

June 2016



RESTORATIVE JUSTICE NOW!

A Community Review of Alexandria City Public Schools' Implementation of Restorative Justice

By: Tenants and Workers United, Alexandria United Teens, The Alexandria Branch of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, & Advancement Project



ABOUT US

TENANTS AND WORKERS UNITED (TWU) conducts public policy and issue campaigns, low-wage worker and community organizing, education and leadership development, and non-partisan electoral organizing, all of which are geared to the overall mission of building regional power in Northern Virginia, and a broad, political-economic justice movement centered in the leadership of working-class women and communities of color.

ALEXANDRIA UNITED TEENS (AUT) is the youth-led chapter of Tenants and Workers United. It was established in 2001 as a means to provide leadership development and opportunities for civic and cultural engagement, academic development, and community organizing for low-income youth of color in Alexandria. Since 2001, AUT has annually served an average of 120-150 youths ages 11-21, with a full range of after-school and summer activities, including leadership development and training, youth-led community organizing campaigns for school improvement, after-school tutoring, and an annual summer institute that features arts and dance instruction, community service, leadership development, and recreation.

THE ALEXANDRIA BRANCH OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE (NAACP) is a mission-driven organization that aims to ensure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights of all persons and to eliminate race-based discrimination. In 1993, a mass meeting was held at Alfred Street Baptist Church in Alexandria, Virginia under the auspices of the Alexandria Citizens' Association, a chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored people, and resulted in the formation of the Alexandria branch of the NAACP.

ADVANCEMENT PROJECT is a national, next generation, multi-racial civil rights organization that supports grassroots movements that aim to dismantle the school-to-prison pipeline. Advancement Project is an innovative civil rights law, policy, and communications "action tank" that advances universal opportunity and a just democracy for those left behind in America. Advancement Project believes that sustainable progress can be made when multiple tools—law, policy analysis, strategic communications, technology, and research—are coordinated with grassroots movements.

INTRODUCTION



Far too many students in Alexandria City Public Schools (ACPS) are being pushed out of school. This is a problem that is now commonly known as the “school-to-prison pipeline,” which occurs when schools rely on punitive discipline policies to suspend, expel, or refer students to law enforcement. These overly-punitive policies have serious consequences. They increase the likelihood of students dropping-out, not graduating, and becoming involved in the juvenile or criminal justice system. These policies disproportionately impact students of color, students with disabilities, and LGBTQ and gender non-conforming students. In an effort to begin creating change in Alexandria, we have researched the data and policies in ACPS and written this report, to encourage positive changes that support our youth, rather than criminalize them.

As early as 2006, students with Tenants and Workers United (TWU) began identifying the school-to-prison pipeline as a serious concern in ACPS. The youth chapter of TWU, Alexandria United Teens (AUT), surveyed fellow students and asked them to identify obstacles to their success. One of the most common obstacles was the overuse of harsh school discipline practices. In a follow-up report published in 2007, *Obstacles to Opportunity: Alexandria, Virginia Students Speak Out*, one student said, “Stop expelling and suspending students for little things. Stop taking people to court for no reason.” The report included data showing that Black students were disproportionately suspended when compared to White students. Nearly a decade later, ACPS students still experience harsh and racially disproportionate discipline in schools.

We have made numerous efforts over the last decade to replace harsh discipline with a more fair and equitable system of restorative justice. ACPS has listened to our concerns, but has not made sufficient progress in ending the use of harsh, racially-biased discipline. Although the school board agreed to fund a pilot restorative justice model at T.C. Williams High School in 2014, the district has failed to faithfully implement restorative justice. This happened despite strong evidence from school districts across the country demonstrating that if, and only if, restorative justice is implemented correctly, suspension rates dramatically decrease. Proper implementation requires sufficient commitment, funding, infrastructure, training, and evaluation. We have yet to see ACPS use these established best practices.

This report contains a timeline of our work to implement restorative justice, an analysis of the suspension and referral to law enforcement data from the 2014-15 school year, and a list of recommendations to end harsh school discipline in ACPS. Out of a sense of urgency for the youth in our community, we call on ACPS to consider the information in this report and fully and immediately commit to proper implementation of restorative justice and an end to the school-to-prison pipeline. We cannot risk the future of our young people while ACPS continues to stall on the implementation of restorative justice.

