Police in Schools

Toolkit technical report

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This report is produced in collaboration with staff from the Campbell Collaboration Secretariat. It is a derivative product, which summarises information from Campbell systematic reviews, and other reviews, to support evidence-informed decision making'.

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Abstract/Plain Language summary

This report considers the effect of having police in schools on the involvement of children in crime and violence. There are three possible reasons for police in schools programmes: (1) enforcement and safety (e.g., tackling crime, discipline and behaviour in school); (2) supporting improvements to young people's lives (e.g., involvement in extra-curricular activities or providing pastoral support); and (3) strategic and multi-agency preventative work (e.g., sharing intelligence, police presence and profile). Police in schools also educate students and staff, especially on local issues.

There are very few high-quality systematic reviews that review the effectiveness of police in schools programmes. This technical report draws on findings from two systematic reviews by Muller et al. (2020) and Petrosino et al. (2012). The report also presents findings from four primary studies of effectiveness that include offending outcomes. Given the lack of a systematic review and meta-analysis to inform the headline estimate, the evidence rating for police in schools is 1.

The theory of change for police in schools depends on the nature of the intervention. Possible channels include better detection and prevention, contextual safeguarding, supporting positive youth development and connection to services. There are also possible counter theories (undesirable effects) from net widening and labelling.

Most primary studies show that police in schools are associated with higher levels of criminal incidents, which may be expected, and even intended, through better detection. There may also be an adverse effect from negative perceptions of the police. In general, interpretation of results is difficult because of the detection and recording issue, and because selection into the intervention is associated with a greater likelihood of pre-existing problem behaviour in schools. An RCT of a police-delivered curriculum in the UK found a range of desirable effects on some behavioural outcomes but no effect on outcomes such as trust, getting help from the police and experiences with bullying and substance abuse (Pósch & Jackson, 2021).

Several implementation issues are reported by two evaluations of police in schools in the United Kingdom: (i) acceptance of the police by staff and pupils; (ii) establishing a clear role and boundaries for the police; (iii) timely and adequate training; (iv) information sharing between services; (v) isolation of the police officer; and (vi) good relationships and clear protocols across service providers.

Police in schools interventions have been focused on schools in the most disadvantaged areas, and so by implication schools which may be likely to have pupils who are already disproportionately represented in the criminal justice system. Given the potential net widening and labelling effects of police in schools, there may be adverse effects. Therefore, there is a great need for rigorous evaluations in this area to build the evidence base. Because police in schools may increase the likelihood of offences being detected and recorded, there need to be measures of offending that are not based on the police (e.g., self-reports).

Overall, primary evaluations of the effects of police in schools on youth offending outcomes suggest that these interventions are not effective (i.e., Bowles et al., 2005; Brady et al., 2007; Na & Gottfredson, 2013; Theriot, 2009).

Objective and approach

The objective of this technical report is to review the evidence on the effectiveness of police in schools programmes as a prevention strategy for crime and violence. The term 'police in schools' is used to describe any intervention that involves placing police officers in schools. Lamont et al. (2011) highlight three possible reasons for police in schools programmes: (1) enforcement and safety (e.g., tackling crime, discipline and behaviour in school); (2) supporting improvements to young people's lives (e.g., involvement in extra-curricular activities or providing pastoral support); and (3) strategic and multi-agency preventative work (e.g., sharing intelligence, police presence and profile).

There are very few high-quality systematic reviews and meta-analyses that review the effectiveness of police in schools programmes. This technical report draws on findings from two systematic reviews by Muller et al. (2020) and Petrosino et al. (2012), but these do not report effectiveness estimates on violence, crime or related outcomes and the majority of evaluations were conducted in the US. This report also presents findings on offending from four primary studies.

Muller et al. (2020) conducted a review of the effectiveness of police in schools programmes but reported mental health outcomes only and do not report a meta-analysis. Whilst the effect on mental health outcomes are important to consider, this technical report is concerned with the effects on violence, anti-social behaviour or youth offending. Petrosino et al. (2012) did not undertake a meta-analysis and that review is primarily descriptive in nature.

Due to the lack of systematic reviews, this technical report is also informed by four primary evaluations of police in schools (i.e., Bowes et al., 1995; Hopkins et al., 1992; Na & Gottfredson, 2011; Pósch & Jackson, 2021), including three UK evaluations. Information on implementation and cost is based on a scoping review by Lamont et al. (2011) and a recent study by Henshall (2018).

