Poverty, stress and school Performance Under the Whole School, Whole Community, Whole Child Model: The Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) Scale

Corey Bunje Bower, PhD
State University of New York at Buffalo
Department of Educational Leadership and Policy

Sue Baldwin, PhD, MCHES, FASHA
Buffalo Public Schools
District Wellness Coordinator
Forming Strategic Policy: Where We Started

PHASE 1: BASIC SERVICES
- A nurse in every school
- Providing basic care
- Maintaining health records pertaining to physicals, immunizations, etc.

PHASE 2: ENHANCED SERVICES
- School-based health centers
- Mental health clinics
- Dental program
- Lead screenings
- Assisting pregnant & parenting teens

PHASE 3: WHOLE SCHOOL, WHOLE COMMUNITY, WHOLE CHILD
- Research on best practice models
- Data collection (Youth Risk Behavior Survey)
- Development of comprehensive District Wellness Policy
- Implementation of whole child framework for health and learning

ASHA, 2016: Presentation #1
WSCC Model

- Health education
- Physical Education & Physical Activity
- Nutrition Environment & Services
- Health Services
- Counseling, Psychological & Social Services
- Social & Emotional Climate
- Physical Environment
- Employee Wellness
- Family Engagement
- Community Involvement
Urban District Background Challenges and Opportunities:

DISTRICT PROFILE

- 34,066 students - 56 schools
- 79% minority; 49% African-American
- 78% receive free/reduced lunch
- 55 of 56 schools Title 1
- 22 schools receive SIG grants
- 25 out of 59 schools in receivership; 5 persistently struggling (Jan, 2016)

ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

- 56% high school graduation rate
- 8% drop out rate
- 11 of 17 high schools with 3 or fewer AP courses
- District wide average ACT 20.3; only 12.5% college ready

ASHA, 2016: Presentation #1
Urban District Background Challenges and Opportunities:

Buffalo, NY encounters some of the most daunting challenges facing our nation’s largest urban communities

- Highest overall poverty rate 31.4%
- 4th highest violent crime rate
- 6th highest segregation
- 56.3% single parent families
- 50.6% children in poverty (3rd highest)
- 4th poorest city of its size in the US
- 24.4% college-attainment rate is in the lowest quartile
Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance Survey (YRBSS)

- Implementation Years - 2011, 2013 & 2015 (Wellness Policy mandate for all students grades 6-12 biannually)

- 2015 - Perceived grades & Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACE) items added to high school tool

**Six ACE items:**

- Have you ever been physically forced to have sexual intercourse when they did not want to? (CDC - YRBSS Standard HS tool)
- Has a parent, or adult in their home sworn at you, insult you or put you down?
- Have you ever seen someone get shot, stabbed or beaten in your neighborhood?
- Have you ever lived with anyone who was diagnosed mentally ill or suicidal?
- Have you ever lived with anyone who was an alcoholic, problem drinker, used illegal street drugs, took prescriptions drugs to get high or was a problem gambler?
- Has a parent or adult in your home hit, beat, kick or physically hurt you?
Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance Survey (YRBSS)

2015 - Perceived Grades item

During the past 12 months, how would you describe your grades in school? (CDC YRBSS Standard HS Tool - expanded with District grade scale for clarification to students)

- Mostly A's or 90 to 100%
- Mostly B's or 80 to 89%
- Mostly C's or 70 to 79%
- Mostly D's or 60 to 69%
- Mostly F's or 0 to 59%
- Not sure
The ACE study looked at three categories of adverse experience: **childhood abuse**, which included emotional, physical, and sexual abuse; **neglect**, including both physical and emotional neglect; and **household challenges**, which included growing up in a household where there was substance abuse, mental illness, violent treatment of a mother or stepmother, parental separation/divorce or had a member of the household go to prison. Respondents were given an **ACE score** between 0 and 10 based on how many of these 10 types of adverse experience to which they reported being exposed.
How Common are ACES?

