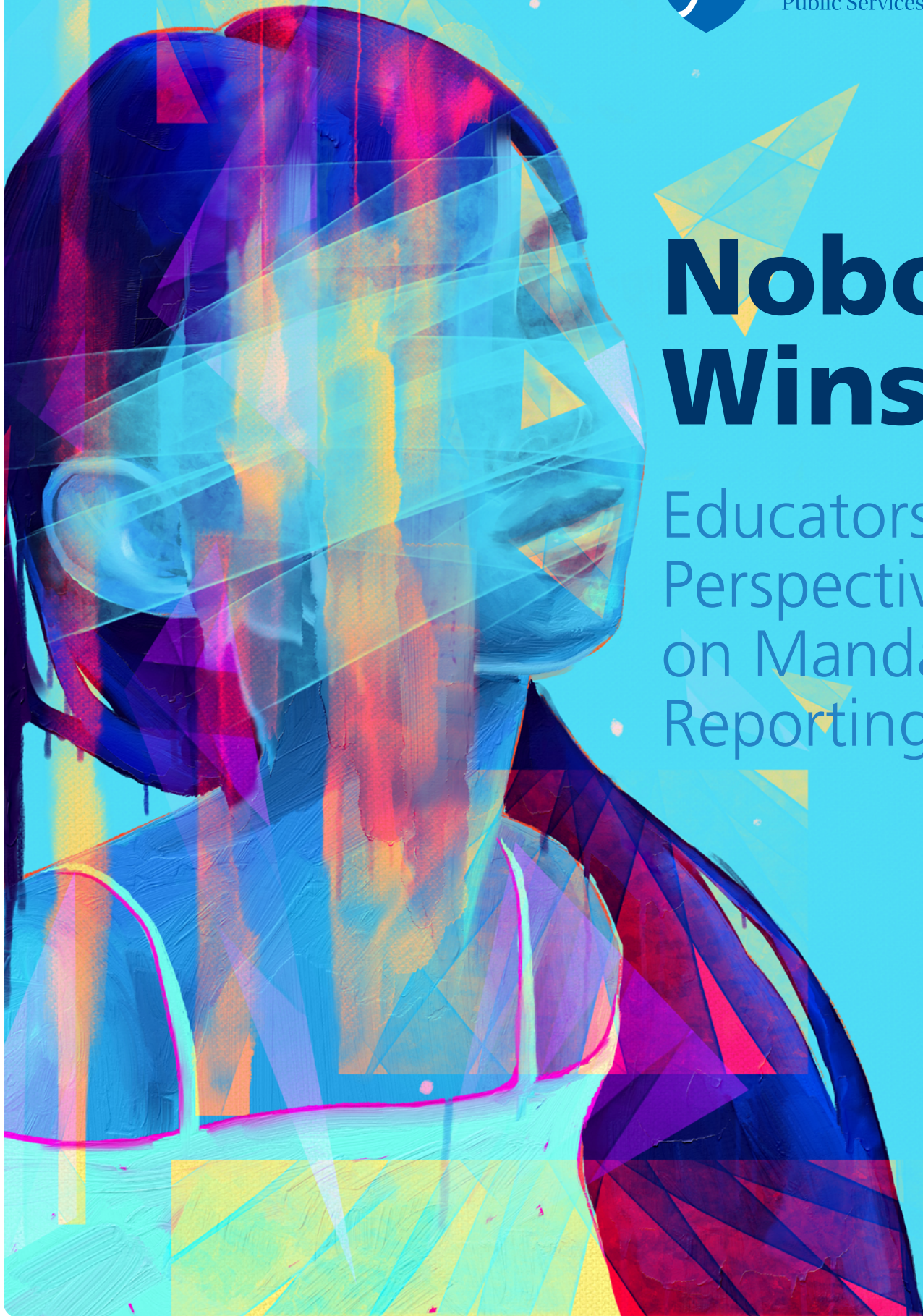




Education
Healthcare
Public Services

Nobody Wins

Educators' Perspectives on Mandatory Reporting





Education
Healthcare
Public Services

Randi Weingarten

PRESIDENT

Fedrick C. Ingram

SECRETARY-TREASURER

Evelyn DeJesus

EXECUTIVE VICE PRESIDENT

AFT Executive Council

J. Philippe Abraham
Frederick R. Albert
Jackie Anderson
LeRoy Barr
Victor M. Bonilla Sánchez
Vicky Rae Byrd
Zeph Capo
Larry J. Carter, Jr.
Kathy A. Chavez
Jaime Ciffone
Melissa Cropper
Amanda Curtis
James C. Davis
GlenEva Dunham
Christian Fern
Francis J. Flynn
Jeffery M. Freitas
Stacy Davis Gates
Ron Gross
Anthony M. Harmon
Karla Hernandez-Mats
Jan Hochadel

David Keepnews
Frederick E. Kowal
Terrence Martin, Sr.
Kara McCormick-Lyons
Daniel J. Montgomery
Michael Mulgrew
Cecily Myart-Cruz
Shari Obrenski
Melinda Person
Juan Ramirez
Andrew Spar
Denise Specht
Wayne Spence
Arthur G. Steinberg
Jessica J. Tang
Adam Urbanski
Debbie White, RN
Carl Williams
Lakia Wilson
Sarah Wofford
Todd Wolfson

Our Mission

The AFT is a union of professionals that champions fairness; democracy; economic opportunity; and high-quality public education, healthcare and public services for our students, their families and our communities. We are committed to advancing these principles through community engagement, organizing, collective bargaining and political activism, and especially through the work our members do.

Copyright © AFT, AFL-CIO (AFT 2025). Permission is hereby granted to AFT state and local affiliates to reproduce and distribute copies of the work for nonprofit educational purposes, provided that copies are distributed at or below cost, and that the author, source, and copyright notice are included on each copy. Any distribution of such materials to third parties who are outside of the AFT or its affiliates is prohibited without first receiving the express written permission of the AFT.

Nobody Wins

Educators' Perspectives on Mandatory Reporting

"We need new tools and supports that better address root causes and real problems. Unfortunately, mandatory reporting often places educators in the difficult position of accidentally catalyzing harm, rather than helping. The AFT's **Mandated Support in Education** action framework elevates innovation and best practices that really meet people's needs—because our first priority is our students' well-being."

—Randi Weingarten, AFT president

Across the United States, educators are mandatory reporters of child abuse and neglect. But reporting rarely helps protect children from harm. We need an alternative model that **prioritizes family relationships** and **addresses family challenges**. To facilitate such a transition—**from mandatory reporting to mandated support**—we must understand our current landscape. Here we present insights from a 2024 national survey with University of California, Irvine, of more than 1,000 school staff, and review data that informs a mandated support agenda: **wraparound services, family engagement, student education, professional development** and **policy change**.

Educators and schools do fantastic work for children's well-being. Yet, our collective failure to support children and families is evident, whether we consider food insecurity, homelessness, discrimination, lead exposure or child labor. We do not ask educators to contact departments of agriculture, housing, civil rights, environmental protection or labor for these failures, but **all states require educators to activate child protective services agencies as mandatory reporters of child maltreatment. Yet mandatory reporting may do more harm than good.**^{1,2}

We need mandated support.

JMACforFamilies coined the term "mandated support" to prioritize keeping families together and to reduce harm.³ Mandated supporters in education practice strategies to start, strengthen and sustain healthy, trusting connections. They leverage all available resources and prioritize kids' bonds to their families. Mandated support names an overall way of thinking that reflects real solutions the AFT has long championed, like trauma-informed practices, promoting kids' mental health, community schools to provide wraparound services, bargaining for the common good, and ending poverty.⁴ Kids, families and educators deserve systems driven by support and equipped with effective violence prevention strategies: material resources to families that address social determinants of health and transform communities.^{5,6} To achieve the kinds of policy and programming changes necessary for mandated support, we need to understand where we are today.



We need mandated support, a policy and programming approach that elevates prevention, compassion and well-being.

Reporting is not an effective intervention.

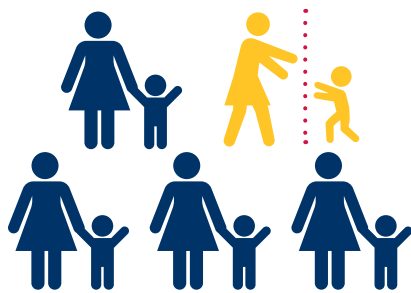
More than 50 years ago, the government began requiring mandatory reporting, despite the concerns of workers within CPS and other activists.⁷ Many of their worst fears, including an explosion in reports, a lack of personnel to handle the volume, and a shift to investigations instead of care, have come to pass.^{7, 8} Reporting is part of how CPS transformed from a helping agency into one focused on investigation, monitoring and family regulation.^{7, 9, 10, 11} Each year, CPS chases millions of reports of suspected child abuse after signs of tragedy and at the expense of investing in prevention or effective interventions.^{7, 12} In fact, “increased reporting has not been associated with a reduced incidence of severe injury and abuse of children.”⁷



About half of reported families are “screened in” for further investigation.



A removal takes place somewhere in the U.S. every three minutes.



Every fifth substantiated claim leads to family separation.

Mandatory reporting is the first step in a troubling and common cascade. Poverty precipitates most reports.^{13, 14} **About half of reported families are “screened in” for further investigation.** CPS tracks families that it does not investigate, though they usually receive no supportive services.^{11, 15} Investigations are traumatic, intrusive and costly.^{8, 14} CPS caseworkers scrutinize every aspect of a family’s home and circumstances to label children either victims or nonvictims, and to establish next steps.³ Rather than alleviating poverty, CPS aims to change parents’ behaviors, leveraging the threat of child removal for noncompliance.^{11, 16, 17} Often, their children are taken away, with some estimating **a removal somewhere in the U.S. every three minutes.**¹⁸

Every fifth substantiated claim leads to family separation, and CPS removes thousands of children from their families every year.¹⁹ Family separation is “universally negative.”¹ The outcomes for child removal mirror those for child maltreatment and may be worse than neglect or doing nothing: increased trauma, high risk of academic challenges, lifelong health issues and elevated rates of abuse.^{3, 20, 21} Families caught in this web are nearly always already marginalized and beset with stressors like chronic illness, job changes and death in the family.^{11, 22} Upon CPS engagement, families retreat from supportive institutions and may see traumatic effects carry into the next generation.^{1, 11}

Reporting is not an effective intervention.^{23, 24} It relies on educators’ fear of professional reprisal.¹¹ Mandatory reporting fundamentally interferes with effective family engagement by driving away the families who most need help and can even deter students from disclosing abuse or attending school.^{11, 25, 26, 27}

Research on mandatory reporters rarely separates educators from other types of professionals and work contexts. Research that does focus on educators tends to be restricted to one state, school district or type of educator, such as school counselors. Here we present select findings based on educators’ responses to a 2024 national survey developed in partnership with the University of California, Irvine and administered between Feb. 20 and May 2, 2024. This is one of the largest samples to date detailing diverse edu-

icators' perspectives on this topic, yet our sample is not representative. These descriptive data should be taken as a snapshot and a starting point. We hope these insights, contextualized alongside others' research, will inform education policy and programming that prepares educators and schools to effectively contribute to the end of violence against children.

