

Title of Thesis: SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICERS
AND JUVENILE ARREST RATE

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The focus of this study is to examine whether the increased presence of School Resource Officers (SROs) following the implementation of Florida's Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Public Safety Act (2018) is associated with changes in juvenile arrest rates. The policy requires at least one armed full-time school-safe officer in all public and charter schools in Florida, expanding SRO presence in response to concerns about school safety. Prior literature has yielded mixed results for both the deterrence theory and the school-to-prison pipeline. This analysis compares juvenile arrest rates between a treatment county (Taylor County) that experienced a substantial increase in SRO presence and a control county (Madison County) with minimal change. Juvenile arrest data from 2017 and 2019 are analyzed using over-time invariance, between-county invariance, and difference-in-differences approaches. All three tests show an increase in juvenile arrest rate, but results are inconclusive as bounds include zero. Overall, the study adds to the literature and ongoing debate about the benefits of SROs.

SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICERS AND JUVENILE ARREST RATE

By

Shanze Nadeem

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Introduction

The implementation of School Resource Officers (SROs) has risen over the last century due to concerns about school safety (Paige & Bushway, 2024). According to the U.S. Department of Justice, a school resource officer is an “officer assigned in a community policing capacity to a local educational agency” (U.S. Department of Justice, 2019). When a new program is implemented, especially one concerning the safety of a protected population, children, or people under the age of 18, it is useful to examine short-term consequences. This proposal will specifically be looking at Florida’s statute, which went into effect in 2018, also known as the Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Public Safety Act. This was in response to a 2018 school shooting that occurred in Parkland, Florida, and resulted in the death of 17 people (Florida Department of Education, n.d.). The statute requires all school districts in Florida to partner with a law enforcement agency to employ at least one full-time safe-school officer at each public school facility (Fla. Stat. § 11006.12 (2018)).¹ It aimed to increase school safety and improve school climate by reducing gun violence (Florida Department of Education, n.d). Proponents of SROs argue that an increase in SRO dosage would help detect and reduce crime. This argument relates to deterrence theory, which consists of two types: specific deterrence and general deterrence. Specific deterrence is based on the notion that individuals who are punished for a crime will be unable to commit more in the future because they are incarcerated. General deterrence proposes that others will be deterred from crime because they do not want to be punished (Tomlinson, 2016). On the other hand, concerns remain that juveniles may face arrest for behaviors that would not otherwise warrant it (Mallett, 2022). This argument relates to the

¹ School resource officer is defined as a trained safety officer from a law enforcement agency who “undergo criminal background checks, drug testing, and a psychological evaluation and be certified law enforcement officers” (Fla. Stat. § 11006.12 (2018))

school-to-prison pipeline, which explores how strict policies punish students and push them towards incarceration at an early age (American Civil Liberties Union, 2008). The focus of this paper is to reach an understanding of how SROs can impact youth, particularly since SROs can lead to increased contact between youth and the criminal justice system. The current findings on this topic have produced mixed results. More research needs to be conducted to better understand the impact of SROs on juvenile populations.

I will contribute to the existing literature by examining whether the increase in SROs in Florida school districts affects the juvenile arrest rate after the passing of the 2018 Florida Statute. While extensive literature exists on the topic of SROs, the research has yielded mixed results. By studying the possible effects of SROs, we can advance knowledge about SROs and arrest rates in a systematic way. It is possible that increased SRO presence may either raise or lower the juvenile arrest rate.

Literature Review

The articles included in this literature review focus on the impact of school resource officers on student outcomes and perceptions, which are measured differently in the independent and dependent variables. Some articles observe the staff and student perceptions of SROs to gain a better understanding of the relationship between SROs and the community. Other studies focus on disciplinary student outcomes and reporting of crime. There is a vast amount of findings on this topic, which is why it is limited to studies conducted in the United States. The studies included in this review examined students within the K–12 range, though individual studies may focus on specific grade levels (e.g., high school) rather than the entire K–12 population. The goal of this review was to explore the range of literature rather than every study including SROs.