ACE Study

- Zero: 36%
- One: 26%
- Two: 16%
- Three: 9.5%
- Four or More: 12.5%
THE ACE STUDY CONTINUES

- AR, CA, LA, NM, TN, WA: 2009
- DC, FL, HI, ME, NE, NV, OH, PA, UT, VT, WA, WI: 2010
- CA, ME, MN, MT, NE, NV, OR, VT, WA, WI: 2011
- CT, IA, NC, OK, TN, WI: 2012
- AK, CA, IL, IA, MI, OR, UT, WI: 2013
Causes of the Achievement Gap
Home vs. School Influence

- “The Coleman Report” (1966) first established that non-school factors are better predictors of achievement than are in-school factors.

- About 2/3 of variance in achievement can be explained by non-school factors (Rothstein, 2004).

- Kids spend only about 13-15% of their waking hours in school from birth to age 18.
Formation of the Ach. Gap

- Large gap present at start of school (Lee & Burkam, 2002)

- Achievement gap between races and classes grows during summer breaks (Entwisle & Alexander, 1992; Heyns, 1978; Stein, 2009)

- About $\frac{3}{4}$ of the Achievement Gap forms outside of school hours (Murphy, 2009)
Lower-Income Children:

- more negative life events (McLoyd, 1990)
- exposed to more violence (Foster & Brooks-Gunn, 2009), crime (Goldmann, et al., 2011) and disorder (Hill, et al., 2009)
- less residential stability and more homelessness and mobility (Banyard & Graham-Bermann, 1998)
- live amidst more physical deterioration and in lower quality housing (Evans, et al., 2001)
- reside in noisier (Evans & Kantrowitz, 2002), more crowded (Evans & English, 2002), and more polluted (Evans & Kantrowitz, 2002) areas
- experience more family disruption (McLanahan, 1985)
- possess fewer resources with which to combat problems (Banerjee & Mullainathan, 2008)
Results of Stress
Allostatic Load

- The degree to, and frequency with, which the body’s stress management system has to act
- Firefighters metaphor
- Higher income/More education = lower allostatic load (Seeman et al., 2008)
- Adults who’d spend more time in poverty had higher allostatic loads (Gruenewald et al., 2012)
Stress & Cognitive Ability

- Simulating financial dilemmas of poverty resulted in treatment group losing 13 IQ points (Mani et al., 2013)

- Time spent in poverty between birth and age 17 explains lower working memory (Evans & Schamberg, 2009)
Adverse Childhood Experiences

- Original studies asked about 7 different experiences
  - ½ reported 1 event, ¼ reported at least 2
- People with ACE score of 4+ 40-1200% more likely to experience a wide array of health problems (Felitti, et al., 1998)
- People with ACE score of 6 die 20 years earlier (Brown et al., 2009)
- Average inmate had ACE score of 6 (Abram et al., 2004)
Poverty and Non-Cognitive Skills

- Students who had experienced more negative life events displayed less self-control (Duckworth, et al., 2013)

- Stresses of living in poverty can deplete self-control over time (Spears, 2011)

- Constant need to focus on immediate survival tasks reduces attention to more long-run activities (Banerjee & Mullainathan, 2008)
# Trauma/Stress and Academics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Main Outcome</th>
<th>Longitudinal</th>
<th>Methodology</th>
<th>Data</th>
<th>Direction</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alva &amp; de los Reyes</td>
<td>1999 GPA</td>
<td>GPA</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Hierarchical Regression</td>
<td>Primary</td>
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<td>Hurt et al.</td>
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<td>Delaney-Black et al.</td>
<td>2002 Test of Early Reading Ability</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Multiple Regression</td>
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<tr>
<td>Thompson &amp; Masset</td>
<td>2005 Iowa Test of Basic Skills</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Correlation</td>
<td>Structural Equation Model</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morales &amp; Guerra, Duplechain, Reigner, &amp; Packard</td>
<td>2006 Iowa Test of Basic Skills</td>
<td>Yes (2)</td>
<td>Structural Equation Model</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Wadsworth et al.</td>
<td>2008 Grades/Effort/Importance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>General Linear Model</td>
<td>Primary</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mathews, Dempsey, &amp; Overstreet</td>
<td>2009 GPA/Iowa Test of Basic Skills</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Regression</td>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>-</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burke et al.</td>
<td>2011 Learning/Behavior Problems, High School Graduation/</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Logistic Regression</td>
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<td>-</td>
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<td>Giovanelli et al.</td>
<td>2016 Completion and College Attendance</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Logistic Regression</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jimenez et al.</td>
<td>2016 Teacher-Reported Academic and Literacy Skills</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Logistic Regression</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Porche, Costello, &amp; Rosen-Reynoso</td>
<td>2016 Grade retention</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>Path Models</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>-</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Summary of Research

