

DISMANTLING THE “SCHOOL-TO-DEPORTATION
PIPELINE”: A POLICY ANALYSIS OF K-12 SANCTUARY
SCHOOL DISTRICT POLICIES

by

MACKENZIE R. CRAMPTON

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Approved: _____ *Laura Leete* _____
Primary Thesis Advisor

Sanctuary designations have existed in the United States since the 1980s, but carry additional significance during Donald Trump’s presidency. The current federal context of sanctuary school districts falls under Plyler v. Doe, FERPA, a sensitive locations designation, and Executive Order 13768. Enhanced immigration enforcement activity has led to a school-to-deportation pipeline, increased absenteeism, and enhanced rates of anxiety, PTSD, and cardiovascular disease for immigrant students.

This study focused on a random sample of 50 sanctuary school district policies from across the country which work to respond to the negative effects of increased immigration enforcement. These policies were placed into a binary code according to 15 policy components, and then compared to the race, language, nationality, citizenship, and income demographic data of each school district through a logistic regression. The results of this analysis uncovered a clear relationship between demographics and policy components.

Moreover, a factor analysis was performed, and concluded that three typologies of policy exist: empowerment, partnerships, and top down. OLS regressions revealed that these typologies are directly correlated with demographic characteristics, largely aligning with the most vulnerable populations affected by immigration enforcement officials. From an assessment of the gaps between model and real policies, it is recommended that school districts incorporate elements of the NILC and ACLU policies into their own sanctuary designation to more actively participate in dismantling the school-to-deportation pipeline.

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Introduction

On February 21, 2020 in Tualatin, Oregon, ICE detained the parent of two students at a school bus stop as the school bus drove away. Students reported witnessing the event out of their school bus' back window. After public outrage, ICE revealed that they were unaware that the location was school district property, areas prohibited to ICE activity by federal policy (Vaughn, 2020). In January 2016, a student in Charlotte, North Carolina was arrested at a bus stop a block from his home just as the school bus arrived. ICE agents later came forward, again claiming that this arrest was not at a known bus stop (Price, 2016). When a student or their parent is taken away by immigration enforcement, the effect is traumatizing. When this action happens on the grounds of a public school district, this enforcement violates the U.S. Constitution.

Following the election of Donald Trump as president, the issue of immigration came to the forefront of national politics, but these threats have been a fact of life for undocumented immigrants in the United States for years. Localities with the perspective that immigrants play an important role not only in their economy, but also in their community, have taken steps to protect immigrants residing in their borders. One way they have accomplished this is through a sanctuary designation. At the state, municipal, and school district level, localities have declared themselves sanctuaries, meaning that they offer some form of protection from federal immigration enforcement policies and officials, symbolic or otherwise. For the purposes of this study, the scope of sanctuary status will be narrowed to the school district level. Sanctuary school districts are those which restrict access to both the premises of their school and student's personal information when federal immigration officials arrive without a warrant (Jones, 2017).

This wording follows from a 1989 “Sanctuary Ordinance” which states that San Francisco will not cooperate with federal immigration officials in the “investigation, detention, or arrest” of those who allegedly violate federal immigration law (Barnes, 2017-18, p. 127).

Although sanctuary policies are referenced regularly in 2020 by the current presidential administration and the media, the history of sanctuary policies dates back to the 1980s. When one million Salvadorans and Guatemalans fled their countries due to civil wars and came to the United States seeking asylum, President Ronald Reagan granted asylum for only a small percentage of applicants (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2019). A network of religious organizations launched a sanctuary movement for these immigrants, providing food, medical care, employment, and legal aid (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2019). Cities began to adopt official versions of these policies beginning in 1989. San Francisco was the first to enact these under Ordinance No. 12-h, prohibiting the use of City funds or resources to assist in enforcing federal immigration law within the city and county (National Conference of State Legislatures, 2019). From this point on, American cities have continued to add sanctuary policies. Now, over 170 cities and counties and 11 states declare themselves as sanctuaries (Griffith and Vaughan, 2020).

Sanctuary school districts have similarly added such policy designations, and these policies exist in various forms across the country. Whether a school district adopts a “sanctuary,” “safe zone,” or “safe and welcoming” policy has limited influence on its contents. Any policy passed by a school district in order to protect students and their families who are vulnerable to the threat or the presence of immigration enforcement

officials serves as a sanctuary, creates a safe zone, and promotes a safe and welcoming climate. This local level response permits schools to function as the place of growth and community mindedness with which they are intended for every single resident of the United States. This investigation aims to analyze sanctuary policies across the country in relation to the demographics of the school districts which pass them. This work will bring further insight into the extent to which school districts with vulnerable populations address the threat of increased immigration enforcement through their own version of a sanctuary policy.

Existing Literature

Legal Context

The current literature concerning sanctuary school districts is limited in scope, restricted to a description of their existence, how they can be justified, and challenges they face. One area of current literature discusses the policy's placement within the context of federal law. Carolyn Jones explains that sanctuary school district policies can and do exist within the United States due to the 1982 Supreme Court case *Plyler vs Doe* (2017). This case concluded that school districts cannot refuse United States residents an education based on their immigration status (Jones, 2017). This cemented schools' role as more than merely a place for textbook education, but rather as a foundation for cultural values. Schools historically and presently play a role in indoctrination, and this fact permits them to utilize this power to promote their desired values (Patel, 2018, p. 525). From this, sanctuary school districts play a legitimate role in emphasizing equal treatment.

The Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act, more commonly known as FERPA, serves as an additional federal protection that sanctuary school districts abide by. This act regulates when and to whom student's personal information is disclosed (NILC, 2018). FERPA states that schools are not permitted to release a student's personal information without a parent or guardian's consent (NILC, 2018). A significant exemption does exist under FERPA, as it does not cover "directory information," or information including address, date, and place of birth (NILC, 2018). This information has the potential to affect immigration enforcement, so efforts on the

school district's end to limit the collection of this information in the first place serves as one possible foundation for sanctuary school districts (NILC, 2018).

The federal enforcement of immigration law is additionally subject to statutes that govern the agencies which carry out this enforcement. Under current guidance from the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency, schools fall under the designation of a "sensitive locations" due to the 2011 ICE Sensitive Locations Memo and the 2013 CBP Sensitive Locations Memo (NILC, 2018). In sensitive locations, without prior approval from officials, ICE may not conduct arrests, interviews, searches or surveillance (U.S. Immigration and Customs Enforcement, 2018). These locations include K-12 schools and universities, as well as school bus stops while students are present at the stop (NILC, 2018). Additional sensitive locations include preschools, hospitals, places of worship, or the site of a public demonstration (U.S. ICE, 2018).

Despite this policy, there are a series of exceptions permitted. If agents gain prior approval from a supervisory DHS official or if there is an imminent threat involved, they may perform restricted actions at these locations (U.S. ICE, 2018). Moreover, actions not covered by this policy include obtaining records, documents, and similar materials from officials, engaging in Student and Exchange Visitor Program (SEVP) compliance and certification visits, or participating in official functions or community meetings (U.S. ICE, 2018). The SEVP program ensures that government agencies have essential data relating to nonimmigrant students and exchange visitors to preserve national security (U.S. ICE, 2020). It provides approval and oversight to schools authorized to enroll nonimmigrant students, often temporary exchange students (U.S. ICE, 2020). These exemptions allow federal enforcement officials to thus gain

access to documents detailing students' immigration status, and could put them at risk within the school environment. Moreover, the fact that this guidance exists in the form of memorandums means that it does not carry the force of law, and opens the memos up to modification or rescission at any time (NILC).

Legal pushback against sanctuary policies has occurred repeatedly across the country since their conception, with one of the most recent efforts being Donald Trump's Executive Order 13768. This Executive Order, issued on January 25, 2017 and titled "Enhancing Public Safety in the Interior of the United States" forbids any federal, state, or local government entity from prohibiting or restricting information exchange between federal immigration officials (Barnes, 2017-18, p. 122). The order specifically labels sanctuary jurisdictions as violators of federal law, and therefore unable to receive federal grants (Barnes, 2017-18, p. 122). How K-12 schools fit into this executive order is unclear, but has been the subject of analysis. Public K-12 school districts are technically defined as "political subdivisions" and thus are classified as legal entities referenced in the Executive Order. This requires school districts to comply with federal rules and regulations, including Executive Orders. As *Plyler v. Doe* renders students' legal status irrelevant, K-12 schools are justified in refusing to collect information regarding childrens' immigration status (Barnes, 2017-18, p. 134). As K-12 schools already have rigorous federal protections for their student's presence in school campuses and their personal information, one study indicates that the adoption of sanctuary policies is "legally superfluous" (Barnes, 2017-18, p. 133). This serves as a buffer against the Executive Order, protecting school districts which choose to define themselves as a sanctuary. At the same time, this catalyzes the discussion of whether a

sanctuary designation is merely symbolic, or if it performs crucial efforts to protect public school students.