Outcomes

The current technical report is concerned with outcomes of crime, violence, aggression, and anti-social behaviour.

However, neither of the reviews report any meta-analyses or the impact on any relevant outcomes. Petrosino et al. (2012) include studies that report outcomes of 'crime and disorder' generally and Muller et al. (2020) focus on mental health outcomes. The primary evaluations included in Muller et al. (2020) reported some relevant outcomes, such as school violence, truancy, student-on-student assault, and frequency of arrest.

Description of intervention

In both reviews, the most common form of police in schools was the 'School Resource Officer' (SRO) model, whose role is safety and crime prevention (Muller et al., 2020; Petrosino et al., 2012). This is a form of police in schools typically used in the US, and so the prevalence of SROs is greatly influenced by the inclusion of mostly US-based evaluations by Muller et al. (2020) and Petrosino et al. (2012).

'Police in schools' programmes or initiatives include the development of 'rapport' and relationships between the police and students whilst also increasing the awareness and understanding of law enforcement (Petrosino et al., 2012). Police officers may also be integrated into whole-school and targeted intervention components to address students' mental health needs (Muller et al., 2020). In such scenarios, it is preferable if police officers are well trained in 'Crisis Intervention Training' and are equipped to verbally de-escalate tense or dangerous situations without the use of force (Muller et al., 2020).

Police in schools strategies may also be used in response to a specific problem in the school community. For example, one programme in the US involved establishing a mentoring programme for youth known to be involved in rival gangs. Police officers were matched with student participants and mentored students who were identified as being gang members. In this programme, a parenting course and a cultural awareness programme were run concurrently in order to address the racial issues underlying gang conflict (Petrosino et al., 2012). In Scandinavia, Muller et al. (2020) note that the role of police in schools was to address issues such as threats of school shootings, substance use, or suspected criminal behaviour.

Muller et al. (2020) included an evaluation of the 'Safety Net Collaborative" programme in Massachusetts, USA. This programme involved police officers referring youth to mental health services and providing 'proactive outreach' to youth considered at risk of involvement in crime (Barrett & Janopaul-Naylor, 2016).

In the UK, the 'Police in the Classroom' project was recently implemented in schools across England and Wales. In this programme, police officers were trained to deliver a lesson on drugs and the law during students' regular PSHE classes (Pósch & Jackson, 2021). Activities covered a range of topics relating to drug-taking, the dangers of drugs, how the police respond and process youth who take drugs and the legal framework. The emphasis in lessons is on perspective taking and to encourage young people to consider the reasons behind police procedures (Pósch & Jackson, 2021).

The 'Safer Schools Partnership' has been evaluated nationally in the UK by Bowles et al. (2005). This programme aims to build positive relationships between police and schools in order to address crime and problem behaviours and also improve the school system (Petrosino et al., 2012). The overall aim of this programme was to reduce student victimisation, establish whole-school approaches for developing social behaviours, target and assist at-risk youth, promote fulltime education for all students and create a safer school. A variety of policing approaches was used; for example, Petrosino et al. (2012) refer to the use of 'low-impact policing', and more formal multi-unit approaches. Bowles et al. (2005) refer to a number of different activities that were implemented in intervention schools. For example,

the following were implemented in the majority of SSP schools: corridor patrols; breakfast clubs; classroom checks; truancy sweeps; restorative justice; playground work; lunchtime activities; homework/after school club; and holiday activities.

Theory of change/presumed causal mechanisms

The causal mechanism depends on the nature of the intervention. Enforcement and safety interventions seek to directly reduce crime in schools as well as tackle other discipline issues. Nipping small problems in the bud may stop them growing into large ones. The rationale here is also one of contextual safeguarding, ensuring that schools are not a place for gang recruitment, drug dealing and routine violence such as bullying. Such approaches may have mental health benefits, reducing anxiety, and consequent behaviours. However, there is a tension here between detection and prevention. Having police in schools could increase the number of recorded incidents through better detection.

Supporting improvements to young people's lives can provide diversion through extra-curricular activities, which in turn can promote self-worth and pro-social behaviour. Pastoral support may have similar effects and other mental health benefits.

In the case of strategic and multi-agency preventative work, one possible theory of change that could inform police in schools programmes is police legitimacy and the idea of policing by consent (Pósch & Jackson, 2020). The presumed causal mechanism in this case is that, by improving trust and perceptions of police legitimacy amongst young people, and their awareness and understanding of law enforcement, they will be less likely to offend. This approach may also have effects through connection to services.