Demographics

A total of 1,127 educators answered at least one survey question. **Over 750 educators shared their residence for a total of 44 states and territories.** Most locations were represented by a handful of voices, but nine states had 20 or more respondents. **California, Maryland, New Mexico and New York** were especially well-represented.

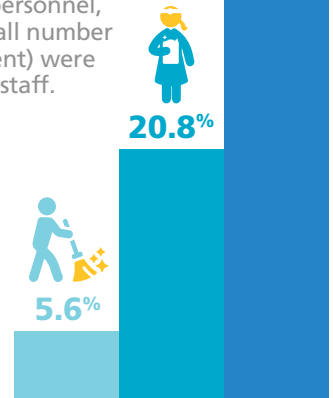
This set of educators was very experienced, averaging **16.5 years** in their education careers.

Three in 5 respondents (61.1 percent) were **teachers** and **1 in 5** (20.8 percent) were **specialized instructional support personnel (SISP)**, including (in order of descending frequency) school counselors, school social workers, school psychologists, school librarians, school nurses, occupational therapists and speech-language pathologists. A small number (**5.6 percent**) were **classified staff**, including paraprofessionals, administrative support staff and bus drivers.

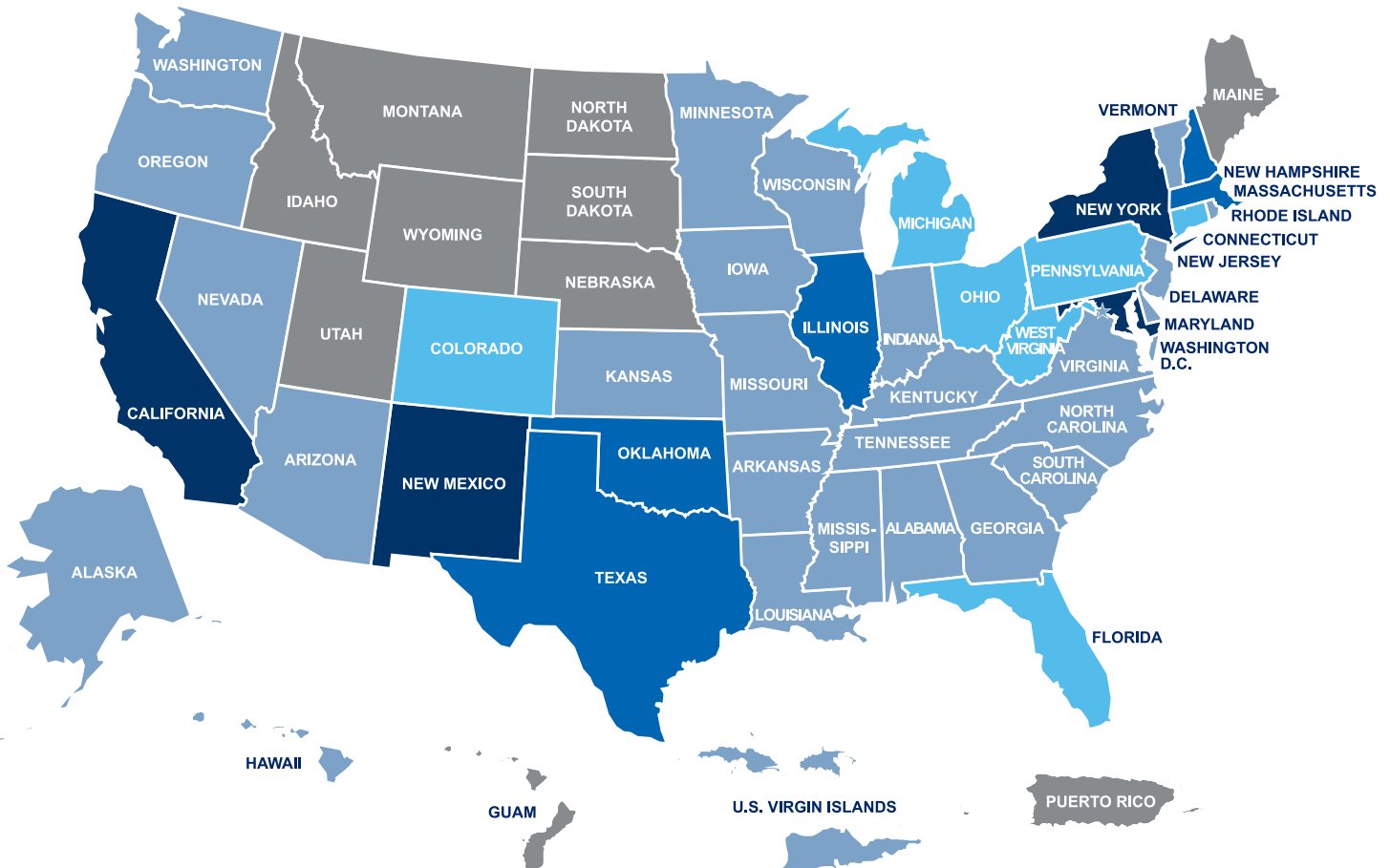


The 1,127 respondents were very experienced, averaging 16.5 years in their education careers.

Three in 5 respondents (61.1 percent) were teachers, 1 in 5 (20.8 percent) were specialized instructional support personnel, and a small number (5.6 percent) were classified staff.



KEY: = No respondents = 1-9 respondents = 10-19 respondents = 20-50 respondents = 50+ respondents





“The report is not the hard part; the aftermath is the hard part. Knowing a report was made and not knowing the follow-through or knowing there was no follow-through. Knowing the follow-through was inadequate and made it worse for the child.”

—Teacher, Belleville, Ill.

Key Finding: Mandatory reporting does not have a great track record at school.

“Whenever I have reported, it seemed to make the situation for the child worse. The students that should have had action taken did not. Those students that did have action taken found that their situations became worse.

It feels like a Catch 22 where no one ever wins.”

—Teacher, Albuquerque, N.M.

After reports to CPS, most educators observe no improvement or broken relationships.

We asked respondents which changes they noticed after making a report to CPS. The majority said, “I did not observe a change following the report” (34.4 percent) or that the “child and/or family relationship with school worsened (e.g., withdrawal or increased distrust)” (28.5 percent). **Nearly half (45.2 percent) of educators’ open-ended comments on this item mentioned dramatically severed relationships**, including reduced communication with their students; students removed from the school; and families relocating.

Fewer than 1 in 4 educators observed improvements after making a report, including that the “relationship with school improved (e.g., increased trust and supportive relationships)” (24.8 percent), that the “child and/or family was provided with additional behavioral support” (23.6 percent) or that the “child and/or family was provided with additional material support” (19.0 percent).

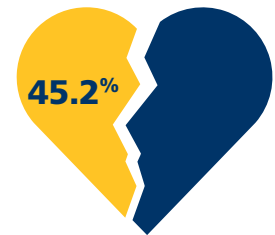
Educators prioritize improved student outcomes over streamlined reporting.

Two in 5 respondents (43.2 percent) selected “very positive” or “somewhat positive” to describe their experiences with reporting. Another 1 in 4 educators (28.9 percent) had “very negative” or “somewhat negative” experiences with reporting to CPS.

“There have been multiple occasions in which I faced repercussions either at work or with families due to having made a report, despite the reporting being ‘confidential.’”

—Teacher, Washington, D.C.

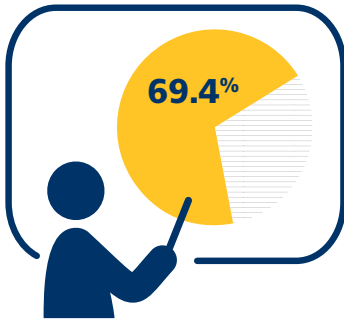
In open-ended comments, respondents highlighted a key distinction: Even when reporting was straightforward, educators said they often experience considerable stress as they wait for improved student outcomes. Many educators expressed dismay that their reports were screened out, minimally investigated, or unfounded. They perceived that CPS is poorly equipped and resourced, and expressed empathy with the agency’s capacity issues. Moreover, they felt anonymity for reporters is not consistently upheld and expressed concern about how reporting has damaged relationships with students, as well as led to retaliation.



Among educator comments, 45.2 percent mentioned dramatically severed relationships with their students.



Fewer than 1 in 4 educators observed improvement after making a report to CPS.



Of respondent educators, 69.4 percent expected CPS to “provide supportive guidance or information to the family.”

Educators expect CPS to supervise, inform and provide resources.

When asked what they expected CPS to do following their most recent report, most educators selected four options:

- “Monitor and oversee the family” (70.9 percent)
- **“Provide supportive guidance or information to the family” (69.4 percent)**
- **“Connect the family with social services” after a report (nearly 2 in 3 educators, or 64.3 percent)**
- “Convey to the parents that their behavior was inappropriate or wrong” (56 percent)

Far fewer educators (17.4 percent) expected that the agency would “remove the child(ren) from the parents.”



Nearly 2 in 3 educators (64.3 percent) expected CPS to “connect the family with social services.”

Discussion: Determining whether the act of reporting (such as accessing the hotline or website, or committing time in a busy day) is straightforward is not a useful exercise. As these data show, educators know that mandatory reporting rarely results in improved circumstances for students. Educators are frustrated with the tension between their deep care for children and the inefficacy of the state’s required intervention.^{28, 29, 30} Beyond frustration, educators may develop secondary traumatic stress from mandatory reporting.³¹ In many ways, educators’ concerns echo and complement those of CPS caseworkers, academics, attorneys and activists. In fact, most mandatory reporters express negative judgments of and views toward reporting.²⁴

Further, our data confirm what many have discussed: Mandatory reporting interferes with relationships that are key to powerful learning and children’s development.^{24, 32, 33, 34} Worse, reporting reduces the likelihood that struggling children or families will seek support at school.¹¹

Mandatory reporters’ ethical tensions are well-documented.^{24, 35, 36} While others encourage leveraging punishment and fear to induce compliance,^{7, 29, 37, 38} mandated support aims to introduce more meaningful solutions.