Effects of Enhanced Immigration Enforcement Activity

The effect of failing to protect undocumented immigrants is additionally relevant to analyze through the literature in order to gain a fuller perspective on the issue of sanctuary school districts. Studies have shown that school districts play a critical role in the issue of immigration enforcement due to a phenomenon referred to as the school-to-deportation pipeline (Verma, 2017, p. 209). This pipeline is a version of the school-to-prison pipeline popularized in recent media and publications. When immigrants are “other-ized” through bias and national politics, when they are deemed “illegal aliens,” the ultimate result is a shift in how they self-identify (Verma, 2017, p. 210) This produces the racialization of these students, outside of the “standard” and into the category of “other.” This follows from the racial paradigm in the United States that relies on racialization and the placement into categories so that groups can be easily identified and persecuted (Verma, 2017, p. 210) Immigrant youth begin to be labelled and conceptualized in the infrastructural processes of immigration enforcement as “other,” something less than citizen, and often less than human. From here, the school-to-deportation pipeline materializes. With the perception of immigrant students as deviants from the norm, they are immediately placed into a position that makes them vulnerable to officials’ watchful eye. When this watchful eye couples with the presence of immigration enforcement officials, the potential for deportation elevates (Verma, 2017, p. 211) Sanctuary school districts are one mechanism to respond to this

phenomenon. These policies serve as barriers between the school setting and the potential effects of deportation.

The National Immigration Law Center has done significant work on this concept of the school-to-deportation pipeline and policy needs in this regard. One aspect of the school-to-deportation pipeline is that police target and criminalize Latino youth, creating fear and discomfort. Thus, the presence of campus police or school resource officers can foster a sense of fear in school (NILC, 2018). If these individuals and institutions are present in schools, students of color will be disproportionately affected. Thus, sanctuary school district policies can disrupt this pipeline by addressing the role of not only immigration enforcement officers in schools, but also that of campus police and student resource officers.

Conceptualizing to what extent the threat of deportation or the general presence of immigration enforcement affects students' success is possible through current literature. The National Bureau of Economic Research released a study in 2018 explaining the effect of local immigration enforcement on student enrollment (Dee and Murphy, 2018, p. 1). The study found that when ICE partners with local police to enforce immigration law, the rates of school enrollment for Hispanic students in that area drop dramatically. Within two years of this type of partnership, the number of Hispanic students in the public school system dropped by nearly 10 percent (Dee and Murphy, 2018, p. 3). Other studies have shown that even U.S. born children of immigrants experience high rates of absenteeism following immigration raids and arrests (Barnes, 2017-18, p.119). This information demonstrates that the threat of immigration enforcement affects students before they even arrive in the classroom.

Additionally, a negative policy environment, like one that invokes the fear of family disruption through arrest or deportation, causes greater rates of anxiety, PTSD, and cardiovascular disease within undocumented immigrants, according to a 2015 public health study (Martinez, 2015, 956). In a context where school is already stressful enough with its deadlines and its social standards, these sources demonstrate that the presence of immigration enforcement and negative policy environments affects students' success. As these studies point to an intimate relationship between immigration enforcement and infrequent attendance and health issues, these issues create an additional barrier to completing a K-12 education for students affected by these policies. This suggests that sanctuary school districts can protect students' Constitutional rights to education by preventing the effect of these policies from infiltrating the school environment. Framing these policies as issues of educational equity and the protection of both federal and human rights highlights their importance in the current national landscape. This leads into a consideration of what exactly these policies incorporate and how they relate to the issues encapsulated in the literature.

Model Sanctuary Policies

Documents drafted by related interest groups shed light on desirable approaches to sanctuary policies. The American Civil Liberties Union of California, in an effort to align with the movement of student and parent organizing around immigrant rights, produced a model sanctuary policy to promote the cause of sanctuary policies (ACLU of California, 2018). This model was crafted with the goal of promoting effective advocacy in districts across the country, using tools that reflect the organization's expertise. The model sanctuary policy incorporates several resources, including Know

Your Rights information as well as how to properly respond to the presence of immigration enforcement officials.

The National Immigration Law Center is similarly dedicated to fighting back against unjust immigration enforcement through policy work and litigation. In a series of resources related to “Campus Safe Zones,” the Center created a model safe zone resolution for both K-12 schools as well as universities (NILC).

While an assessment of optimal policies exists, the current literature does not include an analysis of the sanctuary policies passed by school district boards in the United States. This is the gap in current knowledge which this study seeks to fill through an investigation into a random sample of sanctuary school district policies across the country.

Research Questions

In order to analyze sanctuary school district policies, a series of research questions guide this investigation. What are the characteristics of sanctuary school district policies across the country? What are the demographics of school districts which have passed these sanctuary policies? Does there exist a relationship between the characteristics of sanctuary policies and the demographics of the school districts they serve? Moreover, does a typology of sanctuary school district policies exist? If so, does there exist a relationship between these typologies of policy and the demographics of the school district in which they serve? How do the sanctuary school district policies present in public school districts in the United States compare to the model sanctuary policies proposed by the experts? Finally, are the school districts most in need of nuanced, specific, and relevant policies due to their sensitive demography adopting sanctuary policies that align with these needs?

Methodology

To answer these questions, this study's methodology consisted of data collection from national databases, a coding of policies, and statistical analysis. The first step in the thesis process was to identify sanctuary school districts across the country. The National Education Association compiled a list of all schools across the country that identify themselves as sanctuaries or safe zones.¹ This list totaled, in October 2019, 160 school districts. In order to narrow this list, the sample included only public school districts which meet two categories: 1) the school district incorporates all grades Kindergarten through 12th, and 2) the school district successfully passed a sanctuary policy through the School Board. From there, a random sample of 50 of these school districts was taken through a random number generator function in Microsoft Excel, and became the data source for the project.

The sanctuary policy of each school district was found through their websites or related Board Document websites (see Appendix A and B for sources and an example of these policies). Analysis of each school's policy began through the lens of 15 policy components (Figure 1). These components were deduced from reading each policy and extracting themes from their wording. For each component, the policy was coded as either "0" or "1." "0" indicates that the policy did not incorporate any language in relation to that variable. "1" indicates that it does include this language. This then created a series of binary dependent variables. Once reading through and coding for each of these policies was completed, the model policies from the ACLU and the NILC

¹ The California Department of Education compiled their own list of school districts within California which identify as safe zones, and this was utilized to verify the NEA list.

were analyzed using the same metric as the sample. This allowed for the sample’s policies and the model policies to be easily compared.

Figure 1: Description of Policy Components

Variable	Description
Basic Language	School district cites the federal or state precedents, emphasizes caution when collecting student information, and restricts immigration agents from accessing campuses (Barnes, 2017-18, p. 132)
Languages	School district offers the resolution in one or more language other than English
Toolkit	School district provides resources upon request or through online webpages (ex. contact information, FAQs, hotlines)
Community Organization Collaboration	School district partners with community organizations to provide supplemental resources
Staff Training	School district offers training to their staff to increase knowledge and sensitivity on issues related to immigration and to properly implement the resolution
Procedure in Place	School district implements a step-by-step plan to respond if or when an immigration enforcement agent arrives on school district property
Legal Services	School district partners with or refers families to legal services and assistance
Governmental Collaboration	School district collaborates with city, county, and/or state government to provide protection, information, or support
Procedural Review	School district reviews and/or alters current policy and procedures to reflect this new or updated resolution
Counseling Services	School district provides counseling support to those impacted by the climate of enhanced immigration enforcement
Document Review	School district reviews the documents required to establish residency in order to not bar undocumented students
Unifying Events	School district organizes events celebrating diversity and unity
Immigrant Liaison	School district creates or trains a designated staff member who specializes in immigrant issues and support
Workshops	School district organizes workshops and presentations to inform the general public about immigration enforcement and immigrant rights
College Advising	School district provides information on college-related details (in-state tuition, financial aid, etc.) related to immigration status

The National Center for Education Statistics’ Education Demographic and Geographic Estimates provides data from the American Community Survey for every school district in the United States (National Center for Education Statistics 2013-17).

The American Community Survey is a nationwide survey conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau to collect timely community-based data. The 2013-2017 survey data, the dataset which coincided most contemporaneously with the implementation dates of each policy, were used to collect the characteristics of enrolled public school students in each school district in the dataset.

The demographic data was collected to observe a range of categories, including income, race, ethnicity, citizenship status, language spoken at home, and place of birth. This data thus became the independent variables for the study. Once this data was compiled, the next phase of the methodology was data analysis. For these purposes, Stata served as the medium for analysis. Stata is a statistical software capable of running equations and outputting results in digestible tables.

The first step in utilizing Stata was to calculate descriptive statistics for both the independent and dependent variables. The minimum, maximum, average, median and standard deviation of each school district was calculated.

Moving forward, the next step was to perform a logistic regression to explain the relationship between the binary dependent variables and the continuous independent variables. The five independent variables utilized in this equation represent five key elements of demographic data: language spoken at home, place of birth, income, citizenship status, and race. The logistic regressions indicate whether these variables have a statistically significant relationship with the adoption of any of the 15 sanctuary policy components. This logistic regression was run for each policy component, and compared with five demographic characteristics: the percentage of students who speak Spanish, who were born in the United States, who receive SNAP benefits, who identify

as white, and who are undocumented. The percentage who receive SNAP benefits is assumed as having a negative relationship with income earned (i.e.: as income increases in a school district, the percentage of households who receive SNAP decreases).

In addition, a factor analysis was conducted to answer the question: Does a typology of sanctuary school district policies exist? A factor analysis relies on the assumption that in a collection of observed variables, there exist a set of underlying variables, or tendencies, which are called factors. Each factor corresponds to a subset of variables that are relatively highly correlated (Mehmetoglu and Jakobsen, 2016). Therefore, factor analysis tested whether or not a natural correlation between the dependent variables exists.

