOU but had never seen or read it and was completely unaware of what it contained. As a result, the ADM believed they were working within a highly prescribed set of mutually-understood boundaries regarding the role of the SRO, but the SRO was completely clueless and felt the ADM's behavior was arbitrary and inconsistent, with constantly changing demands and requests. As it turned out, no ADM or SRO in the Cooperative with Conflict group could produce an MOU when requested. Evidently, the ADMs were confident that they understood the nature of their working relationships with the SROs, and believed that they had pertinent documentation whether or not they had ever actually

seen it. Perhaps they had read an MOU at some point in the past, but now it was obviously filed away and never brought out for discussion or review.

In the schools of this type, the SROs were enthusiastic and wanted to work with kids. They were committed to their jobs and wanted to collaborate in a partnership with the ADM. This thwarted objective was the crux of the relationship conflict perceived by the SROs. They saw themselves as trained law professionals with a unique perspective, as one SRO observed,

This job is not for every cop. . On the street, everything is black and white. [In a school setting,] you need good social skills and to be adaptable, be able to work with parents, administrators, students. They [street cops] wouldn't last a day on the job!"

For the most part, though, they were prevented from contributing their skills and expertise by ADMs who selectively used them to supplement disciplinary functions as they saw fit. The ADMs did not seem to place any importance on the SROs' building rapport with the students, and, in fact, undermined relationship building by putting the SRO in the role of disciplinarian-on-call.

Table 5: Cooperative Matrix (n=3)

School	Type of Agreement	SRO Placement Decision	SRO Training	SRO Expected to Intervene in Rule Violation	Communication Style
SROM4	Std ADA MOU, updated regularly. Plus verbal understanding.	ADM decision. "...constant media coverage of the school shootings."	Mass. Chiefs of Police Assoc. & Municipal Police Institute, Inc.	NO. Taken SRO role off school grounds—liaison between school and parents. SRO: "They don't need an officer stationed in the high school. It's not conducive to the students needs."	SRO has reconfigured job. No longer considers himself an SRO, but a Youth Officer. He acts as liaison among all the schools in the district, police, and families regarding all legal issues.
SROL1 2 SROs	MOU & verbal understanding. "Out there—not seen" SROs meet monthly with ADM.	Police initiated COPS grant due to gang activity and recruitment in the school.	NASRO Basic and Advanced	YES. SRO: "I am a staff member and can discipline and give detentions." SRO present at disciplinary hearings.	SRO: "Deans are a resource. I gather information and I make the decisions." ADM: "I'm very happy with the support the SROs provide. They're a liaison to the community and we can get direct police reports."
SROS1	MOU & verbal understanding.	Police department. COPS grant.	NASRO Basic and Advanced	YES. SRO: "I try to be proactive with harassment issues especially—they expect me to intervene early as a prevention." ADM: "SRO supervises lunchroom, but he doesn't work as an administrator."	SRO—13 years at school; principal—10 years at school. ADM: "Personalities work well together. SRO—ADM 'primary relationship.'" SRO: "We all keep each other in the loop. I am an educator myself—I know the court system."

Cooperative (*n*=3)

This partnership type embodied the following definition of cooperation: working in parallel in an environment of mutually accepted goals and mission. They were not competing with each other, and their functioning progressed without tension or conflict. There was no undercurrent of resentment or tension to be found from either the SRO or the ADM. In this partnership, the SROs and ADMs expressed professional admiration for the work of the other partner, and each felt they were able to act autonomously and with agency when they felt it was the right thing to do. One of the operational characteristics of this partnership was the trust each partner expressed in the judgment of the other partner. In the Conflict and Confusion and Cooperative with Conflict groups, the ADM and the SRO were frequently second guessing or critical of each other's decisions. In the Cooperative relationships, the ADM stood behind the decisions made by the SRO and showed obvious respect for them.

In one of the cooperative partnerships, the original SRO, who was placed inside the school, retired in 2004. The present SRO then bid on the position and had the seniority and training required. When he got the position, he decided that the school did not need an armed police officer on site: "You don't need an officer stationed in the high school. . . ." He felt it would not be in the interests of the students: "It's not conducive to their needs. They (school administration and staff) are professionals trained to deal with kids. I'm not trained in juvenile development; I felt more like a social worker." He renamed his job as "Youth Officer," and

functioned as the liaison on legal issues for the superintendent, schools, and the parents. He had oversight of all of the schools in town, and they called him directly when they had a legal issue. Otherwise, he was stationed at the police department. He also was very protective of students' confidentiality and due process rights and did not share police data with the schools for this reason.

This situation was the most extreme example of a parallel working relationship where each person does his or her own interpretation of the job, with a minimum of interaction or consultation. The SRO saw his role within the community at large as a more expansive responsibility than it was when it was limited to the high school. While the scope of his job expanded, its duties contracted to providing legal counseling to school administrators with very little, if any, involvement in law enforcement or education, and virtually no direct contact with students in school. The high school ADM felt that if the SRO were on campus more often, his visible presence alone would act as a deterrent to misbehavior, but was otherwise accepting of the SROs self-defined role.

The SROs in this category all received Advanced NASRO training and considered themselves to be valued members of the school community. The ADMs did not seem to issue mixed messages or contradictory orders or guidance. Both the ADMs and the SROs had MOUs supplemented with verbal agreements that were reinforced through regularly scheduled monthly meetings between them.

In all cases, SROs were aware that they could impose disciplinary sanctions such as detention or suspension, but consistent with the ADMs' expectations, they chose not to because they did not see that as part of their role. While this was a division of labor in terms of the types of punishment to use, it did not prevent formal charges for disturbing school assembly or disorderly conduct, since SROs were expected to intervene to prevent students from getting out of hand. SROs did impose disciplinary sanctions such as issuing citations and summonses, making arrests or referrals to court, particularly if they could steer a student to a Magistrate hearing. The SROs viewed the Magistrate hearing as a less formal process that provided the offender with supervision. If the student fulfilled the terms of their pre-trial probation without incident, then they would not have a formal record.

In one of these schools, the ADM and the SRO had been working together for 12 years. Although the SRO came to the school because the police department acquired a COPS grant, the ADM welcomed the SRO and the two had been together so long they had worked out a cooperative method of seamless functioning. The ADM adjusted to having the SRO and helped to define the role and job description over the years. In the other two schools in the group, one SRO placement was initiated by the ADM in response to the constant news coverage of school shootings, while the other was the result of the police reacting to gang activity in the school and successfully applying for a COPS grant.

Table 6: Collaborative Matrix (n=4)

School	Type of Agreement	SRO Placement Decision	SRO Training	SRO Expected to Intervene in Rule Violation	Communication Style
SROS2	Std ADA MOU renewed yearly, plus verbal understanding.	Columbine decision made jointly between ADM and PD	NASRO Basic	NO. SRO: "I don't volunteer and only get involved when asked—which is rare!" ADM: "NO!"	Clear understanding of roles, expectations. Open communication, high level of satisfaction expressed on both sides. SRO: "I love the job, we all work well together" ADM: "SRO likes children, he meets with kids, gives us information, and educates us on any legal situation that comes up," and, "I can't manage without my SRO!"
SROL2	MOU, written agreement, and verbal understanding.	post 9/11: "There was no extra event, just the climate across the country." (not clear who made decision)	NASRO Basic; Mass. Juvenile Police Association training on handling adolescents	NO. SRO: "I'm not an administrator." ADM: "Rarely. Sometimes we need him in the lunchroom."	SRO: "I alleviate work for the administration by continuously keeping police intelligence available." ADM: "It fits with the school structure. We have three assistant principals, and with administration support for discipline the SRO can act as a bridge."
SROM1	MOU, written job description for SRO, and verbal understanding.	Alcohol and drugs; safety and security; and theft issues. COPS grant	NASRO Basic; Law Enforcement Dimensions - Legal Issues; This SRO is the President of the Mass. Juvenile Police Assoc.	NO/SOMETIMES. SRO: "Depends on the situation. I'm a quasi-staff member and I can deal with negative behaviors." ADM: "No. Sometimes he monitors lunchroom"	High level of communication and interaction. Personalities very compatible. ADM: "It's great to have the SRO in the building. The school culture has changed. It's more controlled and more respect. However, the right person is critical."
SROL6	MOU & verbal understanding of clear behavioral guidelines. All police issues go through SRO.	COPS Grant acquired by police department SRO: "Success in other districts"	NASRO Basic and Advanced: Law Enforcement Dimensions Legal Issues	YES. ADM: "The four of us are a team here. If there's a fight for example, we all go." SRO very involved in everything. Personality of SRO crucial. ADM: lunchroom, classroom disruptions, noncompliance.	ADM: "Having the SRO is like having another assistant principal. The SRO has full discretion and is another set of hands to help run the school." SRO works well with ADM, consults regularly and collaborates on decision-making, but will make arrest decision unilaterally and then inform ADM.

Collaborative (n=4)

The final type was termed Collaborative - each school in this category was characterized by two organizations working together to further common goals with a model of open communication underpinning shared decision making and problem solving. The SRO and ADM met on a regular basis to discuss the direction of the school, looking for ways to improve the school climate. Some of these schools had serious substance abuse problems, gangs, and weapons, in addition to bullying and other interpersonal problems between students (cyberbullying, sexting, etc.). Addressing these issues, the ADMs worked with the SROs to develop programs and approaches to reduce the risks and threats to the students. In each of the Collaborative relationships, the SRO and ADM had compatible working personalities and had either worked together for many years, started at the school at the same time, or shared some other camaraderie-building condition or situation.

One commonality this group shared was the extensive and comprehensive quality of their agreements. They all had MOUs that were either customized or regularly updated as circumstances changed (e.g., introducing new regulations and policies to cover Internet crime or bullying). However, they also all had more than just the MOU. All four of the Collaborative schools had verbal agreements, and two of them had additional written agreements or job descriptions. The Collaborative relationships between the police department and the school

administration created initial and ongoing charters that gave attention to details that could impact the common goals of both.

This ongoing focus on defining objectives and roles was consistent with the thorough and intensive planning that drove the successful implementation of their SRO programs. In two of the four Collaborative schools, the decision to initiate the program was the result of discussions between the police department and the school administration. In another, the police department initiated a COPS grant in response to a range of issues, including alcohol, drugs, theft, and general safety and security concerns. The police department in the fourth community likewise initiated a COPS grant, in this situation because they had seen the success of SROs operating in other districts. In all four cases, however, the police did not simply present the school administration with an SRO and a standard MOU that they had to accept. Both the school administration and the police spent time up front refining and clarifying the MOU to fit their unique situations, a process that became an ongoing mechanism of communication.

The end result of this high level of communication was an enthusiastic endorsement of the SRO program by both SROs and ADMs. As opposed to the Cooperative with Conflict group, two of the Collaborative SROs took pride in providing information to the ADMs, “I alleviate work for the administration by continuously keeping police intelligence available.” The difference is that the ADMs clearly expressed that they valued the SROs for this and their other contributions, “SRO likes children, he meets with kids, gives us information, and educates us on

any legal situation that comes up.” One SRO summed up what it meant for them all to be respected members of an SRO-ADM partnership, “I love the job; we all work well together.”

The level of formal training was high for the SROs in the Collaborative category. All had completed the NASRO Basic course, while three of the four had supplemented that with additional seminars. Two had attended the Law Enforcement Dimensions series on Legal Issues, while the other had attended the Massachusetts Juvenile Police Association training on dealing with adolescents. One of the SROs in this group was, in fact, the President of the Massachusetts Juvenile Police Association.

The schools in the Collaborative group were divided on the expectation that the SRO would get involved in violations of school rules, although there appeared to be a high level of agreement within each ADM-SRO team. For two of these pairs, the SRO was rarely, if ever, expected to intervene in rule-breaking. In one, the ADM responded with an emphatic “No”, while the SRO left himself a little bit of leeway, “I don’t volunteer and only get involved when asked—which is rare.” In the other, the responses were similar but reversed, with the SRO answering no (“I’m not an administrator.”) and the ADM maintaining some flexibility to get the SRO involved in the lunchroom. The ADM in the third school also wanted to be able to call the SRO into the lunchroom, while the SRO was somewhat more expansive, “Depends on the situation - I’m a quasi-staff member and I can deal with negative behaviors.” The fourth SRO-ADM partnership, quite different from the others in this aspect, stressed a united approach where

the SRO operated as another member of the school administration, as the ADM explained, “The four of us are a team here. If there’s a fight for example, we all go.”

The SROs in the Collaborative schools were aware of the larger community’s norms and values and were responsive to them. They understood that the parents in their communities were willing to tolerate having police in the schools as long as the objective was to promote school safety and prevent another ‘Columbine’ from occurring. The SROs were also aware that providing students with a police or arrest record would have a negative impact on their ability to get into the post-secondary schools or professions of their choice.

One of the SROs in this category was the only one in the study who spent a substantial amount of time checking up on residency requirements of attendance by driving around to students’ addresses and making sure they were allowed to attend the school. Another collaborative SRO, aware of the proliferation of alcohol among the young people in the community, enacted continuous alcohol awareness programming with his junior SRO program participants. Another collaborative SRO advised students driving from the parking lot on how to avoid the patrol officers outside the school boundaries. These officers exhibited a high level of autonomy and believed they were acting within the prescribed roles and expectations of their assignment. They took their positions very seriously, felt respected and valued and considered themselves to be a working and integral part of the school community. They did not feel that their authority was challenged, diminished or resented by the administration as they were not

usually expected to intervene in or mediate routine rule violations. The boundaries of their job were very clear and they performed well under these specific circumstances.

The Role of the SRO

In the case of the most tension-bound relationships characterized by conflict and confusion, the SROs were often kept away from either the students who violated the law or the evidence that might implicate them (e.g., weapons, drugs, alcohol, etc.). In addition, they were not informed when there were serious incidents in the school. The ADM at these schools viewed the SRO as unpredictable and a “wild card” they had little control over, and did not trust as a result. Arrests at these SRO schools, therefore, were sporadic and dependent on a combination of unrelated circumstances and uncertain standards of behavior. The goal of providing a fair and uniform response to student acts of misbehavior or even criminal violations was not met in this group.

The Cooperative with Conflict SROs were similarly kept out the loop as far as information regarding law-breaking behavior, but they provided available intelligence and information regarding students’ behaviors, records, court dates, and police interaction outside of school. They also acted unilaterally when making the decision to arrest. Most of these SROs had expressed frustration regarding the unequal expectations of the ADM. They felt they were intentionally excluded from the disciplinary process, and that the ADM used this strategy to

justify telling the SRO what to do regarding arrests. This was one area where the SRO would assert his prerogative as a law enforcement officer and refuse to arrest an oppositional student just because the school staff demanded it. Often the SRO would take the student to his office to let the student calm down, and to talk to him or her. SROs in this typology group expressed the most displeasure regarding the lack of legal and criminal justice knowledge the ADM and other school staff had.