“The system as it exists for reporting is overwhelmed. We need to find ways to be proactive to address potential abuse before it happens.”

—Teacher, Morgantown, W.Va.

Key Finding: Educators are ready for mandated support.

“We need to make sure **our communities, our families** are not under so much pressure that they take it out on their children.

“If we support our families, we support our children.”

—Paraprofessional, Aloha, Ore.

Educators overwhelmingly endorse increased support for children and families.

Nearly all educators (91.1 percent) “strongly agree” or “agree” that their community should do more to support children and families facing child abuse and neglect. Just 1 in 4 educators (27.1 percent) said they “strongly agree” or “agree” that children and families in their community grappling with CAN receive adequate support.

Educators observe bias in the ways their school engages with CPS.

One in 3 educators (34.3 percent) “strongly agree” or “agree” that they notice **patterns in the types of families reported at their school**. One in 4 (26.5 percent) open-ended comments about “types” referenced class with terms like “**socioeconomic**,” “**lower income**” and “**impoverished**.” Fewer than 1 in 10 (8.1 percent) mentioned race or ethnicity.

“So many teachers feel like we’re between a rock and a hard place—we obviously don’t want children and families to suffer, but filing seems to lead to removal or threatened removal instead of actual help for the family. I wish there was a better alternative in many cases.”

—Teacher, Boston



Nearly all educators (91.1 percent) “strongly agree” or “agree” that their community should do more to support children and families facing child abuse and neglect.



More than 1 in 4 educators mention an indicator of poverty when describing what prompted their most recent report to CPS.



Educators shared the following indicators as prompting their most recent report to CPS:



Suspected physical abuse



Hygiene issues



Chronic absence, truancy, consistently late arrival, missed days



Atypical knowledge, interest, and/or behaviors related to sexuality



Emotions and words such as "fear" and "scared"



Health issues inadequately addressed



Exposure to illicit substance and/or alcohol use



Hunger



Children unsupervised, home with siblings or home with non-parents

Educators report about a wide variety of student challenges.

Here are the top reasons educators shared about what prompted their most recent report to CPS.*

1. One in 3 (35.2 percent) educators reported **suspected physical abuse** to CPS. For example, 10 percent of the total comments mentioned bruising, 7.4 percent used the word "hit" and 4.4 percent mentioned beating.
2. 11.9 percent of educators were uneasy when students presented with a **hygiene issue**. For instance, 5.2 percent of respondents used the word "dirty" to explain why they report to CPS, and another 4.8 percent mentioned the appearance of a child's clothing.
3. One in 10 (9.6 percent) mentioned chronic absence, truancy, consistently late arrival, missed days, or other concerns about **student attendance**.
4. 8.9 percent of respondents mentioned challenges with students who display developmentally **atypical knowledge** of, interest in, and/or behaviors related to **sexuality**.
5. 8 percent of comments included content on **feelings**. The word "emotion" or "emotional" appeared in 2.8 percent of the total comments. Educators also used words like "**fear**" and "**scared**."
6. 7.2 percent of respondents mentioned **health issues**—both of students and parents—including parents not pursuing medication or medical attention for a health issue. The word "mental" appeared in 2.8 percent of the comments.
7. 7.2 percent of educators expressed concerns about students who show signs of or **exposure to illicit substance and/or alcohol use**.
8. **Hunger** was the subject of 4.8 percent of educators' comments, and 2.8 percent used the word "food."
9. Parents whose children were unsupervised, home with siblings, or home with non-parents distressed 4.6 percent of the educators who submitted comments. As an example, 3.7 percent included the word "**alone**."

Finally, several respondents mentioned each of the following themes: parent refusal and/or inaction to pursue supports; homelessness; vulnerable student populations, including those who were already in foster care; students with a disability, and those who identified as LGBTQIA+; difficult school drop-off or pickups; exposure to weapons, especially guns; and wage confiscation for working students.

"As a society, we need to find ways to intervene effectively and provide supports BEFORE the situation reaches the point of trauma to the children, much less criminal charges."

—Teacher, Hinesville, Ga.

* Respondents' comments in this section often included more than one theme. As such, the percentages shared will not sum to 100.

Discussion: Educators are among the most active mandatory reporters of child abuse and neglect in the United States. Yet, they have extremely low rates of substantiation; **CPS verifies fewer than 1 in 10 of educators' reported concerns.**¹⁹ These national patterns indicate that educators are often making unnecessary reports and highlight the need for mandated support: **At least 9 in 10 times, educators and schools need different tools to address observed challenges.** Our data provide a blueprint for establishing priorities.



CPS verifies fewer than 1 in 10 of educators' reported concerns.

"I wish when families were reported to child protective services, they received support and education instead of feeling punitive. They need support."

—Teacher, Nashua, N.H.

CPS almost exclusively engages impoverished people, and poverty may also be the leading root cause of child abuse.^{9, 13, 14} Our data clarify specific indicators of poverty that are most apparent to educators: children's poor hygiene, attendance challenges, food insecurity, and inconsistent access to healthcare and caring adults. Taken together, nonduplicative comments on these themes account for 28.9 percent of educators' observations. Later in the survey, educators repeated that low-income families are often reported, which confirms previous research.³⁷ Especially because educators may overreport suspected neglect,³⁹ **mandated support must tackle poverty.** Giving struggling families material resources substantially reduces maltreatment, even when such an outcome is not the focus of the intervention.^{8, 14, 40, 41} At school, this could include moving to universal school meals and increasing wrap-around services.



At least 9 in 10 times, educators and schools need different tools to address observed challenges.

Our data reveal some of what drives the profession's low substantiation rates. More than one-third of respondents' comments reference suspected physical abuse. However, the proportion of substantiated reports from education personnel for physical abuse is just 20.1 percent.¹⁹ In other words, CPS does not verify almost half of educators' reports about suspected physical abuse. Similarly, terms that align with the possibility of medical neglect appear in 1 in 14 survey comments about what prompted an educator's most recent report to CPS. But just 2.7 percent of educators' substantiated claims were for the same.¹⁹ Schools and educators need real solutions to address suspected physical abuse and medical neglect, including structured, positive home visits and robust intergenerational healthcare access for families struggling to manage chronic conditions.²²

Previous research shows that educators are more likely to call CPS when families are recalcitrant or uninvolved.³⁷ Some respondents' open-ended comments, including those related to parents who were unresponsive or who did not follow up on educators' suggestions, align with this finding and highlight the need for stronger family engagement.

Further, because legal statutes and definitions are often ambiguous and subjective, CPS struggles to disentangle poverty—and bias by race, class and gender—from maltreatment, and especially neglect.^{9, 11, 42, 43, 44, 45} Mandated support must directly tackle bias, such as by increasing restorative justice, undermining stereotypes, and helping educators practice helpful habits.^{46, 47, 48}



“We are required to watch a video every year regarding mandatory reporting. I don’t feel this has an impact.”

—Paraprofessional, Roseburg, Ore.

Key Finding: Most educators receive training on mandatory reporting and are moderately satisfied with their training.

“My state just **mandated** that we take **updated child abuse training**. I was surprised that it seemed like there is more of **a trend now** toward **not reporting right away** and an **emphasis on bias in reporting**.”

—Teacher, Levittown, N.Y.

Four in 5 educators (81.1 percent) have received formal training as mandatory reporters.

Most educators who have been formally trained receive regular or recurring training (73.6 percent). And two-thirds (66.9 percent) participated in such training in the past 12 months. **Training is usually local.**

- Educators were most likely to receive formal training on mandatory reporting from their school district (69 percent).
- Another 1 in 3 (34.8 percent) received training from their school.
- State agencies (25.5 percent) and higher education institutions offering pre-service (25.1 percent) were the next most common training providers.

Thirteen percent of respondents said they have never received formal training. The majority of those who were not formally trained learned about mandatory reporting from their “school or district” (62.9 percent). They also relied on a “state agency” (34.1 percent) and the “college or university where [they] studied” (28.8 percent).

Most educators (62.8 percent) “strongly agree” or “somewhat agree” that they are satisfied with formal training on mandatory reporting.

On average, satisfied educators said they received formal training from two (2.1) sources. Dissatisfied educators identified an average of 1.6 sources of training; they were also significantly more likely to report an “other” source of training, such as a colleague or a community-based nonprofit organization.

Four in 5 (82.3 percent) satisfied educators said they received regular, recurring training and the same proportion (81.3 percent) said they were trained in the past 24 months, including 72.2 percent who received training in the past year. By comparison, educators who were dissatisfied with their training were less likely to receive recurring training (60.3 percent) and more than 1 in 4 (27.5 percent) said they hadn’t received any training in the past two years.

Educators are confident they can spot child abuse and neglect.

Three in 4 of educators (77.8 percent) “strongly agree” or “somewhat agree” that they can effectively identify signs of CAN. Training—and training satisfaction—



Four in 5 educators (81.1 percent) have received formal training as mandatory reporters.



Four in 5 (82.3 percent) satisfied educators said they received regular, recurring trainings on mandatory reporting.

seriously influence educators' self-efficacy. Educators who were satisfied with formal training were the most confident, as 9 in 10 (92.5 percent) "strongly agree" or "somewhat agree" that they can effectively identify signs of CAN. The proportion of dissatisfied educators who "strongly agree" (14.3 percent) mirrors that of educators who said they had no formal training (14.5 percent).

"The professional knowledge and experience of the Child Protection Services provided valuable insights for me, making me more mature in handling similar issues."

—Teacher, Columbus, Ohio

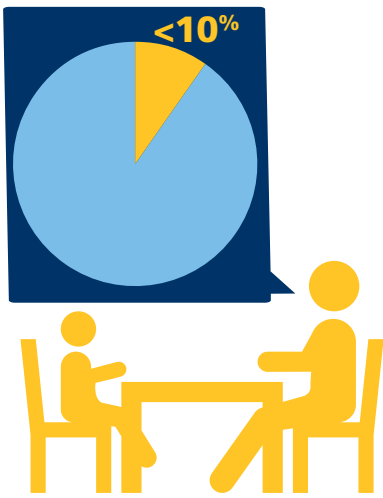
Discussion: Our data confirm that most educators do not receive training on child maltreatment before beginning to work with students, but that in-service training is common.^{29, 49}

After training, educators tend to show increased confidence as well as skills to identify child maltreatment, understand reporting requirements, and know reporting procedures.^{24, 28, 34, 49, 50, 51} Our data verify that training satisfaction is strongly linked to self-efficacy in identifying signs of CAN.