For the purposes of this study, factor analysis was run on the dependent variables in order to understand if and how the elements coded for in the sanctuary policies co-occur. Factor analysis produces eigenvalues and factor loadings. Eigenvalues are the level of variance captured by the factors, and factor loadings reflect the correlation between the observed variables and their respective underlying factors (Mehmetoglu and Jakobsen, 2016). Factors with higher eigenvalues were retained for further study.

Final factor loadings were generated and interpreted, using 0.4 as the threshold to determine if a variable was correlated with a factor to a significant degree. All variables with factor loadings at 0.4 or below were retained as a group, generating factors. These factors thus represent different typologies of policies, characterized by a grouping of certain elements of policies that consistently appear alongside one another

in the random sample of sanctuary policies. These factors were now available for use as dependent variables in the last phase of analysis.

In order to ensure a complete analysis of the data, a new set of regressions was run, but this time including the factors as the dependent variables. These regressions were computed as OLS regressions, as the factors are not binary variables, but instead continuous. Nonetheless, this regression serves the same purpose as the logistic regression, and indicates whether there exists a significant relationship between the independent variables and the new dependent variable, the factors. This regression was run with the same independent variables as before, estimating the relationships between demographic characteristics and the new factors. Similarly, the same significance level was utilized, at 0.05. From these results, any p-values less than 0.05 were to be defined as statistically significant, indicating that these demographic characteristics have an influence on the inclusion of the types of policy defined by the factors. Now, the next step is to showcase the results in order to understand and define the answers to the research questions which guide this study.

Results

The characteristics of the random sample of sanctuary school districts serve as a foundation for understanding the results of the analysis. To begin, 41 of the sanctuary policies were passed in 2017, and 9 were passed in 2016. Out of the 15 variables coded for in each policy, the median number of components included in each school’s policy was 4. The minimum was 1, and the maximum was 12. Four schools were coded as having only one policy element and that is “Basic Language.” Two schools had policies that included 12 of the 15 policy elements—Azusa Unified School District and Oakland Unified School District.

Figure 2: Dependent Variable Summary Statistics

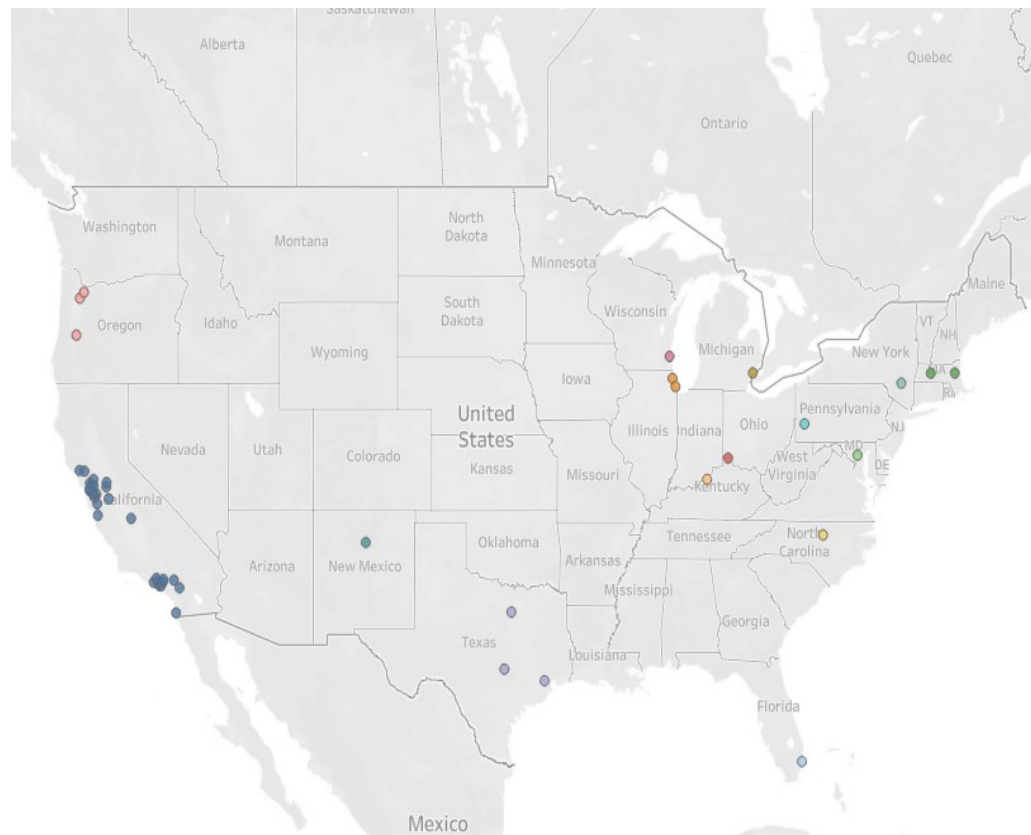
Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Basic Language	1	0	1	1
Languages	0.64	0.4848732	0	1
Toolkit	0.6	0.4948717	0	1
Community Organization Collaboration	0.52	0.504672	0	1
Staff Training	0.36	0.4848732	0	1
Procedure in Place	0.32	0.4712121	0	1
Legal Services	0.28	0.4535574	0	1
Governmental Collaboration	0.28	0.4535574	0	1
Procedural Review	0.22	0.418452	0	1
Counseling Services	0.16	0.370328	0	1
Document Review	0.16	0.370328	0	1
Unifying Events	0.14	0.3505098	0	1
Immigrant Liaison	0.1	0.3030458	0	1
Workshops	0.1	0.3030458	0	1
College Advising	0.06	0.2398979	0	1

The table above illustrates the frequency of each policy component in the sample of 50 schools with sanctuary policies. Figure 2 demonstrates that Basic Language, Languages, Toolkit, and Community Organization Collaboration are the

most common policy components, each appearing in half or more of the school districts. Basic Language appears in every sanctuary school district policy. Immigrant Liaison, Workshops, and College Advising each appear with the least frequency in the sample, in 10% or less of the policies.

Geographically speaking, the random sample includes 50 school districts located in 15 states and is present in every major region of the United States as shown in the map in Figure 3. This illustrates the distribution of these policies and contextualizes their presence.

Figure 3: Map of Sanctuary School District Locations



Comparing the results of the random sample with the presence of the dependent variables in the model policies produced by the ACLU of Northern California and the National Immigration Law Center functions as a useful evaluation.

The ACLU policy language included 7 of the coded policy components. Only 13 of the 50 school districts in the random sample had the same or greater number of policy components as the ACLU's policy. Moreover, this number is above the median of the sample, 4. This policy was distinct from any in the sample and focused heavily on scenarios of immigration enforcement officials' arrival or interaction with the school district, and what would follow from these scenarios. The sample policy incorporated specific procedures and contingency plans that, if adopted, would allow administrators to implement the policy word-for-word, step-by-step. Step-by-step procedures, defined as "Procedure in Place" within the sample, are found in 22% of the school policies examined, but not to the same level of detail as reflected in the ACLU's sample policy.

In regards to the model policy from the National Immigration Law Center, alternate elements of a possible sanctuary policy emerge. The policy included 12 of the 15 coded policy components, equivalent to the maximum number found in the random sample. Azusa Unified School District, one of the districts in the random sample, adopted this policy as their own, word-for-word. This demonstrates that this model policy has the potential to be translated into functional policy at the school district level. When it comes to key differences, the main point of distinction is the focus on campus police within the NILC policy. This is reflected disproportionately in the "Procedural Review" variable. As the NILC has performed a significant level of work with the school-to-deportation pipeline, a call for campus police to create their own policy restricting their participation in immigration enforcement activities aligns with this research. Similar policy components seen in the NILC model are seen in two school districts within the sample, one being Azusa Unified School District. As a result, where

the ACLU focuses on the variable of “Procedure in Place” the NILC focuses on the “Procedural Review” variable. The former addresses the issue of defining clearly outlined procedures to prevent immigration enforcement officials’ access to the district, and the latter centers on a disruption of the school-to-prison pipeline.

As a number of school districts in the sample included references to their own demographics within the text of their resolution, the demography of these school districts have a clear relationship with their policies. Figure 4 shows the summary statistics for 11 variables explaining the demographics of the school districts in the random sample. Economic, race and ethnicity, language, and nationality information characterize these variables.

Figure 4: Population Characteristics of School Districts

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	Min	Max	Median
Total Population	56,174	111,637.2	1,280	652,330	15,895
Median Household Income	\$74,985.34	\$38,368.72	\$23,447.00	\$219,003.00	\$63,887.00
Percentage of Households with Cash Public Assistance	6%	4.24%	0.00%	21.02%	5.72%
Percentage of Households with Food Stamp/SNAP Benefits	22%	14.03%	0.00%	65.84%	22.01%
Percent Hispanic Student Population	41%	26.97%	0.22%	93.92%	40.55%
Percent White Student Population	54%	18.07%	15.71%	91.53%	54.06%
Percent of Student Population that Speak a Language Other than English	40%	19.49%	7.86%	77.45%	39.80%
Percent of Student Population that Speak Spanish	28%	20.98%	0.54%	72.37%	26.07%
Percent of Student Population Born in	8%	4.17%	0.98%	21.90%	7.30%

Foreign Country					
Percent of Student Population Who are Not U.S. Citizens	6%	3.10%	0.00%	14.84%	5.77%
Percent of Foreign Born Population that Entered the U.S. Before 2010	66%	15.47%	37.63%	100.00%	62.62%

Nearly a quarter of households in this sample of school districts receive government financial assistance. More than half of the sample of students are white. Forty percent of students speak a language other than English. Nearly 10% of students were born in a foreign country, and of these, almost two-thirds of these students entered the U.S. before 2010. Six percent of the student population in the sample have reported themselves as undocumented.