TIMELINE OF RESTORATIVE JUSTICE CAMPAIGN

2007: PUBLISHED “OBSTACLES TO OPPORTUNITY”

In 2007, TWU released “Obstacles to Opportunity: Alexandria, Virginia Students Speak Out,” a youth-led report exposing Alexandria’s “two-track” school system that provides White students and students of color with unequal educations. In the report, TWU youth called on the district to address the overuse of exclusionary discipline, among other recommendations.

2009-2012: ATTEMPTED, BUT FAILED PARTNERSHIP WITH ACPS

In 2009, TWU waged a successful campaign to get ACPS to adopt individualized education plans for all students (currently called Individualized Career and Academic Plans (“ICAP”)). TWU and ACPS then signed a Memorandum of Understanding to continue to work in partnership on issues affecting students at school. Among other points, ACPS agreed to consult TWU and the community in the hiring of district leadership and to work with TWU to address school discipline issues.

In October of 2011, TWU requested and received school discipline data from ACPS, which revealed the continued overuse and racial disproportionality of suspensions. TWU called on ACPS to reexamine discipline policies and adopt restorative justice practices. Superintendent Sherman expressed support for adopting restorative justice and requested that TWU join the Student Empowerment Subcommittee of the “Minority Achievement Advisory Committee.”

For nearly a full school year, TWU participated in the Subcommittee and advocated for inclusion of restorative justice in the Subcommittee’s list of recommendations to the District, which was indeed included in early drafts of the recommendations. However, restorative justice was removed from the final draft and TWU was never given an explanation about why.

In December of 2012, TWU collected over 600 petition signatures from students, parents, and community members calling on the District to adopt restorative justice. TWU also continued to meet with school board members and district administrators about the need to adopt restorative practices in Alexandria. Some school board members and district administrators made statements of support, but the district did not make any commitments or take any action.

EARLY 2013: 10-YEAR OLD CHARGED FOR PLAYING WITH TOY GUN; AGREEMENT TO LAUNCH RESTORATIVE JUSTICE PILOT

In February of 2013, a 10-year old ACPS elementary school student was charged with “brandishing a weapon” for showing a toy gun to a fellow student. In response, TWU submitted another request for updated school discipline data. TWU youth then testified at an Alexandria City School Board public hearing about the need for restorative justice. Several school board members expressed their support before and after the public hearing.

In March, ACPS and T.C. Williams High School leadership agreed to launch a “pilot program” at the International Academy in T.C. Williams High School during the 2014-15 school year. This was a good first step, but TWU expressed the need to implement restorative justice with a larger, more representative population of T.C. Williams High School students.



LATE 2013: PLANNING FOR RESTORATIVE JUSTICE STARTS AND STALLS

Throughout the summer, TWU, AUT, and T.C. Williams leadership met several times. TWU and AUT assisted in connecting T.C. Williams administrators with Restorative Justice practitioners, providing information about trainers, and discussing recommendations for implementation. However, no plans or commitments were made for implementation of the pilot.

In September, TWU called a meeting with ACPs senior leadership, including Superintendent Sherman, and T.C. Williams High School leadership to discuss stalled progress on the pilot. District and school leadership made new promises to begin training a group of school building administrators for a restorative justice pilot.

2014: TWU RESEARCHED AND WROTE RESTORATIVE JUSTICE IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

In April, a restorative justice practitioner from Minnesota conducted a training for some ACPs leadership, school administrators, teachers, and students. Soon thereafter, TWU researched and wrote a restorative justice implementation plan. The International Academy and Minnie Howard also wrote their own plans.

The TWU plan listed essential requirements for implementation of restorative justice: (1) Training of every classroom teacher and a diverse group of students on circle-keeping and community building, (2) Training of all staff on conflict circles, (3) Creation of a weekly circle schedule, (4) Hiring a full-time school-building Restorative Justice Coordinator, (5) Hosting a youth-led school assembly on restorative justice, and (6) Support of youth-created surveys.

From August to September, International Academy trained all of their teachers and approximately 30 students on circle-building. Minnie Howard trained 60% of their teachers on circle-building. Both schools also trained administrators on harm circles. Despite the training, circles were largely absent from schools. In October, TWU raised concerns about the implementation and funding for restorative justice at a school board public hearing.

After expressing these concerns, T.C. Williams and Minnie Howard staff asked the youth to create a survey to evaluate the implementation of restorative justice. The youth worked with Advancement Project to create the peer-tested survey, and asked researchers to validate it.

2015: ATTEMPTS TO COLLABORATE ARE RE-INITIATED

In January, the TWU youth met with ACPS staff to present the youth-created survey. ACPS staff were dismissive of the survey and said that their accountability office would have to review it. TWU never heard back from the accountability office and the survey was never distributed.