Two 'counter-theories' may also be proposed (counter-theories are alternative theories of change which identify causal mechanisms for adverse effects). First, having police in schools can increase rather than decrease reported incidents as a result of net widening (on top of the effect of better detection). Net widening is a common term in criminological research and suggests how administrative or procedural changes in police work (e.g., placing police officers in schools) increase the number of individuals controlled/under surveillance by the criminal justice system. Young people are not normally controlled by the criminal justice system when in school and so, by net widening, an increased number of crimes may be detected/recorded. Second, there may be adverse effects on a school's reputation by being assigned a police officer, and on individual pupils (labelling theory).

Evidence base

Descriptive overview

Muller et al. (2020) included six studies that described police in schools programmes but included only one evaluation that reported quantitative outcome data. Studies were conducted in the USA, Sweden, or Finland. The one relevant evaluation, by Barrett and Janopaul-Naylor (2016), describes a multi-agency integrated model of prevention services for at-risk youth involving mental health providers, police officers, schools and the Department of Youth and Families. There were approximately 30 active cases per year.

Petrosino et al. (2012) included 11 quasi-experimental evaluations of police in schools programmes. Most were evaluated in the USA (*n* = 8), two were evaluated in the UK and one was evaluated in Canada. Studies were published between 1968 and 2009 and most (*n* = 9) were rated moderate on the Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods (i.e., a score of 3). The remaining two studies scored a '4' on the Maryland Scale of Scientific Methods, which was an indication of good methodological quality.

Assessment of the strength of evidence

There are no meta-analyses of the effectiveness of police in schools to reduce the involvement of children in crime and violence. An assessment of Muller et al. (2020) was not undertaken as no relevant outcomes were included and no meta-analysis was done. Petrosino et al. (2012) did not conduct a meta-analysis of outcome data.

Impact

Summary impact measure

There are currently no reviews of the effectiveness of 'police in schools' programmes and therefore no summary impact measure. Table 1 summarises the results of primary evaluations included in the two reviews that reported offending outcomes.

Table 1: Primary Evaluations

Study	*Offending measure*	Experimental	Control	Effect size
Brady et al. (2007); major crimes	Number of major crimes per 1,000 students each year	2002/03 = 3.27 2004/05 = 2.81	2002/03 = 2.90 2004/05 = 2.13	RES = 0.85
Brady et al. (2007); other crimes	Number of other crimes per 1,000 students each year	2002/03 = 11.09 2004/05 = 8.14	2002/03 = 8.67 2004/05 = 2.99	RES = 0.47
Brady et al. (2007); noncriminal police incidents	Number of noncriminal police incidents per 1,000 students each year	2002/03 = 32.77 2004/05 = 50.65	2002/03 = 24.96 2004/05 = 23.21	RES = 0.60
Theriot (2009)	Total arrest rate	Mean = 11.5 SD = 25.1	Mean = 3.9 SD = 6.9	d = .427 OR = 0.46
Barrett & Janopaul-Naylor (2016)	Juvenile arrests per 100,000	2007 = 1334 2008-12 = 1436 (average)	2007 = 1720 2008-12 = 1421 (average)	RES = 0.77

Note. RES = relative effect size; OR = odds ratio; SD = standard deviation; d = Cohen's *d.*

For Brady et al. (2007) and Barrett and Janopaul-Naylor (2016), the effect size was the "Relative Effect Size" (RES) used by Farrington et al. (2007). This is similar to the Odds Ratio

(OR) in its interpretation; it indicates the relative change in the control condition compared to the experimental condition. All RES values are less than 1, indicating that offending decreased less or increased more in the experimental condition. For Theriot (2009), Cohen's *d* was calculated and was then converted into the OR using Ln(OR) = d/.5513 (Lipsey & Wilson, 2001, p. 202). Once again, the OR is less than 1, indicating more crimes in the experimental condition (police in schools).

Interpreting the data in Table 1 is problematic because police in schools can lead to more reported incidents. On the other hand, if prevention is working, we may expect to see a reduction in offending in the experimental compared to the control condition.

Brady et al. (2007) report that the increase in the number of non-criminal police incidents was a desirable outcome, as this was the primary aim of the programme. Theriot (2009) presents cross-sectional data and not the change in arrest rate over time. Theriot (2009) found significant differences in the percentage of students from an economically disadvantaged background and from ethnic minority groups in schools with a School Resource Officer. Statistical analyses found that, when controlling for economic disadvantage, the relationship between total arrest rate and having a SRO was not significant.