Figure 5 illustrates differences between characteristics of the sample and the U.S. population as a whole. The total student population and the percent Hispanic populations are the most distinct relationships between the sample and the United States as a whole.

Figure 5: Comparison of Sample Demographics and U.S. Average Demographics²

Variable	Mean of Sample	Median of Sample	Average of U.S. Public School Districts
Total Student Population	56,174	15,895	3,659
Median Household Income	\$74,985.34	\$63,887	\$67,406
Percent Hispanic Student Population	41%	40.55%	25%
Percent White Student Population	54%	54.06%	50%
Percent of Student Population	8%	7.30%	3%

² The mean and median are unavailable for the general U.S. student population, so the overall U.S. average is reported. Moreover, the average for government assistance are grouped into one category when reported for the U.S. average, so the reported number is the average number of households that receive SNAP, CPA, and/or SSI.

Born in Foreign Country			
Percentage of Households with SNAP	22%	22.01%	
Percentage of Households with Cash Public Assistance	6%	5.72%	27%

Delving deeper into the descriptive statistics, comparing the school districts above and below the median population, median income level, and median percent white population within the sample offers insight into how these characteristics relate to the demographics of a school district.

Figure 6: Descriptive Statistics through Dichotomous Variables³

Variable	Mean of Above Median Income Schools	Mean of Below Median Income Schools	Mean of Schools with Above Median White Population	Mean of Schools with Below Median White Population	Mean of Schools with Above Median Population	Mean of Schools with Below Median Population
Median Household Income	--	--	\$71,919.72	\$78,050.96	\$65,003.76	\$84,966.92
Percentage of Households with Cash Public Assistance	4.39%***	7.98%***	5.65%	6.73%	6.91%	5.46%
Percentage of Households with Food Stamp/SNAP Benefits	13.48%***	31.52%***	22.04%	22.96%	26.77%*	18.23%*
Percent Hispanic Student Population	32.33%*	49.51%*	43.49%	38.35%	43.38%	38.46%
Percent White Student	55.04%	52.38%	--	--	47.54%*	59.87%*

³ Significant differences between the means of school districts above and below the median population, income level, and percent white population determined through a T-test analysis. Above median schools are characterized as “higher” and below median schools as “lower” in discussion of the results.

Population						
Percentage of Student Population that Speak a Language Other than English	36.17%	43.39%	39.63%	39.94%	40.14%	39.43%
Percentage of Student Population that Speak Spanish	20.82%*	35.41%*	30.14%	26.09%	29.88%	26.35%
Percentage of Student Population Born in Foreign Country	8.09%	7.24%	7.60%	7.74%	7.08%	8.26%
Percentage of Student Population Who are Not U.S. Citizens	5.83%	5.65%	5.54%	5.93%	5.43%	6.04%
Percentage of Foreign Born Population that Entered the U.S. Before 2010	65.96%	65.85%	71.88%**	59.94%**	61.42%*	70.40%*
Percentage of Foreign Born Population Born in Latin America	34.59%***	62.19%***	53.58%	43.20%	51.53%	45.25%

*Significant at 0.05 level **Significant at 0.01 level ***Significant at 0.005 level

Higher and lower income schools have the greatest number of discrepancies in their demographic make-up while a higher or lower percentage of white students has the least distinction in their demography. Lower income schools include a significantly higher percentage of CPA and SNAP recipients, Hispanic students, students that speak Spanish, and students who were born in Latin America. Therefore, income rates of a

school district have a clear relationship with rates of government assistance, ethnicity, language, and nationality within the sample.

School districts with higher or lower percentages of white students have fewer distinctions in their demography. The rate of the student population who entered the United States before 2010 is greater in schools with higher white populations. The percentage of whiteness within schools in the sample therefore correlates with fewer distinctions in other demographic characteristics than the income levels of a district.

Finally, school districts with higher and lower student populations have some key distinctions in their rates of other demographic information. Districts with more students have higher percentages of households who receive SNAP benefits, lower percentages of white students, and lower percentages of students who entered the United States before 2010. As a result, the number of students in a school has a relationship with government assistance, race, and the time of entry for foreign born populations.

Moving beyond descriptive statistics, running a logistic regression to relate each dependent variable coded for in the sanctuary school district policy to the school district’s demographic data provides a series of notable results.

Figure 7: Results from Logistic Regressions⁴

Dependent Variable	Basic Language	Languages	Toolkit	Community Organization Collaboration	Staff Training
Independent Variable	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
Percentage of Student Population that Speak Spanish	0.005	0.434	-0.101	1.161*	1.011*

⁴ The recorded coefficients are the result of a *margin* command in Stata.

Percentage of Student Population Born in the United States	0.630	-2.541	3.258	-6.482*	-3.337
Percentage of Households with Food Stamp/SNAP Benefits	0.275	1.142	0.250	-1.815*	-1.380*
Percent White Student Population	-0.152	-0.273	-0.051	-0.597	-0.603
Percentage of Student Population Who are Not U.S. Citizens	0.467	2.771	8.864	-8.247	-5.830
R-squared	21.87%	15.82%	6.97%	19.10%	15.06%

Dependent Variable	Procedure in Place	Legal Services	Government Collaboration	Procedural Review	Counseling Services
Independent Variable	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
Percentage of Student Population that Speak Spanish	0.098	0.734*	0.393	-0.057	0.328
Percentage of Student Population Born in the United States	-1.297	-3.614	0.812	5.525	-1.894
Percentage of Households with Food Stamp/SNAP Benefits	-0.624	-0.003	-1.463*	-0.321	-0.945*
Percent White Student Population	-0.191	-0.511	-0.277	-0.055	-0.178
Percentage of Student	-3.707	-6.113	1.560	6.003*	-5.274

Population Who are Not U.S. Citizens					
R-squared	2.50%	13.58%	16.75%	5.90%	19.84%

Dependent Variable	Document Review	Unifying Events	Immigrant Liaison	Workshops	College Advising
Independent Variable	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
Percentage of Student Population that Speak Spanish	0.098	-0.040	0.065	0.082	0.113
Percentage of Student Population Born in the United States	3.704*	1.399	0.310	0.412	-0.222
Percentage of Households with Food Stamp/SNAP Benefits	-0.471*	-0.482	-0.210	0.292	-0.054
Percent White Student Population	-0.316*	0.014	-0.120	-0.263	0.032
Percentage of Student Population Who are Not U.S. Citizens	2.820	2.972	-0.676	1.506	0.167
R-squared	29.23%	15.22%	2.49%	10.61%	4.36%

*Significant at 0.05 significance level

Figure 7 details the results of the logit regressions and features a number of significant results. First, nearly every R-squared is above 10% with several near or beyond 20%. These R-squared results suggest that the equations explain a sufficient level of variability in the data, and warrant further analysis. Community Organization

Collaboration, Document Review, and Staff Training are the dependent variables with the highest number of significant relationships with the demographic data. The percentage of households that receive SNAP benefits is the independent variable most significantly related to the dependent variables coded for in the sanctuary school district policy.

More than the frequency of results, evaluating the sign, size, and significance of the estimated regression coefficients helps to explain the results of the logistic regressions. To begin, the percentage of students that speak Spanish has a positive relationship with community organization collaboration, staff training, and legal services at the 0.05 significance level. The coefficients are all 0.7 or above, each indicating a size substantial enough to be of import. Thus, when the percentage of students that speak Spanish increases by 1 percentage point, the likelihood that the school district incorporates community organization collaboration, staff training, or legal services elements into their policies increases by approximately 73%-116%.

The percentage of students born in the United States has a significant relationship with community organization collaboration and document review. However, the signs differ here, indicating that there is a negative relationship with U.S.-born students and community organization collaboration, but a positive one with document review. The size of these coefficients are the two largest of the significant relationships at -6.482 and 3.704, suggesting that the percentage of students born in the United States has a sizable impact on these policy types. This can be interpreted as follows: As the percentage of students born in the United States increases by 1%, the likelihood that a school district incorporates community organization collaboration in its

policy decreases by -648% while the chance that document review is included increases by 370%.

The percentage of households that receive SNAP benefits, an indicator for income distribution in the community, has a significant negative relationship with community organization collaboration, staff training, government collaboration, counseling services, and document review. The coefficients range from -0.47 to -1.82, all sizable, meaningful, and negative. As a result, this can be explained with the following statement: As the percentage of households that receive SNAP benefits in a school district increases by 1 percentage point, the likelihood that the district incorporates community organization collaboration, staff training, government collaboration, counseling services, or document review into their policy decreases by 47-182%.

The percentage of white students in a school district has a significant relationship with just one independent variable, document review. This relationship is negative, and its coefficient is -0.316, a substantial size; as the percentage of students that identify as white in a school district increases by 1 percentage point, this change decreases the probability of document review being part of the school district policy by 31.6%.

Finally, the percentage of students that are not citizens within a school district has a significant relationship solely with the presence of procedural review. This relationship is positive, and the coefficient is 6.003, a notable size to observe. Therefore, when a school district prepares a sanctuary policy to protect its undocumented students, as the percentage of undocumented students in the school

district increases by 1, this change increases the likelihood of the school having a document review policy by 600%. While the results discussed here are noteworthy, 8 of the 15 dependent variables do not have individual significant relationships with the independent variables in the equation.⁵

The results of the factor analysis work to answer whether a typology of sanctuary school district policies exists. Figure 8 depicts the three factors and their loadings onto eight of the dependent variables following rotation.