The Cooperative SROs, who worked well in a parallel manner with the ADM, shared the decision to arrest, except when exigent circumstances required an on-the-spot decision by the SRO, such as a bomb threat to the school. The SRO and the ADM consulted with each other, and the SRO often discussed the situation with the PD supervisor or with the other SRO, if there was one.

In the Collaborative category, the SRO and the ADM not only consulted on the decision to arrest, but they worked together to avoid arrests and mitigate the consequences of any criminal justice system involvement. These SROs understood the culture of the typically upper middle-class community which was often hesitant about implementing the SRO program because of the potential for their children to get into trouble—and consequently minimized in-school arrests. These parents were concerned about the future impact on their children of police involvement in their teenage years limiting their college or job options. However, these same SROs told the interviewer that they made numerous arrests in sports arenas and other off-campus extracurricular events, where they were attending in an official capacity as SRO, and did not

seem to view these as seriously as school-based arrests. They viewed this as a strategy to control the trouble-makers, especially when the parents refused requests to set limits on the student's behavior. The SROs' perception was that these were not counted as school-based arrests and would, therefore, not reflect negatively on the school's reputation.

All the officers in the present study clearly viewed law enforcement as a priority, but for nearly all SROs job satisfaction came far more from success as a mentor and advisor for students. Recall that the triad of SRO responsibilities involves 1) law enforcement, 2) teaching/coaching and 3) advising and mentoring students. "Developing relationships" with students was described as a source of job satisfaction by 93% of the SROs, and "advising students" was next, with 67% of SROs rating that as a major source of professional fulfillment. All of the SROs in this study were conscientious public servants, doing a job that can be difficult and lacking in status or appreciation from their fellow officers (Paoline, 2003). All professed to care deeply for the kids they work with and felt that the most rewarding part of their jobs was to be able to help kids: model positive behavior for them, deter them from a delinquent path, and provide positive mentorship. They perceived failure in seeing those kids that fell through the cracks, the ones they could not save or help. In the case of one town where eight or nine young people had died of drug overdoses in the past 2 years, the SRO said, "The worst thing was when you lost one of these kids after you watched them grow up."

When responding to questions regarding the most important activity performed by the SRO, administrators often expressed the desire for the SRO to provide background information

(meaning legal records, arrest records, etc.) on students so they could be forewarned about whom to watch out for. Indeed, one SRO in the present study formed a cadre of 40 Junior SRO Mentors, thus creating a loyal group of students who could be a source of information about other students. The administrator in this school, as in many SRO schools, saw the SRO's primary function as providing access to students' previous legal records and history. In the present study, one SRO from a large school expressed his belief that one of the main functions he performs for the school is that he "alleviates work for the administration by having police intelligence available on a regular basis—this offers continuity."

Information sharing (from the SRO to the ADM) was always expected, even in the least collaborative or cooperative SRO-school partnerships, usually in the form of sharing police-student contact over the weekend on Monday mornings. Most of the schools accessed or requested this information from the SRO. In non-SRO schools, they did not always have access to this information. One school had the district attorney's office call on Monday mornings to inform about any arrests over the weekend. Some non-SRO schools receive calls from their local PD on Monday morning, whether they request it or not. Some non-SRO ADMs didn't want the information—"I don't want to know what's going on out there"—unless it impacted the school in some way.

Focus of SRO Activities

In terms of crime prevention and control, there were significant differences between the issues deemed important by SROs and their administrators. SROs tended to focus on students' crime-related behavior, whereas the corresponding administrators stated that SROs should put their attention on more general issues of safety, security and crime prevention. ADMs reported that the top issues for SROs to focus on, in order of importance, were safety and security (71%), preventing crimes before they occur (64%), and providing a community policing collaboration/liaison with the school (50%). The SROs believed the following to be the most important use of their time: focusing on drug use (93%), alcohol use (80%), and both assaults among students (73%) and drug dealing (73%).

The triad of responsibilities is a major feature of the SRO job description. The SROs were asked to give a breakdown of time spent on each of the three parts of the triad: law enforcement, advising, and teaching. In many cases, the SRO would have liked to teach but was not given the opportunity. One-third (33%) of the SROs spent no time at all teaching; almost half of SROs (46%) spent 10% or less of their time teaching; and the rest (20%) claimed to spend between 20–25% of their hours teaching in the school. In this study, the average time SROs spent on teaching either law- or health-related classes was 9%.

The next area of the triad is advising students. SROs defined this function in somewhat different ways. Most of the SROs made themselves available for students to talk to if they had a problem. SROs with an office in the school encouraged students to stop by and chat with them. Some students came from difficult home situations and wanted advice on how to stay out of trouble or how to handle a problem. All the SROs expressed the desire to be involved in a personal way with the students and were eager to mentor kids who needed adult guidance. The amount of time spent advising varied among the SROs, but the average across all SROs in this study was 40%.

Law enforcement is the last role in the triad and the one that most SROs have extensive police training in. Recall that the law enforcement component of the SRO's activities is often dependent on the type of relationship between the SRO and the ADM. Most of the SROs and ADMs included the development of emergency contingency plans and general school security as part of their responsibilities. Most SROs did not deal with truancy as they had a truant officer but they did deal with tardiness. The SRO, therefore, was never asked to file CHINS (Child in Need of Services), 51As, or other child support social service forms, although they did contact, notify, and follow up on magistrate referrals and any legal referrals they made. They frequently issued summonses for classroom disruptions as disorderly conduct or disturbing school assembly. The average amount of their time spent on law enforcement reported by the SROs was 51%.

5. FINDINGS: THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN TWO SCHOOL CULTURES

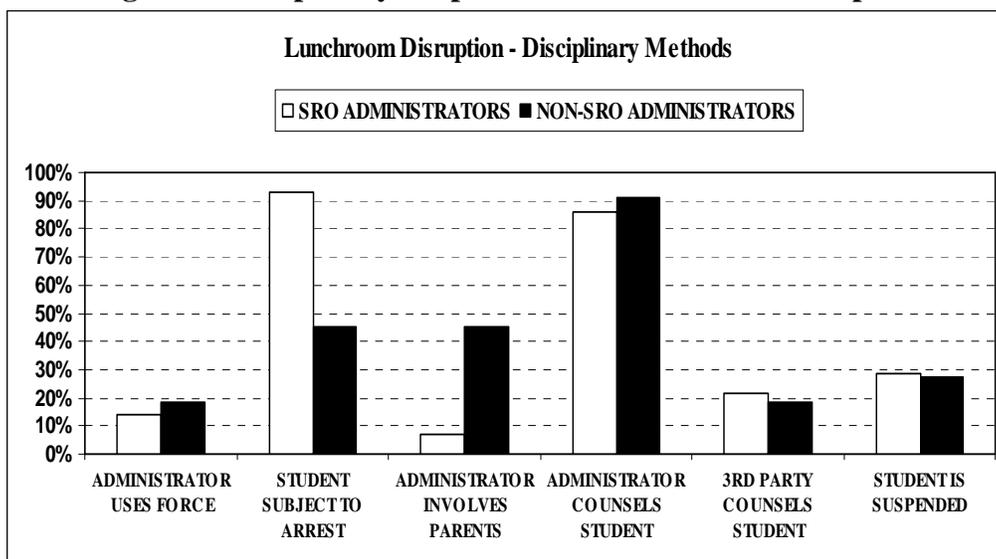
The focus of this findings section is on the differences in disciplinary policies and practices between schools with SROs and schools without. The relevant hypothesis is that the presence of an SRO will result in the use of more formal social control. There are three sources of information that can shed some light: Comparisons of SRO- and non-SRO schools' responses to the hypothetical scenarios of student misbehavior and statistics from the MA DOE on disciplinary actions, and the accounts of ADMs at SRO schools on whether and how disciplinary practices have changed since the acquisition of an SRO

The Scenarios

In an attempt to learn about the differences in disciplinary practices between SRO and non-SRO schools, the ADM and SROs in all the schools were asked to respond to four hypothetical situations involving the discipline of students. Each of the situations depicted students in overtly defiant poses, aggressive overtures, and/or breaking a specific rule. The interviewee was asked, "What would be the standard procedure for managing the situation?" Not infrequently, these scenarios had actually been experienced by either the ADM or the SRO.

Scenario #1: A sophomore girl is standing on a chair in the lunchroom and is refusing to get down or leave. She is approached by a lunchroom monitor/supervisor who attempts to talk her down, and she then spits at the staff member and refuses.

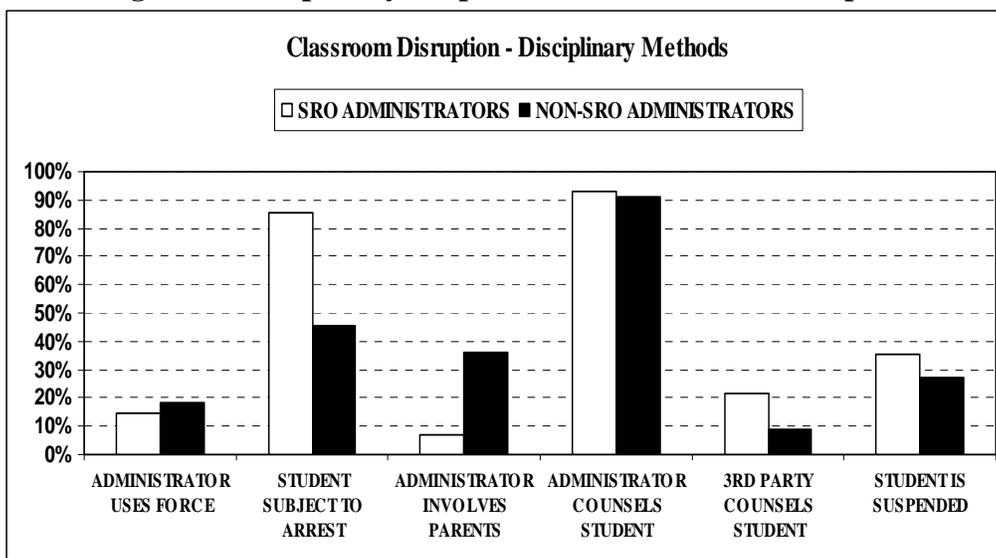
Figure 1: Disciplinary Responses to a Lunchroom Disruption



In the first scenario, responses from the ADMs indicate that in more than 90% of the schools with SROs, the ADM would ultimately choose to have a student arrested for defiant and/or assaultive behavior, a rate that is double the 45% of ADMs in non-SRO schools who would make the same choice. In almost half of the non-SRO schools, the school would involve the parents, which occurred in less than 10% of the SRO schools. Typically, administrators in both the experimental and control groups would attempt to diffuse the situation by counseling the student. A small percentage would involve another staff member in this process. Ultimately, over 90% of the ADMs at SRO schools would resort to arrest, while the non-SRO ADMs are divided evenly between arrest and involving the parents.

Scenario #2: A junior boy is repeatedly defiant in the classroom and curses at the teacher. He is asked to leave by the teacher, and he refuses and becomes verbally abusive to the teacher.

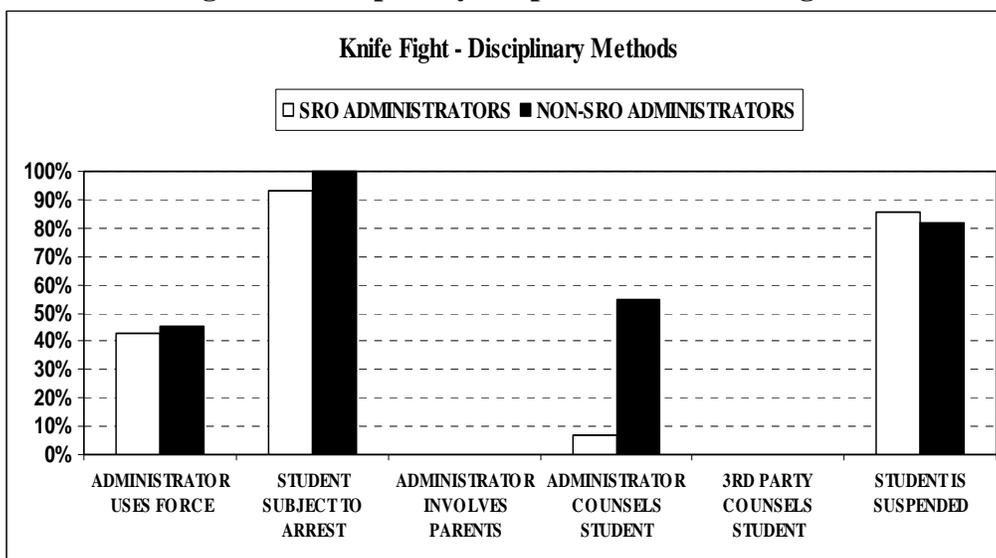
Figure 2: Disciplinary Responses to a Classroom Disruption



In this scenario, again, the SRO schools are almost twice as likely to resort to arresting the defiant student. ADM without SROs are four times more likely to involve parents in this scenario. As in the Lunchroom Disruption, administrators in both the experimental and control groups would attempt to diffuse the situation by counseling the student. A small percentage would involve another staff member in this process. Ultimately, nearly 86% of the ADMs at SRO schools would resort to arrest, while the non-SRO ADMs are divided between arrest (46%) and involving the parents (36%).

Scenario #3: Two students get into a fistfight during lunch outside the school. One student pulls a knife on the other student, and a group of students run to report the fight to the office.