In April, TWU organized a community meeting with Superintendent Crawley, in which Superintendent Crawley committed to (1) Fully implement restorative justice at T.C. Williams High School, (2) Include students in the restorative justice implementation process, (3) Provide out-of-school suspension data on a regular basis, (4) Launch a data dashboard with discipline data, (5) Work aggressively to reduce out-of-school suspension rates for African-American students, (6) Include TWU students in the code of conduct revision process, (7) Investigate alternatives to out-of-school suspensions, and (8) Partner with TWU to end harsh discipline.

In May, TWU youth testified at an ACPS school board hearing demanding a comprehensive plan for the implementation and evaluation of restorative justice at each pilot site. The youth also demanded the hiring of a restorative justice coordinator at each site and the distribution of the student-created surveys. This was followed-up with a letter to the school board and the Superintendent reiterating the student concerns and demands.

In September, ACPS staff presented an implementation plan for all three sites. During that meeting, it became clear to TWU that the plan was inadequate and that ACPS had already failed to meet its own deadlines. Some principals at the sites were not even aware of the restorative justice plan. Similarly, students could not identify any use of restorative justice in their schools.

2016: URGENCY RESULTS IN INCREASED PRESSURE; NAACP JOINS FORCES WITH TWU

In February, students met with school board members and testified at school board hearings to express their continued concerns about the stalled implementation of restorative justice. TWU also met with ACPS central staff and T.C. Williams staff, who were unable to give students any updates on the next steps for restorative justice and were not receptive to the students' feedback—the students were even told that they were being "combative."

After nearly 10 years of organizing for restorative justice and student rights, TWU and AUT were outraged by the way they were treated and decided to engage the community about racial disparities in ACPS. The youth created and distributed a flyer showing the stark differences in the way students of color and White students are disciplined. As a result, and with support from the Alexandria branch of the NAACP, which had also been fighting for school discipline reform for years, several school board members expressed renewed support for the youth.

The youth gathered hundreds of Alexandria resident signatures on a petition for restorative justice and spoke with the Superintendent's Student Leadership Club to gain support. The youth then focused their efforts on creating this report and organizing a community meeting with the Superintendent to reiterate the need for restorative justice.

TOTAL SUSPENSION AND REFERRAL TO LAW ENFORCEMENT DATA

Table 1: 2014-15 Alexandria City Public Schools (ACPS) Discipline Data

	School Name	Total Student Enrollment	Total Number of Students Suspended*	Total Number of Referrals to Law Enforcement
Elementary Schools	Charles Barrett Elementary	460	<10	0
	Cora Kelly Magnet Elementary	341	12	0
	Douglas Macarthur Elementary	709	0	1
	George Mason Elementary	541	0	0
	James K. Polk Elementary	704	<10	0
	Jefferson-Houston Elementary	445	31	1
	John Adams Elementary	947	14	0
	Lyles-Crouch Elementary	396	<10	2
	Maury Elementary	441	<10	0
	Mount Vernon Elementary	817	10	1
	Patrick Henry Elementary	597	<10	0
	Samuel W. Tucker Elementary	752	0	0
	William Ramsay Elementary	887	<10	0
Middle Schools	Francis C. Hammond Middle	1443	176	93
	George Washington Middle	1233	114	75
High School	T.C. Williams High	3503	216	46
Total	Alexandria City Public Schools	14216	573	219

*This data shows the number of students who received a short-term out-of-school suspension (less than 10 days). The <10 symbol means that there was at least 1 student, but less than 10 students, who received a short-term out-of-school suspension. Data for regional centers is not publicly available.

Source: Virginia Department of Education, Safe Schools Information Resources & Records Request

RACIAL DISPARITIES

Chart 1:

2014-15 ACPS Racial Disparities in Discipline

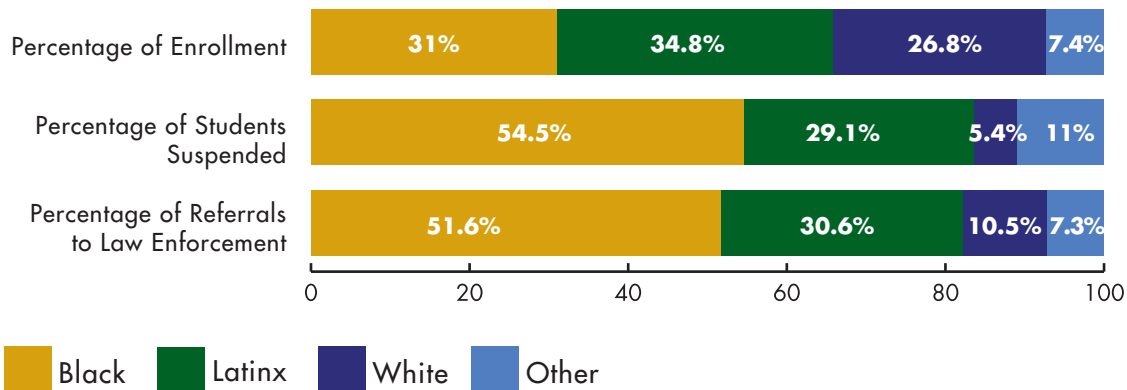
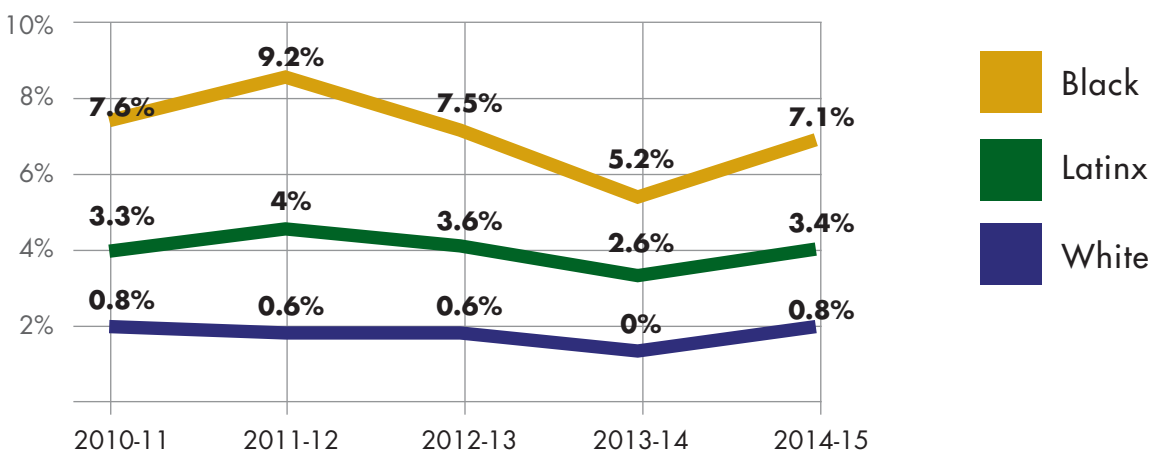


Chart 1, above, illustrates the racial disparities in discipline within Alexandria City Public Schools (ACPS). Black students make up 31% of student enrollment in ACPS, but are 55% of suspended students and 52% of students referred to law enforcement. In comparison, White students are 27% of student enrollment, but only 5% of suspended students and 11% of students referred

to law enforcement. In other words, Black students are nearly 9 times more likely to receive a short-term out-of-school suspension than White students. Meanwhile, Latinx students are over 4 times as likely to receive a short-term out-of-school suspension as White students. These racial disparities have been a consistent trend for at least the past five school years, as illustrated by Chart 2.

Chart 2:

2010-15 ACPS Suspension Rates by Race



RACE AND SUBJECTIVE OFFENSES

Research proves that the majority of out-of-school suspensions are not necessary and are in fact not even related to safety. For the 2014-15 school year, the Virginia Department of Education did not even report any ACPS suspensions “related to weapons” because there were so few such suspensions. Yet, unnecessary suspensions persist in ACPS. In particular, suspensions “related to behavior” accounted for 382 of the 854 total suspensions in the 2014-15 school year. Studies on these kinds of suspensions conclude that, because of the subjective nature of such suspensions, bias is often a factor in determining whether to suspend a student. This bias results in great racial disparities for subjective offenses, as illustrated below.

Chart 3 shows that at least 93% of students suspended for incidents “related to behavior,” which are subjective determinations, are Black and Latinx. The majority of these suspensions for Black and Latinx students are for the following behaviors: (1) Disrespect (Discipline Code D1C), (2) Defiance/Insubordination (Code D2C), and (3) Disruptive Demonstrations (Code D3C). These are the same kinds of behaviors that have been eliminated as a reason to suspend any student in other school districts across the country, precisely because these offenses are unfairly used to suspend Black and Brown students. Students of color should not lose learning time for behaviors that teachers and principals should be capable of addressing in school.