Evidence from selected evaluations

Four primary evaluations of police in schools were used to inform the current technical report. The results suggest that the interventions were not effective overall. These primary evaluations were implemented in the UK (Bowles et al., 2005; Hopkins et al., 1992; Pósch & Jackson, 2021), and the USA (Na & Gottfredson, 2013).

1. *Safer Schools Partnership*

   Bowles et al. (2005) reported the results from a national evaluation of the Safer Schools Partnership (SSP) programme. The programme was evaluated in a quasi-experimental design with 15 schools participating in the SSP programme and 15 schools acting as a matched control group. Schools were selected based on truancy and academic attainment rates and control schools were in the same local education authority area as SSP schools. Bowles et al. (2005) report the impact of the programme on a range of outcomes and compared schools that had a full-time police officer and supporting team throughout the intervention, schools which adopted a 'light touch' where one police officer covered a number of different schools, and control schools where no intervention was implemented.

   The results indicate that the intervention had a desirable effect on absence rates, but there was no evidence to support a desirable intervention effect on exclusions or examination pass rates. The impact of the programme on self-reported offending data from school pupils is summarised in Table 2. The results do not suggest that self-reported offending decreased in experimental schools in comparison to control schools.

Table 2
Self-reported offending data from Bowles et al. (2005, p. 107)

Group	N	Number of Offenders Time 1	Number of Offenders Time 2	% Change	OR
Full-time police officer	281	134	150	+11.94%	1.01
Shared police officer (i.e., 'light touch')	298	135	165	+22.22%	0.93
Control	120	52	59	+13.46%	NA

Note. The ORs compare the police officer conditions with the control condition.

2. *Police-Schools Liaison*

Hopkins et al. (1992) evaluated the programme in 13 British schools, first in 1988 when participants were aged 14-15 years old and a year later in 1989, when participants were aged 15-16 years old. Six schools appointed a full-time Schools Liaison Officer and seven schools did not, and therefore acted as a control group. In total, there were 606 students in the experimental group (*n* = 336 female) and 639 students in the control group (*n* = 309 female). No information on the race or socio-economic status of students is provided. No information is provided on the comparability or similarity of experimental and control schools.

The findings suggest that, overall, attitudes towards the police became more negative over time and there was no significant difference between the experimental and control group. Complex path analyses showed that, in both the experimental and control groups, reports of 'liking the police' were influenced most by general stereotypes of the police. Hopkins et al. (1992) include a 'contact with the police' outcome, but there is no indication that this refers to contact with the police due to offending or delinquency. The authors report serious implementation issues and that experimental students reported very low levels of interaction with their respective Schools Liaison Officer.

3. *School Resource Officers*

Na & Gottfredson (2013) evaluated the increased presence of police in schools using data from the School Survey on Crime and Safety. A longitudinal design with 470 schools was used and the outcomes of interest included: numbers of crimes recorded by schools, crimes recorded by police and the percentage of crimes for which the student was excluded from school for five or more days. The independent variable in cross-sectional and longitudinal analyses was police presence.

The results suggest that, with increased use of police in schools, recorded crime also increases. Schools with police presence recorded significantly higher rates of theft and robbery, attack with a weapon, attack without a weapon, possession of a knife, possession of a firearm, drug offences, and vandalism (amongst others), in

comparison to schools without police presence. These results might reflect the effect of police presence on detecting and recording offences.

4. *Police in the Classroom*
   Pósch and Jackson (2021) evaluated the effect of the 'Police in the Classroom' project in 81 schools across England and Wales. Students aged 13-15 years old were enrolled in a cluster-block-randomised controlled trial, where the intervention group were given lessons on drugs and the law by trained police officers and the control group attended normal PSHE lessons.

   The aim of the intervention was to improve youth perceptions of and trust in the police and encourage young people to adopt a perspective-taking approach when considering the actions that police take. The findings suggest that it can be beneficial to place police officers in schools and involve them in education. In fact, police officers may be more effective in delivering lessons on drugs than teachers (Pósch & Jackson, 2021). The effects of the programme did not vary across gender or ethnicity of participants or by previous experiences with the police and the diversity of the area.

   The evaluation suggests that police in schools should focus on education and building perceptions of police legitimacy, rather than on enforcement or surveillance.