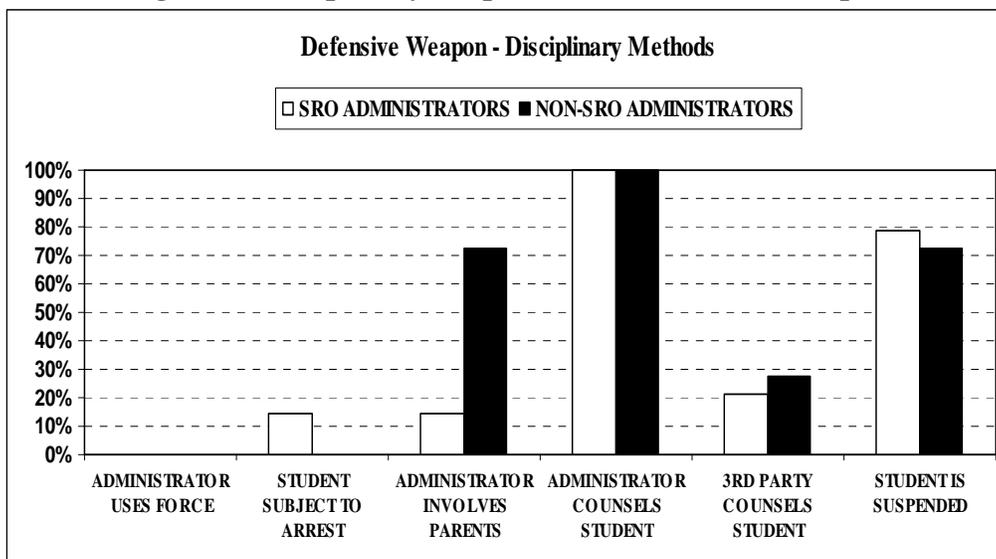
Figure 3: Disciplinary Responses to a Knife Fight



Not surprisingly, a fight involving a weapon had students in both types of schools subject to arrest and no schools involving the parents as an option. Without an on-site police officer, over half of the non-SRO ADMs would personally try to intervene, while only one of the SRO ADMs would take this approach. One of the ADMs expressed the belief that “students who fight on campus do it because they know they will be stopped and it’s safe for them. If they didn’t want to be interfered with, they’d do it away from the school.”

Scenario #4: A freshman girl is found to be carrying a weapon to school. She is called into the office to explain, and she claims to be a victim of threats and harassment on her way both to and from school.

Figure 4: Disciplinary Responses to a Defensive Weapon



This is a situation that some of the ADMs had actually faced in real life. All of the ADMs expressed concern for the safety of the student and would either authorize or personally conduct an investigation into the student’s claims. Despite these concerns, however, 80% of the SRO administrators and 70% of the non-SRO ADMs felt required to suspend the student because of their zero tolerance policies for the possession of a weapon. Although this scenario was one in which ADMs generally worked to mitigate a potential arrest, in 14% of the SRO schools (compared to none of the non-SRO schools), the student was arrested. Notable also is that 73% of the ADMs in the non-SRO schools involved the parents in the handling of this scenario, while only 14% of the ADMs in the SRO schools did so.

The scenario responses illustrated some key differences between administrators at SRO schools and non-SRO schools in the application of formal and informal social controls. The ADMs with SROs would ultimately have the disruptive students in the first two scenarios arrested nearly 90% of the time, while the non-SRO ADMs were only half as likely (45%) to make the same choice. The non-SRO ADMs, on the other hand, were far more likely than their counterparts with SROs to respond to oppositional behavior with an informal approach based on involving the parents, with roughly 40% of them going this route, as opposed to only one SRO ADM. This difference in enlisting the student's parents was even more pronounced in the defensive weapon scenario, to the tune of 73% vs. 14%. Responses to this scenario did underscore the widespread application of zero tolerance for the possession of a weapon, with over 70% of all ADMs choosing to suspend the student for this violation. While virtually all ADMs would have the students involved in a knife fight arrested, it is interesting to note that over half of the non-SRO ADMs would at least try to intervene on their own, while only one SRO ADM would do the same.

The divide between SRO schools and non-SRO schools regarding involvement of the parents in the disciplinary process surfaced in the surveys and interviews, as well as in the scenarios. Most of the SRO schools did not consider the parents as partners in this process. They informed the parents about disciplinary issues, in most cases, after the situation had been resolved. Many times the only communication the parents received was a request to attend a

disciplinary hearing and/or a reentry hearing after the student had completed his or her punishment and was ready to return to school. Many of the SROs, moreover, found dealing with parents unpleasant and unsatisfactory, as shown in their comments:

Parents don't pay enough attention to their kids and they don't discipline them. They expect the school to do it.

The parents have very little role in the disciplinary process—none. They must attend a reentry hearing for a suspension over 3 days.

Parents play little role in the disciplinary process—they will be notified as to hearings.

The parents have no role in the disciplinary process at this school except for reentry hearings.

In the scenarios, arresting a student for classroom defiance was not even on the radar screen of the majority of the non-SRO administrators, who said they would clear the classroom and let the student have it to him- or herself. If the student were still there at the end of the day, the school would call the parent to come and take the child home. In some of the cases, the school would not wait that long, as one administrator observed in response to a hypothetical case of defiance in the lunchroom: “Call the parents and have them come down here and deal with their kid! Believe me, when the parents get contacted at work and have to come down here, they'll put an end to that kind of behavior.”

MA DOE Data on Discipline

The following charts show rates of in-school and out-of school suspensions per 1000 students enrolled for each year from 2003 through 2008. For the non-SRO schools in the study, their individual rates were averaged for each year. As mentioned in the Methods section, there were several SRO schools with Average Household Incomes in a range far below any of the non-SRO schools, based on SES data reported by the MA DOE for 2008. Four of these outliers were removed from the SRO group in order to more closely mirror the control group. With this adjustment, the SRO group had an overall Average Household Income of over \$89,000, while the non-SRO group's average was \$100,000. This difference is about half of the standard deviation of Average Household Incomes within each group. The individual rates for this subset of 10 SRO schools were averaged for each year.

Figure 5: In-School Suspension Rates for SRO vs. non-SRO Schools

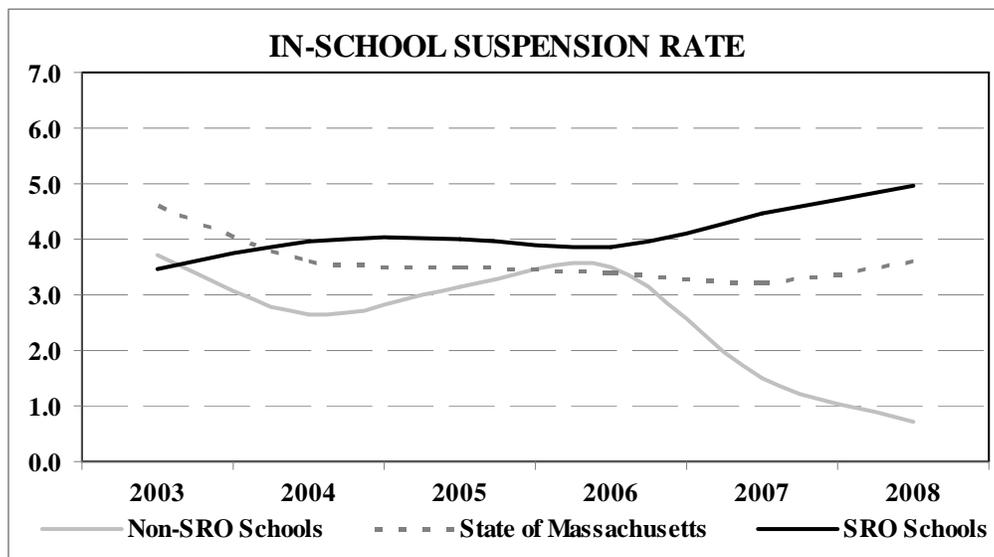


Figure 5 shows a clear difference between the in-school suspension rates at SRO schools and non-SRO schools, especially for 2007 and 2008. In 2003, the rates were virtually the same, but then separated in 2004, only to converge again by 2006, separated by a difference of less than 10%. From 2006 forward, though, the in-school suspension rates diverge sharply, with the rate for SRO schools rising 25% from 4 to 5, while non-SRO schools dropped by 80% from 3.5 to 0.7. For 2008, the in-school suspension rate for SRO schools is 6 times the rate for non-SRO schools. Also of note is that, from 2004 forward, the rates for SRO schools are consistently higher than the MA state average, while the rates for the non-SRO schools are consistently lower than average, except for a one-year convergence in 2006.

Figure 6: Out-Of-School Suspension Rates for SRO vs. non-SRO Schools

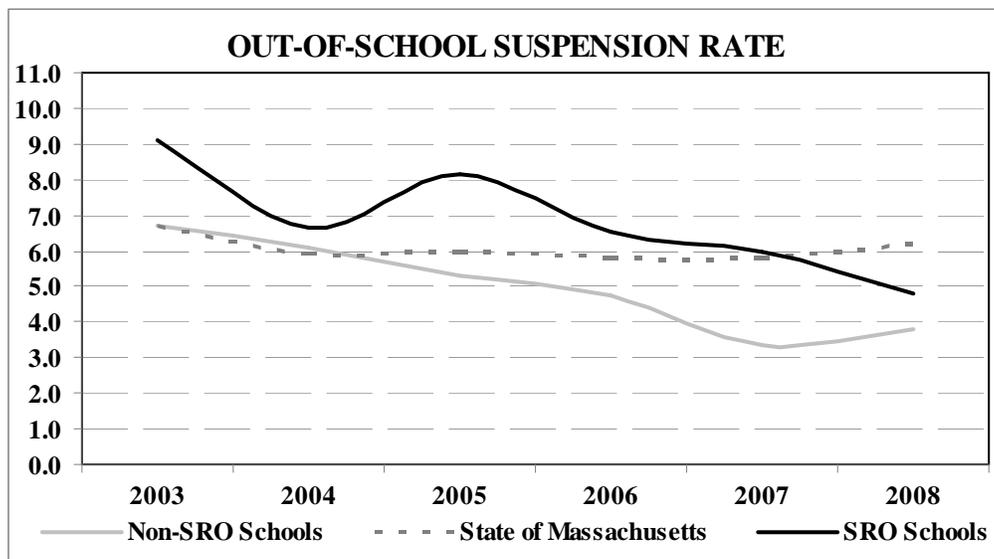


Figure 6 shows declining out-of-school suspension rates for both groups, although the rate for the SRO schools was consistently higher. As a backdrop, the rate across all high schools in the state of MA remained just about constant. From 2007 to 2008, in fact, the out-of-school suspension rate for SRO schools dropped by 20%, while the rate for non-SRO schools rose slightly by 10%. Even so, the rate for SRO schools was still 20% higher in 2008 than non-SRO schools, although both were well below the state average.

Figure 7: Total Suspension Rates for SRO vs. non-SRO Schools

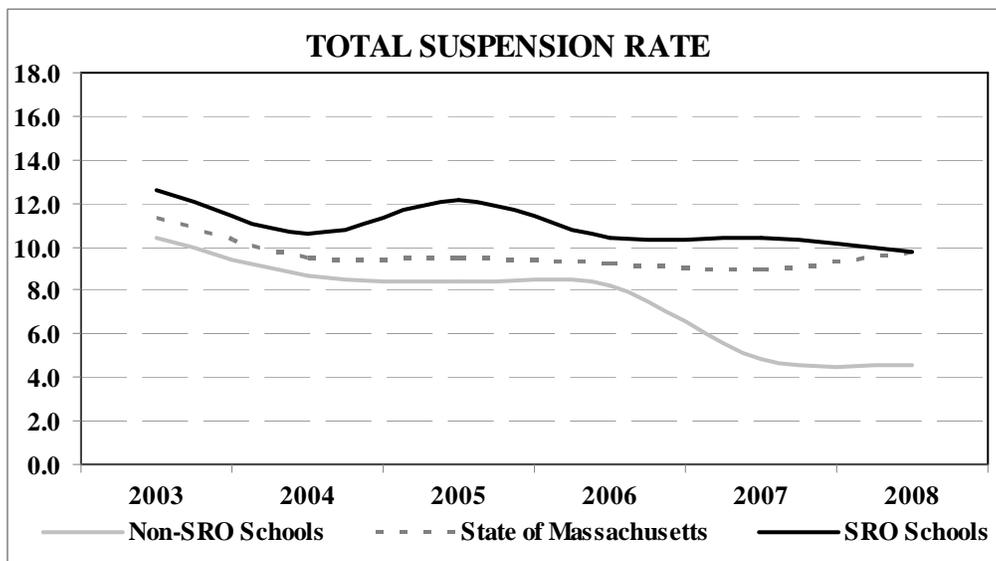


Figure 7 combines in-school and out-of-school suspensions into a total suspension rate and helps clarify the changes in out-of-school and in-school suspensions from 2006 to 2008. The SRO schools essentially substituted in-school suspensions for out-of-school suspensions and maintained a virtually constant overall rate for those three years, with a slight drop of 6% from 2007 to 2008. Non-SRO schools, on the other hand, reduced the rates of both types of suspensions from 2006 to 2007, resulting in a drop of 41% in total. From 2007 to 2008, the non-SRO schools mirrored the SRO schools with a minor decrease of 7% in the combined suspension rate. The net result is that the total suspension rate for non-SRO schools in 2008 was less than half of the rate for SRO schools and the state-wide average as well.

While the DOE data show out-of-school suspensions trending downward at both types of schools, the SRO schools maintain a constant overall suspension rate with a corresponding increase in in-school suspensions. The non-SRO schools, on the other hand, are reducing in-school as well as out-of-school suspensions, resulting in a combined suspension rate in 2008 that is less than half the rate at SRO schools. This difference is consistent with the responses to the hypothetical scenarios showing SRO administrators far more willing to impose formal controls on misbehaving students than their counterparts without an SRO.

At this point, we can associate SRO schools with more formal disciplinary practices, but can we ascribe this to the presence of the SRO? During the survey-based interviews, the SRO administrators were asked, “Has discipline changed since the arrival of the SRO?” Nine answered ‘no’ and only five answered ‘yes’. Of those who responded in the affirmative, three noted that now the disciplinary procedures include consulting with the SRO, one noted that the SRO had rewritten the attendance policy, and one noted that discipline has greatly diminished because now there are fewer problems. A check of the suspension data shows nothing to distinguish the ‘yes’ responders from the rest of the SRO schools. According to the administrators at SRO schools, it does not appear that the police officers in their midst are driving the use of more formal social control.

One other factor to be considered in the application of formal social control is Zero Tolerance policies. Administrators in both the experimental and control groups were asked about Zero Tolerance at their schools. All the SRO administrators reported that they have such

policies, compared to only 45% of the non-SRO administrators, suggesting that the SRO schools may have been more punitive to begin with. In fact, one ADM from a small non-SRO school informed the researcher that he was under the impression that having a ZT policy was against the law as it removes the principal's discretion, which he saw as paramount and guaranteed under Mass education reform. On a national level, the widespread application of Zero Tolerance (Hirschfield, 2008) precedes the adoption of SROs by a decade.