Figure 8: Factor Analysis Results

Variable	Empowerment	Partnerships	Top Down
Legal Services	0.2255	0.6843*	0.0048
Community Organization Collaboration	0.2002	0.7563*	0.2684
College Advising	0.8742*	0.0926	-0.0665
Counseling Services	0.5226*	0.396	-0.1875
Government Collaboration	0.0655	0.3847	0.5026*
Staff Training	0.1908	0.2817	0.4559*
Workshops	0.8009*	0.2092	0.1523
Unifying Events	-0.0788	0.0929	0.6847*

* meet/exceed 0.4 threshold of significance

Each of these new variables represent a typology of policy components that are naturally grouped in the random sample, as determined through the factor analysis. These typologies were labelled according to the thematic relationship of the variables with significant loadings onto each respective factor. The three resulting factors have now become dependent variables themselves and are labelled as Empowerment, Partnerships, and Top Down.

⁵ The eight dependent variables are Basic Language, Languages, Toolkit, Procedure in Place, Unifying Events, Immigrant Liaison, Workshops, and College Advising.

The first type of sanctuary school district policy is Empowerment.

Empowerment is characterized by three variables due to their significant loadings onto the factor: College Advising, Counseling Services, and Workshops. The typology is labelled as “Empowerment” due to the thematic relationship between these three variables. Each variable works to empower immigrants and their families through knowledge and connection, and serves as a grassroots approach to policy. This grouping of variables together permits a focus on those most affected by the presence or lack thereof of a sanctuary school district policy--immigrant students and their families. Whether that is providing information on rights specific to immigrants’ status or providing counseling specific to immigrants’ mental and emotional health, this typology of policy *empowers* immigrants.

The second type of policy is Partnerships. Two variables bore significant loadings onto this factor, Legal Services and Community Organization Collaboration. This typology is thus titled “Partnerships” as it centers on the school district reaching out into its community and utilizing its resources. This typology of policy is dependent on collaboration with community experts, and demonstrates a perspective of “contracting out,” a dispersal of power, and recognition of the community as a key actor. This depends upon the school district stepping away as the provider of the policy and moving into a position as the facilitator.

Finally, the third typology of policy identified through this factor analysis is Top Down. Three variables loaded significantly onto this factor, Government Collaboration, Staff Training, and Unifying Events. “Top Down” is used to define this policy as each of these variables focuses on the coordination or knowledge of organizations at the

“top,” those with the most administrative power. Collaborating with local government apparatuses and training staff both achieve buy-in from those with power. Events for unification are required within the policy, designating high level actors to coordinate the delivery of these events to promote goals established by these same actors. The implementation of each of these policies relies on a high level official in order to do so, making it a “top down” approach.

Figure 9 shows the presence of each of these factors in the random sample. This demonstrates that Partnerships is the most common typology of policy found within the school districts, Top Down following, and Empowerment appearing the least often.

Figure 9: Means of Factors within Random Sample

Factor Label	Mean
Empowerment	0.1066667
Partnerships	0.4285714
Top Down	0.26

Running linear regressions between the new dependent variables, the factors, and a number of independent variables produced data concerning whether these factors have a significant relationship with the demographics of the school districts which possess them. The results of these regressions are included in Figure 10.

Figure 10: Coefficients of Regression on Factors and Independent Variables⁶

	Empowerment	Outreach	Top Down
Independent Variable	Coef.	Coef.	Coef.
Percentage of Student Population that Speak	-0.6647422*	0.7676144*	0.3641295

⁶ To test the influence of certain elements of immigration on the factor, the percentage of students born in Latin America as well as the percentage of students who entered the United States were entered into the equation. However, for Partnerships and Top Down, these variables adversely affected the equation’s results, so these variables were excluded from their final equations, and resulting outcomes.

Spanish			
Percentage of Student Population Born in the United States	-1.5891210	-4.289151*	-0.7823057
Percentage of Households with Food Stamp/SNAP Benefits	-0.5558456	-0.6970608	-0.8834287*
Percentage of Student Population Who are Not U.S. Citizens	-1.9994120	-6.0092250	-0.0577847
Percent White Student Population	-0.490683*	-0.4472977	-0.2482144
Percentage of Foreign Born Population Born in Latin America	0.7702789**	--	--
Percentage of Foreign Born Population that Entered the U.S. Before 2010	0.2304871	--	--
R-squared	27.78%	19.22%	21.01%
Adj R-squared	15.74%	10.04%	12.03%

*Significant at 0.05 significance level **Significant at 0.01 significance level

Both the R-squared and adjusted R-squared of each equation are over 10%, showing that 10-30% of the variance in the factors is explained by the independent variables in the equation. This is a substantial level of variation, and therefore adds validity to the outcomes of the equation.

Looking at the results of this equation by factor helps to explain how demographic data relates to differing typologies of policy. To begin, the empowerment factor is significantly related to the percentage of students that speak Spanish and the percent of students that were born in the United States at the 0.05 level, and at the 0.01 level with the percentage born in Latin America. The relationship is negative for both Spanish speakers and those born in the United States, but positive for students born in Latin America. All of the coefficients are approximately 0.5 or above, each indicating a substantial effect. This can be explained with this statement: As the percentage of students who speak Spanish or who are born in the United States increases by 1

percentage point, the likelihood that the empowerment typology of policy exists in the school district decreases by 66.5% and 49.1%, respectively. Meanwhile, as the percentage of students born in Latin America increases by 1 percentage point, the likelihood that the empowerment typology is present increases by 77%.

The partnerships factor is also significantly related to the percentage of students who speak Spanish and the percentage born in the United States, both at the 0.05 significance level. The relationship is positive with the Spanish-speaking population, while negative with the population born in the United States. The coefficients are 0.77 and -4.29, thus both of meaningful size. As a result, as the percentage of students who speak Spanish increases by 1 percentage point, the chance that a school district adopts an “partnerships” typology of policy increases by 77%. However, as the percentage of students born in the United States increases by 1 percentage point, the likelihood of a partnerships policy decreases by 429%. The final result to discuss is the sole significant relationship of the remaining factor, Top Down, with the demographic information concerning the percentage of households which receive SNAP benefits. The resulting coefficient is negative, and estimated at -0.88, a meaningful size. As a result, as the percentage of households who are SNAP recipients increases by 1%, the probability that the school district passes a Top Down policy decreases by 88%. Each of these results has the potential to explain how typologies of policy relate to the demography of the school districts in which they are found.

Discussion/Policy Analysis

The aim of this study was to determine the characteristics of sanctuary school district policies, conclude if they exist as typologies, assess whether these policies possess a significant relationship with the demographics of the school districts, and compare them to model policies. Evaluating the results of the statistical analyses brings to the surface the myriad of ways these findings are articulated along demographic and typological lines.

Sanctuary School District Policies

From coding each policy, the presence of 15 distinct policy components suggests that these policies are complex in their details. Only four school districts included solely “Basic Language” in their resolution, meaning that 46 of the 50, or 92%, of the school districts included an additional active component to protect students and deter the presence of immigration enforcement officials. Moreover, no two school districts included identical wording in their policy. These findings, when combined, are meaningful. The idea that these policies are merely symbolic, suggested when they are labelled as “legally superfluous,” is contrary to these results. If these policies were truly figureheads, illusions of inclusion, it is likely that the policies would be copies of one another, only incorporating basic language, and not attempting to add a nuanced approach to the issue of supporting immigrants in public school districts. This data indicates the opposite, and creates an impression that each aspect of the policy is intentionally incorporated. This intimates that sanctuary school districts are passed by boards who incorporate their own beliefs of what it means to be a “sanctuary” or “safe and welcoming” into the wording of their policy.

Characteristics of Sanctuary School District Populations

To further the discussion, analyzing to what extent the demographics of the school district intersect with the unique diction and implications of each sanctuary policy is relevant here. The descriptive statistics of the demographic data offer insight into the characteristics of the sample's school districts. Reconciling these statistics with how they compare to demographics of U.S. school districts as a whole provides a useful assessment. There are several meaningful differences between the sample and the U.S. average. The most distinct is the total student population. While the median of the sample is closer to the U.S. average than the sample mean is, the number of students per district in the sample is still above average. A possible explanation for this is that 4 of the 10 largest school districts in the country happen to be included in the random sample. This suggests that larger school districts, from densely populated metropolitan areas, are more likely to have adopted this type of policy. The average Hispanic population in the sample is 15% higher than in the U.S. as a whole. This statistic indicates that school districts with higher Hispanic populations are more likely to pass a sanctuary resolution to protect their students in response to the harmful national rhetoric surrounding the nation's Hispanic population. Similarly, the foreign born population is also larger in the sample than in the U.S. as a whole by 167%. This directly aligns with the goals of a sanctuary school district policy, to protect vulnerable individuals from immigration enforcement officials. This intimates that school districts are taking into account how their unique student population is influenced by national policy, and passing sanctuary resolutions as their local level policy response.

Relationship between Policy Components and Demographics

How the demographics of sanctuary school districts relate to the variables present in the policies can be extrapolated beyond the resulting coefficients and p-values from a series of logistic regressions to an understanding of how demographics interplay with each policy component. School districts' own mention of their demographic data within the text of their sanctuary policies illustrates the relevance of this analysis.