Systematic reviews

Mallett (2022) conducted a systematic review of the last 20 years examining the impact of SROs on students, the school environment, and juvenile courts. The study discusses what the SRO program entails, which includes increased officers as well as other security measures such as metal detectors, video surveillance, and security guards. The role of SROs varies from district to district, so there is no one method of implementation, which is a limitation of the study. SROs can serve as law enforcement and safety experts, liaisons to community resources, and educators on topics like active shooter training. SROs can be part-time or full-time. The study found that SROs led to a disproportionate impact on at-risk groups such as young people of color, special education disabled youth, and LGBTQ youth. This is seen in the overrepresentation of black male and female students' suspension/expulsion rates, as well as students with disabilities. LGBTQ students received harsher treatment, which also led to increased contact with the criminal justice system at a young age. Findings indicate that the presence of SROs made staff feel the school environment was safer, but Black and Hispanic students felt less safe and anxious. It also found that SROs had no impact on school safety, but led to an increase in arrests. Alternative strategies that can be implemented to reduce violence are building a positive, inclusive school climate that encourages community engagement, as well as building trusting relationships in school (Mallet, 2022).

Almanza, Mason, and Melde (2023) looked at the perceptions of SROs across stakeholders like students, teachers, principals/administrators, parents, and SROs through the use of a meta-analysis. The type of studies included were qualitative and quantitative studies that looked at the effects of the presence of SROs. It excluded studies that did not focus on sworn law enforcement officers, such as security guards or other school security personnel. Studies had to

be published in 2010 or after and not already included in another systematic review, which left the sample size to include 31 studies focusing on perceptions and attitudes of SROs. The meta-analysis found that SROs felt their primary role was law enforcement and that their presence helped solve more crimes at schools. Students who had more interactions had more positive perceptions of SROs and school safety. Overall, stakeholder groups perceived SROs as a positive presence in schools for school safety, but there were mixed reviews for reduced juvenile crime. These findings suggest that there is mixed evidence on the presence of SROs, but the type of relationship students/other stakeholders have with the SRO may be a significant factor. A limitation of this study is it takes self-reported data from surveys, which may limit generalizability (Almanza et al., 2023).

Fisher and Hennessy (2016) created a systematic review on the presence of SROs and exclusionary discipline in U.S. high schools. The existing theoretical frameworks have mixed findings from numerous studies. Some argue that SROs serve as guardians who help reduce victimization by reducing crime. Other studies suggest SROs lead to an increase in criminalization through an increase in exclusionary discipline. The sources in the study had to include data from high schools, grade 9 through 12, at least one SRO had to be present at the school, the data had to report analytical comparison, and the data had to include rates of school-based disciplinary actions (suspensions and expulsions). Studies up to 2015 were included. Studies that met this criterion totalled 129 and were analyzed through effect size. Overall, they found that an increase in SROs was associated with an increase in exclusionary discipline. A limitation of the study is that the data are not strong enough to make causal inferences because the studies are not randomized experiments. The positive correlation found

could be due to an increase in detection and reporting, not an increase in problem-behavior (Fisher and Hennessy, 2016).

Example Studies

Theriot (2016) focused on the impact of school resource officer interactions on students' feelings about school and SROs. The dependent variables were students' attitudes towards SROs and school connectedness, which is defined as the investment and attachment students have towards school (Theriot, 2016). Each variable was measured using a 10-item survey and scores ranging from 10 to 50, with higher scores indicating positive attitudes towards SROs and more school connectedness. The sample of the study was 1,956 middle school and high school students from 12 schools. Each school had one SRO present every day during school hours. Results indicate that an increase in SRO interactions increased positive attitudes about SROs but decreased school connectedness. Implications for the study could mean that SROs can be beneficial if the students have a relationship with the officers on duty. A strength of the study is that it takes a large sample of students, which increases the reliability of the data. Although this study does not focus on crime directly, perceptions towards SROs and school connectedness play an important role in community relations, which is a significant aspect of how SROs can be beneficial.