Yet, confidence does not predict quality; **the evidence is "low to very low" that training on mandatory reporting improves outcomes, including accuracy.**^{28, 52} Despite showing improvements on training objectives, educators express uncertainty about what meets the standard for reporting, as well as consequences for all involved.^{28, 29, 53, 54, 55}

Existing literature gestures toward gaps in educator training. Most research in this space begins with the assumption that increased reporting is positive and will improve CAN outcomes.^{30, 34, 49, 50} To achieve more reporting, researchers have developed oversimplified scenarios and fostered unrealistic expectations.^{30, 34, 50} Perhaps it is no surprise, then, that responses during training are a poor proxy for real-world behavior.²⁴ Likewise, existing training does not boost participants' readiness to extend support at critical moments. For example, **less than 10 percent of school counselors felt prepared to act as a resource person for a child who experienced sexual abuse.**²⁸

As we have shown, mandatory reporting is not an effective intervention. Rather than aiming to improve educators' surveillance or family regulation skills, mandated support calls us to ready educators to be creative, collaborative and compassionate.



Less than 10 percent of school counselors felt prepared to act as a resource person for a child who experienced sexual abuse.

Key Finding: Educators comply with mandatory reporting requirements.

“It appears it does not make a difference. **I am mandated to do so, so I continue to file, but it is a complete joke.**”

—Counselor, Nashua, N.H.

Even if educators were not legally mandated to do so, most (86.5 percent) say they would have reported their most recent observations to CPS.

A majority (81.2 percent) of educators “strongly agree” or “agree” that mandatory reporting is an essential part of preventing and addressing child maltreatment. Further, educators tend to be confident in their observations, with 2 in 3 (65.5 percent) “extremely sure” or “very sure” that the situation that prompted their most recent report to CPS constituted CAN.

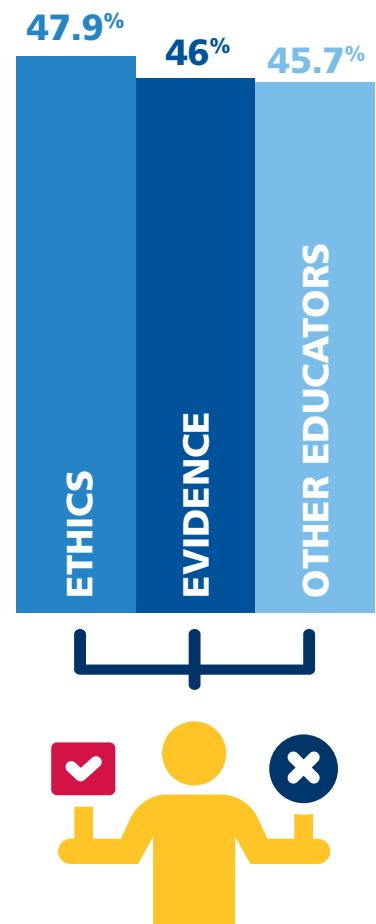
“I think mandatory reporting laws are well-intentioned, but I also worked as a social worker, and I know that CPS is vastly underfunded. I don’t think that CPS really does these families any good, simply because they do not have the resources. I question whether or not reporting is the morally correct choice in those situations, but I report because it is the law, and I don’t want to sit back and do nothing either.”

—Teacher, Houston

Ethics, evidence and other educators drive most decisions about reporting.

Most educators (47.9 percent) said they rely on their professional codes of ethics or conduct, “the amount of evidence available” (46 percent), and consultations with colleagues and/or CPS (45.7 percent) when making decisions about whether to report.

- One in 3 educators (33.2 percent) said state statutes inform their reporting decisions.
- One in 4 educators (25.9 percent) considered the impact of a possible report on the child and/or family.
- One in 5 respondents (21.8 percent) used “family context, such as assessment of the parents’ skills” to inform their decisions about whether to report.
- Just 14.3 percent of educators said that “preference for an alternative, such as to document progress or refer to a colleague” informs decisions about reporting to CPS. Likewise, institutional support, such as “how much time was needed [to file] a report” (10.7 percent) and “union’s collective bargaining agreement or memoranda of understanding” (6.2 percent) influenced a small proportion of reporting decisions.

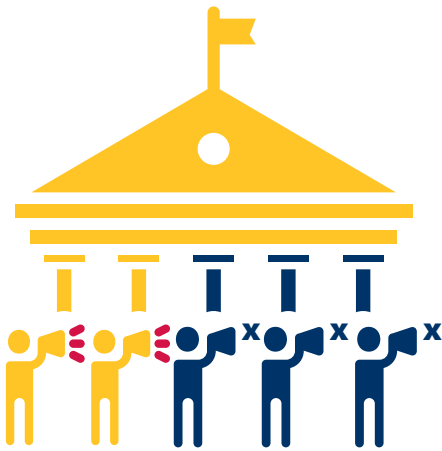


When making decisions to report, many educators said they rely on their professional codes of ethics or conduct (47.9 percent), “the amount of evidence available” (46 percent), and consultations with colleagues (45.7 percent).

In open-ended comments, many educators said they are required to work with a colleague, such as their school's counselor, social worker or administrator, before making a formal report. Several respondents noted that they also consider if they know that another school staff person is reporting or has reported about the same child in determining whether to report.

"I've seen teachers charged for failure to report, so yes, I err on the side of reporting anything that might be considered abuse or neglect. I wish the reports were taken with more objectivity and less judgment at the time of the report, and I wish that more were done to protect the child."

—Teacher, Parker, Colo.



Two in 5 educators (41.7 percent) said they work in a school with a policy stating that they must notify CPS or another government agency about chronically absent students.

Chronic absenteeism prompts educators to report.

Two in 5 educators (41.7 percent) said they work in a school with a policy stating that they must notify CPS or another government agency about chronically absent students. Again, chronic absenteeism was the third most frequently mentioned theme from respondents who offered more information about what prompted their most recent report to CPS.

Discussion: Previous research has identified a variety of factors that influence reporting, including uncertainty about what meets the threshold of reasonable suspicion, uncertainty about government interventions, available evidence, perceived severity of harm, concerns about retaliation, and a belief that others would report.^{36, 37} Our data indicate educators bring distinct priorities to reporting decisions. In particular, institutional support and preferred alternative responses may be much less influential for educators than for other reporter types.^{24, 28}

"It is never a positive experience to have to report suspected abuse. The hotline operators are helpful and try to get all pertinent information. Our school district requires us to call the police when a report is made to CPS. It is helpful to know they can do an immediate check on the student if necessary."

—Nurse, Oklahoma City

Our respondents' assertion that they would report without a legal mandate complicates others' research. Contrary to their perception, educators seem to be more swayed by policy than other reporters. The 1974 passage of the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act doubled the number of states that listed teachers as mandatory reporters.⁵⁶ Research on how state laws influence all mandatory reporters is mixed.^{36, 57, 58, 59} However, it appears that state laws—including those that require training on child maltreatment and that outline punishment for noncompliance^{30, 42}—significantly increase educators' reporting.^{49, 59, 60} Codifying effective strategies in policy may play an important role in adopting mandated support in education.

Policies that require educators to report chronic absenteeism offer a good example of a missed opportunity for mandated support. Such policies push students into the school-to-prison pipeline.⁶¹ These policies are also troubling because absenteeism has been rising in every type of school and community.⁶² Absenteeism is a long-standing challenge. Thankfully, myriad impactful interventions address root causes—including home visiting, programming to increase belonging, school-based health services, and increased access to healthy school meals.^{63, 64, 65}

Key Finding: Most educators rarely report to CPS.

“I am a high school teacher. **Over my 27-year career, I have made three reports. Nothing seems to happen.** I have been told by our counselors that family services typically don’t do much about the high schoolers.”
—Teacher, Castle Rock, Colo.

Educators rarely observe signs of child maltreatment.

Less than half of educators (40.7 percent) said it is “extremely likely” or “very likely” that “the school would become aware ... if a student were experiencing a challenging situation at home.” More than 1 in 10 (11.1 percent) said that such awareness at school is “not very likely” or “not at all likely.”

One in 4 educators (26.5 percent) did not observe any students with signs of possible abuse and neglect in the past 12 months. In fact, zero was the most frequent estimate submitted. While the majority of respondents (80.5 percent) observed zero to 5 students with signs of CAN in the past year, 10.1 percent submitted estimates over 10. On average, educators said they observed 4.9 students in the past year with signs of abuse and neglect.

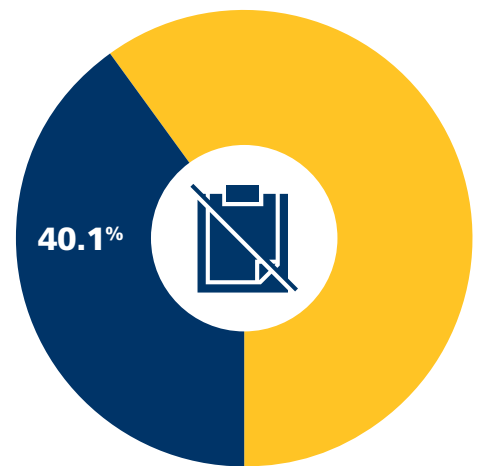
In a given year, it is common for an individual educator not to report to CPS.

When asked to estimate the number of reports they made to CPS in the past 12 months, the most frequent answer was zero, offered by 40.1 percent of educators. Another 1 in 5 educators (21.2 percent) estimated making one report, while 10.1 percent made more than 10 reports. The annual average is 4.6 reports per respondent.

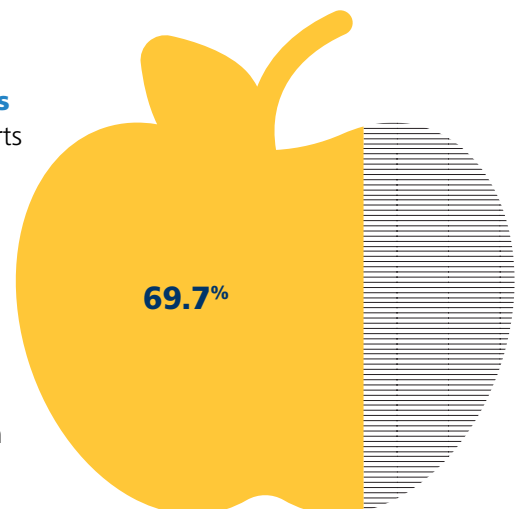
Most educators engage with CPS sparingly in their career.

