



FACT SHEET

PROMISING PRACTICES TO BUILD ANTIRACIST AND AFFIRMING SCHOOLS

August 2023

Members of Black, Brown, Asian, and Indigenous communities have been leading efforts to build affirming school environments and culturally responsive and celebratory curriculum for decades. They have also been working to create community-based educational initiatives to expand learning opportunities.

Structural and systemic racism in education and social policies are root causes of many other inequities we see in our classrooms and school halls each day. Silence, lack of engagement, and the absence of opposition to racist policies and practices by white parents, educators, school board members, and administrators contribute to the perpetuation of inequities and further limit access to opportunities for students who are Black, Indigenous, and other people of color.

Across the state, many students, parents, educators, advocates, and community members are now focusing on making schools antiracist and free from prejudice. These efforts are critical to ensuring a safe, supportive, respectful, and affirming learning environment for children of color, essential for school success. This fact sheet highlights strategies to build antiracist and affirming schools.

HOW CAN SCHOOL COMMUNITIES ADDRESS RACIAL DISCRIMINATION AND CREATE AN AFFIRMING ANTIRACIST CLIMATE?

- **Reform policy to center equity**

Equity-centered [policies](#) can take many forms, including adopting antiracist pedagogy and curriculum, promoting restorative justice practices to respond to student behavior, and supporting the social and emotional needs of students. Some school boards have adopted equity resolutions¹ or commitments² to effectuate schoolwide or districtwide changes to create antiracist school climates. Importantly, the Pennsylvania Department of Education considers equity as one of the values underlying statewide educational goals, and it has created a toolkit for schools to address bias and discrimination “in a proactive manner.”³

Everyone in the school community needs opportunities to learn the skills needed to engage in antiracist behaviors. In light of the disproportionate educational impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic, policies in schools should focus on increasing supports to mitigate the educational inequities that impacted students of color during the pandemic period.⁴

- **Adopt culturally affirming curriculum**

Alongside educators who have already successfully implemented historically accurate curriculum that reflects and affirms the diversity of their students and our world, many more educators are working to implement [antiracist curriculum](#) and culturally responsive, [“identity-safe”](#) teaching practices.⁵ Antiracist curriculum teaches students the diverse and impactful contributions of Black, Brown, and Indigenous people and other people of color while acknowledging historic and structural racism and implicit bias.

There has been backlash in many states against incorporating antiracist curriculum, similar to the backlash against critical race theory.⁶ Culturally responsive and identity-safe teaching practices support school communities in embracing antiracist principles and encouraging teachers to meaningfully incorporate the student culture into classroom learning. This includes maintaining inclusive book policies, which have the potential to ensure culturally representative and diverse voices in the classroom. At a time when school boards and communities have been fighting to ban books that depict diverse characters and interracial relationships,⁷ it is key to affirm the importance of access to books. For example, the Illinois legislature recently passed a bill that will restrict state funding for public libraries that ban books.⁸ Read more about the harmful effects of book bans in our [Book Bans fact sheet](#).

- **Ensure a representative and supportive teaching staff**

There exists a substantial mismatch between the racial identity of students in the classroom and the teaching staff they encounter. As of 2021, nationwide, 9% of public school teachers identified as Hispanic, 6% identified as Black, 2% identified as Asian, and less than 1% identified as Indigenous. In comparison, 28% of students identified as Hispanic, 15% identified as Black, 5% identified as Asian, and less than 1% identified as Indigenous.⁹ Pennsylvania has an even larger gap. Only 3% of teachers identified as Black, 1% as Hispanic, less than 1% as Asian, and less than 1% as other minority while 14% of students identify as Black, 12% identify as Hispanic, 4% identify as Asian, and 4% identify as other minority.¹⁰

Creating a diverse teacher workforce will aid in creating a sense of belonging in the classroom for students from underrepresented groups and perceived protection from racialized harm, which can lead to greater attendance, higher test scores, and less

disciplinary action.¹¹ A more representative school environment can allow students of color to be comfortable enough to learn, ask questions, and achieve. In addition, there must be access to [supportive staff](#) in schools who can advocate for students of color and affirm their experiences.