The racial disparities are even more severe in the law enforcement data. All of the students referred to law enforcement for “Disorderly Conduct” in 2014-15 were either Black or Latinx. In other words, not only are Black and Latinx students losing learning time for “subjective” offenses, but they are also being criminalized for such behavior and being put on a pathway into the juvenile justice system. These findings demand that ACPS leadership review their Code of Conduct, their protocols for referring students to law enforcement, the training for teachers, and the alternatives that are available for students, such as restorative justice.

The data also shows that at least 78 of the 219 students referred to law enforcement were referred for fights with no injury or minor injury. These are exactly the kinds of incidents that

should instead be addressed through a restorative justice circle. Instead, improper restorative justice implementation means students are funneled into the juvenile justice system.

Of the 219 referrals to law enforcement, 60% were not even required by state law. This means that ACPS staff is needlessly pushing students into the juvenile justice system, which could derail a student’s life and create lifelong collateral consequences. And like the suspension data above, we also know that students of color are being disproportionately affected. The charts below show how much of an issue racial bias is in referrals to law enforcement.

As you can see in Chart 4, Black students are 38% of state required referrals to law enforcement, which is fairly close to

Chart 3:
2014-15 ACPS Subjective
Offense Suspensions

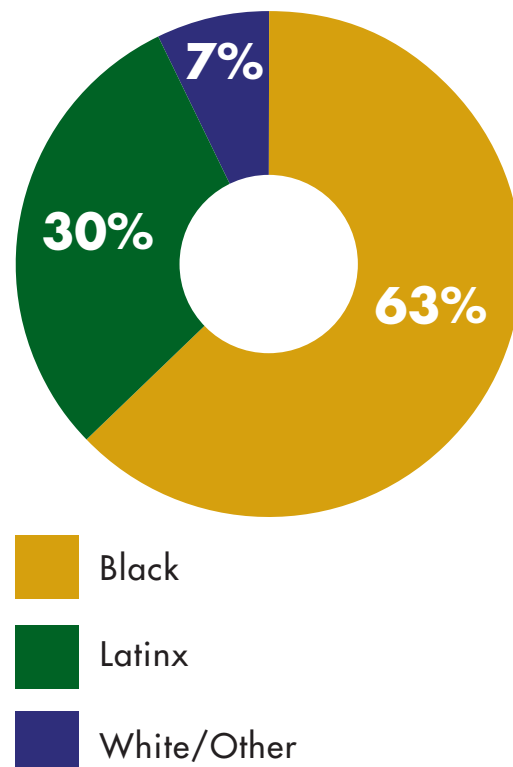


Chart 4:

2014-15 ACPS State Required Referrals to Law Enforcement

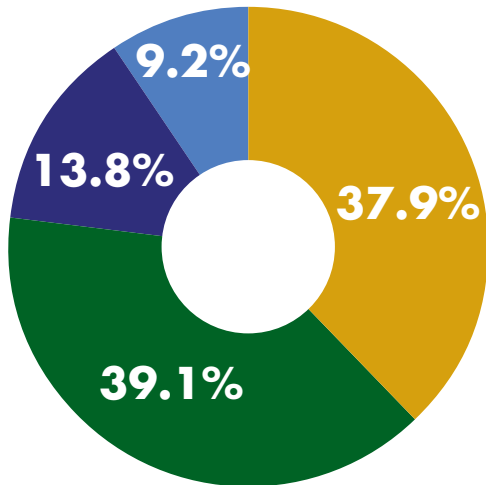
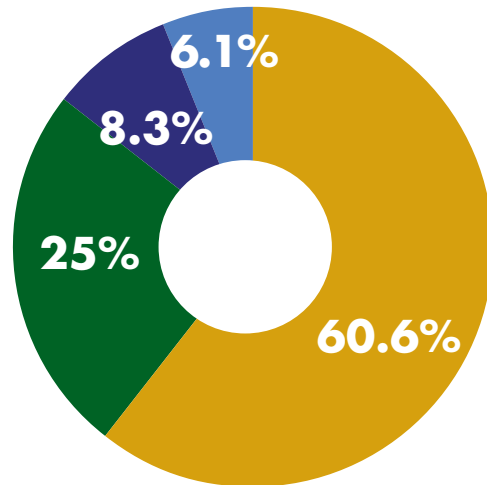


Chart 5:

2014-15 ACPS Discretionary Referrals to Law Enforcement



Black Latinx White Other

their student enrollment percentage (31%). These offenses are more objective in nature, such as “alcohol possession” or “possession of a BB Gun.” However, for discretionary referrals to law enforcement illustrated in Chart 5, which include subjective offenses like “defiance” and “disruptive demonstrations,” Black students are 61% of such referrals. This is clear evidence that

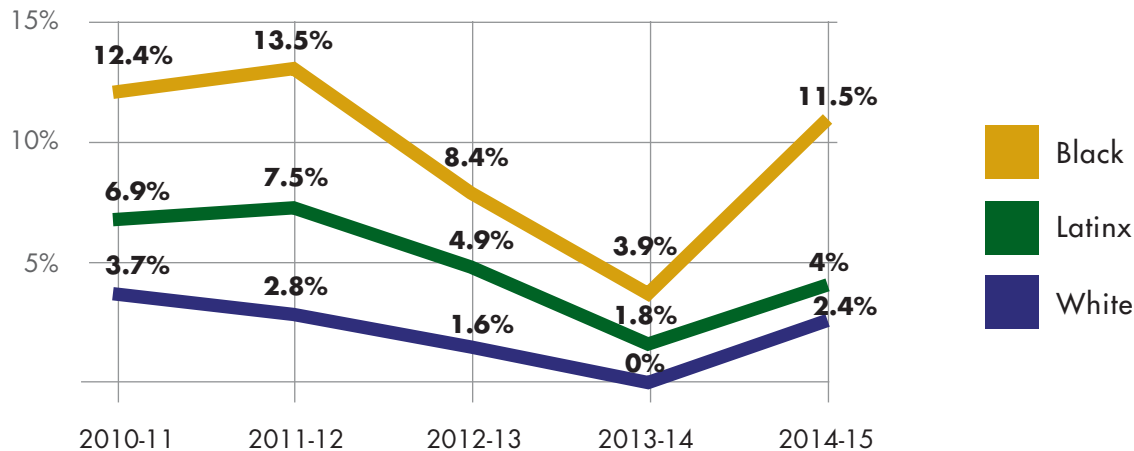
racial discrimination is playing a role in the way students are being criminalized and mandates aggressive reforms from ACPS.



T.C. WILLIAMS HIGH SCHOOL

Chart 6:

2010-15 T.C. Williams High School Suspension Rates by Race



T.C. Williams High School is the sole high school in ACPS. It includes the main 10th-12th grade campus and International Academy on King Street, as well as a 9th grade center at the Minnie Howard campus. Integrated in 1971, T.C. Williams has a student body of 3,594 students, a majority of whom are students of color (79%). Latinx students are the largest subgroup (37.7%), African-Americans are the next largest (33.8%), and White students are third largest (20.9%).

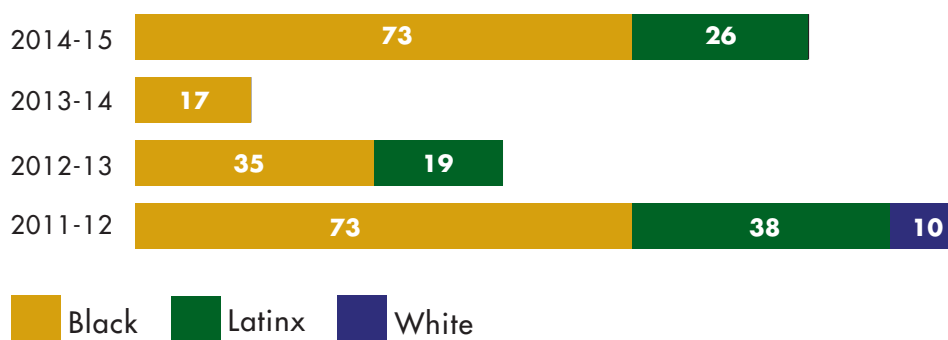
Despite the overwhelming diversity of T.C. Williams, Chart 6 illustrates that the T.C. Williams discipline data reflects the district-wide trend of racial bias against Black and Latinx students. In the 2014-15 school year, Black students were almost 5 times as likely and Latinx students were twice as likely

to be suspended as White students. This pattern has existed since at least 2010.

For subjective offense suspensions, racial disparities are even more acute. As illustrated in Chart 7, from 2010-15, students of color made up nearly all of the subjective offense suspensions. For example, in the 2014-15 school year, Black and Latinx students made up 94% of such suspensions. In fact, from 2012-2015, the Virginia Department of Education did not provide data on subjective offense suspensions for White students at T.C. Williams because there were less than 10 such suspensions. This data further illustrates the need for proper implementation of restorative justice at T.C. Williams.