In the present study, the presence of SROs in the schools is highly correlated with the use of target-hardening security equipment, such as locked doors, portable metal detectors, and surveillance cameras. In addition to the fact that schools with SROs were twice as likely as non-SRO schools to acknowledge having a Zero Tolerance policy, most of the schools with Zero Tolerance policies added extra behaviors in addition to those offered on the survey used in the interviews of administrators and SROs. Although SRO schools are ZT schools, many of them did not want the SRO involved in serious violations of law or rules. It could be said that these administrators also have zero tolerance for ceding control of the disciplinary process.

Economic Considerations for SRO Placement

Between the years 1998 and 2005, the Federal Government awarded \$17,072,537 in COPS grants to Massachusetts, to place 138 School Resource Officers in the Commonwealth's

public schools. The actual cost of those 138 SROs was \$22,763,538 when factoring in the mandatory local 1-year commitment. Although the lion's share of this cost was absorbed by the COPS grants, local communities with SROs are carrying an annual burden of over \$5.5 million to keep police officers in their schools. As the interviews progressed, it became apparent that the expense of an SRO was a significant consideration, including expenditures to obtain a COPS grant in the first place.

Non-SRO schools fell into two categories, particularly the larger non-SRO schools of which there were very few left in Massachusetts. The first category was that of a school district from a depressed economic environment or a lower-middle-class, blue-collar town that could never afford to have an SRO in their school, and were not large enough to sustain a grant-writing department to obtain federal or other outside funding. In part, this demonstrates the role of social capital, discussed in the beginning of this chapter, in successfully accessing community resources such as the Federal COPS grant program. Many upper-middle-class suburban school systems, for example, shared grant writing personnel in applying for COPS grants. Social capital theory involves the concept that interpersonal relationships can be developed in ways that can increase both an individual's and a group's ability to positively influence events. Informal social contacts that form networks of diverse sources provide enhanced opportunity for obtaining important information and especially access to critical resources (Baron et al., 2001; Boyes-Watson, 2005).

This finding is similar to the recent findings regarding the implementation and evaluation of a state police–sponsored domestic violence program in Massachusetts, where the program adopters were clustered in communities that combined resources to access Federally-based grants (Krumholz, 2001; L.P.S. unpublished dissertation). The COPS grants differed somewhat from the DV grants in that the SRO grants were predicated on providing 3 years of the SRO salary only if the school department committed to spending their own resources for a 4th year of SRO funding. The DV Programs required no local funding and, therefore, most of them were discontinued when the funding ran out. The COPS sponsored SRO grants have become more entrenched within the schools, as a result of this cross-over funding requirement that has acted as a bridge to the permanent establishment of these SRO programs. There have been communities pulling back from the SRO commitment as they have had to choose between teachers, librarians, other educational personnel or staff and an armed police officer in a school without any demonstrated need for law enforcement or crime control. In the present study, some ADM were not happy about having an SRO, but accepted them in order to have another adult in the school responsible for maintain discipline and order, as Thureau and Wald (2010) also found:

Another pronounced trend reflected in interviews was that schools and police were aware that it was easier to secure government funding for police in schools than to place social workers or even more administrators in schools. (p.17)

To look at this from another perspective, one might say that the fact that there is money available to fund an armed police officer in the public high schools but there are no funds available for vice principals, assistant administrators, guidance counselors, social workers, and

so on, is an indication that the criminal justice system is acting as a social safety net in lieu of the social and educational services we cannot afford and for which the government does not provide funds. Every ADM who was asked preferred to add another administrative staff member knowledgeable in youth development or conflict resolution over an SRO. Their economic reality does not support that choice, as one ADM observed: “They won’t fund that [administrative staff]. The SRO is [at least] another set of hands to help out.”

The second category of schools without SROs came from the opposite end of the SES spectrum. In the present study, the divide between these two categories of Non-SRO schools is literally between six-figure average income towns and those with incomes significantly less than six figures. In fact, some of the wealthiest communities in Massachusetts (as measured by official 2008 annual incomes) have made a conscious choice to reject the SRO program. These schools were concerned about the effect on their students of having a police officer with a gun in their school. The parents felt that would be problematic, and they rejected the program after much debate and discussion. In this study, the 3 SRO schools (21%) in districts with average household incomes over six figures had to overcome community resistance to having an armed police officer in the school and/or a police cruiser parked outside their school. Of the 11 Non-SRO schools included in this study, 3 (27%) fell into the “couldn’t afford” (per the ADM) category, 6 (55%) schools consciously chose not to have the SRO program, 1 school had had an SRO and chose to discontinue the program because of budget cuts, and 1 school was in a bureaucratic limbo. The town and the police department had obtained funding for a full-time SRO, but the police chief had refused to fill the position year after year. The administrator did

not know the reasons for this disconnect, but mentioned that the police chief was about to retire and they were going to be filling the position the following year.

Non-SRO Case Studies

The following section will offer short case studies of the large non-SRO schools in the present study in order to gain some insight into how administrators maintain disciplinary control over a sizeable student body without a police officer on staff. There were only nine public high schools in Massachusetts without an SRO that fell within the large category (over 1200 students). Of the nine schools, five were interviewed for the present study. Three (60%) of the large schools fit into the lower income category. Each of these schools was unique in its reasons for not having an SRO, but they all shared the fact that they were anomalies and were bucking a trend. All of the ADMs in these five schools were immediately cooperative and eager to participate and tell their stories.

NONSROL4

This is a regional high school in an economically depressed area. The ADM said the idea of having an SRO is an economic impossibility, as they could never afford such a thing. Because of budgetary constraints, they have never been offered the opportunity to get an SRO. They are “not opposed, it’s a cost issue” and feel a little neglected as a result. They have no security force

or officers in the school. They do not have an MOU but do have a verbal agreement with the local police departments. They have a ZT policy, but the ADM calls it “always a gray area,” especially concerning weapons, as “hunting is huge in this area, so we have to be careful classifying weapons.” The protocol they follow when encountering law-breaking behavior is having the student brought down to the office, calling the police, and affording the student due process. With 1250 students they had one expulsion hearing for weapons last year, in which they did not end up expelling the student.

The only circumstance under which the ADM would call the police would involve a fight with weapons, drug dealing, or something equally egregious. The ADM reported that they would not, under any circumstances of defiant or disruptive student behavior, call the police in. Every situation discussed would have the ADM isolate the student, have the other students carry on elsewhere, and then:

We’d wait her out. We’d create a buffer zone around the student and attempt to de-escalate the situation verbally. We then would bring in the guidance counselor to talk to her. If she is still there at the end of the day, we’ll contact her parents to come and get her.

“No way!” was the ADM’s response when asked if they would they call the police in the Classroom Disruption scenario. The defiant student would precipitate a call down to the office for ADM to go to the class. They would clear the classroom and again wait him out. If he were still there at the end of the day, the ADM would call his parents to come and get him.

NONSROL1

This school is in a wealthy suburb. It is also the site of a tragic murder a couple of years ago in which a student with Asperger's Syndrome fatally stabbed another student in an apparently random violent attack in the bathroom before school began one morning.

There are 1650 students in grades 9–12 at this school. ADM has been at the school for 10 years and was there when the decision not to have an SRO was originally made. He was also part of the long debate and decision not to place an SRO in the school after this tragedy happened. The school does extensive contingency planning for emergencies. In fact, only a couple of weeks prior to the fatal stabbing, ADM had run one of many “table top scenarios” where the faculty and staff enact lock-down drills and “simulated shootings” to prepare all the adults in the building to respond effectively in an emergency situation. ADM feels this made it easier for the entire school to respond when tragedy hit. Having done such extensive planning, and looking into the actual situation involving the two students, ADM strongly believes that there was absolutely nothing and no one that could have predicted or prevented the stabbing that occurred in the school. Having an SRO would not have made a single difference in his opinion. “An SRO couldn't have stopped the murder.”

The police chief had raised the issue of applying for a grant when the COPS grant requests for proposal (RFPs) went out. The town and the school were uncomfortable with the

idea. They felt that having an armed officer in the school was a problem, and “having a gun in the school creates tension” they would rather avoid. And anyway, the police from two different police departments could be there in 2 minutes, since staff has their number on speed dial on their cell-phones, in addition to having 911 access in an emergency. There was some talk about having an SRO in plain clothes without a weapon, but they collectively decided that would defeat the purpose of having a police officer. They already have less expensive “campus aides” who patrol the halls and grounds. In the ADM’s view, the whole point of the SRO is the law enforcement component, “the gun and cuffs.”

NONSROL3

This is a large middle-class school in suburban Boston. In addition to having grades 9–12, it offers a post-graduate life-skills course for students. ADM has been in the current position for 6 years but has been at the school for the past 13 years. The school does not have any type of security force on site. They do have a written MOU with the police, but the ADM has never seen it. They have a ZT policy that is “unique to each situation,” a not uncommon oxymoron encountered when speaking with administrators who want to retain the right to make their own judgments. They no longer have in-school suspensions, due to budgetary costs, but they do have weekend school for detentions. They also offer community service agreements with local groups. Parents can call these groups and arrange for their child to work there.

There is a specific detective on the police force who stops by daily and acts as a liaison to the police department. All drug issues are handed over to him. ADM has the detective's private cell phone on his speed dial, and if he needs an officer, he can get one there immediately. Interestingly, the police chief has had the funding designated for an SRO for the past few years but has for some reason declined to fill the position.

“The Police Chief made the decision not to put an SRO in the school; it's been funded for years.” The chief is retiring, and the plan is to make the detective the SRO for the following year. Asked why they need an SRO when this arrangement is working so well, ADM felt that having an SRO there permanently would make his job easier. ADM does not want to know about student involvement with the law outside of school, and the police do not report this information on a regular basis unless there is a school issue involved. “The culture here is to keep kids in school.”

This school has no SRO, but ADM's relationship with the detective closely mimics that of some of the administration–police partnerships that were interviewed. ADM has retained primary decision making regarding all disciplinary situations, including those that involve law-breaking behavior. The relationship ADM has built with the detective offers the option for discretion in each situation. It will be interesting to know how things develop when the detective becomes a full-time SRO.

NONSROL2

Like the others, this school did not rely on strict ZT policies and less likely to exclude students for violating school rules and regulations. In the case of bullying, for example, the ADM noted, “We use education in the discipline process; we try not to be punitive.” In cases involving law-breaking behavior, such as drug or weapons possession, the administration will call the parents first and have them in the school before the police are allowed access to the child, in order to protect their child’s rights. They had a “youth officer” on call who performed some security functions but was not involved with school operations or discipline on a daily basis.

This school was in the process of reviewing their entire disciplinary process because parents had noticed the requirement to list school suspensions on the Common Application to Colleges that their children were filling out. Parents felt that listing suspensions on the applications hindered their children’s chances of acceptance in the most exclusive and highly rated colleges and universities. They did not want them to have that on their records. (This confirms the upper-middle-class emphasis on education as an investment and their children as an asset or commodity; Thureau & Wald, 2010.) Therefore, the school had sent all of their “Housemasters” to a week long Restorative Justice Training to find another way to deal with kids that eliminated out-of-school suspensions.

NONSROLS

This school offers a unique view on the impact of having an SRO, because ADM has been principal for 9 years and has been through two SROs and now has none. He has been at the school for 27 years, serving as well as a teacher, guidance counselor, and assistant principal. For a few years during the early 2000s there were school resource officers. He was glad to see the positions cancelled, due to budgetary constraints. He felt that when the SRO was there, they “had a lot more disciplining going on.” The school had both a male and a female SRO, and ADM observed, “They were good SROs, but they focused too much on law enforcement ... we have far less discipline now.” He emphatically does not want another SRO. He feels the administration and staff have a very visible presence in the school. They try to show everyone respect and hope the students will model that and return it.

ADM devotes his energies to being visible in the school and interacting with and getting to know students. He wants to instill accountability in the students and believes it is important to understand there are consequences for your behavior. He is involved in every aspect of the school. He attends the roundtables that meet every month, follows up with students that drop out, and keeps the parents informed of all disciplinary procedures and actions. He keeps parents very involved—they have a school improvement council made up of parents who wrote the rules for the school handbook.

The medium and small non-SRO schools similarly involved the parents, shared the low target-hardening characteristics of the large schools, and had open doors. One school was so small they had no assistant administrators. The ADM knew all the Asperger's kids and where to find them if they were not in class (usually reading in a particular stairwell, etc). Regarding their lack of ZT:

You don't need a principal if there's no discretion. In this school, the community and the parents set the standard for behavior in the building. The kids come from the community. Any student who is called to my office is given the phone to just call their parents and let them know what's up. I'm waiting in the hall to greet the kids in the morning and say goodbye to them in the afternoon.

Attempts to Mitigate Formal Consequences

In some of the SRO schools, the partnership between the SRO and the ADM works to mitigate the formal legal consequences for the students, especially in those schools where the community was ambivalent regarding the placement of the SRO into the school. Parents in some of those schools were concerned about their children getting police records. This was one of the main rationales for non-SRO schools to decline acquiring SROs. As one ADM from a medium sized non-SRO school put it, "We don't need that. The parents in this town believed their kids would be involved in misbehavior and were concerned it would be dealt with legally if we had an SRO." Another ADM added, "We want students to know that they can make a mistake and get back on track."

The SRO in one small regional high school was very concerned about the students' not having a police record, so he "would request a 'show cause' hearing with the local clerk magistrate, and he would attend the meeting to try to give the juvenile a chance." He wanted to give the students a chance so he believed in the "three strikes" rule: "We warn and try to prevent more bad behavior three times. We document everything—we'd rather have a hearing to control a kid on probation than kick him out and have no control." This is similar to Schulenberg's (2010) Canadian Police Youth Officers, who work in suburban or rural areas, where their reasoning goes like this:

Most cases, any case I could divert, I did. I probably pushed the limits in some cases. There were a couple of assaults that were close to "yes, it should go to court," but the community really wanted us to use this [restorative justice] forum as much as possible. Their fear was: 'We don't want kids with records, we don't want kids to have to go to court, we don't want them sent away—we want our people in the community.' (p. 119)

In another large SRO high school, the SRO and the ADM are working together to prevent the arrest of students. The SRO does not make a legal move without having it vetted by the principal, although he also claims to consult with the police department regarding arrests made in school. If drugs are found on a student, for example, they will suspend the student, confiscate the substance, and place the student on academic probation. There will be no criminal charges or consequences. . The SRO acts as the liaison with probation and works with the Student Service

Team, school RNs, and psychologists, as they are seeing more and more kids with problems that need interventions or services.