- **Teach about race and inequality: critical race theory**

Some educators are also employing [the principles of critical race theory \(CRT\)](#), which is a well-respected approach¹² to understanding and analyzing the ways that racism is engrained in our everyday experiences in the United States through systems of law, policy, and practice, and the ways that this reality affects how people experience these systems – particularly Black and Brown people and people of color.¹³ Students deserve an accurate curriculum that seeks to dismantle biases. Addressing racism at school requires interventions at the district level, school level, and the individual level. In many districts and states, the ability to even mention race and racism is actively under attack as decision makers scramble to preserve and reinforce manifestations of white supremacy and sow disinformation in the education system.¹⁴ Such an effort was attempted in Pennsylvania’s General Assembly with [HB 211](#), which was referred to the House Education Committee on March 8, 2023. Now is the time to ensure these efforts do not take root.

Learn more [here](#) about why ELC and other advocacy organizations across the commonwealth oppose efforts to ban critical race theory and about the negative impact of these efforts on children of color and all children. At least one district court recently struck down attempts to ban race-based conversations as violative of the First Amendment and impermissibly vague.¹⁵

- **Adopt affirming school uniform and grooming policies in compliance with new state laws that prohibit discrimination based on race and sex.**

New state law makes clear that schools must review their current grooming and dress policies to ensure that they are not discriminating against students on the basis of race and sex. In addition, schools can adopt policies to ensure that students do not miss out on class time or face suspension or expulsion if they are not complying with dress codes or grooming codes. Students should not be punished or excluded for cultural or gender expression. Such restrictive policies create hostile school climates for students and send the message to students that they are unwelcome at school [because of who they are](#). Schools should instead ensure that dress codes and grooming codes affirmatively state that students can wear their hair in culturally expressive ways. Schools should allow students to dress in a way that affirms their gender identity and expression without reference to “boy” or “girl” uniforms that reinforce a fixed, restrictive, and binary approach to gender.

The Pennsylvania Human Relations Act (PHRA) is the Commonwealth's key antidiscrimination law.¹⁶ The Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission (PHRC) enforces this state law which prohibits discrimination in schools on the basis of race and sex (including gender identity and sexual orientation) as well as discrimination based on other protected class statuses such as disability, national origin, ancestry, family status and religion.¹⁷ The PHRA affords broad protections against racial and sex-based discrimination to students in public schools.

PHRA's regulations have been amended to more explicitly identify conduct that constitutes illegal racial and sex-based discrimination.¹⁸ These amendments are consistent with how PHRC has interpreted other laws as the body charged with investigating and enforcing these antidiscrimination laws¹⁹

The revised regulations make clear that prohibited racial discrimination is inclusive of discrimination on the basis of "traits historically associated with race including hair texture and protective hair styles," such as locs, braids, twists, knots, afros, and including styles created using extensions or headbands/headwraps.²⁰ This means a school cannot punish or discipline a student for expressing their racial and cultural identity by wearing a protective hairstyle or for the way their hair grows from their head. This change is an important step forward towards eliminating rampant race-based hair discrimination,²¹ which uniquely harms Black girls,²² and ending the "criminalization of Black hairstyles."²³

The PHRC has also recognized that prohibitions against sex-based discrimination are "comprehensive."²⁴ Students are protected against discrimination on the basis of sex "including pregnancy, childbirth, breastfeeding, sex assigned at birth, gender identity or expression, affectional or sexual orientation, and differences in sex development."²⁵ PHRA's existing guidance expansively protects gender identity, which is one's "innermost concept of self as male, female, a blend of both or neither."²⁶ Gender expression is also broadly defined as the external "appearance of one's gender identify, usually expressed through behavior, clothing, haircut or voice, and which may or may not conform to socially defined behaviors and characteristics typically associated with being either masculine or feminine."²⁷ All gender identities and expressions, including those held by transgender students, are protected by the PHRA. This protection is also inclusive of the ways students' understanding of these identities evolves over time.