The Spanish-speaking population and the percentage of students who are undocumented both have positive relationships with elements of districts' sanctuary policies. This indicates that school districts with a greater population of Spanish-speaking or undocumented students are more likely to incorporate additional elements into their policy. Meanwhile, the percentage of households who receive SNAP benefits as well as the percentage of students who are white have a universally negative relationship with a range of variables present within sanctuary policies. This implies that it is less probable for lower-income, whiter school districts to include additional components in their sanctuary policy. The percentage of students born in the United States results in both a positive and negative relationship, suggesting that there is no inherent influence of nationality on specific policy elements. All of these results combined lead to an initial conclusion: lower-income, white and English-dominant schools are less likely to produce nuanced sanctuary policies than school districts with higher-income, racially and ethnically diverse, Spanish-speaking, and non-citizen populations. This largely aligns with the expectations of a sanctuary policy, as it shows that schools with demographics more likely to be targeted by enhanced immigration

efforts incorporate a greater level of detail into their sanctuary resolutions. However, the negative relationship with SNAP benefits suggests that lower-income schools are underserved when it comes to detailed sanctuary policies. As a result, these results show both the successes and shortcomings in school districts' policies aligning with the presence of vulnerable populations.

Figure 11 summarizes these results by representing the instances of significant relationships between policy components and demography.

Figure 11: Summary of Significant Results Detailing Relationships between Policy Components and Demographics⁷

Variable	Basic Language	Language	Toolkit	Community Organization Collaboration	Staff Training	Procedure in Place	Legal Services	Governmental Collaboration	Procedural Review	Consulting Services	Document Review	Outgoing Events	Immigrant Litiation	Workshops	College Advising
Percent of Student Population that Speak Spanish				+	+		+								
Percentage of Student Population Born in the United States				-							+				
Percentage of Households with Food Stamp/SNAP Benefits				-							-				
Percent White Student Population											-				
Percent of Student Population Who are Not U.S. Citizens															+

⁷ + indicates a positive significant relationship, - indicates a negative significant relationship.

Typologies of Policy

With this conclusion, the question naturally follows of what groupings of policies, if any, are adopted by school districts who do incorporate multiple components into their policies. The factor analysis resulted in three typologies, empowerment, partnerships, and top down, and suggests that there does in fact exist different categories of policies with distinct features: Empowerment, Partnerships, and Top Down.

All three typologies of policy represent a distinct vision of what the policy hopes to achieve through a sanctuary designation, and the strategies and actors with which the district intends to do so. They each signify a differing ideology of advocacy work and community engagement--coming from below, from the top, or from the outside. This study does not seek to make a value statement on any of these approaches, but instead attempts to understand if these policy types have a meaningful relationship with the demographics of the school districts they aim to protect.

Policy Typologies and Demographic Relationships

Upon determining the factors and therefore the typologies of policies which exist, another question becomes relevant: Does there exist a relationship between the typology of policies and the demographics of the school district in which they serve? To answer this question, a regression was performed to estimate relationships between the policy typologies and school district demographic characteristics. In the case of the empowerment typology, the Spanish-speaking population as well as the population of White students hold a negative relationship with the inclusion of this type of policy. Meanwhile, the Latin American born population possesses a highly significant positive

relationship, the only relationship significant at the 0.01 level in the entire study, with the empowerment typology. The conclusion is that the higher the number of White or Spanish-speaking students, the lower the likelihood that this policy exists. However, the greater the Latin American born population, the greater the likelihood that it exists. Thus, racially diverse and largely English-speaking, Latin American-born school district populations are the most likely to incorporate an empowerment typology of policy.

The “partnerships sanctuary policy” was found to possess a distinctive demographic profile. The significant relationships are positive with the Spanish-speaking population and negative with the percent US-born population meaning that school districts with a partnership typology of policy are likely to have a higher population of students who speak Spanish or who were born in a foreign country. This demography aligns with those most targeted in changes to the nation’s immigration policy, those who have immigrated to the United States or who are falsely perceived as foreign due to their bilingual abilities, and the residual prejudices that follow from these changes.

A top down typology of policy has a simple relationship with the demography of the school district it exists within. The percentage of households who receive SNAP benefits has a negative relationship with this policy, meaning that this policy is most likely to exist in school districts with a lower percentage of households who receive SNAP benefits. The number of SNAP recipients is used as a metric to indicate the income levels of a district. Therefore, the conclusion from this regression is that school districts with top down policies can be characterized as higher income.

The conclusions regarding how each factor's demographic profile correlates with its typology requires an assessment beyond which populations are involved, but also of why these populations' significant relationships with this specific typology matters. Empowerment sanctuary policies are most present in school districts which feature a subset of the population, Latin American born or racial minorities, who appear to be directly targeted within the current immigration discussion within the United States. The empowerment policy works through a grassroots methodology, providing information and support revolving around immigration directly to those who most need it. As a result, the data suggests that those who would be best served by this information are in fact receiving it, due to the presence of this typology in districts with a vulnerable demography.

The partnerships sanctuary policy relies on school districts' coordination with external agencies that work to meet the needs of immigrants in the area. Working with community-based or legal organizations suggests that school districts seek expertise outside of themselves in order to best serve the students supported by their sanctuary policy. The demographic relationships thus suggest that school districts which incorporate this typology of policy include populations who would benefit from the external expertise that this policy provides. Foreign born students or students who speak Spanish would be assisted by community organizations that specialize in Spanish communications or legal services that can offer their insight into the immigration status of those born outside the U.S. This indicates that perhaps external organizations may often be better equipped to address the specific needs of immigrant students and their families.

“Top down sanctuary policies” are most present in higher income communities, and the policies themselves rely on policy components implemented by administrative officials. Higher income schools may have more means to implement sanctuary policies, compelled to respond to the current political climate, while lacking the populations who are most affected by these policies. Moreover, school districts in higher income areas are more likely to possess substantial administrative budgets, so a top down approach would be more feasible to fund and execute.

Considering each typology of policy through their corresponding demographic characteristics allows for a fuller understanding of the latent interactions between a school district’s demographics and their policy of choice. Figure 12 summarizes these results into a table in order to visually synopsize the underlying relationships. Extrapolating the statistical results to an assessment of why these relationships matter is informative, and begins to answer the question: are the school districts most in need of nuanced, specific, and relevant policies due to their sensitive demography adopting sanctuary policies that align with these needs?

Figure 12: Summary of Significant Results Detailing Relationships between Policy Components and Factor Analysis Results⁸

Variable	Empowerment	Partnerships	Top Down
Percent of Student Population that Speak Spanish	-	+	
Percentage of Student Population Born in the United States		-	
Percentage of Households with Food Stamp/SNAP Benefits			-
Percent of Student Population Who Are Not U.S. Citizens			
Percent White Student Population	-		
Percent of Foreign Born Population Born in Latin America	+	N/A	N/A
Percent of Foreign Born Population that Entered the U.S. Before 2010		N/A	N/A

Model Policies Compared to the Sample’s Policies

Through comparisons with the model policies from the ACLU and NILC, the sanctuary school district policies within the sample are placed into a broader context. The model policies are written by those in the field of immigration law, and serve as a comparison between expert-recommended best practices and policies in practice. Aside from the sole school district, Azusa Unified, which utilized the NILC’s policy as their own, these sample policies differ in substantial ways from the policies passed and implemented by public school district boards. This policy gap functions as a useful point of analysis between real and model policy.

The results of coding the two policies show that the “Procedure in Place” and “Procedural Review” policy components are where the two policies diverge most significantly from the policies present in school districts across the country. Within the model policies, these components attempt to resolve the issues of immigration

⁸ + indicates a positive significant relationship, - indicates a negative significant relationship.

enforcement officials' access to the district's property and the disruption of the school-to-deportation pipeline. As the pre-existing literature details, the consequences of the school-to-deportation pipeline and the fear of immigration detention or deportation are tangible on students' holistic health and their performance in schools. Determining how these policy components' prevalence in the sample of public school districts compare to their representation in the draft policies can provide the opportunity to examine where public school districts' policies may have room to improve from the experts' perspective.

Thirty-two percent of school districts in the sample incorporate a "Procedure in Place" policy component, while 22% include a "Procedural Review" policy component. These are the sixth and ninth most represented policy components. This indicates that school districts in the sample do in fact incorporate these elements. However, an assessment of the wording of these policies in the school district sample as compared with the model policies suggests discrepancies between best practices and current policy.

The "Procedure in Place" policy component takes various forms across the sample of sanctuary school district policies. Anywhere from a two- to a ten-step procedure is common in the sample school district policies. However, within the ACLU's model policy, there are more than twenty steps detailed in three separate scenarios of immigration enforcement officials' interactions with the district. No school district in the sample utilizes this extent of procedural requirements, nor do any districts in the sample include a procedure for numerous interactions between the district and immigration enforcement officials. The distinction between the sample and the model

policy illustrates the model's potential to more fully address the threat of immigration enforcement officials' arrival onto campus.

For the procedural review component, only one school district aside from Azusa Unified included a call for districts to reinvigorate their campus police policy to reflect the sanctuary resolution. This was stated in one sentence within the sample, acknowledging that police do not have the authority to enforce or participate in immigration enforcement efforts. Meanwhile, the NILC policy goes beyond this and lists a series of immigration enforcement activities which must be addressed in the new policy. This increases the level of specificity within the policy, deepening the restrictions on campus police activities and clearly detailing what is and is not permitted.