Sharma (2025) examined the impact of school resource officers on school climate and student outcomes. It examined 149 public high schools in seven counties in the Bay Area during the 2023-24 school year.² The independent variable was the presence of SROs at the high school, which was measured by "Yes/No." It does not specify whether the officers are full-time or part-time, only whether they are present during school hours, which is a limitation of the study. A school that has an SRO for emergencies only is still marked as "Yes." The dependent variable

² Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin, Napa, San Francisco, Solano, and Sonoma counties

is student outcomes, which are measured by suspension rate, expulsion rate, and dropout rate. This data was collected from the 2023-24 Student Accountability Report Card (SARC). It found that SRO presence significantly increased suspension rates. No significant effect was found for expulsion rates or dropout rates. These findings suggest that SRO presence may negatively impact student outcomes. A limitation is that the collection of data was limited to a 10-week timespan. More data would need to be collected to make stronger conclusions.

While looking at the impact of SROs is crucial, it is also important to understand the different roles that SROs can play at a school. Higgins, Overstreet, Coffey, and Fisher (2020) examined the motivations of SROs engaging in non-law enforcement roles in public schools. They conducted 26 semi-structured interviews with SROs from a large urban school district in the Midwest and discussed daily activities, job-related training, roles and responsibilities, and their perspectives on job duties. The findings can be broken down into four categories, which include 1) bridges to those in school, 2) bridges to the community, 3) bridges to success, and 4) bridges to the police. The first category aims to make “connections between students and resources, individuals, or organizations” through roles like mentorship and counseling (Higgins et al., 2020). The second category focuses on SROs acting as an information center to aid students with homelessness and hunger, which can lead to the reduction of crime. The third category focuses on helping at-risk youth by increasing their confidence to deter them from crime. SROs explained how this can be done with a “strategy of bribing or providing gifts to students in hopes of encouraging success” (Higgins et al., 2020). The last category focuses on mending the damaged relationship between police and students through more friendly interpersonal interactions. Even though this source does not examine the impact of SROs on students, I included it in the literature review to understand the different roles SROs can play on

school campuses and the potential benefits of having a SRO program. A limitation of this study is that it is not generalizable to the motivations of all SROs, as the sample is small and from only one location (Higgins et al., 2020).

To get a better understanding of the impact of SROs on juvenile crime, it is important to compare the dependent variable between treatment and control groups. Theriot (2009) examined the criminalization of student behavior and SROs by comparing school-based arrests across 13 schools with one full-time SRO at each school to 15 schools without one in the same school district from 2003 to 2006. The study measured seven variables, which included counts of the total number of arrests at a school during the three years, the number of arrests with a disorderly conduct charge, the number of arrests with an assault charge, the number of arrests involving possession of drugs or drug paraphernalia charges, the number of arrests for possession of alcohol or public intoxication charges, the number of arrests involving a weapon on school property, and the number of arrests involving all other types of charges. They controlled for variations in guidelines and policies across the different districts. The findings found that the presence of an SRO increased the rate of arrest per 100 students, independent of other variables. However, this finding was not significant when controlling for school-level poverty. The rates of disorderly conduct increased by over 100% even when school-level poverty was controlled. In contrast, the rate of assault and weapons charges decreased with the presence of an SRO. These findings indicate that the presence of SROs increases the rate of arrest depending on the charge, but overall, poverty may play a larger role in juvenile arrests. A limitation of the study is that the juvenile court where the data is collected changed its data management system in 2003, which may produce unreliable results. However, these findings are noteworthy when observing how the presence of SROs impacts juvenile crime.

With the rise of SROs due to new mandates, many elementary schools experienced the mandated presence of an SRO for the first time. A 2016-17 mandate enforced every public school in Creek County, Florida to have at least one assigned SRO on each campus during school hours. This led to elementary schools experiencing a significant increase in SROs from 27 to 67. Soderstrom (2024) examined how the presence of SROs in elementary schools in a Florida county impacted the school-based arrests. The dependent variable being measured was the school arrests from 2013 to 2019, with the 2016-17 school year being the intervention year. It found that the number of school-based arrests decreased by 5% after the mandate, but analysis shows that the SRO mandate did not have a statistically significant impact on student arrests. Some law agencies had an increase in felony arrests and arrests (Soderstrom, 2024). These findings suggest that increased SROs may not lead to an increase in arrests. A limitation of this study is that it focused on elementary schools, which makes it difficult to generalize to middle schools and high schools. Elementary schools may be a space where there is not much variation in arrests.