Schools should not punish students for how required uniforms fit their bodies. Schools should also provide resources to families who face barriers to purchasing required uniforms. If you need help obtaining a uniform, consider reaching out to your school's counselor or a teacher you trust.

The expanded definitions of both race and sex better ensure that Pennsylvania students can proudly express their identities and culture at school without fear of discrimination. Students who face illegal race and/or sex-based discrimination at school can file a complaint with the PHRC, which can investigate and seek to resolve complaints of discrimination.²⁸ To learn more about filing a PHRC complaint, please see ELC's [How To File a Complaint to the PHRC](#). To learn more about students' rights to be free from racial and sex-based discrimination, see [The Right to Be Free From Racism at School](#) and [Rights of LGBTQ+ and Nonbinary Students](#).

- **Increase access to culturally affirming mental health supports**

Schools should function as affirming and healing spaces. [Many students require mental health supports](#) to fully access school, particularly in light of the new and exacerbated challenges caused by COVID-19 and the upswing in incidents of racism and hate in recent years.²⁹ Schools should provide school-based professionals to offer mental health supports and services – such as counselors, psychologists, and social workers – who are culturally competent and who can address intersecting barriers such as racism, ableism, and sexism that students may experience in the school community and community at large. One approach that schools can adopt is [trauma-informed schooling](#), in which schools center the experiences of students in their teaching practices to foster a safe and supportive educational environment conducive to learning.³⁰

- **Involve the community in decision-making**

Schools that are responsive to their communities, especially when there is a mismatch between the representation of school staff and the student body, are able to understand the unique needs of the community. In particularly racially diverse areas, school administration can understand the experiences and supports that their students need through input from the community. This process can involve parents or guardians contributing to the vision and mission of the school through listening and planning sessions. Districts can also form school-community partnerships, especially with explicitly antiracist organizations, which can be useful in educating staff on best practices to use in the classroom and in providing students support services such as culturally affirming mental health supports.³¹ Community engagement strengthens the school climate, while also increasing school attendance and achievement in students.³²

- **Invest in Black girls**

Black girls face especially daunting barriers due to the intersection of systemic racism and sexism endemic in our current education system. Despite being “largely invisible” in the focus of researchers due to systemic racism, we know that Black girls are disproportionately affected by racist and sexist discipline policies³³ and [experience anti-Black racism at school](#). Absent specific and targeted investments, this outcome will continue to inflict harm on this and future generations of learners. Schools can

[invest](#) in efforts supporting specific student populations, such as Black girls, to eliminate barriers to accessing affirming education spaces. Investing should be in the form of supportive staff, educational resources, course offerings, smaller class sizes, etc. See ELC’s report, [We Need Supportive Spaces That Celebrate Us: Black Girls Speak Out About Public Schools](#),³⁴ for further recommendations.

- **Implement restorative justice principles and practices**

Rather than using punitive and exclusionary discipline, schools can instead employ restorative justice principles that allow students to remain in the classroom and learning and that seek to repair harm caused to the school community. Restorative justice policies and practices, which are based in the knowledge and culture of Indigenous peoples, have a history of efficacy and positive outcomes for girls of color, including “school connectedness,” “mental health, resilience, and empowerment,” and “sense of safety and positive school climate.”³⁵ To learn more about restorative justice principles, see the 2021 report [Building Foundations of Health and Wellbeing in School: A Study of Restorative Practices and Girls of Color](#).

- **Eliminate exclusionary discipline as an acceptable intervention**

Schools should consider banning suspensions and expulsions outright for the majority of behavioral infractions, including repeat behaviors that do not pose a danger to members of the school community. Suspensions for age-appropriate behavior can exclude students from valuable learning time when they should be provided with needed opportunities to learn and grow.³⁶ Recognizing the negative consequences, several school districts across Pennsylvania have already implemented partial bans on suspensions.³⁷

Even a single suspension can alter the trajectory of a student’s education; suspensions increase the likelihood that a student is forced to repeat a grade, create barriers to graduation, and can even push students out of school altogether.³⁸ Suspensions also do not improve the educational environment for the students remaining in the classroom. Studies show that “zero tolerance” and other punitive exclusionary policies do not reduce the student behaviors they seek to control and fail to improve a sense of safety on campus or foster positive and affirming school environments. Instead, these practices disproportionately harm Black students, LGBTQ students, and students who have disabilities.³⁹