In conclusion, five evaluations reporting effects on offending outcomes (Barrett & Janopaul-Naylor, 2016; Bowles et al., 2005; Brady et al., 2007; Na & Gottfredson, 2013; Theriot, 2009) do not indicate that police in schools have desirable effects on offending rates. However, there is no available meta-analysis of this topic, and we have not carried out a systematic review. In order to draw more convincing conclusions about effects on offending, more primary evaluation studies are needed with self-reported and official offending measures, as well as more systematic reviews and meta-analyses. However, future reviews should consider the observation that schools with a police presence have been found to have higher rates of crime recording and reporting to the police (Devlin & Gottfredson, 2018). Therefore, this should be taken into account in interpreting the results of any future meta-analysis on the effects of police in schools on crime.

Moderators and mediators
As there are no meta-analyses of the effectiveness of 'police in schools' programmes, there are also no reviews of possible moderators or mediators.

Implementation and Cost Analysis

Two studies report implementation evidence from police in schools in the United Kingdom: Lamont et al. (2011) reported a scoping review of police in schools and Bowles et al. (2005) report an evaluation of the Safer Schools Initiative. We also report findings from one evaluation of police working directly with youth, though not in a school setting.

According to Lamont et al. (2005), police work in UK schools in a number of ways, including: being based on school premises and working with one school or a cluster of schools; police can work with schools independently or as part of a team; police can serve as a dedicated

contact for schools or can provide support as part of formal duties; and police can work with schools only once, or on a continuous basis. The review reported the following core potential benefits of police in schools:

- Increased accessibility between police, schools, and students
- Improved relationships between police and schools or police and students
- Increased sense of safety for students, teachers, and the community
- Improved attendance for students
- Increased achievement for students and schools
- Reduced levels of offending behaviour and behaviour problems in schools

Bowles et al. (2005) present an analysis of activities which take place in treatment schools compared to control schools, though it should be borne in mind that the control is imperfect for this highly selective intervention. The most striking difference is that restorative justice was used in all but one of the 15 treatment schools but in none of the ten control schools. Truancy sweeps were performed for 80% of treatment schools compared to just 20% of control schools, and corridor sweeps were present in all but one of the treatment schools (93%) compared to 60% of control schools. Classroom checks were made in 13 out of 15 treatment schools compared to only half of control schools. A greater proportion of treatment schools also provided holiday activities, breakfast club, and residential activities. Control schools had one activity more frequently than treatment schools (lunchtime activities at 70% and 60% respectively).

Both studies highlight important issues surrounding the implementation of police in schools programmes.

Firstly, it is important to ensure acceptance of the programme by staff and children as there was sometimes a negative perception of police in schools and some schools were worried about the local perception of needing a police officer in the school. Schools were also concerned with the message of having an officer in full protective clothing on school property. However, not wearing protective gear could go against police regulations.

There were also some issues and a lack of awareness amongst police officers and schools about the actual role and boundaries of the police officer in the school. This may lead to several implementation issues, such as confusion, lack of accountability and ultimately ineffectiveness. Officers who work in schools report that the role is very different from normal police work and involves a ‘steep learning curve’. There can be difficulties in establishing the right boundaries in the role, and police need to create a balance between acting as a police officer, being aware of school and student needs, and not criminalising students. Related to this issue is the lack of, or inadequate, training. The speed with which Safer Schools was implemented meant that officers were often in post before they received training.

Another possible barrier to implementation is that police officers may report feeling isolated if they are working alone and autonomously in a school. This problem is exacerbated by police officers working in schools having different shift patterns from their colleagues.

Officer availability and consistency is an important factor for implementation success. Police officers can be removed from schools to fulfil other police duties and schools and/or students may find this frustrating, particularly if an officer is moved from their school and placed in another school.

Finally, there may be issues around information sharing and service coordination. Schools may have inadequate information systems, or the police may not have access to them. The police officer also needs to be in a position to facilitate access to services where appropriate, which can depend on good working relationships and clear procedures.

Hobson et al. (2018) reported a process and outcome evaluation of the Aston project, a social crime prevention initiative in Gloucestershire, UK. This project involved police officers working with youth aged 9 to 17 years old who had been identified as being at-risk for delinquent behaviour or offending. Young people were mostly referred to the project through their schools, but the intervention did not involve placing police officers in schools. Of the 69 participants, Hobson et al. (2018) report that 4 offended since engaging with the programme and this corresponded to an approximate saving of £512,000. However, this programme did not involve police in schools. It does suggest that interventions involving relationships between police officers and young people may be cost-effective.