Gottfredson and colleagues (2020) looked at public middle and high schools in California that increased SRO staffing and compared it to schools that did not to examine school crime. They measured this variable by looking at the monthly school-level counts of disciplinary offenses and actions over 33 schools. The schools had to match on an institutional level, metropolitan status, percentage of students eligible for free or reduced-price lunch programs, percentage of non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic, and non-Hispanic White students, school enrollment, rate of suspensions and expulsions prior to the increase in SROs, and geographic proximity. The findings were that an increase in SROs correlated with an increase in weapon and drug-related offenses, as well as the number of disciplinary actions against students. A limitation

of the study is that the dependent variable was measured by the reporting of crime. Schools with more SROs can have more reports than a school without, but the same level of crime is committed. However, this data is beneficial when examining reports of crime or disciplinary actions (Gottfredson et al., 2020).

A prior Devlin and Gottfredson (2018) study examined how SRO roles influence the recording and reporting of school crimes to law enforcement differently. They measured this by looking at crimes recorded and crimes reported to law enforcement. Their data was collected from the School Survey on Crime and Safety (SSOCS) from the 2003-24 school year to the 2007-2008 school year and analyzed through a longitudinal sample. The independent variable was the role of SROs. They looked at schools that had a law enforcement-only approach or a mixed approach (SROs who teach and/or mentor). Schools with no SROs were the control condition. They found that schools with SROs, regardless of role, recorded a 27% higher rate of property crimes and a 57% higher rate of serious/weapon/drug crimes than non-SRO schools. Mixed schools recorded more serious/weapon/drug crimes than non-SRO schools, but law enforcement-only schools reported even higher rates. A limitation of the study is that schools could have reported crime differently, which makes comparison difficult (Devlin & Gottfredson, 2018).

Data/Measures

I will be using Florida's Uniform Crime Rate arrest reports, which report the total juvenile arrests by county for Part I and Part II crimes (UCR Arrest Data: Total Arrests by County, Florida Department of Law Enforcement).³ I will be examining the data collected from

³ Part I crimes include: murder, rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny, and motor vehicle theft. Part II crimes include: manslaughter, kidnapping/abduction, arson, simple assault, drug arrests, bribery, embezzlement, fraud, counterfeiting/forgery, extortion/blackmail, intimidation, prostitution, non-forcible sex offenses, stolen property, DUI, destruction/vandalism, gambling, weapons violations, liquor law violations, and miscellaneous.

2000 to 2019. Specifically, from these years, the total juvenile arrests will be examined for 2017 and 2019. The reason for choosing these years is due to the implementation of the law in 2018. 2017 will serve as the pre-test, and 2019 will serve as the post-test. It is unknown exactly when in 2018 the law went into effect after it was passed, which is why 2018 was removed from the data. I will also be using the juvenile population (ages 0-17) from the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP, n.d). No IRB approval was necessary since it is not human subject research. The reason juvenile arrests from the UCR are chosen is that they are the closest measure we have to observing juvenile crime.

To find the juvenile crime rate, I will be using the juvenile population, ages 0 to 17, from the OJJDP. These numbers are estimates based on the U.S Census Bureau, which is conducted every 10 years. This data is not an exact measurement, but rather an estimate of the juvenile population. (OJJDP, n.d)

The Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School Public Safety Act requires at least one armed school-safe officer in all public/charter schools during school hours (Fla. Stat. § 11006.12 (2018)). To answer the research question, “Does an increase in school resource officers (SROs) affect the juvenile arrest rate?” I will compare two Florida counties, one treatment county and one control county. The treatment county must experience the treatment, an increase in SROs after the passing of the law, while the control county must experience no treatment, or no change after the passing of the law. These counties must also be comparable to each other to emphasize that any change occurring is due to the law, not confounding factors. However, finding two counties that fit this criterion was the most difficult part of the process. Two counties that are identical to each other and only vary in the independent variable do not exist. The counties that were chosen were those that most closely met the criteria.