- **Remove subjective school discipline from codes of conduct**

Schools should eliminate policies that allow exclusion and punishment for vague and age-appropriate behaviors like “disrespectful body language,” “being rude,” and “disorderly conduct” (a term that shares the name of an adult criminal offense). Enforcement of these subjectively defined, prohibited behaviors enables biases held by decision makers, like adultification, to play out to the detriment of students of

color, particularly Black girls. To learn more about the public health crisis of subjective school discipline, see [González, Etow, and De La Vega, School Discipline is a Public Health Crisis, \(2021\)](#). Further, schools and districts should move away from use of carceral language and replace it with language that is people-first. For example, students should not be referred to as “offenders”; instead, a student may have been alleged to have committed an offense.

- **Institute police-free schools**

Schools need to be spaces of learning, support, and healing. Students of color are more often attending schools that have a strong law enforcement presence and no school counselors or mental health support professions, due to systemic racism and historic and current disinvestment in Black and Brown communities.⁴⁰ Having law enforcement as an ever-present part of a school community undermines all students’ safety overall and their ability to learn. It makes it more likely that students, particularly Black and Brown students, LGBTQ students, and students with disabilities, will face violence and arrest at the hands of police in school.⁴¹ For example, Black girls face suspension at rates seven times higher and arrest at rates four times higher than their white peers.⁴² The issue is not student behavior, as **no evidence exists** that students of color exhibit more age-appropriate misbehavior in school than other student populations.⁴³ Research **does** consistently show that police in schools undermine safety for students because minor age-appropriate behaviors are met with excessive force and arrest.⁴⁴ Exposure to school police can also impact students’ mental health⁴⁵ and future educational opportunities, as it decreases graduation and college enrollment rates.⁴⁶

Police are never appropriate substitutes for trauma-informed responses to age-appropriate behavior or needed mental health or behavioral health supports. Schools instead need to provide adequate access to culturally competent professionals to ensure that students have what they need to learn and thrive. Student-informed groups, including the Philadelphia Student Union and One Pennsylvania, have been leading the charge to call for police-free schools in the commonwealth.

The Education Law Center-PA (ELC) is a nonprofit, legal advocacy organization with offices in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, dedicated to ensuring that all children in Pennsylvania have access to a quality public education. Through legal representation, impact litigation, trainings, and policy advocacy, ELC advances the rights of underserved children, including children living in poverty, children of color, children in the foster care and juvenile justice systems, children with disabilities, multilingual learners, LGBTQ students, and children experiencing homelessness.

ELC’s publications provide a general statement of the law. However, each situation is different. If questions remain about how the law applies to a particular situation, contact ELC’s Helpline for information and advice – visit www.elc-pa.org/contact or call 215-238-6970 (Philadelphia) or 412-258-2120 (Pittsburgh) – or contact another attorney of your choice.

¹ RACIAL JUSTICE ACTION GROUP, HAVERFORD COMMUNITY ACTION NETWORK FOR THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF HAVERFORD TOWNSHIP, DIVERSITY AND INCLUSION IN THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF HAVERFORD TOWNSHIP (2018), <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/5a858eface8645cabb72cde/t/5adc5d012b6a2829b4c3e7db/1524391803879/H-CAN-Diversity-Inclusion-Report-SDHT-4-19-18.pdf>.

² For example, the School District of Philadelphia adopted guardrails to “address racist practices” and effectuate that commitment to “dismantle racist practices” by ensuring that “our students’ potential will not be limited by practices that perpetuate systemic racism and hinder student achievement.” *Goals and Guardrails*, THE SCHOOL DISTRICT OF PHILADELPHIA (July 15, 2021), <https://www.philasd.org/schoolboard/goals-and-guardrails/>.

³ PA. DEP’T OF EDUC., EVERY STUDENT SUCCEEDS ACT, PENNSYLVANIA CONSOLIDATED STATE PLAN 5-6, 112 (2019), <https://www.education.pa.gov/Documents/K-12/ESSA/PennsylvaniaConsolidatedStatePlan.pdf>.