While 1 in 5 (19.9 percent) of educators said, “I have not needed to make such an assessment or decision” about reporting to CPS, **69.7 percent of respondents said they have made a report.** When asked to estimate the number of reports they made in their career, the most frequent answer was two. On average, educators estimated that they have made 24.2 reports in their career. Like data in this section on annual observations and annual reporting, the distribution for career reporting skews toward a small group of very active reporters.

We divided educators’ estimated career reports by the number of years they have been in education to examine career reporting rates in another way. One in 3 respondents (31.6 percent) who submitted both data points were non-reporters, with a rate of 0. Another 46.7 percent of respondents had rates >0 and <1, which corresponds to less than one report per year. Indeed, the average reporting rate in this near-majority group (0.26) corresponds to one report to CPS approximately every four years. In contrast, the top 10 percent averages 12 reports each year of their career.



When asked to estimate the number of reports they made to CPS in the past 12 months, the most frequent answer was zero, offered by 40.1 percent of educators.



A majority (69.7 percent) of educators have ever made a report to CPS.

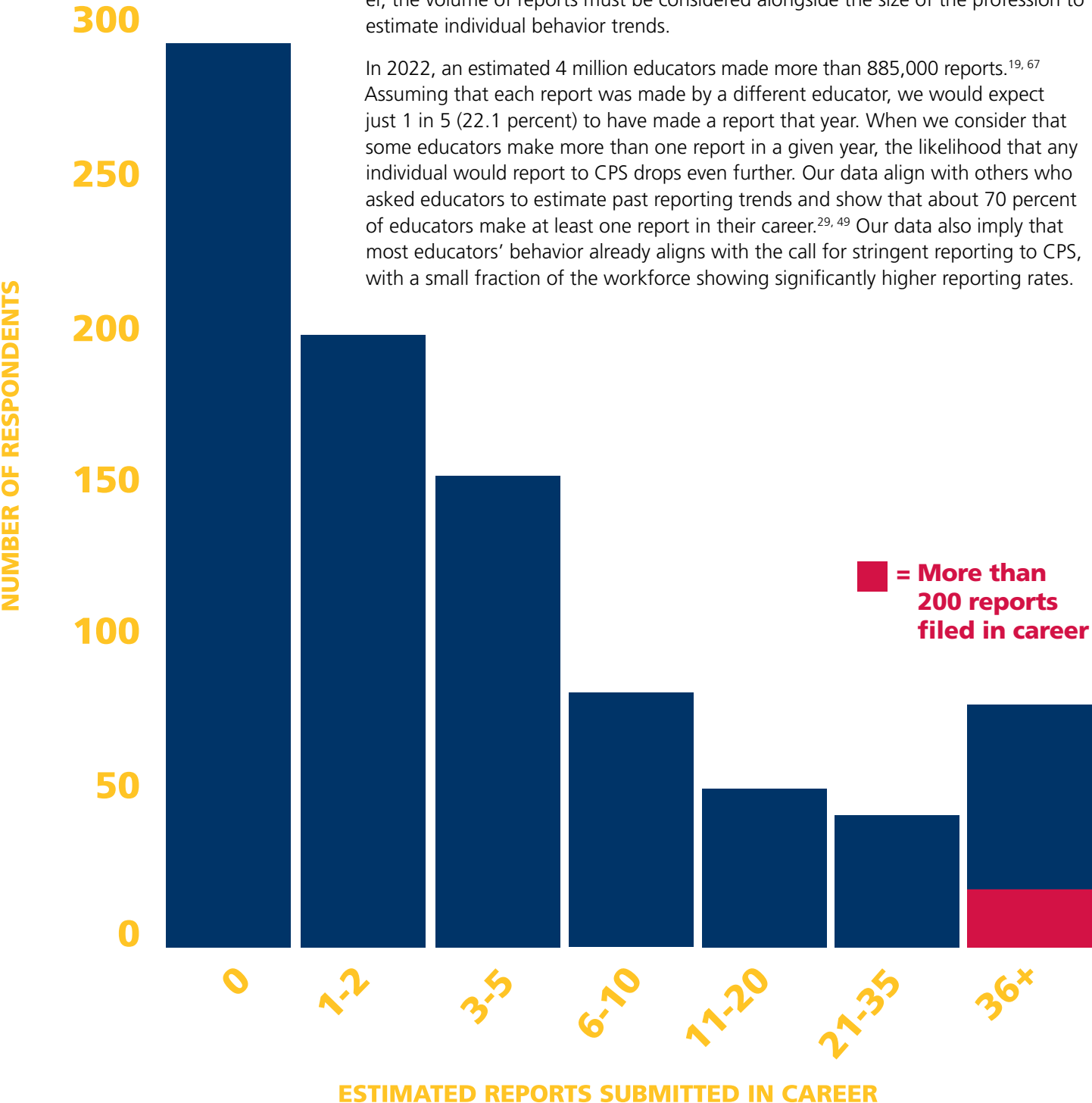
“My school guidance is to immediately refer to admin, and they will make the decision. I am not precluded from filing myself, but if I document and report up, I am covered in terms of due diligence.”
 —Teacher, Roxbury, Mass.

Most educators only rarely report to CPS; about 10 percent are more active.

A tiny fraction of educators have reported more than 200 times in their careers.

Discussion: Reducing unnecessary and low-quality reports will increase CPS’ capacity for effective interventions and reduce harm.^{3, 25, 33, 60, 66} With this in mind, many have called out school staff, who have a reputation for making more reports to CPS than other mandatory reporters. Taken in the aggregate, the field of education is responsible for a significant proportion of reports to CPS each year.¹⁹ However, the volume of reports must be considered alongside the size of the profession to estimate individual behavior trends.

In 2022, an estimated 4 million educators made more than 885,000 reports.^{19, 67} Assuming that each report was made by a different educator, we would expect just 1 in 5 (22.1 percent) to have made a report that year. When we consider that some educators make more than one report in a given year, the likelihood that any individual would report to CPS drops even further. Our data align with others who asked educators to estimate past reporting trends and show that about 70 percent of educators make at least one report in their career.^{29, 49} Our data also imply that most educators’ behavior already aligns with the call for stringent reporting to CPS, with a small fraction of the workforce showing significantly higher reporting rates.



An illustration of a woman with curly brown hair, wearing a white shirt with blue polka dots, sitting at a desk in a newsroom. She is talking on a black corded telephone. The desk is cluttered with stacks of papers and a pen holder. A desk lamp is visible on the left, and bookshelves filled with books are in the background. The style is a flat, graphic illustration with a limited color palette.

SPECIAL INSERT

A Close Look at Avid Reporters and Frequent Callers

SPECIAL INSERT

A Close Look at Avid Reporters and Frequent Callers

“Some teachers tend to **confuse poverty with abuse**. Sometimes families just need **resources to survive**. If the students’ lights, water, etc., are off, if they are homeless, it **does not equate to abuse**. Certainly, as resources increase, the two rarely get mixed up. In Florida, things are **extremely difficult economically** for many families, and I’m worried it can be **mistaken for abuse, when it’s not**.”
—Social worker, North Miami, Fla.



Avid reporters averaged 100 more reports over the course of their careers compared with regular reporters.



Frequent callers said they made almost 12 times as many reports as rare reporters over the course of their careers.

As we have shown, most educators rarely report to CPS in a given year, or over the course of their career. We are particularly interested in the small proportion of educators who engage CPS much more than their peers do. It is imperative that mandated support policy and programming account for this group. Their career reporting trends appear meaningful: **Avid reporters averaged 100 more reports over the course of their careers compared with regular reporters. And frequent callers said they made almost 12 times as many reports as rare reporters over the course of their careers.** This special insert focuses on two subgroup comparisons drawn from survey data:

1. Ten percent of respondents made 12 or more reports to CPS in the past year. We compared these **avid reporters** with educators who estimate making the more common zero to two reports to CPS in the past year; we call the latter **regular reporters**.
2. Just 4.5 percent of respondents had a higher number of estimated reports in the past 12 months than the number of students they estimated observing with signs of child abuse or neglect. We dubbed these educators **frequent callers**. In contrast, 11.3 percent of respondents who observed at least one student with signs of CAN in the past year also said they made no reports. We call them **rare reporters**.

(Note: These educators do not appear to refuse to report; they averaged 4.68 reports over their careers, and none said they made no reports in their careers.)

Interestingly, the proportions of these groups that “strongly agree” and “somewhat agree” that mandatory reporting is an essential part of preventing and addressing child abuse are comparable. Moreover, they are not significantly different in terms of their agreeing that, without a legal mandate, they would report to CPS. Next, we focus on statistically significant differences between them.

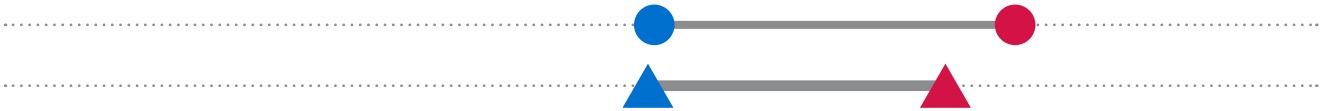
SPECIAL INSERT

Whose call? Subgroup comparisons drawn from survey data

KEY: Regular Reporter ● Avid Reporter ● Rare Reporter ▲ Frequent Caller ▲

Educators with more training are significantly more likely to engage with CPS.

Three in 4 avid reporters (77.3 percent) said they have formal training from two or more sources, and frequent callers were right behind them (71.7 percent). For comparison, about half of regular reporters (49.6 percent) and rare reporters (49.1 percent) said the same.



Educators who often engage CPS are highly confident in their role as reporters.

Almost unanimously, frequent callers (98.3 percent) and avid reporters (96 percent) said they “strongly agree” or “agree” that they can effectively identify signs of child abuse and neglect. Though regular and rare reporters also had high self-efficacy, their rates of “strongly agree” or “agree” were significantly lower, at 84.9 percent for regular reporters and 79.4 percent for rare reporters.



Educators with high rates of reporting have had positive experiences with CPS.

Frequent callers (70.7 percent) were more than twice as likely as rare reporters (30.2 percent) to select “very positive” or “somewhat positive” to describe their general experiences with reporting. The dynamic between avid reporters (70.4 percent) and regular reporters (36.4 percent) is almost as dramatic.



Highly active reporters endorse family separation.

When asked, “How sure were you that removing the child(ren) from the home or family was necessary?” in the case of their most recent report to CPS, nearly 2 in 3 avid reporters (63.2 percent) were “extremely sure” or “very sure,” compared with just 1 in 4 (25.5 percent) regular reporters.