Examining the demographic relationships with the procedure in place and procedural review policy components can offer insight into whether there are any indicators of whether school districts include these components. Procedure in Place has no significant relationships with any of the demographic elements. This suggests that school districts' inclusion of this policy component cannot be explained by the core demographics of that school district. Having a procedure in place within a school district in the case of an ICE official's arrival could be the deciding factor for whether a student is detained by ICE. Incorporating the ACLU's wording to a greater extent in sanctuary policies implemented by school districts with sensitive populations offers the opportunity to further deter presence of immigration enforcement officials and disrupt their undue effect on vulnerable students.

Meanwhile, Procedural Review has a strong positive relationship to the percentage of non-citizen students. This indicates that school districts with undocumented populations have a markedly higher likelihood to include this policy component. From this, the NILC's version of procedural review has a greater probability of serving sensitive populations if added to school districts which already possess a variation of this policy component. The NILC's work to reduce the presence of campus police through updated procedures would directly disrupt the school-to-deportation pipeline. This benefits non-citizen populations to the greatest extent. Therefore, as the correlation already exists between this demography and this policy component, school districts have the potential to revitalize their policy to incorporate the NILC's wording and increase the potential of the procedural review component.

Policies which incorporate specific wording to address the issues presented by increased immigration enforcement and the school-to-deportation pipeline would be an important consideration for school districts considering implementing or updating their sanctuary policies. Without wording that directly intervenes in these patterns of immigration enforcement, they have the potential to continue. Campus police could undermine the efforts of a sanctuary policy if they continued to operate within the confines of an underlying school-to-deportation pipeline. School administrators could unintentionally furnish protected information to enforcement officials if a clear procedure is not incorporated in the policy and accompanying procedures. Therefore, the ACLU's and NILC's policies are recommended not only due to the expert's endorsements of these policies, but due to the necessity of an explicit policy. Without wording that interferes in these phenomena, it is probable that they continue. Figure 13

summarizes the ACLU’s and NILC’s inclusion of policy components, and compares it to the prevalence of these components in the sample.

Figure 13: Summary of ACLU and NILC Policies Compared to Sample Policies⁹

Variable	ACLU	NILC	Presence of Policy Component in School Districts
Basic Language	X	X	100%
Languages	X	X	64%
Toolkit	X	X	60%
Community Organization Collaboration	X	X	52%
Staff Training	X	X	36%
Procedure in Place	X*	X	32%
Legal Services		X	28%
Governmental Collaboration			28%
Procedural Review	X	X*	22%
Counseling Services		X	16%
Document Review			16%
Unifying Events			14%
Immigrant Liaison		X	10%
Workshops		X	10%
College Advising		X	6%

Final Policy Recommendations

Assessing the components of sanctuary school policies, both those adopted within the school districts sampled and those crafted by the experts, through the lens of demography gets at the underlying question of this study: are the school districts most in need of nuanced, specific, and relevant policies due to their sensitive demography adopting sanctuary policies that align with these needs? The typologies of policy and their demographic relationships, specifically “Empowerment” and “Partnership” policy

⁹ X indicates that the model policy includes this policy component. X* indicates that there exists a significant difference between the model policies’ and sample policies’ representation of this particular policy component.

types, indicate that this is the case. The policy components of these typologies directly engage the related demographic population of the school districts which incorporate them, and these populations are the most likely to benefit from a sanctuary policy. Higher income schools' adoption of "Top Down" policies reflects a tendency in the data for lower income schools to be consistently underserved in the passage of detailed sanctuary school district policies. Finally, comparing adopted policies with expert model policies suggests that there remains room for improvement to best protect students impacted by immigration enforcement. Attempting to address underlying influences like the school-to-deportation pipeline through specific, intentional policy components would allow school districts to be additionally active participants in the resistance against enhanced immigration enforcement. This would ultimately protect their most vulnerable students and allow for higher levels of student success.

Limitations and Future Research

One central limitation in the research revolved around the sample data. The sample, though random, included a disproportionate number of schools from California. The California Superintendent of Public Instruction published a letter to each school superintendent, principal, and school administrator in the state to adopt policies declaring themselves as sanctuary school districts (Barnes, 2017-18, p. 120). Therefore, a national study of sanctuary policies will likely consistently feature a high number of California schools. Moreover, the random sample featuring four of the ten largest school districts in the nation has the potential to create an undue influence on the results. In one version of the analysis, an additional binary indicator, or dummy variable, for the four high population schools was included. This tested whether these larger school districts have any additional influence on the outcomes that are not directly linear with their size. It was found that this was not the case and the coefficient on the dummy variable was not statistically significant in any of the equations. Nonetheless, these outliers could have a latent influence on the data. Both of these elements have the potential to limit the representative nature of the sample.

Next steps for this research could go in several directions. Two routes most explicitly follow from the results of this study. First, analyzing the decision making process behind school boards passing these resolutions would grant further insight into the role of demographics and other determinants in the elements of these policies. This could move the analysis of these policies from speculation to a more informed conclusion regarding exactly what school districts prioritize in their policy's details. Finally, a review of the effectiveness of these policies would add to this study

significantly. Analyzing instances where ICE agents were deterred from a school district due to their sanctuary policy, records of detainment of students or their families on school district properties before and after, or interviews with teachers, school administrators, and families could serve as the foundation of this study. This “before and after” approach to extend this study could place it into a larger context and inform the role of sanctuary school district policies in resistance to predatory immigration enforcement and increasingly hostile immigration policy in the United States.

Conclusion/Summary

Sanctuary designations have existed in the United States since the 1980s, but carry additional significance during the era of the Donald Trump presidency. Sanctuary school districts policies have gained popularity over the last several years, and these policies have yet to be fully analyzed. The current federal standing of sanctuary school districts falls under Plyler v. Doe, FERPA, a sensitive locations designation, and Executive Order 13768. Enhanced immigration enforcement activity in the United States has led to a school-to-deportation pipeline, increased absenteeism, and enhanced rates of anxiety, PTSD, and cardiovascular disease for immigrant students. School districts across the nation have responded to these threats with sanctuary school district policies.

This study focused on 50 of these sanctuary school district policies. These policies were placed into a binary code according to 15 policy components, and then compared to the race, language, nationality, citizenship, and income demographic data for each school district. Regressions and factor analyses were conducted to analyze this data, determining the relationships between policy components and demographics, seeking to discover policy typologies, and comparing these policies to those written by experts in the field of immigration law.

The results of this analysis discovered a clear relationship between demographics and policy components. Moreover, there does exist typologies of policy, three to be exact, and these were labeled as “Empowerment,” “Partnerships,” and “Top Down” policies. These typologies are directly correlated with demographic


characteristics which largely aligned with the most vulnerable populations affected by immigration enforcement officials.

Assessing the model policies in comparison with the real policies passed by public school districts revealed that there are key distinctions between the two. These differences include work to interrupt campus police's partnership with immigration enforcement and restrict the presence of immigration enforcement officials on district campuses. Thus, it is recommended that school districts incorporate elements of the NILC and ACLU policies into their own sanctuary designation to more actively serve as members in the resistance against enhanced immigration enforcement and its damaging effects on educational equity.

This study included limitations in its sample data, with disproportionate numbers of schools in California and with large student populations. This investigation can be furthered by additional research into either the decision making process or the effectiveness of these policies to gain a fuller understanding of the role of sanctuary school district policies in dismantling the school-to-deportation pipeline.

Appendix

Appendix A: Example of Sanctuary School District Policy



The School Board of Broward County, Florida

RESOLUTION

No. 17-98

RESOLUTION DESIGNATING THE **SCHOOL BOARD OF BROWARD COUNTY, FLORIDA** AS AN INCLUSIVE, SAFE AND WELCOMING DISTRICT ENSURING A PROTECTED SPACE AND ENVIRONMENT FOR ALL STUDENTS REGARDLESS OF IMMIGRATION STATUS, RELIGION, OR COUNTRY OF ORIGIN TO LEARN AND THRIVE

WHEREAS, The United States Supreme Court held in *Plyler v. Doe* (1982) that no public school district has a basis to deny children access to education based on their immigration status, citing the harm it would inflict on the child and society itself, and the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment;

WHEREAS, it is the right of every child, regardless of immigration status, to access a free public K-12 education and the **School Board of Broward County, Florida** welcomes and supports all students;

WHEREAS, The **SCHOOL BOARD OF BROWARD COUNTY, FLORIDA** has a responsibility to ensure that all students who reside within its boundaries, regardless of immigration status, religion or country of origin, can safely access a free public K-12 education;

WHEREAS, federal immigration law enforcement activities, on the District's school property, in District buses, and/or at education-related activities, whether by surveillance, interview, demand for information, arrest, detention, or any other means, harmfully disrupt the learning environment to which all students, regardless of immigration status, are entitled, and significantly interfere with the ability of all students, including U.S. citizen students, and students who hold other legal grounds for presence in the U.S., to access a free public K-12 education;

WHEREAS, through its policies and practices, the District has made a commitment to a quality education for all students, which includes a safe and stable learning environment, means of transportation to and from school sites, the preservation of classroom hours for educational instruction, and the requirement of school attendance;

WHEREAS, U.S. Immigration and Custom Enforcement's (ICE) longstanding policy states that it will not conduct immigration enforcement activity at any sensitive location, which includes schools and college/university campuses, without special permission by specific federal law enforcement officials, unless exigent circumstances exist;

1

Appendix B: School District Sanctuary Policy Citations

ABC Unified School District. *Resolution 16-81: Providing all children equal access to education, regardless of immigration status.*

<https://www.abcadultschool.edu/wp-content/uploads/Res-16-81-Providing-All-ChildrenEqual-Access-to-Education.pdf>.