- 11 of 12 articles find statistically significant negative relationship
- Most samples are small and narrow
- Most statistical controls are limited
- Wide range of measures of both stress and academic performance
7 main avenues of influence

- Cognitive Function
- Executive Function
- Parenting
- Physical Health
- Mental Health
- Behavior
- Sleep
Research Methods and Procedures
Research Questions

1. Do students living in lower income neighborhoods experience more ACEs?
2. Do students with higher ACE scores perform worse in school than students with low ACE scores?
3. Do schools with higher average ACE scores perform worse, controlling for race and income?
Procedures

- District YRBSS Advisory Committee, internal staff and community and higher education partners, to determine items and proper length of middle and high school versions of the survey
  - 7 ACE items to be used in the **CDC Standard High School YRBSS Tool** (grades 9-12)
  - 1 perceived grades item used
- Survey updated on Survey Monkey
- Survey Implemented via Survey Monkey, October 5-19, 2015 across 19 high schools
- Schools need at least 60% response rate to receive a valid building-level report
Procedures

- Parent opt-out letter sent home 9/8/15 due by 9/28/15
- Connect Ed call made 9/30/15
- Administrator directions and documents sent to building principals 9/15/16
- Principal email reminder Friday before 10/2/15 implementation roll-out
- School building documents for the YRBSS administration:
  - Overview
  - Survey(s) (Middle School & High School)
  - Parent Opt-Out form (includes overview and directions)
  - Morning Announcement (made every morning survey to be administered)
  - Classroom Teacher Preparation Guide
  - Classroom Teacher Implementation Script (made in classroom prior to administration)
Sample

- District-wide 67% of eligible 9th - 12th graders completed a valid survey - 5,934 of 8,896 students (All students enrolled in district prior to Oct. 15, 2015 and who attended at least one day of school between Sept. 3 - Oct. 15, 2015 considered “enrolled” for purpose of calculating response rate)

- 8% increase from 2013 administration

- 61% completion rate

- 97% of completed surveys are valid

- Valid response rates varied widely from school to school, from 84-17%
Methods

- Survey Validity Checks
  - Utilized CDC’s validity checks
  - Internally-created checks
- Invalidates individual responses that do not have logical consistency (e.g. student answers that he has never had a drink of alcohol on one question, but then answers that he has had alcohol in the past 30 days)
- Invalidates complete surveys that are missing more than 20 valid answers (i.e., the survey has too many blank responses, or has too many invalid items)
- Only data from valid surveys and from valid items within valid surveys is utilized
## 2015 High School Response