⁴ SARAH COHODES ET AL., CTR. FOR REINVENTING PUBLIC ED., STUDENT ACHIEVEMENT GAPS AND THE PANDEMIC : A NEW REVIEW OF EVIDENCE FROM 2021-2022 6 (2022), https://crpe.org/wp-content/uploads/final_Academic-consensus-panel-2022.pdf (“Low-income students and students of color, who on average spent the most time in remote instruction, experienced the greatest learning delays and fell even farther behind their white, advantaged peers.”)

⁵ Identity-safe classrooms are those in which teachers strive to ensure that students feel that their social identity is an asset rather than a barrier to success in the classroom, and that they are welcomed, supported, and valued. Identity-safe teaching practices include a range of strategies including: the arrangement of students and materials, the types of questions directed toward students, cooperative learning activities, student autonomy, and nonpunitive approaches to dealing with misbehavior. See e.g., Becki Cohn-Vargas, *Identity Safe Classrooms and Schools* (April 20, 2015), <https://www.learningforjustice.org/magazine/identity-safe-classrooms-and-schools>.

⁶ In Florida, the state banned teaching AP African American Studies, and shortly thereafter, the College Board curbed topics that were to be taught in the course’s curriculum. Anemona Hartocollis & Eliza Fawcett, *The College Board Strips Down Its A.P Curriculum for African American Studies*, N.Y. TIMES (Feb. 1, 2023), <https://www.nytimes.com/2023/02/01/us/college-board-advanced-placement-african-american-studies.html>.

⁷ *Banned in the USA: Rising School Book Bans Threaten Free Expression and Student’s First Amendment Rights*, PEN America (June 28, 2022), <https://pen.org/banned-in-the-usa/>.

⁸ See Coral Murphy Marcos, *Illinois set to become first state to end book bans*, THE GUARDIAN (May 30, 2023) <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2023/may/30/illinois-book-bans-bill-libraries-schools> (discussing the status of HB 2789 and its potential to be signed into law; the bill was signed into law on June 12, 2023); see also H.B. 2789, 2023 Leg., 2023-2024 Biennium (Pa. 2023).

⁹ NAT’L CTR. FOR ED. STAT., INST. OF ED. SCI., U.S. DEP. OF ED., CONDITION OF EDUCATION: CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHER (2023), <https://nces.ed.gov/programs/coe/indicator/clr/public-school-teachers>.

¹⁰ ANNA SHAW-AMOAH ET AL., TEACHER DIVERSITY IN PENNSYLVANIA FROM 2013-14 TO 2019-20 4 (2020), <https://www.researchforaction.org/research-resources/k-12/teacher-diversity-in-pennsylvania-from-2013-14-to-2019-20/>.

¹¹ Seth Gershenson et al., *The Long-Run Impacts of Same-Race Teachers* (Inst. Of Labor Economics, 2017) <https://www.brookings.edu/research/the-importance-of-a-diverse-teaching-force/>.

¹² CRT was created by many legal scholars of color, with many Black women at the forefront of this ideological framing. The term itself was coined by Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw.

¹³ Janel George, *A Lesson on Critical Race Theory*, AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION (2021), https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/civil-rights-reimagining-policing/a-lesson-on-critical-race-theory/. More resources on critical race theory are available [here](#).

¹⁴ As of 2023, sixteen states have banned critical race theory, and 20 states, including Pennsylvania, are considering a ban. See *States That Have Banned Critical Race Theory*, Wisevoter, available at <https://wisevoter.com/state-rankings/states-that-have-banned-critical-race-theory/>.

¹⁵ See e.g., *Judge blocks Florida's 'Stop WOKE Act' pushed by Gov. DeSantis* (A.P., August 19, 2022) (discussing ruling by federal district judge blocking Florida's "stop WOKE law" banning race-based discussions in schools and businesses as unconstitutional under First Amendment), <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/judge-blocks-floridas-stop-woke-act-pushed-gov-desantis-rcna43908>.