A medium suburban SRO believed that the goal of the school and the SRO is to minimize the role of arrests in the school, as a direction from the community, and parents in particular, who were suspicious of the program to begin with. He wants to help kids avoid court and tries to make up for what he calls, “bad parenting.” However, although he has only made a few school-based arrests in the past 7 years, he has written dozens of summonses and citations, in addition to making arrests at after-school activities such as sports events, dances, clubs, and so on, where he was present in his role as SRO. He seemed to believe that school-based arrests were limited to being on-site at the school. This situation of SROs refraining from issuing summonses and citations and making arrests during school hours, only to become veritable writing machines at extracurricular activities, was found to occur with other SROs as well. It appeared to be a way of maintaining low arrest statistics at school but being able to exert formal social control over some students after school, perhaps those subjected to the previously alluded to “bad parenting.”

According to the Massachusetts 2009–2010 School Safety and Discipline Report:

“School property” includes not only the school and school grounds, but also school buses and places where school-sponsored events (dances, trips, sporting events, proms, etc.) are being held.” (p. 3)

While these schools noted above worked hard to mitigate the legal consequences for misbehaving students, they are a minority in this study. For the 2008-2009 school year, the study SROs reported making 114 arrests and issuing 107 summonses.

6. CONCLUSIONS

Review of Hypotheses

The purpose of the present study was to investigate two hypotheses concerning the impact of placing a police presence in the school environment in the form of a School Resource Officer. The first set of hypotheses looked at the organizational dynamics of the partnership between the school administration and the SRO.

Two disparate organizational structures, one adhering to more formal processes (policing organization), and one traditionally committed to less formal processes (school organization) will experience and interpret disciplinary proceedings differently, potentially leading to miscommunication and misunderstandings. The introduction of School Resource Officers into MA public high schools will result in a change in disciplinary practices and procedures.

An examination of the relationships between school administrators and School Resource Officers at 14 Massachusetts high schools uncovered four different types of partnerships based primarily on the acceptance of the SRO by the school principal. Conflict and Confusion marked the ADM-SRO interaction when the school administration essentially sidelined the SRO and did not define a significant role for this police presence to fulfill beyond miscellaneous minor

disciplinary tasks such as enforcing a no-hats rule or monitoring whether students were tardy. In the Cooperative with Conflict category, school administration utilized the SRO as a source of information regarding student involvement with the police and criminal justice system outside of school, but otherwise kept the SRO external to the disciplinary process. The Cooperative partnerships were based on a mutual acceptance of parallel disciplinary roles for the SRO (law enforcement) and ADM (school rule enforcement). Acceptance of the SRO as a member of the school administration team was the basis of Collaborative relationships where the ADM and SRO worked together to further common goals.

In their interviews of School Resource Officers and their police department supervisors, Thureau and Wald (2010) stratified the ADM–SRO relationship into two basic categories: Cooperation and Collaboration, and Confusion and Conflict. The present study was able to refine these categories even further, owing to the additional dynamics uncovered through interviews with school administrators.

While acceptance by the ADM was a major theme of the SRO-ADM relationships, there were other dynamics in the merger of these two organizations. ADM acceptance of the SRO role reflected the competition between the local school disciplinary authority inherent in the Principal's office and the local town disciplinary authority of the police. The willingness of the ADM to carve out a significant role for the SRO was based on an assessment of whether and to what degree the SRO might be trying to usurp disciplinary power. This assessment often began and ended with the original SRO placement, when the SRO was delivered to the school as a

result of a deal done between the police chief and the school superintendent without any consultation with the school principal.

This willingness to create an effective role for the SRO also indicated the ADM's perception of how much of a "street cruiser" independent law enforcement presence the SRO was. While the SROs were a self-selected group of officers with genuine motivation to help local youth avoid involvement in the criminal justice system, they were also police trained to enforce the law and respond quickly and decisively to bring order to chaotic situations. Administrators wrestled with the question of how to supplement their school-based sanctions of detention, suspension, and expulsion with police sanctions of summons and arrest. Where the SRO was viewed as an unpredictable "wildcard", the ADM took measures to keep him sidelined or involved in enforcing minor disciplinary details that the SRO felt interfered with his ability to form effective relationships with students. SROs in these untrusted relationships also complained that they were consistently denied information about potential law-breaking situations or kept in the dark concerning the disciplinary consequences for students they may have become involved with. In half the SRO-ADM partnerships in the present study, the SROs were thus stymied from exercising their law enforcement authority or their desire to build relationships as a student counselor.

The issue of information flow also colored the role of the SRO as a law enforcement presence in the school. In the least successful partnerships, the SROs were frustrated with the lack of understanding on the part of school staff concerning when they could exercise police

power, and what the impact of that power could mean for the targeted student. Staff saw the SRO as the disciplinary stick of last resort, and would call in the SRO to arrest a disruptive student they no longer could or would deal with, disregarding whether the SRO was actually witness to any infraction and without consideration for what being in a jail cell might do to the student. In the more successful partnerships, the ADM and SRO met regularly to consider these and other details in the definition of the SRO's role, so that they and other school staff understood what was expected and appropriate. In the most successful partnerships, the SROs had the confidence of the school administration that gave them the agency to step into a chaotic situation sparked by student defiance with the flexibility to decide whether to apply formal social control, or just to take the student to his office to calm him down and resolve the situation through counseling.

One final dynamic in the SRO-ADM relationship was attendance to community norms, seen especially in the Collaborative pairings. In these schools, there was a strong message from organized parents that a police officer would be allowed in the school as long as their children would not be subject to punishment that might interfere with future higher education and career goals. A student caught with illegal drugs under these circumstances would be steered toward a Magistrate hearing resulting in pre-trial probation, with the SRO as liaison between the criminal justice supervision and school-base counseling. With the parents' guidance also included in the mix, the likely end result is a lesson learned without a lasting criminal record, a community-based approach recommended by Boyes-Watson (2005) among others.

The second hypothesis focused on the impact of the SRO on school discipline and was investigated by comparing the experimental group of 14 schools with SROs to a control group of 11 schools without SROs. Survey responses, interview notes, and MA DOE data were all included in this analysis.

The introduction of School Resource Officers will result in more formal processing of disciplinary infractions

To start, the presence of an SRO was consistent with formal social control based on punishment for rule violations, a punitive turn in school policy. As reflected in MA DOE data for 2008, SRO schools applied formal social control in the form of suspensions at a rate twice that of schools without SROs. From 2003 to 2006, the difference was in the range of 20% to 25%, but from 2006 to 2008, schools in the non-SRO control group significantly cut their usage of formal discipline, while the SRO schools stayed the course. In addition, all the administrators at the SRO schools had a stated zero tolerance policy as the foundation of their disciplinary approach, while less than half the non-SRO ADMs reported a comprehensive policy based on zero tolerance.

As part of the interview-based survey, all administrators were asked how they would handle four different hypothetical scenarios of student misbehavior: a classroom disruption, a lunchroom disruption, a knife fight, and a student with a weapon for defensive purposes. In response to the two scenarios of oppositional student behavior, 90% of ADMs with SROs would

ultimately arrest, twice the rate of non-SRO ADMs. This is certainly consistent with Theriot's (2009) research on school discipline based on the utilization of SROs, which showed 'reaching down' to criminalize student defiance and disruption with formal punishment for disorderly conduct or disturbing school assembly. Unlike Theriot, however, the present study lacks any evidence to attribute this punitive approach to the SRO. We can only observe that, in response to the hypothetical scenarios, nearly every ADM with a police officer at hand would eventually utilize that police power, while more than half the ADMs without an SRO would not.

In the present study, on the other hand, the presence of an SRO was not consistent with informal social control based on relationships. In response to all of the hypothetical scenarios except for the knife fight, from 40% to 73% of the non-SRO ADMs resolved the situation by involving the student's parents, while less than one-fifth as many SRO ADMs would do the same. The divide between SRO schools and non-SRO schools regarding involvement of the parents in the disciplinary process surfaced in the surveys and interviews as well. Working with and involving parents was also a common theme in the profiles of the large non-SRO schools. This difference in approach is echoed by Black (1975),

... when there is little or no parental involvement, or if the involvement is seen as negative by the police, more law is applied by the police officers which in effect implies that the quantity of law applied varies based on the quality and type of parent involvement. (p. 122–123)

There were indications in the present study that the presence of SROs reinforced a punitive disciplinary approach. In many schools, the SRO was used as the ultimate threat to a misbehaving student, as school staff would warn, “You are this close to being arrested.” Often this warning would be operationalized with the SRO called into a chaotic scene where the teacher or administrator was unable to maintain control. It was the SRO then who led the student away, sometimes in handcuffs, for formal processing. This way, the SRO became a disciplinary layer between the administration and students, rendering that relationship just a bit more distant and impersonal. At a school without an SRO, it was not so easy for the administration to wash their hands of an uncooperative student and have them disappear. The responses to the hypothetical scenario of a knife fight illustrated this divide, with more than half the non-SRO ADMs personally intervening, while only one of the SRO ADMs would do the same. Another way that SROs reinforced an authoritarian environment was in carrying out routine duties such as checking tardiness, enforcing dress codes, or monitoring the lunchroom. The presence of an armed officer in uniform conveys an image of potential consequences far more severe than anything just another assistant principal could muster.

Other findings of the present study showed that SROs were employed to further a punitive disciplinary approach. In schools where there was any communication between the ADM and the SRO, the SRO was expected to provide information on out-of-school student contact with the police and criminal justice system to help identify the troublemakers. More directly, for the 2008-2009 school year, the study SROs reported making 114 arrests and issuing

107 summonses, a large percentage of which were for disturbing school assembly or disorderly conduct.

In terms of the hypothesis, the study findings are not sufficient to say that the introduction of School Resource Officers resulted in more formal processing of disciplinary infractions. When asked specifically, in fact, 70% of the SRO ADMs responded that there had been no change in discipline since the SRO was placed in the school. As just laid out, however, there are plenty of findings to associate the introduction of SROs with formal processing of disciplinary infractions and that their police power and presence are utilized to reinforce and extend an authoritarian approach to social control in schools. The findings also point out that having an SRO is not associated with schools that utilize informal methods based on relationships between the administration, students, and parents.

Implications for Policy

In looking at policy issues pertinent to the SRO-ADM partnership, it is helpful to consider the objectives they both bring to the relationship, under what conditions those objectives are realized or frustrated, and what these players have at stake in this organizational collaboration.

From a disciplinary standpoint, school administrators have a vested interest in maintaining a safe and effective learning environment. In the study survey, ADMs reported that the top issues for SROs to focus on were safety and security, preventing crimes before they occur, and providing a community policing collaboration/liaison with the school. With a policing background, the SRO approach to school safety, as shown in their responses to the same survey question, was through a focus on deterring students from engaging in specific types of criminal behavior: drug dealing and use, alcohol use, and assaults between students. While both agree on the primacy of school safety, their approaches need to be reconciled.

Dropping down a level to the more specific realm of school discipline, ADMs were clear that they need to maintain authority over policy and process. Furthermore, any assistance they receive must fit in with their established school-based methods, whether formal or informal. As a local police officer, an SRO is a member of the organization with authority over disciplinary policy and process for the community at large. Policing methodology is based on deterrence through detection, apprehension, and punishment for criminal activity. At this level, the

challenge is how to apportion disciplinary authority within the school, and how to define appropriate measures to use in the application of that authority.

Authority is also a key consideration for both ADMs and SROs at a personal level. In their own realms, they both inhabit positions of authority. Reputation and image are also important to both. The principal is the guardian of the reputation of the school, while the SRO is concerned with the reputation and image of the police department. While both take professional pride in what they do, their job performance is evaluated within two different contexts and organizations – educational vs. police. One other factor at this level that separates SROs from other police officers is their desire to connect with students, provide them with guidance, and keep them out of the criminal justice system.

The less effective ADM-SRO partnerships are filled with examples of the dysfunction and frustration that occur when the interests of either partner are threatened or thwarted. As the primary authority in the school, the principal has the power to accept or sideline the SRO in order to protect the security of his interests. If he views the SRO as a wild card who could act outside the school disciplinary process, as a challenger to his authority, or as a danger to the reputation of the school, then he can impose a role for the SRO that leaves him sidelined, relegated to demeaning duties, unable to actualize his professional expertise, and prevented from establishing the positive relationships with students that motivated him to take the job. This is what happened in 50% of the study schools with SROs.

In the other half of the study schools, the results were more positive, mainly because the partners invested the time and effort to meet regularly, put their requirements on the table, and find ways to operate that they could both accept. The question then, is there a way to raise the likelihood of this essential process taking hold more than half the time? One factor that set the tone for the negative partnerships was the ADM's perception that the SRO was put in his school without his consultation, by a police chief who obtained agreement from the school superintendent.

An initial partnership between the school principal and the chief of police begins with both organizations being represented at the same level. As a result they can discuss, compare, and find ways to coordinate the chief's policies for youth in the community and the principal's policies for youth in the schools. This also creates the context for defining the roles and responsibilities for the SRO, now perhaps more likely seen as the liaison between the two organizations. The benefit for the principal is that the police department policies that guide the SRO on an ongoing basis become transparent. He can see the system that supports the SRO and how he is evaluated within it. For the chief, he has the opportunity to represent his department's interests, as well as those of his staff member, in a more equitable relationship than the SRO would. Hopefully, ongoing communication at this level would serve as a model for the same to occur between the ADM and SRO.

One of the frustrations that SROs expressed was with staff who did not understand the SRO's role or the basic policies and procedures for policing youth in a school setting. Clearly,

this should be the signal for any ADM to ensure that the SRO role is defined well enough so that it can be communicated effectively, and that this definition is presented to all staff who come in contact with the SRO. Secondly, formal training, such as the 3-day seminar offered by NASRO for School Security Officers, could quickly clear up basic misunderstandings of law enforcement in the school environment. Regular meetings with the SRO to discuss disciplinary issues, as well as actual situations would help to foster cooperation.

Moving over to the other side of the present study, where findings SROs associated with formal processing of disciplinary infractions based on a policy of zero tolerance, and that their police power and presence are utilized to reinforce and extend an authoritarian approach to social control in schools. Is this the direction in which school disciplinary policy should go? Skiba et al (2006) showed no evidence that ZT increases school safety or reduces inconsistency in school discipline. They also found that school climates deteriorate and academic achievement declines in the face of increased school exclusions. Among their most salient findings, they reported that not only do ZT policies not deter misbehavior, but students to whom they are applied subsequently have higher rates of misbehavior, exclusions, and school dropout. Thus, punitive school discipline based on zero tolerance forms the bedrock for the School-To-Prison Pipeline. The large non-SRO schools in this study showed effective informal approaches to school discipline based on relationships between the school administration, the students, the parents, and the community. Their methods warrant more research and study.