The treatment county chosen was Taylor County, Florida. This is due to experiencing a large change, almost double, in the ratio of law enforcement in schools per 1,000 students from 2017-2018 to 2018-2019 school years (Curran, 2020). This can be seen in Figure 1. Madison County was chosen as the control county because it experienced little change in the ratio of law enforcement in schools per 1,000 students from the 2017-2018 to 2018-2019 school years. This data is collected from School district reports to the state Safe Schools Appropriation Expenditure Reports. After examination, these two counties were the only counties that fit the criteria of how they varied in the independent variable, while also being similar to each other. Madison and Taylor counties are neighboring, which increases the likelihood of geographical similarity. However, looking at geography alone is not enough. Figure 2 displays the percentage of children in poverty per county from 2016 to 2020. Madison County is slightly more impoverished than Taylor County, especially in the years 2018 and 2019, by over 10%. Other characteristics in 2019 were also compared using data from the U.S Census Bureau QuickFacts, which can be seen in Figure 3. Taylor County has a slightly higher 5-17 years of age population by about 1.3%. The most noticeable difference between the counties is the racial breakdown. Taylor County has around an 18% larger White population and 18% smaller Black or African American population than Madison County. However, these counties are more similar in educational attainment. Around 20% of the population 25 and over have less than a high school diploma, and around 40% are high school graduates. 26-27% have some college or an associate's degree. Madison County has a slightly higher percentage of people with Bachelor's and Graduate degrees. The percentage of people below 100%, between 100% to 149%, and at or above 150% of the poverty level is similar across the two.

Figure 4 shows the Total Juvenile Arrests per county from 2000 to 2019. The blue line represents Taylor County, the treatment county. The blue line represents Madison County, the control county. There is a similar pattern of fluctuation over time, except during certain years. Around 2003, the red line dramatically increased while the blue line did not. During 2015-2016, the blue line dramatically decreased while the red line did not. Figure 5 shows the juvenile arrest rate per 100. This was found by dividing the total juvenile arrests by the juvenile population and multiplying it by 100. In 2018, the blue line increased while the red line plateaued. This is what the analysis will be conducted on since 2018, when the change in the ratio of SROs occurred. Figure 7 shows the specific rates for 2017 and 2019, which will be used in the analysis.

Methods

The analysis method I will be using in this study is in accordance with a study by Manski and Pepper (2018) on right-to-carry law.⁴ Three analysis tests will be conducted, which include an over-time invariance test, a between-county invariance test, and a difference-in-difference analysis. The reason this analysis method was chosen is that it allows the comparison of two groups, treatment and control, by assuming the counterfactual to see whether the change in the ratio of SROs led to a change in the juvenile arrest rate. Each assumption test has a counterfactual and a treatment effect. What we observe is the juvenile arrest rate after the implementation of the law. A counterfactual is an estimate of what would have happened in the absence of the law. The treatment effect is the difference between what we observe and the counterfactual. I will be using R to code the results of the analysis.

⁴ Manski and Pepper (2018) conducted a study to observe how the right-to-carry law affects crime rates using bounded-variation assumptions. The current study is modeled after the three assumptions used in the paper.

Results

The first assumption is the Over-Time Comparison Invariance, which is saying Taylor County pre-test (2017) is a good control group for Taylor County post-test (2019). This is assuming that Taylor County in 2017 is what we would have seen in Taylor County in 2019 if there had been no change in the law. The treatment is the juvenile arrest rate in Taylor County in 2019, which is 2.013. The counterfactual is the juvenile arrest rate in Taylor County in 2017, which is 1.130. The estimated treatment effect is 0.833. This is a positive number, which shows the arrest rate is higher after the change in the ratio of SROs, and it is an increase of nearly 1 arrest per 100 juveniles.

Because the counterfactual is a very strong assumption, I used historical data of juvenile arrest rates from 2000 to 2019 to explore a range of possible counterfactuals to find a range of possible treatment effects using the same method. The bounds for the Over-Time Comparison test are -1.316 to 1.506. This includes zero, which means the zero treatment effect cannot be ruled out, which is the possibility that the policy has no effect on juvenile arrest rate. This indicates that the data is not strong enough to tell whether the increase in SROs increased or decreased the juvenile arrest rate.