¹⁶ Pennsylvania Human Relations Act, 43 Pa. Stat. Ann. § 953.

¹⁷ *Id.*; *id.* § 954(l).

¹⁸ Protected Classes Under the PHRA and PFOEA, Regulation #52-13, at 2 (adopted Dec. 8, 2022) (to be codified at 16 Pa. Code ch. 41.201-41.207), <http://www.irrc.state.pa.us/regulations/RegSrchrslts.cfm?ID=3350>.

¹⁹ Desireé Chang & Ronnessa Edwards, Pennsylvania Human Relation Commission, Education and Enforcement Training Presentation (June 12, 2023).

²⁰ Protected Classes Under the PHRA and PFOEA, Regulation #52-13, at 2 (adopted Dec. 8, 2022) (to be codified at 16 Pa. Code ch. 41.201-41.207),

<http://www.irrc.state.pa.us/regulations/RegSrchrslts.cfm?ID=3350>; Desireé Chang & Ronnessa Edwards, Pennsylvania Human Relation Commission, Education and Enforcement Training Presentation (June 12, 2023).

²¹ See *Natural Hair Discrimination: Frequently Asked Questions*, NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, <https://www.naacpldf.org/natural-hair-discrimination/> (last visited June 14, 2023) (detailing the many ways that hair discrimination uniquely targets and criminalizes Black hair).

²² See Rebecca Epstein et al., Georgetown Law Center on Poverty & Inequality, *Girlhood Interrupted: The Erasure of Black Girls' Childhood* 5 (2017), <https://genderjusticeandopportunity.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/girlhood-interrupted.pdf> (explaining that dress codes are one example of the ways policing of Black girls' bodies harkens back to "paradigms of Black femininity that originated in the South during the period of slavery [and] have persisted into present-day culture").

²³ Angela Tapnio, Amina Ahmetovic, Ban Alqadhi, Bernadette Costa, and Salma Abdalla *Black Beauty in Education: Media Implications and Future Actions* Univ. of Toronto (Winter, 2022), available at <https://jps.library.utoronto.ca/index.php/utmlsas/article/view/39220>.

²⁴ Protected Classes Under the PHRA and PFOEA, Regulation #52-13, at 2 (adopted Dec. 8, 2022) (to be codified at 16 Pa. Code ch. 41.201-41.207), <http://www.irrc.state.pa.us/regulations/RegSrchrslts.cfm?ID=3350>.

²⁵ *Id.*

²⁶ Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, *Guidance on Discrimination on the Basis of Sex Under the Pennsylvania Human Relations Act*, 3 (Mar. 3, 2021), <https://www.phrc.pa.gov/AboutUs/Documents/APPROVED%20Sex%20Discrimination%20Guidance%20PHRA.pdf>.

²⁷ *Id.*

²⁸ Pennsylvania Human Relations Act, 43 Pa. Stat. Ann. § 957(f).

²⁹ Southern Poverty Law Center, *Hate at School Report* (2019), available at <https://www.learningforjustice.org/sites/default/files/2019-05/TT-2019-Hate-at-School-Report.pdf>.

³⁰ NAT'L ED. ASS'N, *Trauma-Informed Schools*, <https://www.nea.org/professional-excellence/student-engagement/trauma-informed-schools> (last visited Jun. 7, 2023).

³¹ Susan Sepanik & Kevin Thaddeus Brown, Jr., MDRC, *School-Community Partnerships* (2021), https://www.mdrc.org/sites/default/files/RWJF_Partnerships_Brief_0.pdf.

³² Elizabeth M. Ross, HARVARD GRADUATE SCHOOL OF EDUCATION, *The Case for Strong Family and Community Engagement in Schools* (2023), <https://www.gse.harvard.edu/news/uk/23/03/case-strong-family-and-community-engagement-schools>.

³³ Subini A. Annamma, et al., *Black Girls and School Discipline: The Complexities of Being Overrepresented and Understudied*, 54 URB. EDUC. 211, 213 (2019).