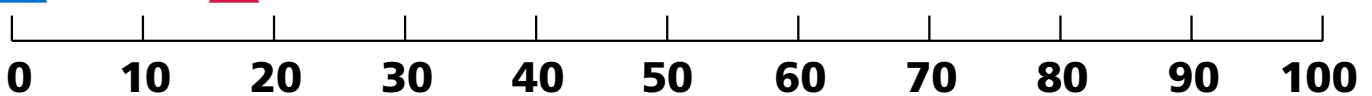
School cultures that prioritize compliance strongly influence educator behavior.

Four in 5 avid reporters (83.1 percent) and frequent callers (80.4 percent) said they work in a school where chronic absenteeism must be reported to a government agency, compared with less than a third of regular (32.1 percent) and rare reporters (28.8 percent).



Educators who often engage with CPS share some demographic characteristics.

While 18.4 percent of avid reporters were school counselors, not every school counselor was an avid reporter. Counselors comprised 5.2 percent of the regular reporters, as well. Far more school social workers were frequent callers (17 percent) than rare reporters (0.9 percent).



SPECIAL INSERT

Educators with more training are significantly more likely to engage with CPS.

Three in 4 avid reporters (77.3 percent) said they have formal training from two or more sources, and frequent callers were right behind them (71.7 percent). For comparison, about half of regular reporters (49.6 percent) and rare reporters (49.1 percent) said the same.

While most educators said they receive recurring training on mandatory reporting, avid reporters (90.5 percent) and frequent callers (88.7 percent) were still significantly more likely to say their training is recurring than regular reporters (74.3 percent) and rare reporters (70.4 percent), respectively.

Educators who often engage CPS are highly confident in their role as reporters.

Almost unanimously, frequent callers (98.3 percent) and avid reporters (96 percent) said they “strongly agree” or “agree” that they can effectively identify signs of child abuse and neglect. Though regular and rare reporters also had high self-efficacy, their rates of “strongly agree” or “agree” were significantly lower, at 84.9 percent for regular reporters and 79.4 percent for rare reporters.

Frequent callers (43.4 percent) and avid reporters (41.3 percent) were significantly more likely to say they received formal training more than two years ago. In contrast, rare reporters (71.3 percent) and regular reporters (72 percent) were significantly more likely to have been trained in the past year.

Frequent callers were significantly more likely to “strongly agree” or “agree” (84.9 percent) that they are satisfied with their training than rare reporters (54.6 percent). Likewise, avid reporters (77 percent) were significantly more likely to be satisfied than regular reporters (62 percent).

Educators with high rates of reporting have had positive experiences with CPS.

Frequent callers (70.7 percent) were more than twice as likely as rare reporters (30.2 percent) to select “very positive” or “somewhat positive” to describe their general experiences with reporting. The dynamic between avid reporters (70.4 percent) and regular reporters (36.4 percent) is almost as dramatic.

“Sometimes when reporting ‘neglect,’ I know it isn’t necessarily purposeful on the part of the parent, it’s just lack of resources, but it isn’t received that way by a family.”

—Teacher, Nashua, N.H.



Frequent callers (98.3 percent) and avid reporters (96 percent) said they “strongly agree” or “agree” that they can effectively identify signs of child abuse and neglect.

SPECIAL INSERT

After a report, avid reporters and frequent callers were significantly more likely to say that they observed a student and family's relationship to school improve, and that they saw the family receive material and/or behavioral support. Regular and rare reporters were much more likely to say they observed no change.

Highly active reporters endorse family separation.

When asked, "How sure were you that removing the child(ren) from the home or family was necessary?" in the case of their most recent report to CPS, nearly 2 in 3 avid reporters (63.2 percent) were "extremely sure" or "very sure," compared with just 1 in 4 (25.5 percent) regular reporters. The difference between frequent callers (39.3 percent) and rare reporters (23.4 percent) is not as dramatic but also statistically significant.

School cultures that prioritize compliance strongly influence educator behavior.

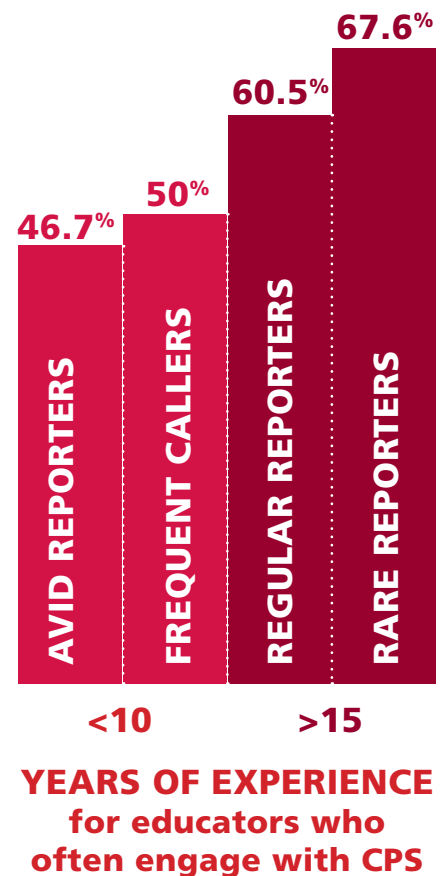
Four in 5 avid reporters (83.1 percent) and frequent callers (80.4 percent) said they work in a school where chronic absenteeism must be reported to a government agency, compared with less than a third of regular (32.1 percent) and rare reporters (28.8 percent).

Most frequent callers (64.9 percent) and avid reporters (54.5 percent) said they "strongly agree" or "agree" that "At my school, we generally report anytime we have the slightest suspicion of abuse or neglect." By comparison, regular reporters were about as likely to affirm (36.4 percent) as to "strongly disagree" and "disagree" (33.2 percent). While 1 in 4 rare reporters said they agree (27.4 percent), far more disagreed (41 percent) that the statement aptly describes their school.

The majority of frequent callers (85.7 percent) and avid reporters (64.9 percent) said they "strongly agree" or "agree" that their school culture is to "believe there's no harm in reporting to child protective services and asking the child protection agency to check out the situation." Their peers in comparison groups were significantly less likely to agree—just 47 percent of regular reporters and 44.8 percent of rare reporters.

Educators who often engage with CPS share some demographic characteristics.

Frequently engaging with CPS was more common among less experienced educators. About half of avid reporters (46.7 percent) and frequent callers (50 percent) said they have worked in the field fewer than 10 years. Regular reporters were veterans in education; they averaged 18.5 years in the field, with 3 in 5 (60.5 percent) having more than 15 years of experience. Rare reporters averaged 19.9 years and most (67.6 percent) had more than 15 years of experience.

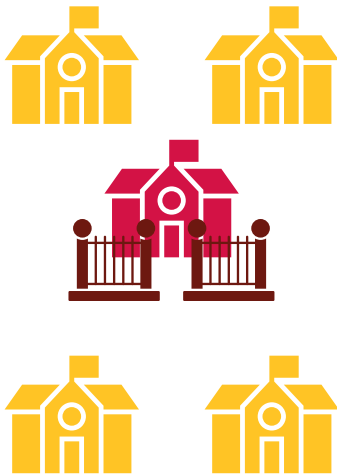


SPECIAL INSERT

Every fourth avid reporter identified as a man (24 percent), whereas men comprised just 11.9 percent of regular reporters. Men also comprised significantly more of the frequent callers (22.6 percent) than rare reporters (13 percent).

While 18.4 percent of avid reporters were school counselors, not every school counselor was an avid reporter. Counselors comprised 5.2 percent of the regular reporters, as well. Far more school social workers were frequent callers (17 percent) than rare reporters (0.9 percent).

Discussion: Our look into this sliver of the education workforce echoes some previous research. Like us, others have found that increased training is linked to higher rates of reporting.³⁶ Educators with less professional experience have self-assessed as highly confident in other studies, as well.³⁷ As previously discussed, the objectives and structure of common training programs may explain both misplaced confidence and increased unnecessary reporting. Educators must understand that sending families to CPS often causes, rather than improves, trauma.^{8, 13}



Gatekeeping policies are used in at least 1 in 5 schools, and gatekeepers have high career reporting rates.

“As a school counselor, I am deeply involved with many of these cases. I have strong relationships with case investigators and offer my personal cell number should I be needed.”

—School counselor, North Bergen, N.J.

Our data clearly show that school-level policy strongly influences educator behavior. First, policies that require reporting for specific student outcomes, such as absenteeism, increase individual reporting behavior. Second, gatekeeping policies that limit formal reporting to specific types of staff, such as school counselors and administrators, appear to inflate the rates of reporting among designees. Our data aligns with others’ findings that **gatekeepers have high career reporting rates.**²⁹ **Gatekeeping policies, used in at least 1 in 5 schools,**^{30, 35, 36} may also help to partly account for the fact that some specialists appear distinct from other educators. For example, school counselors tend to report even with low suspicion,³⁷ and nearly all report in their career, compared with about 7 in 10 other educators.²⁹



"I think that there is an undue pressure placed on teachers for being the determining and reporting force for this. I think that we should be collaborators with parents and that mandatory reporting can be a wedge between teachers and families. I would like to be relieved of this burden.

I think that it does not help anyone."

—Teacher, Baltimore

Lessons and Levers: A trauma-informed mandated support agenda

“I wish I could spend **more time helping parents**, because it would mean kids at school would be **healthier** and more **confident**, better learners and have a better future in education. ... I know I only have these kids for a few hours a day ...

Parents are there for the long-haul. We need to **work with parents** and **develop a positive relationship** with them.”

—Counselor, Fayetteville, N.Y.

Our descriptive data include a significant number of classroom educators, rather than the specialists who are often the focus of research on mandatory reporting in education. Our findings corroborate many others', suggesting consistent attitudes and behaviors among educators, despite diverse roles. We hope to conduct an in-depth investigation with a representative sample, especially to re-examine the profiles of avid reporters, frequent callers and gatekeepers; increase responses from administrators, who are not typically part of the AFT convenience samples; and inquire about length, modality and content covered in educator training on mandatory reporting and interventions to address child maltreatment.

Our data also establish clear signposts to guide investments in what works. **School-based programs** can **reduce maltreatment**, including to achieve **fewer injuries, more positive parenting, family preservation** and lower rates of delinquency.⁶⁸ These programs also **increase academic outcomes, strengthen relationships** and **increase awareness of children's needs**.⁶⁸ Next, we present some of the most promising interventions for schools and a trauma-informed mandated support agenda:



Wraparound services

Interventions that directly address material needs have some of the most dramatic effects on child abuse.^{6, 14, 69} Our data elevate specific indicators of poverty that merit schools' priority attention:

- Attendance
- Food insecurity
- Healthcare
- Hygiene
- Supervision

We must scale solutions—including **mentorship programs, universal school meals, school-based healthcare, clothing closets**, and **out-of-school programming**—to meet needs. That will require increased commitments to **community schools**, addressing **pipeline and retention issues** for **specialized instructional support personnel**, and **continued assistance** to states and districts around **expanded school Medicaid programs**.