The second assumption test is the Between-County Invariance, which uses Madison County's 2019 juvenile arrest rate as the counterfactual. It is assuming Madison County in 2019 is what we would have observed in Taylor County in 2019 had there been no change in the law. The juvenile arrest rate for Taylor County in 2019 was 2.013. The juvenile arrest rate for Madison County in 2019 was 0.921. To find the treatment effect, the counterfactual was subtracted from the treatment to get 1.092. This is a positive number showing that the arrest rate is higher after the increase in SROs by nearly 1 arrest per 100 juveniles. As in the previous

assumption test, the counterfactual is a strong assumption. I used historical data to find the bounds, which range from -2.284 to 0.618. zero is included, which means the possibility that the policy had no effect on juvenile arrests cannot be ruled out.

The third assumption test is a difference-in-difference, which is more complex. It assumes the change in Madison County from 2017 to 2019 is the change that would have been observed in Taylor County from 2017 to 2019 if SRO presence in schools had not changed. First, I found the counterfactual with the following formula: (Madison County post-test - Madison County pre-test) + Taylor County 2017, which totaled 0.334. The counterfactual was used to find the treatment effect to get 1.679. This means there was an increase of 1.679 arrests per 100 juveniles in Taylor County. The bounds I found for this assumption were between -0.818 to 2.013, which also include zero. Thus, the data is not strong enough to tell whether the law increased or decreased the juvenile arrest rate.

Discussion

All three invariance tests showed an increase in juvenile arrest rate, which is an interesting finding. However, all bounds included zero. This means that the increase could be due to the increase in SRO dosage, but the possibility that it is unrelated to the law cannot be ruled out. Even though strong conclusions cannot be drawn based on the results, it is worth noting that there is a positive direction of juvenile arrest rate, meaning more SROs may lead to more juvenile arrests. As explored earlier, an increase in juvenile arrest rates can point to support for the school-to-prison pipeline theory, which focuses on how officers in schools report more juvenile crime. This leads to juveniles being incarcerated and entering the criminal justice system at an earlier age, which pushes them towards more crime (American Civil Liberties Union, 2008). These results provide limited support for deterrence theory, as no clear evidence suggests

that increased SRO presence reduces juvenile arrests through behavioral deterrence. It is crucial to be aware of the ways policies may harm protected populations when implementing them.

The strength of using the UCR designed to provide consistent data over time. Juvenile arrests are a strong punitive or disciplinary measure of student outcomes. It is recognized that the UCR is based on voluntary participation, and agencies do not always participate. However, the counties that I am examining have participated in the years I am observing. The data is also publicly available and easily accessible for others to view, which makes the study easy to replicate. Another strength of the study is that I was able to find comparable counties that varied in the independent variable. The treatment and control counties were similar geographically, in poverty level, juvenile arrest rate, and juvenile population. Additionally, my results for all three invariance tests were consistent with an increase in juvenile arrest rate. This may suggest support for the school-to-prison pipeline theory.

A weakness in this study is that the experimental and control groups are not identical. This makes causation difficult to assess since it is not a true ‘apples-to-apples’ comparison. Furthermore, the study does not control for factors such as race, socioeconomic status, number of schools, etc. Another limitation of the study is that there is no real measure of juvenile crime. It is important to note that official statistics, like Florida’s Uniform Crime Report, do not take into account unreported crime, also known as the dark figure of crime. Additionally, the data is consistent with a wide range of possible treatment effects, which weakens the conclusions that can be drawn.

Future Directions/Conclusions

Future studies should incorporate multiple counties and different methods of testing the effect on the juvenile arrest rate to gain a better understanding and produce stronger conclusions.

Researching different states with SRO policies would also help assess the impact of SROs in different areas within the United States. Including demographic controls such as race, socioeconomic status, or urbanization would improve causal inference. While I compared characteristics such as race and poverty levels to assess the similarities across the two counties, I did not use them in the analysis. It would be interesting to observe whether these factors play a role in the results of my analysis, especially since variables such as poverty levels and race have made a significant impact on arrest trends, as stated in previous literature.