Chart 7:

2011-15 T.C. Williams High School Subjective Offense Suspensions by Race



ALEXANDRIA CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS REPORT CARD

Restorative Justice Implementation at T.C. Williams High School

Hire Full-Time Restorative Justice Coordinator	ACPS has not hired a restorative justice coordinator	F
Distribute Student-Created Evaluation Survey	TWU peer-tested and had a survey validated, but ACPS has not distributed it	F
Train 20-30 Students to Become Circle Keepers	Some International Academy students were trained in the 14-15 school year, but no trainings have occurred since	D
Designate Class Periods When Circles Will be Held	There is no designated time for circles, although a few were held at the beginning of the school year	F
Train Every Classroom Teacher on Harm Circles and Community Building Circles	ACPS has trained a significant number of teachers on relationship building circles, but few if any on harm circles	C
Train Every Administrator on Harm Circles	A few administrators have been trained on harm circles.	D

Superintendent Commitments from April 2015 TWU Community Meeting

Regularly Provide Out-of-School Suspension Data	TWU has not been given any discipline data during the 2015-16 school year	F
Launch a Data Dashboard with Discipline Data	ACPS launched a data dashboard, but it does not have discipline data for the 2015-16 school year	D
Reduce Out-of-School Suspension Rates for Black Students	The out-of-school suspension rate for Black students rose by 2 percentage points	F
Include TWU Students in Code of Conduct Revision Process	Students were invited to give feedback near the end of the process, making it difficult for them to meaningfully engage	D
Partner with TWU to End Harsh Discipline	ACPS has cancelled or postponed several meetings and has not been receptive to feedback from TWU	D
Overall Grade	ACPS has not worked quickly enough to eliminate harsh discipline and implement restorative justice	F

SOLUTIONS

As outlined above, TWU student leaders have proposed proven solutions to the school-to-prison pipeline as part of a campaign for better discipline policies and restorative practices. ACPS agreed to implement a restorative justice pilot, but the implementation process has been slow and continues to lack transparency and accountability. As a result, the acute school-to-prison pipeline crisis has not abated and ACPS continues to deny young people their education.

Implementation of restorative practices must be backed by

enforceable district policies that ensure that ACPS teachers and staff are using restorative practices as a primary option in disciplinary situations. This is the only way to ensure real accountability to a new process and to deal directly with the structural issues that perpetuate racial disparities in school discipline. The District must also address the severe issues of racial bias that criminalize students of color and result in disproportionate arrests for Black and Latinx students. ACPS should:

Solution #1: Fulfill the Promise of a Restorative Justice Pilot

ACPS should fully implement the youth-created restorative justice plan at T.C. Williams High School, the Minnie Howard Campus, and the International Academy. ACPS should:

A. HIRE FULL-TIME, SCHOOL-BUILDING RESTORATIVE JUSTICE COORDINATORS

No restorative justice coordinator has been hired, despite growing evidence that such a coordinator is necessary for the success of a restorative justice model;

B. ALLOW YOUTH TO DISTRIBUTE A STUDENT SURVEY AND EVALUATION TOOLS FOR THE PILOT MODEL

TWU youth developed a student and teacher survey, but ACPS has not distributed them, despite independent review and validation by a university research professor;

C. TRAIN 20-30 STUDENTS TO BECOME CIRCLE-KEEPERS

Some International Academy students were trained to be circle keepers in the 2014-15 school year. However, since then, ACPS has not conducted any student trainings at the International Academy, the Minnie Howard Campus, or the main T.C. Williams campus.

D. DESIGNATE CLASS PERIODS WHEN CIRCLES WILL BE HELD

Some circles were held at the beginning of the 2015-16 school year, but there have been few since then because there is still no designated time for circles;

E. TRAIN EVERY CLASSROOM TEACHER ON RELATIONSHIP-BUILDING AND HARM CIRCLES

Incomplete and delayed training of teachers and staff.

F. TRAIN EVERY ADMINISTRATOR ON HARM CIRCLES

After some delays, only a few school administrators and non-teaching staff were trained, and the training was incomplete.

Solution #2 – Change the Code of Conduct to Prioritize Restorative Approaches and Eliminate Subjective Offenses as a Reason for Suspensions

A. PRIORITIZE RESTORATIVE APPROACHES

According to ACPS officials, the Code of Conduct was revised before the start of the 2015-16 school year. However, the new Code fails to outline new procedures for the use of restorative practices as part of a progressive discipline model and it includes many artifacts from the previous code which do not align with a restorative approach.