Findings from the UK

An early evaluation of 'police in schools' initiatives was conducted in the UK by Hopkins et al. (1992). The aim of the programme was to develop a positive image of the police amongst young people and establish positive relationships between youth and the police. Different members of the school community interacted with Schools Liaison Officers and the general role of police in schools was to have a 'highly visible general presence' (Hopkins et al., 1992; p. 204). This may involve participating in school assemblies on social and moral education, and supervising or patrolling the school yard, playing fields, corridors, or canteens. The objective was to have young people experience the police in a familiar setting, "away from the street", and thus to develop more positive views of the police.

A more recent evaluation is a randomized controlled trial of the DARE programme (Evans & Tseloni, 2019) involving 51 state primary schools in the East Midlands. DARE is a branded programme provided in the UK by the Life Skills Community Interest Company (C.I.C.) which provides a curriculum-based course most commonly delivered jointly by a teacher and a police officer. The curriculum covers a broad-based skill set intended to support pupils in avoiding substance misuse and other risky behaviour. The programme had a desirable effect on a number of outcomes; namely communication and listening skills; getting help from others; making safe choices; and knowledge about drugs, alcohol and substance abuse. However, there was no significant effect on assessing risks and consequences of behaviour, getting help from the police and trust, managing personal stress, improvement in dealing with bullying, peer pressure regarding substance use, and personal experiences with drugs, alcohol and substance abuse.

What do we need to know? What don't we know?

Henshall (2018) examined data from schools in London, England and found that schools with high levels of pupils from disadvantaged backgrounds are more likely to have a police officer based in the school. This is particularly concerning given the existing disparities in the criminal justice system and the evidence suggesting that the presence of police officers may lead to an increased number of offences being identified and recorded.

Having police officers in schools with higher levels of pupils from disadvantaged areas may not actually serve as crime prevention. Given what we know from labelling theory, placing police officers in these schools may exacerbate racial and/or class-based disparities in the criminal justice system and unfairly label youth as criminals, thus putting them at risk of offending throughout their lifetime.

Given the well documented selection into having a police presence in schools, randomized controlled trials of these programmes in England and Wales are needed. One of the most recent RCTs – Evans and Tseloni (2019) – is of a specific branded programme, rather than the more general model of police in schools which is common across the country. Any study of police presence which has a role in detection and prevention needs to address the issue that presence can increase recorded incidence but could also act as a deterrent. Therefore, self-reported offending as well as recorded offending outcomes should be measured. All studies should of course have a control group and ideally a longitudinal follow-up. More systematic reviews and meta-analyses are also needed.

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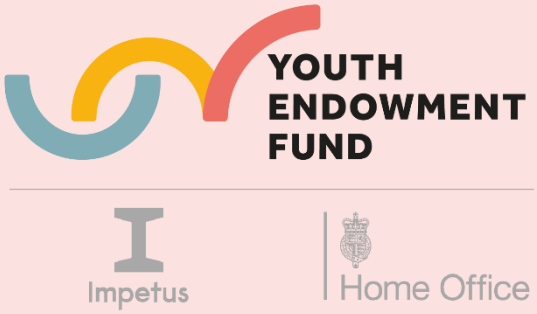
Annex 1: Selection of reviews

We identified three reviews related to police in schools – Muller et al. (2020), Petrosino et al. (2012) and Bradford and Yesberg (no date). None of these reviews provide a meta-analysis, so no impact estimate is provided in this report.

We report relevant crime-related findings at the study level from Petrosino et al. (2012). Muller et al. (2020) is concerned only with mental health outcomes which we do not report. Bradford and Yesberg (no date) is an unpublished narrative review, and is not considered in this technical report.

Annex 2: Success factors and challenges

		Success factors	Challenges
Bowles 2005	Safer Schools Initiative	Having a clearly defined role for police Training for police, including in dealing with children Information sharing (including access to SMIS) and communication	Acceptance of the police office by staff and pupils School-based police cut-off from colleagues Ensuring that all those involved are committed to the initiative Establishing good relationship across service providers Inadequate information systems
Lamont 2011	Police in schools scoping study	Shared vision and understanding Clearly defined, but flexible, protocols Good communication and collaboration Good relationships within and across services	Negative perceptions of the police Lack of definition of role Difference in – and boundaries to – the role Isolation of school-based police Staffing and workload Technological issues



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