Appendix

Figure 1: Change in ratio of law enforcement in schools per 1,000 students from 2017-18 to 2018-19 school years

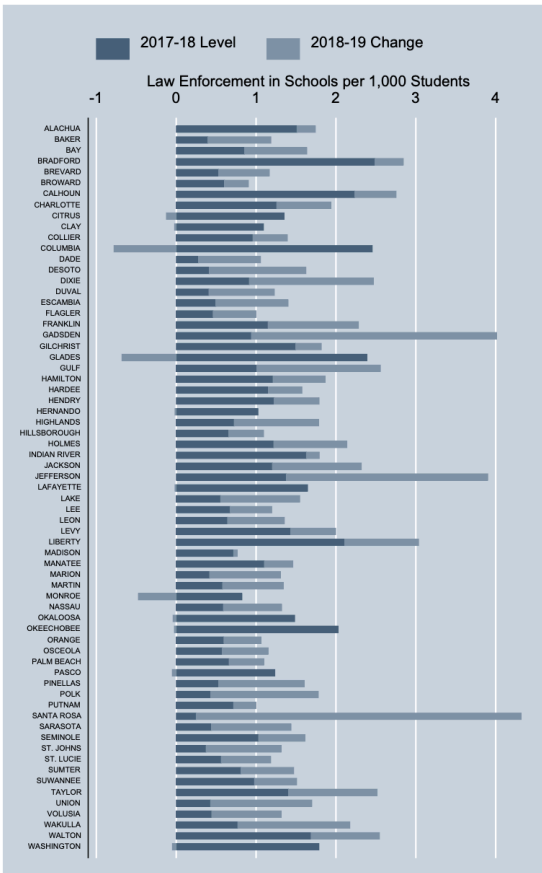


Figure 3. Change in ratio of law enforcement in schools per 1,000 students from 2017-18 to 2018-19 school years

Source: School district reports to state Safe Schools Appropriation Expenditure Reports

Source: Curran, F. C. (2020) The expanding presence of law enforcement in Florida schools: Research report. University of Florida, Education Policy Research Center

Figure 2: Percentage of Children in Poverty per County from 2016-2020

Year	Children in poverty in Madison County	Children in poverty in Taylor County
2016	36%	30.9%
2017	37%	30%

2018	40%	29.6%
2019	47%	34.5%
2020	33%	29.8%

Source: Annual Data Release via County Health Rankings & Roadmaps

Figure 3: Characteristics in 2019 per County

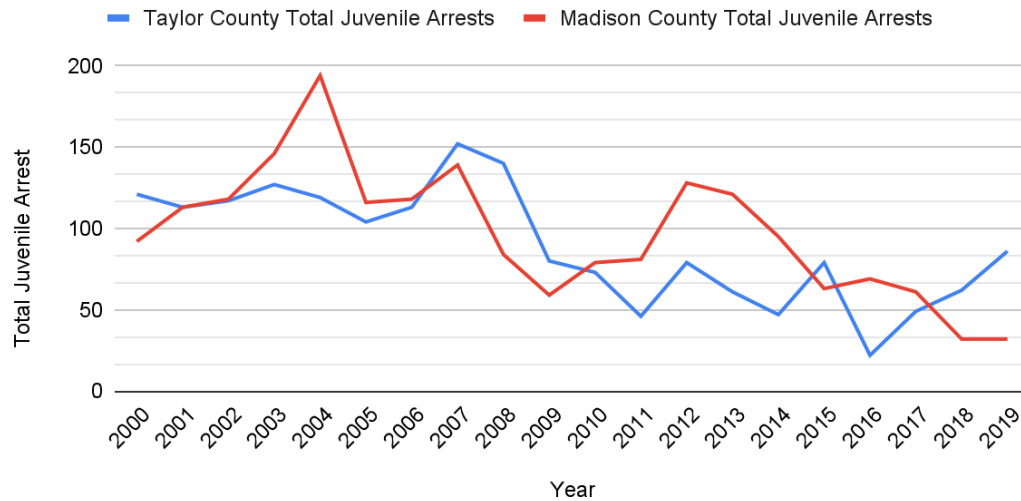
Characteristics	Taylor County	Madison County
Total population	21,870	18,460
5 to 17 years (Age)	15.2%	13.9%
Male	56.0%	53.4%
Female	44.0%	46.6%
White	76.3%	58.0%
Black or African American	20.1%	38.6%
American Indian and Alaska Native	0.3%	0.3%
Asian	0.8%	0.9%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	0.0%	0.0%
Some other race	1.7%	1.5%
Two or more races	0.8%	0.6%
Hispanic or Latino origin (of any race)	6.4%	5.5%
White alone, not Hispanic or Latino	72.1%	54.4%
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		
Population 25 years and over	16,100	13,595
Less than high school graduate	21.2%	19.0%