Evaluation of Research

The present study focused on two aspects of the School Resource Officer program: the organizational dynamics of the relationship between the SRO and the school administration, and the impact of the SRO on school discipline.

Depth was added to the organizational side by including the voices of both SROs and administrators. More depth would be added by expanding the police side to include both SRO supervisors and police chiefs. Chiefs would add more information on the start-up of SRO programs, which appeared to scuttle the ADM-SRO relationship from the start in many cases. They, along with the SRO supervisor, would also add more context for the behavior of the SRO.

On the school side, only one administrator designated by the school principal from each SRO school was interviewed, resulting in 8 principals and 6 assistant principals. Including the principal at every school would provide a consistent top level view of the SRO program, which could be supplemented as necessary with the designated school staff liaison for the SRO if that was not a role assumed by the principal. This clarification would ensure complete coverage of the school administration's acceptance of the SRO program as well as the SRO-ADM relationship.

Of course, increased sample size would help verify the validity of the four relationship categories and perhaps provide enough data points to identify others.

On the disciplinary impact side, the use of a control group stratified by size provided a basic level of internal validity, especially as it was supplemented by the exclusion of a series of special school types. The appearance of two other significant variables, however, points toward further measures to match the experimental and control groups. One variable is school disciplinary policy. All SRO schools had a stated zero tolerance policy, while only about half the control group did, opening up the possibility that the SRO schools may have had more formal disciplinary policies to begin with. SES variables also require matching, especially average household income, where several of the SRO schools were at levels lower than any of the non-SRO schools. Once the experimental and control groups are effectively matched, then sample size needs to be increased appropriately to establish statistical significance for any findings.

MA DOE data on suspensions provided one measure of disciplinary practices for experimental and control groups, but they only depict frequency of suspensions, not severity. For that, it would be necessary to capture the number of days required by each suspension. Of course, the holy grail of disciplinary practice measures for evaluating the impact of the SRO would have been in-school arrests, for both the experimental and control groups.

APPENDIX A: SURVEY FOR SRO ADMINISTRATOR**Administrator Survey (SRO) 2009
Aviva M. Rich-Shea**

1. Approximately how many students are enrolled in your school? _____
2. How long have you been at the school? _____
3. What is your current role at the school? _____
4. How long have you been in this position? _____
5. What, if any, was your previous role at the school? _____
6. Does your school have a nonsworn security force?
_____ Yes
_____ No
7. In what year did the sworn SRO first begin to work in the schools? _____
8. Who is the primary administration contact or liaison person for SRO services?

9. Does your school have an agreement or understanding with the local police department regarding the role and responsibilities of the SRO?
_____ Yes
_____ No
10. If yes, what type of understanding do you have?
_____ Written contract
_____ Written memorandum of understanding (MOU)
_____ Verbal agreement
_____ Other (please specify) _____

11. What school situations or issues led to the decision to place an SRO in your school, and what issues are currently being addressed by the SRO?

12. What are the major issues that faculty and administrators face on a day-to-day basis with respect to student misbehavior?

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Drug dealing | <input type="checkbox"/> Drug use |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Alcohol use | <input type="checkbox"/> Smoking |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Threats or intimidation | <input type="checkbox"/> Sexual harassment |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Vandalism | <input type="checkbox"/> Graffiti |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Loitering | <input type="checkbox"/> Bullying |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Gangs | <input type="checkbox"/> Racial, ethnic, cultural, religious conflict |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Classroom disruptions | <input type="checkbox"/> Dress code violations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Tardiness | <input type="checkbox"/> Truancy |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Weapons | <input type="checkbox"/> Assaults among students |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assaults against teachers | <input type="checkbox"/> Assaults with weapons |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Assaults without weapons | <input type="checkbox"/> Property crime (please specify) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Violent crime (please specify) | <input type="checkbox"/> Preventing crimes before they occur |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Traffic infractions | <input type="checkbox"/> Other (please specify) |

13. What other types of disciplinary problems do you deal with at your school?

14. Has this changed over the past five years? If so, how?

15. Have your disciplinary procedures changed since the arrival of the SRO?

_____yes

_____no

If yes, how?

16. If the goal of the SRO is not to address any school safety problems, please describe his/her primary goal.

17. What law enforcement activities does the SRO perform? Check all that apply.

- _____ Patrol school grounds
- _____ Patrol school facilities
- _____ Patrol drug-free zones beyond school boundaries
- _____ Patrol student travel routes
- _____ Patrol other areas (please specify)
- _____ Operate metal detectors
- _____ Conduct safety and security inspections
- _____ Respond to crime reports from staff
- _____ Respond to disorder reports from staff
- _____ Respond to crime reports from students
- _____ Respond to disorder reports from students
- _____ Investigate staff leads about crime
- _____ Investigate staff leads about disorder
- _____ Investigate student leads about crime
- _____ Investigate student leads about disorder
- _____ Make arrests
- _____ Issue citations
- _____ Issue warnings
- _____ Write disciplinary reports
- _____ Write police reports
- _____ Enforce truancy laws or policies
- _____ Solve crime-related problems
- _____ File CHINS reports
- _____ Conduct searches of lockers
- _____ Conduct searches or 'frisks' of students and/or their belongings
- _____ Other, specify _____

18. Does the SRO engage in any other activities?

_____ No

_____ Yes (please specify)

19. Is your SRO:

_____ Full time

_____ Part time (please specify how many days per week SRO is present
at your school)_____

20. Approximately how many hours per day does the SRO spend each week at your school?

21. In order of importance, could you please list the 3 or 4 major goals of the SRO:

1. _____

2. _____

3. _____

4. _____

22. Does your school have a zero tolerance policy?

_____ No

_____ Yes

23. If yes, what behaviors does it cover?

_____ Weapons: firearms—all types

_____ Weapons: knives—all types

_____ Weapons: other (please specify)_____

_____ Drugs: illegal use

_____ Drugs: illegal selling

_____ Drugs: prescription use

_____ Drugs: prescription selling

_____ Bullying

_____ Sexual harassment

_____ Other (please specify)_____

24. When encountering law-breaking behavior on campus, who makes the decision as to how it should be handled?

_____ SRO
 _____ Administration
 _____ SRO and administration collaborate

25. When encountering disciplinary infractions that are not violations of law, who makes the decision as to how it should be handled?

_____ SRO
 _____ Administration
 _____ SRO and administration collaborate

26. Does the SRO impose sanctions short of arrest?

_____ No
 _____ Yes; if so, what? _____

27. How much latitude does the SRO have to exercise discretion independently?

none minimal some a lot complete

28. Do you keep records of disciplinary actions such as:

_____ Expulsions
 _____ Out-of-school suspensions
 _____ In-school-suspensions
 _____ Detentions
 _____ Other (please specify) _____
 _____ Willing to provide records?

28.a. How many in-school suspensions last year? _____

How many out-of-school suspensions last year? _____

How many expulsions last year? _____

29. How many students dropped out of your school last year?

_____ Total
 _____ Grade 9
 _____ Grade 10
 _____ Grade 11
 _____ Grade 12

30. What is the policy regarding the school's role after a student is arrested for a felony offense that took place off school property?

- _____ Mandatory expulsion
 _____ Mandatory suspension
 _____ Disciplinary hearing
 _____ Other (please specify) _____

31. Is the SRO involved in disciplinary procedures of a noncriminal nature (e.g., non-compliance in the classroom, disruption in lunchroom)?

- _____ No
 _____ Yes; if so, please specify types of situations:

32. Who is the ultimate authority regarding disciplinary issues? (role and name)

33. How is an arrest made at your school?

- _____ Made privately to maintain confidentiality
 _____ Done publicly as a "teaching moment"
 _____ Made out of school

34. Are arrests made at your school for behaviors not related to school functions or activities?

- _____ No
 _____ Yes (please specify) _____

35. How was law-breaking behavior dealt with before the SRO came to the school?

43. Are there other activities you would like to see your SRO perform (or not perform)?

In the following hypothetical scenarios, what would be the standard procedure for managing the situation?

44. A sophomore girl is standing on a chair in the lunchroom and is refusing to get down or leave. She is approached by a lunchroom monitor/ supervisor who attempts to talk her down, and she then spits at the staff member and refuses.

45. A junior boy is repeatedly defiant in the classroom and curses at the teacher. He is asked to leave by the teacher and he refuses and becomes verbally abusive to the teacher.

46. Two students get into a fistfight during lunch outside the school. One student pulls a knife on the other student and a group of students run to report the fight to the office.

47. A freshman girl is found to be carrying a weapon to school. She is called into the office to explain and she claims to be a victim of threats and harassment on her way both to and from school.

APPENDIX B: SURVEY FOR NON-SRO ADMINISTRATOR**Administrator Survey—Non-SRO
Aviva M. Rich-Shea**

1. Approximately how many students are enrolled in your school? _____
What grade levels are included in your school? _____
2. How long have you been at the school? _____
3. What is your current role at the school? _____
4. How long have you been in this position? _____
5. What, if any, was your previous role at the school? _____
6. Does your school have a nonsworn security force on site?
_____ Yes
_____ No
- 6a. Does your school have one or more sworn security officers on site?
_____ Yes
_____ No
7. Does your school have an agreement or understanding with the local police department regarding school safety and law enforcement issues?
_____ Yes
_____ No
8. If yes, what type of understanding do you have?
_____ Written contract
_____ Written memorandum of understanding (MOU)
_____ Verbal agreement
_____ Other (please specify) _____

9. What are the major issues that faculty and administrators face on a day-to-day basis with respect to student misbehavior?

- _____ Drug dealing
- _____ Drug use
- _____ Alcohol use
- _____ Smoking
- _____ Threats or intimidation
- _____ Sexual harassment
- _____ Vandalism
- _____ Graffiti
- _____ Loitering
- _____ Bullying
- _____ Gangs
- _____ Racial, ethnic, cultural, religious conflict
- _____ Classroom disruptions
- _____ Dress code violations
- _____ Tardiness
- _____ Truancy
- _____ Weapons
- _____ Assaults among students
- _____ Assaults against teachers
- _____ Assaults with weapons
- _____ Assaults without weapons
- _____ Property crime (please specify)
- _____ Violent crime (please specify)
- _____ Preventing crimes before they occur
- _____ Traffic infractions
- _____ Other (please specify)

10. Please list the top 5 student behavior problems in a descending order of prevalence with the first being the most prevalent:

11. What other types of disciplinary problems do you deal with at your school?

12. Have the kind of disciplinary problems that you deal with changed over the past five years?

Yes
 No

12a. If yes, how?

13. Does your school have a zero tolerance policy?

Yes
 No

13a. If yes, what behaviors does it cover?

Weapons: firearms-all types
 Weapons: knives-all types
 Weapons: other (please specify) _____
 Drugs: illegal use
 Drugs: illegal selling
 Drugs: prescription use
 Drugs: prescription selling
 Bullying
 Sexual harassment
 Other (please specify) _____

14. What sanctions are imposed by the school for violating your zero tolerance policy?

- Expulsion
 Out-of-school suspension
 In-school-suspension
 Detention
 Social service referral
 Arrest (when appropriate)
 Other (please specify) _____

15. When encountering law-breaking behavior, what is the protocol followed by your school?

16. How is a problem situation handled (Let's suppose a student causing disruption in a classroom through noncompliance and insubordination, such as using a cell-phone and cursing at the teacher when asked to stop.)

17. Do you keep records of disciplinary actions such as:

- Expulsions
 Out-of-school suspensions
 In-school suspensions
 Detentions
 Other (please specify) _____
 Willing to provide records?

17.a. How many in-school suspensions last year? _____

How many out-of-school suspensions last year? _____

How many expulsions last year? _____

18. How many students dropped out of your school last year? _____ Total

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 9 | <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 10 |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 11 | <input type="checkbox"/> Grade 12 |

19. What is the policy regarding the school's role after an arrest?

- Disciplinary hearing
 Mandatory expulsion
 Mandatory suspension
 Other (please specify) _____
-

20. What is the policy regarding arrests off school property by police officers not involving school-related functions or activities?

21. Who holds the ultimate authority regarding disciplinary issues that take place in school and on school grounds? (role and name)

21a. Is the same person the ultimate authority when it comes to violations of law?

- Yes
 No

22. Does your school participate in a Roundtable?

- Yes
 No

23. Who is the school representative at these meetings? _____

24. When an arrest is made at your school, is it:

- Made privately out of confidentiality concerns
 Done publicly as a "teaching moment"
 Made out of school

25. Are arrests made at your school for behaviors not related to school?

- No
 Yes (please specify) _____
-

26. Do school officials formally meet at least once a year with police, fire, emergency medical services, emergency management agencies, and other public safety officials to review and revise school plans?.

_____ No

_____ Yes

_____ Yes, more than once: _____

27. Has there been a major change in the methods or procedures used for disciplinary infractions and violations of law changed in the last five years?

_____ No

_____ Yes (please describe changes) _____

28. Was your school offered the opportunity to obtain a School Resource Officer?

_____ No

_____ Yes

29. If your school made the decision *NOT* to have a School Resource Officer, what factors influenced the decision?

30. If no, would your school welcome the introduction of the SRO program?

_____ No

_____ Yes

30a. Why or why not?

31. Do you follow up with students that drop out of your school?

_____ No

_____ Yes If yes, how?

32. What role do parents play in the disciplinary process in your school?

In the following hypothetical scenarios, what would be the standard procedure for managing the situation:

33. A sophomore girl is standing on a chair in the lunchroom and is refusing to get down or leave. She is approached by a lunchroom monitor/supervisor who attempts to talk her down, and she then spits at the staff member and refuses.

34. A junior boy is repeatedly defiant in the classroom and curses at the teacher. He is asked to leave by the teacher and he refuses and becomes verbally abusive to the teacher.

35. Two students get into a fistfight during lunch outside the school. One student pulls a knife on the other student and a group of students run to report the fight to the office.

36. A freshman girl is found to be carrying a weapon to school. She is called into the office to explain and she claims to be a victim of threats and harassment both on her way to and from school.

APPENDIX C: SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICER SURVEY

School Resource Officer Survey
Aviva M. Rich-Shea

1. In what year did you begin to work in the school? _____
2. How many sworn officers are assigned to your school as SROs? _____
3. What agency oversees or manages the SRO(s)?
 - ____ Local police department
 - ____ School district
4. Who is the contact or liaison for SRO services employed by the school
 (the school staff person having day-to-day responsibility for SROs)?