Family engagement

Mandated support calls us to upend the assumption that parents are deliberately harmful and to **consider the family** (as opposed to the child alone) **as a unit** for attention and intervention. Indeed, **strengthening relationships** with caregivers **increases trust** and **reduces reporting**.^{37, 50}

Home visiting projects can cut maltreatment in half.^{70, 71, 72} The most effective programs focus on **family strengths**; assume that **adults** in the lives of the child



are **equal partners**; and connect families to **aid for specific challenges**.^{73, 74} We must increase the adoption of evidence-based, sustainable family-engagement models.

Student education

School-based educational programs are often successful at **increasing children's knowledge and self-protection behaviors**.⁷⁵ They are endorsed by abuse survivors⁷⁶ and **may reduce the risk of childhood sexual abuse by up to half**.⁷⁷ Schools must leverage best practices for skill-based health education.



Professional development

Previous research suggests that traditional educator training on mandatory reporting leads to rigid black-and-white thinking and misplaced confidence. These in turn, appear to contribute to a small proportion of educators' avid reporting and the profession's overall low substantiation rate. Educator training on child abuse and neglect **must comprehensively address relevant knowledge and skills**, including:

- Cultural competency and the possibility for bias in observations and assessments;
- Ethical frameworks, such as those established by professional associations, as well as realistic ethical dilemmas;
- Harms and consequences of CPS engagement, including trauma and family separation;
- Likelihood of CPS substantiation or service delivery; and
- Simple ways to connect struggling families to local supports.

Training may pose an incredible opportunity to introduce mandated support, "**narrow the front door**" to CPS, and address skill gaps.^{12, 78} Our data also imply that gatekeepers need **targeted training** to reduce unnecessary reporting and its related harm to students and families. Still, while improved capacity may be essential, personnel training cannot replace **commitments to structurally uproot inequity**.⁷⁹



Mandated support policy

We must **challenge school cultures** rooted in regulating families, valuing compliance over compassion, and funneling marginalized students into foster care or prison.^{33, 66} Educators are sensitive to both state and local policies. To move away from the ineffective intervention of mandatory reporting, policymakers must **decriminalize absenteeism**. They can also remove educators from state laws on mandatory reporting, **making reporting an option** rather than a requirement. Where policymakers preserve mandatory reporting, they should **eliminate threats of punishment** and make paired investments in support; otherwise, reporting may hurt as much as it helps.

Using a mandated support framework, state and school policies should default toward **interpersonal connections** and **programming** to address root causes. To go further, policymakers can also codify equivalent alternatives for suspected maltreatment that satisfy the legal duty to intervene, and guarantee immunity for educators who act in good faith and without negligence.⁸⁰

Educators' perspectives add powerful support to existing research that shows a **smaller, nimbler CPS** will be better for **children's well-being**.¹² It is time to change **policy and practice**, to meet children's needs with **real solutions**, and to **reorient schools** as sites of **mandated support**.



Recommended citation:

Prax, Chelsea. (2024). *Nobody Wins: Educators' Perspectives on Mandatory Reporting*. Washington, D.C.: AFT, UC Irvine.

Endnotes

- 1 Crittenden, P. M., & Spieker, S. (2023). [The Effects of Separation from Parents on Children](#). In C. D. Kelly, Understanding Child Abuse and Neglect—Research and Implications. doi: 10.5772/intechopen.1002940
- 2 Trivedi, S. (2019). [The Harm of Child Removal](#). New York University Review of Law & Social Change, 43, 523-580.
- 3 JMACforFamilies. (2024). [Mandated Supporting](#). New York City.
- 4 AFT. (2023). [Mandated Support in Education: An Action Framework](#). Washington, D.C.
- 5 Kaba, M. (2021). We Do This 'Til We Free Us: Abolitionist Organizing and Transforming Justice. Chicago: Haymarket Books.
- 6 Fortson, B., Klevens, J., Merrick, M., Gilbert, L., & Alexander, S. (2016). [Preventing Child Abuse and Neglect: A Technical Package for Policy, Norm, and Programmatic Activities](#). Atlanta: National Center for Injury Prevention and Control, U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.
- 7 Raz, M. (2020). Abusive Policies: How the American Child Welfare System Lost Its Way. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- 8 Pryce, J. (2024). Broken: Transforming Child Protective Services—Notes of a Former Caseworker. New York: Amistad.
- 9 Roberts, D. (2022). Torn Apart. New York: Hachette Book Group.
- 10 Baughman, C., Coles, T., Feinberg, J., & Newton, H. (2021). [The Surveillance Tentacles of the Child Welfare System](#). Columbia Journal of Race and Law, 11(3), 501-532.
- 11 Fong, K. (2023). Investigating Families: Motherhood in the Shadow of Child Protective Services. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- 12 Arons, A. (2022). [An Unintended Abolition: Family Regulation During the COVID-19 Crisis](#). Columbia Journal of Race and Law, 12(1), 1-28.
- 13 Berger, L., & Slack, K. (2020). [The Contemporary U.S. Child Welfare System\(s\): Overview and Key Challenges](#). ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 692, 7-25. doi:10.1177/0002716220969362
- 14 Pac, J., et al. (2023). [The Effects of Child Poverty Reductions on Child Protective Services Involvement](#). Social Service Review, 97(1), 43-91. doi: 10.1086/723219
- 15 Slack, K., & Berger, L. (2020). [Who Is and Is Not Served by Child Protective Systems? Implications for a Prevention Infrastructure to Reduce Child Maltreatment](#). The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 692(1), 182-202. doi:10.1177/0002716220980691
- 16 DePanfilis, D. (2018). [Child Protective Services: A Guide for Caseworkers](#). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Children's Bureau.
- 17 Whitcombe-Dobbs, S., & Tarren-Sweeney, M. (2019). [What Evidence Is There That Parenting Interventions Reduce Child Abuse and Neglect Among Maltreating Families?](#) Developmental Child Welfare, 1(4), 374-393. doi:10.1177/2516103219893383
- 18 Joint Coalition for the 139th Session of the Human Rights Committee, Geneva. (2023). [Family Separation in the U.S. Child Welfare System, at the U.S.-Mexico Border, and of Indigenous Communities](#). American Civil Liberties Union.
- 19 U.S. Children's Bureau. (2024). [Child Maltreatment 2022](#). Washington, D.C.: U. S. Department of Health and Human Services, Administration for Children and Families, Administration on Children, Youth and Families.
- 20 Sankaran, V., Church, C., & Mitchell, M. (2019). [A Cure Worse Than the Disease? The Impact of Removal on Children and Their Families](#). Marquette Law Review, 102(4), 1163-94.
- 21 Evangelist, M., Thomas, M., & Waldfogel, J. (2023). [Child Protective Services Contact and Youth Outcomes](#). Child Abuse & Neglect, 136(105994). doi: 10.1016/j.chiabu.2022.105994
- 22 Fortin, K., Kwon, S., & Pierce, M. (2016). [Characteristics of Children Reported to Child Protective Services for Medical Neglect](#). Hospital Pediatrics, 6(4), 204-210. doi:10.1542/hpeds.2015-0151
- 23 Ho, G., Gross, D., & Bettencourt, A. (2017). [Universal Mandatory Reporting Policies and the Odds of Identifying Child Physical Abuse](#). American Journal of Public Health, 107(5), 709-716. doi: 10.2105/ajph.2017.303667
- 24 McTavish, et al. (2017). [Mandated Reporters' Experiences with Reporting Child Maltreatment: a Meta-Synthesis of Qualitative Studies](#). BMJ Open, 2017(7), e013942. doi: 10.1136/bmjopen-2016-013942
- 25 Perez-Darby, S. (2023, Oct. 30). [Back to School Safely: Educators and the Work to End Mandatory Reporting](#). Boston: Movement for Family Power.
- 26 Share My Lesson. (2023, June 22). [Mandated Support in Education](#). Washington, D.C.: AFT.
- 27 Lawson, D., & Niven, B. (2015). [The Impact of Mandatory Reporting Legislation on New Zealand Secondary School Students' Attitudes Towards Disclosure of Child Abuse](#). International Journal of Children's Rights, 23, 491-528.
- 28 Brown, M., Bowyer, J., & Walsh, K. (2024). [School Counsellors' Reporting Child Maltreatment: A Rapid Review of Empirical Evidence](#). Australian Psychologists and Counsellors in Schools. doi:10.1177/20556365241262552
- 29 Kenny, M., & McEachern, A. (2002). [Reporting Suspected Child Abuse: A Comparison of Middle and High School Counselors and Principals](#). Journal of Child Sexual Abuse, 11(2), 59-75. doi:10.1300/j070v11n02_04