High school graduate (includes equivalency)	43.8%	39.7%
Some college or associate's degree	26.6%	27.3%
Bachelor's degree	5.6%	9.1%
Graduate or professional degree	2.7%	4.9%
INDIVIDUALS' INCOME IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS (IN 2019 INFLATION-ADJUSTED DOLLARS)		
Median income (dollars)	21,515	21,243
POVERTY STATUS IN THE PAST 12 MONTHS		
Population for whom poverty status is determined	17,873	16,265
Below 100 percent of the poverty level	21.2%	27.8%
100 to 149 percent of the poverty level	9.6%	10.4%
At or above 150 percent of the poverty level	69.2%	61.8%

Source: U.S Census Bureau QuickFacts

Figure 4**Total Juvenile Arrests per County**

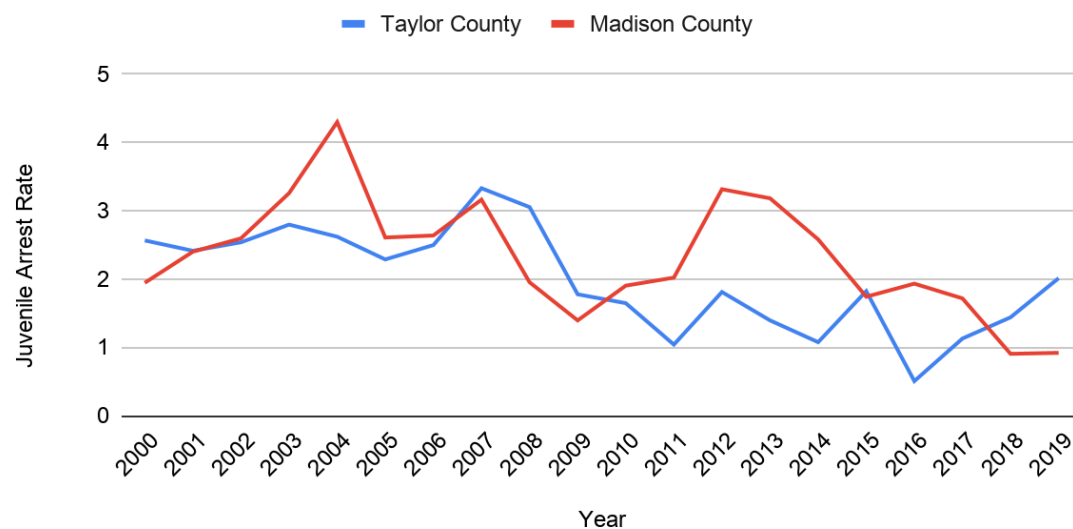
Source: UCR arrest data via Florida Department of Law Enforcement



Source: Florida UCR arrest data (Florida Department of Law Enforcement. (n.d.)

Figure 5**Juvenile Arrest Rate per County**

(total juvenile arrest/juvenile population)*100



Source: Florida UCR arrest data (Florida Department of Law Enforcement. (n.d.); Easy Access to Juvenile Populations (OJJDP, n.d)

Figure 6: Juvenile Arrest Rate (total juvenile arrest/juvenile population)*100

Year	Madison County (control)	Taylor County (treatment)
2017	1.717	1.130
2019	0.921	2.013

Source: UCR arrest data (Florida Department of Law Enforcement. (n.d.); Easy Access to Juvenile Populations (OJJDP, n.d)

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