Albany Unified School District. *Resolution no. 2016-17-13: Recognition of Albany Unified School District as a safe haven school district.*

https://www.ausdk12.org/apps/pages/index.jsp?uREC_ID=685235&type=d&pRECID=1125767.

Amherst-Pelham Regional School District. *Policy JII: Protection of undocumented students.* <http://www.arps.org/amherst-pelham-regional-public-schools/policy-jii-protection-undocumented-students>.

Austin Independent School District. *Resolution.*

<https://www.khou.com/article/news/local/texas/austin-isd-declaration-regardless-of-immigration-status-safe-schools-for-all/410832015>.

Azusa Unified School District. *Resolution #16-17:44: Resolution to designate campuses as safe zones and to provide resources for students and families threatened by immigration enforcement.*

<https://scholarship.law.uci.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1030&context=daca-dapa-subfederal-government-responses>.

Bassett Unified School Districts. *Resolution #17-17: A resolution of the governing board of the Bassett Unified School District committing to the education of all children and making all campuses a sanctuary and safe zone for students and families threatened by immigration enforcement and hate crimes.*

<http://bassett.agendaonline.net/public/Meeting/Attachments/DisplayAttachment.aspx?AttachmentID=504118&IsArchive=0>.

Broward County Public Schools. *Resolution no. 17-98: Resolution designating the school board of Broward County, Florida as an inclusive, safe and welcoming district ensuring a protected space and environment for all students regardless of immigration status, religion, or country of origin to learn and thrive.*

https://www.browardschools.com/cms/lib/FL01803656/Centricity/Domain/11839/Resolution_17-98_English.pdf.

Burbank Unified School District. *2016-2017 Resolution no. 15: Reaffirming a safe and nondiscriminatory school environment.*

https://legistarweb-production.s3.amazonaws.com/uploads/attachment/pdf/48295/Resolution_15_Reaffirming_a_Safe_Nondiscriminatory_Environment_020216.pdf.

Calistoga Joint Unified School District. *Resolution No. 16-17-08: Recognition of a Safe Haven School District.*

<https://www.calistogaschools.org/common/pages/DisplayFile.aspx?itemId=3446153>.

Castro Valley Unified School District. *Resolution 52-16/17: Resolution affirming Castro Valley Unified School District as a safe haven school district.*

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B98t7j0LytD2ZmxWR3UzVjVFeIE/view>.

Chicago Public Schools. *Resolution to affirm Chicago Public Schools' status as a welcoming district for all students.*

https://www.cpsboe.org/content/actions/2016_12/16-1207-RS5.pdf.

Cincinnati Public Schools. *A resolution affirming Cincinnati Public Schools' commitment to provide a safe and supportive environment for all students regardless of immigration status.* <https://www.cps-k12.org/sites/www.cps-k12.org/files/pdfs/BoardResolution-Immigrant-Students.pdf>.

Durham School District. *Resolution opposing the Immigration and Customs Enforcement actions and the deportation of Durham Public School students.*

<https://www.dpsnc.net/cms/lib011/NC01911152/Centricity/Domain/77/Resolution%20Opposing%20the%20Immigration%20and%20Customs%20Enforcement%20Actions.pdf>.

Fairfield-Suisun Unified School District. *Resolution No. 41-1617: All students accessing a quality education-A safe haven.*

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B01G0KBLi4Lva0hCd11CeVd2dWs/view>

Fort Worth Independent School District. *Resolution to designate all Fort Worth Independent School District Schools as welcoming and safe.*

<https://www.fwisd.org/site/default.aspx?PageType=3&DomainID=160&ModuleInstanceID=15849&ViewID=6446EE88-D30C-497E-9316-3F8874B3E108&RenderLoc=0&FlexDataID=15991&PageID=10896>.

Fremont Unified School District. *Resolution no. 016-1617: Student safety resolution.*

[https://www.boarddocs.com/ca/fremont/Board.nsf/files/AJBN3L5DF9EB/\\$file/Resolution%20016-1617%2C%20StudentSafety020817.pdf](https://www.boarddocs.com/ca/fremont/Board.nsf/files/AJBN3L5DF9EB/$file/Resolution%20016-1617%2C%20StudentSafety020817.pdf).

Fresno Unified School District. *Resolution no. 2017-04.* <https://www.fresnounified.org/news/stories/Documents/2017-03-08-Safe-Place-Resolution-Signed.pdf>.

Hamtramck Public Schools.

http://www.hamtramckschools.com/UserFiles/Servers/Server_129989/File/Board%20Meeting%202016-2017/Resolutions/safe%20haven%20for%20immigrants.pdf.

- Healdsburg School District. *Resolution no. 17-20: Recognition of a safe haven school district.*
<http://healdsburgusd-ca.schoolloop.com/file/1268489363269/1375543468058/8487681197346810601.pdf>.
- Houston Independent School District. *Resolution in support of the Houston Independent School District immigrant community.*
<https://blogs.houstonisd.org/news/2017/02/09/hisd-board-of-education-approves-resolution-that-supports-undocumented-students/>.
- Howard County Public Schools. *Recognizing Safe School Zones.*
<https://www.hcps.org/f/news/school-safe-zones-resolution-2017.pdf>.
- Jefferson County Public Schools. *A resolution declaring Jefferson County Public Schools a safe haven school district.*
<https://www.jefferson.kyschools.us/sites/default/files/2016-17%20Safe%20Haven%20School%20District.pdf>.
- Lincoln Unified School District. *Resolution No. 17-01: Commitment to the education of all children.* <https://go.boarddocs.com/ca/lusdca/Board.nsf/Public>.
- Lodi Unified School District. *Resolution 2017-19: Resolution affirming Lodi Unified School District's support of its students and families regarding immigration enforcement actions at schools.*
<http://esbagenda.lodiisd.net/Attachments/09796428-d20a-4e17-9afa-783c334bac31.pdf>.
- Los Angeles Unified School District. *Resolution-032-15/16: LA Unified campuses as safe zones and resource centers for students and families threatened by immigration enforcement.*
<https://achieve.lausd.net/cms/lib08/CA01000043/Centricity/Domain/582/LA%20Unified%20Campuses%20as%20Safe%20Zones%20and%20Resource%20Centers%20for%20Students%20and%20Families%20Threatened%20by%20Immigration%20Enforcement.pdf>.
- Martinez Unified School District. *Resolution no. 2017-21: Recognition of a safe haven school district. 16_9_ResolutionNo201721SafeHaven_0.pdf.*
- Milwaukee Public Schools. *Resolution 1617R-007.*
<https://mps.milwaukee.k12.wi.us/en/Families/Family-Services/Safe-Haven.htm>.
- Montebello Unified School District. *Resolution no. 21 (2016-2017) A resolution of the Board of Education of the Montebello Unified School District regarding the district's desire to support educational equality by considering itself a "safe zone" and/or "sanctuary district."*
http://montebellousd-ca.schoolloop.com/file/1294471603772/1295706265378/33782280_99639783614.pdf.

Mount Diablo Unified School District. *Resolution no. 2016/17-34: Safe, welcoming, and inclusive schools--A safe haven resolution.*
<http://esbpublic.mdusd.k12.ca.us/attachments/873d27b4-14e4-4b2f-9a8b-03f6d2470a36.pdf>.

North Monterey County Unified School District. *Resolution no. 2016-1717: Recognition of a safe haven school district.*
<https://www.nmcusd.org/cms/lib/CA02204777/Centricity/Domain/67/Safe%20Haven.pdf>

North Shore School District 112. *Resolution declaring District 112 a safe haven school district.* <https://www.nssd112.org/meetings>.

Oakland Unified School District. *Resolution reaffirming district facilities, programs are a sanctuary for all children and adults.*
<https://drive.google.com/drive/folders/0B77aDtrix1SldDVickdqcW15OEE>.

Onteora Central School District.
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Oregon City School District. *1617-427: A resolution in support of immigrant students and their families.* http://www.ocsd62.org/sites/default/files/pages/Support-Immigrant-Students_1617-427-adopted03.20.17.pdf.

Palo Alto Unified School District. *Resolution #2016-17.06: Resolution affirming Palo Alto Unified School District's support of its students and families regarding immigration enforcement actions at schools.*
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Paramount Unified School District. *Resolution 16-28: Resolution of the Board of Education's commitment to the education of all children and making all campuses a safe haven for students and families.* <https://www.ggusd.us/presss-release/ggusd-board-of-education-approves-safe-and-welcoming-schools-resolution>.

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<https://www.powayusd.com/PUSD/media/Communications/2017/Safe-Haven-Resolution-English.pdf>.
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[https://www.boarddocs.com/ca/sandi/Board.nsf/files/AGKVXH82D2E3/\\$file/Board%20Adopted%20Resolution%20Immigration%2C%2012-6-16.pdf](https://www.boarddocs.com/ca/sandi/Board.nsf/files/AGKVXH82D2E3/$file/Board%20Adopted%20Resolution%20Immigration%2C%2012-6-16.pdf).
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