B. ELIMINATE SUBJECTIVE OFFENSES AS REASONS TO SUSPEND STUDENTS

Students of color are disproportionately impacted by suspensions for subjective offenses that are “related to behavior.” Rather than suspending students for behaviors that can be addressed in the school, ACPS should follow the lead of other school districts across the country and eliminate the use of subjective offenses as reasons for suspension. In order to make these changes possible, ACPS should engage in a community-driven process and solicit input from staff, students, and parents on the Code of Conduct.

Solution #3 – Limit Referrals to Law Enforcement

A. INSTITUTE A CONSISTENT POLICY LIMITING REFERRALS TO LAW ENFORCEMENT AND ENSURE THAT WHEN THEY ARE MADE, THEY ARE DONE SO FREE OF RACIAL BIAS.

Currently, ACPS staff can exercise broad discretion when deciding whether to deploy police officers for school-related incidents. This same discretion is unfortunately leading to disproportionate referrals of Black and Latinx students to law enforcement. This practice is at the core of the school to prison pipeline. ACPS should significantly revise its protocols on referrals to law enforcement, both to limit referrals in discretionary circumstances and to eliminate the possibility of racial bias when they are undertaken.

Solution #4 – Improve Data Collection and Publicly Report Data

A. PUBLICLY REPORT DATA ON THE USE OF RESTORATIVE PRACTICES, SUSPENSIONS, AND REFERRALS TO LAW ENFORCEMENT.

In order to assess whether the District’s efforts at reducing racial discrimination in discipline are making progress, ACPS should improve data collection on the use of restorative practices and publicly and proactively report its school discipline data, disaggregated by race, gender, and reason for discipline/referral to law enforcement, in formats that are quickly and easily accessible to community members.

ENDNOTES

1. Available at <http://www.tenantsandworkers.org/publications>.
2. The series of events discussed in this timeline were last updated on May 15, 2016.
3. Based on data submitted to the Virginia Department of Education, accessible at <https://p1pe.doe.virginia.gov/pti/> (data analysis on file with authors).
4. Based on Records Request submitted to Alexandria City Public Schools (on file with authors).
5. Use of the term Latinx is intentional. Latinx is a gender-inclusive reference to people of Latin American descent.
6. A T.C. Williams student committed suicide in the 2013-14 school year, which may have affected suspension rates.
7. Anne Gregory, James Bell, & Mica Pollock, How Educators Can Eradicate Disparities in School Discipline: A Briefing Paper on School-Based Interventions, 1 (March 2014).
8. Based on data submitted to the Virginia Department of Education, (data analysis on file with authors).
9. Based on data submitted to the Virginia Department of Education, (data analysis on file with authors) (There were also another 42 suspensions for an offense classified as “other.” The majority of the rest of the suspensions were for offenses “against persons,” which accounted for 339 of the 854 total suspensions).
10. Id. at 1.
11. Susan Frey, Oakland ends suspensions for willful defiance, funds restorative justice, EdSource (May 14, 2015), available at <http://edsource.org/2015/oakland-ends-suspensions-for-willful-defiance-funds-restorative-justice/79731>; Jane Meredith Adams, California student suspension rate drops as willful defiance punishments decline, EdSource (November 23, 2015) available at <http://edsource.org/2015/california-student-suspension-rate-drops-as-willful-defiance-punishments-decline/90989>.
12. Public Records Request to Alexandria City Public Schools (on file with author).
13. 49 students were referred to law enforcement for “F1T: Altercation/Confrontation” and 29 students were referred to law enforcement for “FA2: Fighting with No Injury or Minor Injury.” (Data on file with authors).
14. Emily Morgan, Nina Salomon, Martha Plotkin, and Rebecca Cohen, The school discipline consensus report: strategies from the field to keep students engaged in school and out of the juvenile justice system, Council of State Governments, 11 (2014).
15. See Virginia Department of Education, Comprehensive User Guide for Discipline, Crime, and Violence (DCV) Data Collection and Submission, 46-60 (2015).
16. See Id. for a list of all behaviors that must be reported to law enforcement.
17. Enrollment data as of September 2015, <http://www.acps.k12.va.us/profiles/tcw.php>.
18. Yolanda Anyon, Taking Restorative Practices School-Wide: Insights from Three Schools in Denver, 2 (2016).

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