5. Who in the police department has day-to-day oversight responsibility of the SRO?

6. Do you have an agreement with the school regarding the duties and responsibilities of
 SRO(s)?
 - _____ Written contract
 - _____ Written memorandum of understanding or agreement
 - _____ Verbal agreement—at least some discussion
 - _____ Other (please specify) _____
7. What are the particulars?

8. What are the most pressing disciplinary problems you face?

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____
4. _____

9. Are you full time or part time in the school?

full time

part-time

10. Approximately how many hours in a typical school week do you devote to each of the following school-related activities? (Please specify.)

- _____ Law enforcement
 _____ Advising
 _____ Teaching
 _____ Other activities

11. Do you work in school in uniform?

- _____ Yes, generally in uniform
 _____ No, generally in plain clothes
 _____ Sometimes in uniform, sometimes in plain clothes

12. Do you carry a service weapon while working in school?

- _____ Yes
 _____ No

13. Have you received training specifically designed to help prepare to be an SRO?

- _____ Yes
 _____ No

14. What was the nature of the training you received?

15. How many of the SROs in your school district have received specialized training?

- All
 Some
 None

16. How were you selected for your position?

17. Who has the final say on how violations will be handled? _____

18. How often (if ever) are arrests made? _____

19. How is the decision to arrest made?

20. With whom do you consult regarding arrests that are made in school?

- Police department
 School administration
 No one, I make decision

21. Are you expected to intervene in disciplinary situations that involve rule violations but are not crimes?

- No
 Yes (please specify)

22. What law enforcement activities do you perform? (Please check all that apply.)

- Patrol school facilities
- Patrol school grounds
- Patrol drug-free zones beyond school boundaries
- Patrol student travel routes
- Patrol other areas (specify)_____
- Operate metal detectors
- Conduct safety and security inspections
- Respond to crime/disorder reports from the school staff
- Respond to crime/disorder reports from students
- Investigate staff leads about crime/disorder
- Make arrests
- Issue citations
- Write disciplinary reports
- Write police reports
- Enforce truancy laws or policies
- Solve crime-related problems
- Conduct searches of lockers
- Conduct frisks or searches of students or their belongings
- Maintain safety and security in other ways (please specify)_____
- _____
- _____

23. What activities involving providing advice or mentoring do you perform with staff members?
(Please check all that apply.)

- Advise staff on school policy changes
- Advise staff on school procedure changes
- Advise staff on physical environment changes
- Advise staff on problem solving
- Mediate disputes among staff
- Advise staff on avoiding violence/victimization
- Advise staff on student behavior modification
- Advise staff on student rule and sanction enforcement
- Advise staff on law-related issues
- Other (please specify)_____

In the following hypothetical scenarios, what would be the standard procedure for managing the situation?

24. A sophomore girl is standing on a chair in the lunchroom and is refusing to get down or leave. She is approached by a lunchroom monitor/supervisor who attempts to talk her down, and she then spits at the staff member and refuses.

25. A junior boy is repeatedly defiant in the classroom and curses at the teacher. He is asked to leave by the teacher and he refuses and becomes verbally abusive to the teacher.

26. Two students get into a fistfight during lunch outside the school. One student pulls a knife on the other student and a group of students run to report the fight to the office.

27. A freshman girl is found to be carrying a weapon to school. She is called into the office to explain and she claims to be a victim of threats and harassment both on her way to and from school.

28. What are the most satisfactory or fulfilling aspects of your job?

29. What are the least satisfactory or fulfilling aspects of your job?

APPENDIX D: RECRUITMENT SCRIPT FOR STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Recruitment script for study participants
IRB Dissertation proposal

Aviva M. Rich-Shea

P = Potential Participant; I = Interviewer

I - May I please speak to [name of potential participant]?

P - Hello, [name of potential participant] speaking. How may I help you?

I - My name is Aviva M. Rich-Shea and I am a PhD candidate in the Law, Policy and Society Program at Northeastern University. I am currently conducting research under the supervision of Donna M. Bishop PhD on School Resource Officers (SROs). As part of my dissertation research, I am conducting interviews with high school administrators and SROs to discover their perspectives on school disciplinary policies and practices.

I would like to speak with you about your experience and perspectives on discipline and SROs and on the implementation of new developments within existing processes. Is this a convenient time to schedule you for an interview?

P - No, could you call back later (agree on a more convenient time to call person back).

OR

P - Yes, could you provide me with some more information regarding the interviews you will be conducting?

I - Background Information:

- I will be undertaking interviews starting in May 2009.
- The interview would last about one hour, and would be arranged for a time convenient to your schedule.
- Involvement in this interview is entirely voluntary and there are no known or anticipated risks to participation in this study.
- You may decline to answer any of the interview questions you do not wish to answer and may terminate the interview at any time.
- All information you provide will be considered confidential.

I would like to assure you that this study has been reviewed and received ethics clearance through the Office of Human Subject Research Protection at Northeastern University.

P - No thank you.

OR

P - Sure (set up time for interview).

I - Thank you very much for your time. I look forward to meeting you and conducting the interview. Once again, if you have any questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at my number 781-784-3696 or 781-258-1333.

P - Good-bye.

I - Good-bye.

APPENDIX E: UNSIGNED INFORMED CONSENT FORM**Northeastern University,
College of Arts and Sciences
Law, Policy & Society Program****Name of Investigator(s): Donna M. Bishop PhD., Aviva M. Rich-Shea****Title of Project: Adolescent Youth and Social Control: The Changing Role of
Public Schools****Request to Participate in Research**

We would like to invite you to take part in a research project. The purpose of this research is to explore the impact of school resource officers on the disciplinary process of MA public high schools.

The study will take place at your office and will take about one hour for the initial interview. You may be asked to participate in a follow-up interview. If you decide to take part in this study, we will ask you to answer a series of questions and discuss your opinions about school disciplinary policies and practices. **There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to you for taking part in this study.**

Your part in this study will be handled in a confidential manner. Only the researchers will know that you participated in this study. Any reports or publications based on this research will use only group data and will not identify you or any individual as being of this project.

If you have any questions about this study, please feel free to call Aviva M. Rich-Shea at 781-784-3696, the person mainly responsible for the research. You can also contact Professor Donna Bishop at 617-373-3362, the Principal Investigator.

If you have any questions about your rights in this research, you may contact Nan C. Regina, Director, Human Subject Research Protection, 413 Lake Hall, Northeastern University, Boston, MA 02115. Tel: 617.373.7570. You may call anonymously if you wish.

You may keep this form for yourself.

Thank you.

Aviva M. Rich-Shea

REFERENCES

- Adams, A. (2000). The status of school discipline and violence. *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 567, 140-156
- Advancement Project and The Civil Rights Project. (2000). Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline policies. Accessed at: http://www.eric.ed.gov/ERICWebPortal/search/detailmini.jsp?_nfpb=true&_&ERICExtSearch_SearchValue_0=ED454314&ERICExtSearch_SearchType_0=no&accno=ED454314
- Advancement Project, Padres and Jovenes Unidos Southwest Youth Collaborative, Children and Family Justice Center of Northwestern School of Law. (2005, March 24) Education on lockdown: The schoolhouse to jailhouse track. Accessed at <http://www.mindfully.org/Reform/2005/Schoolhouse-Jailhouse-Track24mar05.htm>.
- American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). (2009). White Paper. Accessed at: www.aclu.org/racialjustice/edu/40816pub20090824.html
- Anderson, C. L. (2004). Double jeopardy: The modern dilemma for juvenile justice. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, 152, 1181.
- Anderson, D. C. (1998). Curriculum, culture, and community: The challenge of school violence. *Crime and Justice*, 24, 317–363.
- Arum, R. (2003). *Judging school discipline: The crisis of moral authority*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ayers, W., Dohen, B., & Ayers. R. (Eds.). (2001). *Zero tolerance*. New York: The New Press.
- Bachman, R., & Schutt, R. K. (2001). *The practice of research in criminology and criminal justice*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.
- Barnes, L. M. (2008). Policing the Schools: An Evaluation of the North Carolina School Resource Officer Program (Doctoral dissertation, Rutgers University, 2008). *Dissertation Abstracts International*, 69 (08). (UMI No. 3326961).
- Baron, Stephen, John Field and Tom Schuller (2001). *Social Capital: A Review and Critique*. found in Social Capital: Critical Perspectives. Baron, Field & Schuller, eds.
- Bastian, L., & Taylor, B. (1991). *School Crime: A National Crime Victimization Survey Report*. Justice Statistics Clearinghouse/NCJRS, U.S. Department of Justice

- Bazemore, G., & Senjo, S. (1997). Police encounters with juveniles revisited: An exploratory study of themes and styles in community policing. *International Journal of Police Strategy and Management*, 20, 60–82.
- Bazemore, G., Leip, L. A., & Stinchcomb, J. (2004). Boundary changes and the nexus between formal and informal social control: Truancy intervention as a case study in criminal justice expansion. *Notre Dame Journal of Law, Ethics & Public Policy*, 18, 521–570.
- Becker, H. (1973). *Outsiders: Studies in the sociology of deviance*. New York: The Free Press.
- Beger, R. R. (2002). Expansion of police power in public schools and the vanishing rights of students. *Social Justice*, 29, 119–130.
- Bernard, T. J. (1992). *The cycle of juvenile justice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bishop, Donna (2010). Personal communication on forthcoming publication.
- Black, Donald. (1975). *The behavior of law*. San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Blumenson, E., & Nilsen, E. S. (2002). How to construct an underclass, or how the war on drugs became a war on education. *University of Iowa Journal of Gender, Race, and Justice*, 6, 65.
- Board of Education v. Earls, 536 U.S. 822, 2002
- Bough, A. G. (1999). Searches and seizures in schools: Should reasonable suspicion or probable cause apply to school resource/liason officers? *University of Missouri-Kansas City Law Review*, 67, 3.
- Boyes-Watson, C. (2003). *Crime and justice: A case study approach*. Boston, MA: Allyn & Bacon.
- Boyes-Watson, C. (2005). Community is not a place but a relationship: Lessons for organizational development. *Public Organization Review: A Global Journal*, 5, 359-374.
- Bracy, N. (2010). Circumventing the law: Students' rights in schools with police. *Journal of Contemporary Criminal Justice OnlineFirst*, published on May 26, 2010 as doi:10.1177/1043986210368645
- Bracy, N. & Kupchik, A. (2009). The news media on school crime and violence: Constructing dangerousness and fueling fear. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 7, 136-155.

- Brady, K. P. (2002). Weapons of choice: Zero tolerance school discipline policies and the limitations of student procedural due process. *Children's Legal Rights Journal*, 22, 2–10.
- Brady, K. P., Balmer, S., & Phenix, D. (2007). School-police partnership effectiveness in urban schools: An analysis of New York City's impact schools initiative. *Education and Urban Society*, 39, 455–478.
- Braithewaite, J. (1989). *Crime, shame and reintegration*. Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press.
- Briers, A. & Dickmann, E. (2009). International comparative perspective of police in schools. *International Journal of Police Science and Management*, 11, 130-140.
- Brown, B. (2006). Understanding and assessing school police officers: A conceptual and methodological comment. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 34, 591–604.
- Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483, 1954
- Bucher, K. T., & Manning, M. L. (2005, Sept.–Oct.) Creating safe schools. *The Clearing House*, 79(1), 55.
- Campbell, C. Z. (2003). The effective use of school resource officers: The constitutionality of school searches and interrogations. *School Law Bulletin*, 34, 1.
- Casella, R. (2003). Zero tolerance policies in schools: Rationale, consequences, and alternatives. *Teachers College Record*, 105, 872–892.
- Center for Problem-Oriented Policing. (2002). Accessed June 15, 2006, at <http://www.popcenter.org/Library/Goldstein/2002/02-17.pdf>
- Center for the Prevention of School Violence (CPSV). (2002). School resource officers and school administrators: “Talking and walking” together to make safer schools. *Research Bulletin*. North Carolina State Dept. of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice (CJCJ). (2002). Widening the net in juvenile justice and the dangers of prevention and early intervention. Accessed at <http://www.cjcj.org/files/widening.pdf>
- Chaplinsky v. New Hampshire, 315 U.S. 568, 1942
- Chenail, R. (1995). Presenting qualitative data. The Qualitative Report, 2. Accessed March 11, 2010 at <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR2-3/presenting.html>

- Chesney-Lind, Meda. (2004). Girls and violence: Is the gender gap closing? VAWnet.org; Domestic Violence Applied Research Documents. Accessed at http://new.vawnet.org/category/Main_Doc.php?docid=383
- Chesney-Lind, Meda, and Katherine Irwin. (2007). *Beyond bad girls: Gender, violence and hype*. New York: Routledge.
- Chiricos, T. (1996). Moral panic as ideology: Drugs, violence, race and punishment in America. In M. Lynch & E. B. Patterson (Eds.). *Justice with prejudice: Race and criminal justice in America* (pp. 19–48). New York: Harrow and Heston.
- Cobb, H. (2009). Separate and unequal: The disparate impact of school-based referrals to juvenile court. *Harvard Civil Rights – Civil Liberties Law Review*, 581, 1-16
- Cohen, S. (1972). *Folk devils and moral panics*. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Commonwealth vs. Lawrence L., a Juvenile, 439 Mass. 817, 2003
- Crews, G. A., & Counts, M. R. 1997. *The evolution of school disturbance in America*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.
- DeRidder, L. M. (1991). How suspension and expulsion contribute to dropping out. *Education Digest*, 56, 44–47.
- Dickmann, E. & Cooner, D. (2007). Effective strategies for developing and fostering relationships between principals and school-based police officers. *AASA Journal of Scholarship and Practice*, 4, 14-20.
- Dunbar, C. & Villarruel, F. (2004). What a Difference the Community Makes: Zero Tolerance Policy Interpretation and Implementation. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 37, 4, 351-359.
- Dupper, D. R. (2010). Does the punishment fit the crime? The impact of zero tolerance discipline on at-risk youths. *Children and Schools*, 32, 67–69.
- Durkheim, E. (2008). *Moral Education*. reprinted in: Schools and Society 3rd Edition. by Ballantine, Jeanne H. and Joan Z. Spade. Sage Publications; Thousand Oaks, CA
- Elkins v. United States, 364 U.S. 206, 1960
- Fass, S., & Pi, C-R. (2002). Getting tough on juvenile crime. *Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency*, 39, 363–399.