- 30 Bell, M., & Singh, M. (2016). [Implementing a Collaborative Support Model for Educators Reporting Child Maltreatment](#). *Children and Schools*, 39(1), 7-14. doi:10.1093/cs/cdw041
- 31 VanBergeijk, E., & Sarmiento, T. (2006). [The Consequences of Reporting Child Maltreatment: Are School Personnel at Risk for Secondary Traumatic Stress?](#) *Brief Treatment and Crisis Intervention*, 6(1), 79-98. doi:10.1093/brief-treatment/mhj003
- 32 Merritt, D. (2020). [How Do Families Experience and Interact with CPS?](#) *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 692(1), 203-226. doi:10.1177/0002716220979520
- 33 Waldo, L. (2024, Feb. 7). [Community Collaboration: Reimagining Mandated Reporting with Julie Ahnen, Laura Glaub and Marc Seidl](#). *Overloaded*, Season 2, 10. Wisconsin.
- 34 Donohue, B., Alvarez, K., & Schubert, K. (2015). An Evidence-Supported Approach to Reporting Child Maltreatment. doi:10.1007/978-94-017-9685-9_17
- 35 Shewchuk, S. (2014). [Children in Need of Protection: Reporting Policies in Ontario School Boards](#). *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*(162).
- 36 Sedlak, A., Heaton, L., & Evans, M. (2022). [Trends in Child Abuse Reporting](#). In R. Krugman, & J. Korbin (Eds.), *Handbook of Child Maltreatment* (Vol. 14). Springer, Cham. doi:https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-82479-2_1
- 37 Tillman, K., Prazak, M., Burrier, L., Miller, S., Benezra, M., & Lynch, L. (2015). [Factors Influencing School Counselors' Suspecting and Reporting of Childhood Physical Abuse](#). *Professional School Counseling*, 19(1), 103-115. doi:10.5330/1096-2409-19.1.103
- 38 Horvath, L., & Hahn, J. (2023, May 2). [Evolving from Mandated Reporter to Mandated Supporter](#). Los Angeles County.
- 39 Green, B., et al. (2016). [The Effect of Early Head Start on Child Welfare System Involvement: A First Look at Longitudinal Child Maltreatment Outcomes](#). *Child & Youth Services Review*, 42, 127-135. doi:10.1016/j.chilyouth.2014.03.044
- 40 Lee, B., & Mackey-Bilaver, L. (2007). [Effects of WIC and Food Stamp Program Participation on Child Outcomes](#). *Children and Youth Services Review*, 29(4), 501-517. doi:10.1016/j.chilyouth.2006.10.005
- 41 Ports, K., Rostad, W., Luo, F., Putnam, M., & Zurick, E. (2018, October). [The Impact of the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit on Children's Health and Wellbeing in Georgia](#). *Child & Youth Services Review*, 93, 390-396. doi:10.1016/j.chilyouth.2018.08.012
- 42 Merkel-Holguin, L., Drury, I., Gibley-Reed, C., Lara, A., Jihad, M., Grint, K., & Marlowe, K. (2022). [Structures of Oppression in the U.S. Child Welfare System: Reflections on Administrative Barriers to Equity](#). *Societies*, 12(26), 1-15. doi:10.3390/soc12010026
- 43 Palusci, V., & Botash, A. (2021). [Race and Bias in Child Maltreatment Diagnosis and Reporting](#). *Pediatrics*, 148(1), e2020049625. doi:10.1542/peds.2020-049625
- 44 Goldson, R. (2022, Dec. 18). [Under Watchful Eyes? Examining the Disproportionate and Disparate Impact of Mandatory Reporting Laws for Teachers on Black Students](#). Philadelphia: Temple University, Beasley School of Law.
- 45 Child Welfare Information Gateway. (2023). [Separating Poverty from Neglect in Child Welfare](#). U.S. Children's Bureau.
- 46 Okonfua, J., Perez, A., & Darling-Hammond, S. (2020, Oct. 16). [When Policy and Psychology Meet: Mitigating the Consequences of Bias in Schools](#). *Science Advances*, 6, eaba9479. doi:10.1126/sciadv.aba9479
- 47 FitzGerald, C., Martin, A., Berner, D., & Hurst, S. (2019). [Interventions Designed to Reduce Implicit Prejudices and Implicit Stereotypes in Real World Contexts: A Systematic Review](#). *BMC Psychology*, 7(29). doi:10.1186/s40359-019-0299-7
- 48 Romero, L., Scahill, V., & Charles, S. (2020). [Restorative Approaches to Discipline and Implicit Bias: Looking for Ways Forward](#). *Contemporary School Psychology*, 24(3), 309-317. doi:10.1007/s40688-020-00314-9
- 49 Pietrantoni, Z., Chitiyo, J., Chitiyo, A., Peña, J., & Fernandez, K. (2023, June). [Perceived Preparedness of School Practitioners to Identify and Report Child Maltreatment](#). *Social Development Issues*, 45(3). doi:10.3998/sdi.4487
- 50 Alvarez, K., Donohue, B., Carpenter, A., Romero, V., Allen, D., & Cross, C. (2010). [Development and Preliminary Evaluation of a Training Method to Assist Professionals in Reporting Suspected Child Maltreatment](#). *Child Maltreatment*, 15(3). doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/1077559510365535
- 51 Kenny, M., & Abreu, R. (2016). [Mandatory Reporting of Child Maltreatment for Counselors: An Innovative Training Program](#). *Journal of Child and Adolescent Counseling*, 2(2), 112-124. doi:10.1080/23727810.2016.1228770
- 52 Walsh, K., et al. (2022). [Child Protection Training for Professionals to Improve Reporting of Child Abuse and Neglect](#). *Cochrane Database of Systematic Reviews*(7). doi:10.1002/14651858.CD011775.pub2
- 53 Liu, B., & Vaughn, M. (2019). [Legal and Policy Issues from the United States and Internationally About Mandatory Reporting of Child Abuse](#). *International Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 64(2019), 219-229. doi:10.1016/j.ijlp.2019.03.007
- 54 Bradshaw Sears, K. (2015). [Mandated Reporting: An Examination of Training and Practice of School Psychologists](#). Dissertations.
- 55 Butts, A. (2014). [Mandated Reporting and Child Maltreatment: Training and Experiences of Minnesota Teachers](#). University of St. Thomas.
- 56 Brown, L., & Gallagher, K. (2014). [Mandatory Reporting of Abuse: A Historical Perspective on the Evolution of States' Current Mandatory Reporting Laws with a Review of the Laws in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania](#). *Villanova Law Review: Tolle Lege*, 59, 37-78.
- 57 Mathews, B., Lee, X., & Norman, R. (2016). [Impact of a New Mandatory Reporting Law on Reporting and Identification of Child Sexual Abuse: A Seven Year Time Trend Analysis](#). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 56, 62-79. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2016.04.009

- 58 Rosenberg, R., Williams, S., Martinez, V., & Ball, J. (2024). [Mandated Reporting Policies and the Detection of Child Abuse and Neglect](#). *Children and Youth Services Review*, 159(107499). doi:10.1016/j.chilyouth.2024.107499
- 59 Vallett, J. (2024). [Mandatory Reporting Laws: A Change in Reporting Behavior?](#) *Child Care in Practice*, 1-18. doi:10.1080/13575279.2024.2368516
- 60 Meiners, E., & Tolliver, C. (2016). [Refusing to Be Complicit in our Prison Nation: Teachers Rethinking Mandated Reporting](#). *Radical Teacher*, 106(Fall 2016), 106-114.
- 61 Robertson, A., & Walker, C. (2018). [Predictors of Justice System Involvement: Maltreatment and Education](#). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 76, 408-415. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.12.002
- 62 Malkus, N. (2024). [Long COVID for Public Schools: Chronic Absenteeism Before and After the Pandemic](#). Washington, D.C.: American Enterprise Institute.
- 63 Jordan, P. (2019). [Attendance Playbook: Smart Solutions for Reducing Chronic Absenteeism](#). Future Ed & Attendance Works.
- 64 Eklund, K., Burns, M., Oyen, K., DeMarchena, S., & McCollom, E. (2020). [Addressing Chronic Absenteeism in Schools: A Meta-Analysis of Evidence-Based Interventions](#). *School Psychology Review*. doi:10.1080/2372966X.2020.1789436
- 65 Germain, E., Hernández, L., Klevan, S., Levine, R., & Maier, A. (2024). [Reducing Chronic Absenteeism: Lessons from Community Schools](#). Palo Alto: Learning Policy Institute. doi:10.54300/510.597
- 66 Movement for Family Power. (2023). [Survival Until Revolution: Mandatory Reporting, Anti-Blackness and Education](#). Calabasas.
- 67 Staake, J. (2023, Jan. 11). [How Many Teachers Are in the U.S.? \(And More Interesting Teacher Statistics\)](#). Jacksonville: We Are Teachers.
- 68 Livny, A., & Katz, C. (2016). [Schools, Families, and the Prevention of Child Maltreatment: Lessons That Can Be Learned from a Literature Review](#). *Trauma, Violence & Abuse*, 19(2), 148-158. doi:10.1177/1524838016650186
- 69 Cusick, G., et al. (2024). [A Systematic Review of Economic and Concrete Support to Prevent Child Maltreatment](#). *Societies*, 14(9), 173. doi:10.3390/soc14090173
- 70 Levey, E., Gelaye, B., Bain, P., Rondon, M., Borba, C., Henderson, D., & Williams, M. (2017). [A Systematic Review of Randomized Control Trials of Interventions Designed to Decrease Child Abuse in High-Risk Families](#). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 65(March 2017), 48-57. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2017.01.004
- 71 Mikton, C., & Butchart, A. (2009). [Child Maltreatment Prevention: a Systematic Review of Reviews](#). *Bulletin of the World Health Organization*, 87, 353-361. doi:10.2471/BLT.08.057075
- 72 Doe, H., Osborne, C., Huffman, J., Craig, S., & Shero, M. (2024). [Home Visiting and Child Welfare Involvement: A Matched Comparison Group Study](#). *Child Maltreatment*, 0(0), 1-12. doi:10.1177/10775595241268227
- 73 MacLeod, J., & Nelson, G. (2000). [Programs for the Promotion of Family Wellness and the Prevention of Child Maltreatment: A Meta-Analytic Review](#). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 24(9), 1127-1149. doi:10.1016/s0145-2134(00)00178-2
- 74 Venkateswaran, N., Laird, J., Robles, J., & Jeffries, J. (2018). [Parent Teacher Home Visits Implementation Study](#). Berkeley: RTI International.
- 75 Gubbels, J., van der Put, C., Stams, G.-J., & Assink, M. (2021). [Effective Components of School-Based Prevention Programs for Child Abuse: A Meta-Analytic Review](#). *Clinical Child and Family Psychology Review*, 24(3), 553-578. doi:10.1007/s10567-021-00353-5
- 76 Gubbels, J., Assink, M., Prinzie, P., & van der Put, C. (2021, October). [What Works in School-Based Programs for Child Abuse Prevention? The Perspectives of Young Child Abuse Survivors](#). *Social Sciences*, 10(404). doi:10.3390/socsci10100404
- 77 Gibson, L., & Leitenberg, H. (2000). [Child Sexual Abuse Prevention Programs: Do They Decrease the Occurrence of Child Sexual Abuse?](#) *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 24(9), 1115-1125. doi:10.1016/s0145-2134(00)00179-4
- 78 Brailsford, D., Dannhauser, J., Cleary, J., & Martin, J. (2023, May). [From Reporting to Supporting: Evolving Focus of NYS Child Welfare—Information Session for Superintendents](#). New York City: NYC Department of Education.
- 79 Reddy, J., Williams-Isom, A., & Putnam, H. E. (2022). [Racial Sensitivity Training: An Inadequate Solution to Disparities in Child Protection Systems](#). *Child Abuse & Neglect*, 128, 105584. doi:10.1016/j.chiabu.2022.105584
- 80 Prax, C. (2024). [Ushering in Mandated Support in Education](#). *Family Justice Journal*, 3, 50-53.