³⁴ PAIGE JOKI, EDUCATION LAW CENTER-PA, WE NEED SUPPORTIVE SPACES THAT CELEBRATE US: BLACK GIRLS SPEAK OUT ABOUT PUBLIC SCHOOLS 28(2023), <https://www.elc-pa.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/FINAL-Supportive-Spaces-for-web.pdf>.

³⁵ THALIA GONZÁLEZ & REBECCA EPSTEIN, INITIATIVE ON GENDER JUSTICE & OPPORTUNITY, BUILDING FOUNDATIONS OF HEALTH AND WELLBEING IN SCHOOL: A STUDY OF RESTORATIVE PRACTICES AND GIRLS OF COLOR 5 (2021), https://genderjusticeandopportunity.georgetown.edu/wp-content/uploads/2021/05/21_COPI_BuildingFoundations_Report_Accessible_Final.pdf.

³⁶ For an example of a successful non-exclusionary discipline policy, see DENVER PUB. SCH. Bd. OF EDUC., *Policy JK-R Student Conduct and Discipline Procedures*, in DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS ADMINISTRATION POLICIES (2021), https://www.dpsk12.org/wp-content/uploads/JK-R-Student_Conduct-Discipline_Procedures_English.pdf; see also YOLANDA ANYON ET AL., SPOTLIGHT ON SUCCESS: CHANGING THE CULTURE OF DISCIPLINE IN DENVER PUBLIC SCHOOLS (2016), <https://portfolio.du.edu/downloadItem/336038>.

³⁷ See e.g., Policy 218, Pittsburgh Public Schools (banning suspensions and expulsions for nonviolent infractions for students below grade 3), <https://go.boarddocs.com/pa/pghboe/Board.nsf/goto?open&id=ATMRTE6C5CCE>.

³⁸ U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, BRIEFING REPORT: BEYOND SUSPENSIONS: EXAMINING SCHOOL DISCIPLINE POLICIES AND CONNECTIONS TO THE SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE FOR STUDENTS OF COLOR WITH DISABILITIES 4 (July 23, 2019), <https://www.usccr.gov/files/pubs/2019/07-23-Beyond-Suspensions.pdf>.

³⁹ PA. ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO THE U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS, DISPARATE AND PUNITIVE IMPACT OF EXCLUSIONARY PRACTICES ON STUDENTS OF COLOR, STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES AND LGBTQ STUDENTS IN PENNSYLVANIA PUBLIC SCHOOLS 1 (2021), <https://www.usccr.gov/files/2021/04-09-Pennsylvania-Public-Schools.pdf>.

⁴⁰ THE ADVANCEMENT PROJECT, WE CAME TO LEARN: A CALL TO ACTION FOR POLICE-FREE SCHOOLS 42 (2018), <https://advancementproject.org/wp-content/uploads/WCTLweb/index.html>.

⁴¹ *Id.* at 12.

⁴² MISHA N. INNIS-THOMPSON, NATIONAL BLACK WOMEN’S JUSTICE INSTITUTE, SUMMARY OF DISCIPLINE DATA FOR GIRLS IN U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOLS: AN ANALYSIS FROM THE 2013-14 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS DATA COLLECTION 5 (2017), https://www.acsa.org/application/files/5215/0532/2372/NBWJI_Fact_Sheet_090917FINAL.pdf.

⁴³ THE ADVANCEMENT PROJECT, WE CAME TO LEARN: A CALL TO ACTION FOR POLICE-FREE SCHOOLS 44 (2018), <https://advancementproject.org/wp-content/uploads/WCTLweb/index.html>.

⁴⁴ *Id.* at 38.

⁴⁵ Thalia González, *Race, School Policing, and Public Health*, 73 STANFORD LAW REVIEW ONLINE 180 (May 2021), <https://review.law.stanford.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/3/2021/06/73-Stan.-L.-Rev.-Online-180-Gonzalez.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Emily K. Weisburst, *Patrolling Public Schools: The Impact of Funding for School Police on Student Discipline and Long-Term Educational Outcomes*, 38 JOURNAL OF POLICY ANALYSIS AND MANAGEMENT 338, 339 (2019), <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/full/10.1002/pam.22116>.