- Feld, Barry C. 1998. Juvenile and Criminal Justice Systems' Responses to Youth Violence. *Crime and Justice*. 24, 189-261
- Fenning, Pamela and Jennifer Rose. 2007. Overrepresentation of African American Students in Exclusionary Discipline. *Urban Education*. 42, 536-559
- Finn, P., McDevitt, J., Lassiter, W., Shively, M., & Rich, T. (2005). Case studies of 19 school resource officer (SRO) programs. Report by the National Institute of Justice. U.S. Department of Justice. Document Number 209271.
- Finn, P. et al. (2005). Comparison of program activities and lessons learned among 19 school resource officer (SRO) programs. National Institute of Justice. US Department of Justice. Document Number 209272.
- Fionda, J. (2005). *Devils and angels: Youth policy and crime*. Oxford and Portland OR: Hart Publishing.
- Fox, J. A., & Burstein, H. (2010). *Violence and security on campus*. Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger Publishers.
- Giacomazzi, A. L., & Brody, D. C. (2002). The effectiveness of external assessments in facilitating organizational change in law enforcement. *Policing: An international Journal of Police Strategies and Management*, 27, 37–55.
- Girouard, C. (2001). School resource officer training program. OJJDP Fact Sheet. Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Goode, E., & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994a). *Moral panics: The social construction of deviance*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.
- Goode, E., & Ben-Yehuda, N. (1994b). Moral panics: Culture, politics and social construction. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 20, 149–171.
- Gordon, R., Della Piana, L., & Keleher, T. (2001). Zero tolerance: A basic racial report card. In W. Ayers, B. Dohen, & R. Ayers (Eds.). (2001). *Zero tolerance*. New York: The New Press.
- Gorman, K., & Pauken, P. (2003). The ethics of zero tolerance. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 41, 24–36.
- GRAHAM v. FLORIDA (No. 08–7412), decided May 2010

- Gregory, A. & Cornell, D. (2009). "Tolerating" adolescent needs: Moving beyond Zero Tolerance policies in high school. *Theory into Practice*, 48, 106–113.
- Grona, B. (2000). School discipline: What process is due ? What process is served? *American Journal of Criminal Law*, 27, 233.
- Goss et al v. Lopez et al, 419 U.S. 565, 1975
- Hallet, M., et al. (2004). Children, not offenders. Center for Race and Juvenile Justice Studies. University of North Florida. March 24.
<http://www.unf.edu/coas/crjpp/Children%20Not%20Offenders.pdf>.
- Hancock et al v. Driscoll et al, 2004 Mass. Super. LEXIS 118
- Herbert, S. (2006). *Citizens, cops, and power*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
- Hickman, M. J. & Reaves, B.A. (2006). "Local Police Departments, 2003". Bureau of Justice Statistics; Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics.
- Hickman, M. J., & Reaves, B. A. (2003). Local police departments, 2000. Bureau of Justice Statistics; Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics.
- Hickman, M. J., & Reaves, B. A. (2001). Local police departments, 1999. Bureau of Justice Statistics; Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics.
- Hirschfield, P. J. (2008). Preparing for prison? The criminalization of school discipline in the USA." *Theoretical Criminology*, 12, 79–101.
- Hirschfield, P. (2009). Another way out: The impact of juvenile arrests on high school dropouts. *Sociology of Education*, 82, 368-393.
- 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, 7–27.
- In the Matter of: S.W., 171 N.C. App. 335, 2005
- Insley, A. C. (2001). Suspending and expelling children from educational opportunity: Time to reevaluate Zero Tolerance policies. *American University Law Review*, 50, 1039.
- Jackson, A. (2002). Police-school resource officers' and students' perception of the police and offending. *Policing: An International Journal of Police Strategies & Management*, 25, 631–630.

- Johnson, I. M. (1999). School violence: The effectiveness of a school resource officer program in a southern city. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 27, 173–192.
- Johnson, K. (2006, July 13). Police tie jump in crime to juveniles. *USA Today*. Accessed at http://www.usatoday.com/news/nation/2006-07-12-juveniles-cover_x.htm?csp=1
- Johnston, J. S. (1989). High school completion of in-school suspension students. *NAASP Bulletin*, 72, 89–95.
- Kelling, G. L., & Coles, C. (1996). *Fixing broken windows*. New York: Simon and Schuster.
- Kenney, J. P., Fuller, D. E., & Barry, R. J. (1995). *Police work with juveniles and the administration of juvenile justice* (8th ed.). Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- Kim, C. I., & Geronimo, I. I. (2009, August). *Policing in schools: Developing a governance document for school resource officers in K–12 schools*. ACLU White Paper. New York: American Civil Liberties Union.
- Krumholz, S. (2001). An Exploratory Study of the Purpose of Domestic Violence Units in Massachusetts Police Departments. *Dissertation Abstracts International*, (UMI No. 3027934).
- Kupchik, A. & Monahan, T. (2006). The New American School: preparation for post-industrial discipline. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 27, 617-631.
- Lambert, R. D. & McGinty, D. (2002). Law enforcement officers in schools: Setting priorities. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 40, 257–273.
- Lofland & Lofland. (1995). *Analyzing social settings. A Guide to Qualitative Observation and Analysis. Third Edition*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company
- Lorenz, A. (2010). The windows remain broken. How Zero Tolerance Destroyed Due Process. *Public Integrity*, 12, 247-259.
- Madar, C. (2010). Keeps cops out of schools. *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Accessed at <http://www.counterpunch.org/madar07162010.html>
- Maguire, E. R. (2003). *Organizational structure in American police agencies*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Martinez, S. (2009). A system gone berserk: How are zero-tolerance policies really affecting our schools? *Preventing School Failure*, 53, 153-157.
- The Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2009-2010. School Safety and Discipline Report Instructions. Information Services/Data Collection. <http://www.doe.mass.edu/infoservices/data/samples/incidentreport.pdf>
- McCorkle, R. C., & Miethe, T. D. (2002). *Panic: The social construction of the street gang problem*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- McDevitt, J., & Finn, P. (2005, March). *National assessment of school resource officer programs final project report*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice. Document No. 209273.
- McDevitt, J., & Panniello, J. (2005). *National assessment of school resource officer programs: survey of students in three large new SRO programs*. Washington, DC: National Institute of Justice, U.S. Department of Justice. Document No. 209270.
- McDuffy v. Secretary of Executive Office of Education, 415 Mass. 545, 1993
- Miller, S. (1999). *Gender and Community Policing: Walking the Talk*. Boston: Northeastern University Press.
- Minor, K. I., Fox, J. W., & Wells, J. B. (2002). An analysis of interagency communication patterns surrounding incidents of school crime. *Journal of School Violence*, 1, 81-100.
- Morrison, B. E. (2003). Regulating safe school communities: Being responsive and restorative. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 41, 689-704.
- Morrison, K. C. (2003, December). School crime and school resource officers: A desk reference for prosecutors. Special Topic Series, Alexandria, VA: American Prosecutors Research Institute, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. (2005). Dismantling the school to prison pipeline. Accessed at www.naacpldf.org/content/pdf/pipeline/Dismantling_the_School_to_Prison_Pipeline.pdf
- National Association of School Resource Officers (NASRO). (2001, October 5). *2001 NASRO school resource officer survey*. Boynton Beach, FL.
- National Women's Law Center. (2007). *When girls don't graduate, we all fail. A call to improve graduation rates for girls*. Accessed at: www.nwlc.org/pdf/DropoutReport.pdf

- Neuman, L. W. (2008). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches* (6th ed.) New York: Allyn and Bacon.
- New Jersey v. T.L.O., 469 U.S.
- Newman, K. (2004). *Rampage: The social roots of school shootings*. New York: Basic Books.
- Nihart, T., et al. (2005). Kids, cops, parents and teachers: Exploring juvenile attitudes toward authority figures. *Western Criminology Review*, 6, 79–88.
- O'Brien, E. (1997, August 31). A death next door. *The Boston Globe Magazine*. Accessed at <http://cache.boston.com/globe/magazine/8-31/downing/>
- Paoline, E. (2003). Taking stock: Toward a richer understanding of police culture. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, 31, p. 199-214
- Patterson, G. (2007). The role of police officers in elementary and secondary schools: Implications for police-school social work collaboration. *School Social Work Journal*, 31, 82-99.
- Peaslee, L (2009). Community Policing and Social Service Partnerships from New England. *Police Practice and Research*. 10, 115-131.
- Pinard, M. (2003). From the classroom to the courtroom: Reassessing Fourth Amendment standards in public school searches involving law enforcement authorities. *Arizona Law Review*, 45, 1067.
- Price, P. (2009). When is a police officer an officer of the law?: The status of police officers in schools. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 99, 541-570.
- Rabinowitz, J. (2006). Leaving homeroom in handcuffs: Why an over-reliance on law enforcement to ensure school safety is detrimental to children. *Cardozo Public Law, Policy & Ethics Journal*, 4, 153.
- Reaves, B. A., & Goldberg, A. L. (2000). *Local police departments, 1997*. Washington, DC: U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics, Law Enforcement Management and Administrative Statistics.
- Reichert, A. (2008). MA - ACLU Interview conducted 4/15/2008 in Boston, MA

- Renauer, B. C. (2007). Is neighborhood policing related to informal social control?. *Policing: An international journal of police strategies and management*, 30, 61–81.
- Reyes, A. H. (2003). Criminalization of student discipline. In The Harvard Civil Rights Project. *Reconstructing the School-To-Prison Pipeline: Charting Intervention Strategies of Prevention and Support for Minority Children*. Available at <http://www.civilrightsproject.harvard.edu/>
- Rich-Shea, A. M. (2009). Action research project examines the impact of race and gender on disciplinary exclusion in Massachusetts schools. *Women, Girls and Criminal Justice*, 10, 3-4, 8-10.
- ROPER v. SIMMONS, 543 U.S. 551 (2005)
- Ross Epp, J. & Watkinson, A. (1997). *Systemic Violence in Education: Promise Broken*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Safford Unified School District #1 et al. v. Redding. Certiorari to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit. No. 08–479. Argued April 21, 2009—Decided June 25, 2009.
- San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez, 411 U.S. 1, 1973
- Scheffer, M. W. (1987) *Policing from the schoolhouse: police-school liason and resource officer programs. A case study*. Springfield, IL: Charles C. Thomas.
- Scheft, J. S. (2006). *Police juvenile issues: Field Manual 2006*. Woburn, MA: Law Enforcement Dimensions.
- Schulenberg, J. L. 2007. Analysing police decision-making: Assessing the application of a mixed/method/mixed-model research design. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 10, 99–119.
- Schulenberg, J. L. 2010. Patterns in police decision-making with youth: An application of Black's theory of law. *Crime, Law and Social Change*, 53, 109–129.
- Scott, E. S., & Grisso, T. (1998). The evolution of adolescence: A developmental perspective on juvenile justice reform. *The Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, 88,137–189.
- Shelden, R. G. (2002) Resurrecting radical non-intervention: Stop the war on kids. Accessed at <http://www.cjcj.org/pdf/radical.pdf>

- Shelden, Randall G. (2004a). "The Imprisonment Crisis in America: Introduction." *Review of Policy Research* 21(1):5-12.
- Shelden, Randall G. (2004b). "Why Are We So Punitive? Some Observations on Recent Incarceration Trends." San Francisco, CA: Center on Juvenile and Criminal Justice.
- Sherman, L. W. (1993). Defiance, deterrence, and irrelevance: a theory of the criminal sanction. *Journal of research in crime and delinquency*, 30, 445-468.
- Skiba, R., & Peterson, R. (1999). The dark side of zero tolerance: Can punishment lead to safer schools? *Phi Delta Kappa*, 80, 372-382. Accessed at <http://www.pdkintl.org/kappan/kski9901.htm>
- Skiba, R., & Peterson, R. 2003. Teaching the social curriculum: School discipline as instruction. *Preventing School Failure*, 47, 66-73.
- Skiba, R., Reynolds, C. R., Graham, S., Sheras, P., Conoley, J. C., & Garcia-Vasquez. E. (2006). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations. American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. Accessed at www.apa.org/ed/cpse/zttfreport.pdf.
- Stahl, A., Puzanchera, C., Livsey, S., Sladky, A., Finnegan, T., Tierney, N., & Snyder, H. (2007). *Juvenile Court Statistics 2003-2004*, National Center for Juvenile Justice
- Staples, William G. 2000. Everyday Surveillance: Vigilance and Visibility in Postmodern Life. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Sternheimer, K. (2004, August 16). Zero Tolerance for youth: Fear, loathing, and the scary school myth. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association, Atlanta Hilton Hotel, Atlanta, GA.
- Stewart, E, A. (2003). School social bonds, school climate and school misbehavior. *Justice quarterly*, 20, 574-604.
- Stinchcomb, J. B., Riestenberg, N., & Bazemore, G. (2006). Beyond Zero Tolerance: Restoring justice in secondary schools. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*. 4, 123-147.
- Strike, Kenneth A. (2008). Small Schools: Size or Community. *American Journal of Education*, 114, 169-190.
- Sughrue, J. A. 2003. Zero tolerance for children: Two wrongs do not make a right. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 39, 238-258.

- Sum, A., Khatiwada, I., McLaughlin, J., & Palma, S. (2008). *An assessment of the labor market, income, health, social, civic & fiscal consequences of dropping out of high school*. Boston, MA: Center for Labor Market Studies, Northeastern University.
- Sweeney, E. (2006, March 9). Judge sets April hearing in alleged school plot. *Boston Globe*.
- Teddle, C., & Tashakkori, A. (2006). A general typology of research designs featuring mixed methods. *Research in the Schools, 13*, 12–28.
- Terry v. Ohio, 392 US 1, 1968
- Theriot, M. (2009). School resource officers and the criminalization of student behavior. *Journal of Criminal Justice, 37*, 280-287
- Thompkins, D. E. (2000). School violence: Gangs and a culture of fear. *Annals, American Academy of Political and Social Science 2000, 567*, 54–72.
- Thurau, Lisa and Johanna Wald. (2010). Controlling Partners: When Law Enforcement Meets Discipline in Public Schools. *New York Law School Law Review, 54*, 977- 1020
- Tinker v. Des Moines School District, 393 U.S. 506, 1969
- Trulson, C., Triplett, R., & Snell, C. (2001). Social control in a school setting: Evaluating a school-based boot camp. *Crime and Delinquency, 47*, 573–609.
- U.S. Department of Education. (1996). *Creating safe and drug-free schools*. Washington, DC: Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, Office of Elementary and Secondary Education.
- Valdez, N., et al. (2001). Police in schools: The struggle for student and parental rights. 78 *Denver University Law Review, 1069*, 1073–1074.
- Welch, M., Price, E. A., & Yankey, N. (2002). Moral panic over youth violence: Wilding and the manufacture of menace in the media. *Youth and Society, 34*, 3–30.