Table 2: High School Survey Administration Data, sorted by Response Rate

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>School Number</th>
<th>School Name</th>
<th>Enrolled Students October 2015</th>
<th>Number of Completed Surveys</th>
<th>Number of Valid Surveys</th>
<th>Valid Response Rate</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#156</td>
<td>F.L. Olmsted</td>
<td>366</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>307</td>
<td>84%</td>
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<tr>
<td>#42</td>
<td>Occupational Training Center</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>81%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#212</td>
<td>Leonardo da Vinci High School</td>
<td>376</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>80%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#304</td>
<td>Hutch Tech</td>
<td>1114</td>
<td>855</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#302 Annex</td>
<td>Emerson Annex @ 28</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>76%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#415</td>
<td>Middle Early College High School</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>216</td>
<td>211</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#200</td>
<td>Bennett High School</td>
<td>200</td>
<td>136</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#307</td>
<td>East High School</td>
<td>240</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>154</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#302</td>
<td>Emerson School of Hospitality</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>311</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#195</td>
<td>City Honors</td>
<td>560</td>
<td>365</td>
<td>355</td>
<td>63%</td>
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<tr>
<td>#206</td>
<td>South Park High School</td>
<td>829</td>
<td>526</td>
<td>517</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#192</td>
<td>BAVPA</td>
<td>502</td>
<td>310</td>
<td>303</td>
<td>60%</td>
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<tr>
<td>#307 Pathways</td>
<td>Pathways Academy @ East</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#305</td>
<td>McKinley High School</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>581</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>58%</td>
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<tr>
<td>#205</td>
<td>Riverside Institute of Technology</td>
<td>639</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>57%</td>
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<tr>
<td>#198</td>
<td>Iprep</td>
<td>492</td>
<td>295</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>56%</td>
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<tr>
<td>#301</td>
<td>Burgard High School</td>
<td>524</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>52%</td>
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<tr>
<td>#197</td>
<td>MST Prep</td>
<td>505</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>34%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#131</td>
<td>The Academy School</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>28%</td>
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<tr>
<td>#204</td>
<td>Lafayette High School</td>
<td>423</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>17%</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No School Selected/Missing</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>616</td>
<td>572</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>8896</strong></td>
<td><strong>6142</strong></td>
<td><strong>5934</strong></td>
<td><strong>67%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Schools listed in italics had response rates below 50%. These schools are underrepresented in district-level data.*
Results
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adverse Childhood Experience Items Used on YRBSS Tool</th>
<th>Buffalo</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Has a parent, or adult in their home swear at them, insult them or put them down</td>
<td>36.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has seen someone get shot, stabbed or beaten in their neighborhood</td>
<td>34.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has lived with someone who was diagnosed mentally ill or suicidal.</td>
<td>15.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has lived with someone who was an alcoholic, problem drinker, used illegal street drugs, took prescription drugs to get high or was a problem gambler.</td>
<td>23.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has had a parent or adult in their home hit, beat, kick or physically hurt them.</td>
<td>13.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ever physically forced to have sexual intercourse (when they did not want to).</td>
<td>6.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Correlations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ACEscore</th>
<th>DrugUse</th>
<th>SchoolAtt</th>
<th>SelfBelief</th>
<th>Grades</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ACEscore</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DrugUse</td>
<td>0.2038*</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SchoolAtt</td>
<td>0.2124*</td>
<td>0.0926*</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SelfBelief</td>
<td>-0.2731*</td>
<td>-0.1583*</td>
<td>-0.3465*</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grades</td>
<td>0.0530*</td>
<td>0.0551*</td>
<td>0.2102*</td>
<td>-0.2115*</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Student-Level Regressions

| Grades           | Coef.  | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|------------------|--------|-----------|-------|------|----------------------|
| ACEscore         | 0.0028637 | 0.012269 | 0.23  | 0.815 | -0.0211888 - 0.0269163 |
| Nutrition        | -0.024165 | 0.0119461 | -2.02 | 0.043 | -0.0475846 - 0.0007453 |
| SchoolAttachment | 0.279712  | 0.027359  | 10.22 | 0.000 | 0.2260764 - 0.3333475 |
| SelfBelief       | -0.2666539 | 0.0266287 | -10.01 | 0.000 | -0.3188578 - -0.21445 |
| DrugUse          | 0.047247  | 0.0382835 | 1.23  | 0.217 | -0.0278054 - 0.1222994 |
| _cons            | 2.494106  | 1.244981  | 20.03 | 0.000 | 2.250036 - 2.738177  |
School-Level Regressions

Regression of ACE Score and Graduation Rates

| GRAD_PCT   | Coef.  | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|------------|--------|-----------|-------|------|----------------------|
| ACEscore   | 58.69067 | 24.16241  | 2.43  | 0.028 | 7.189725, 110.1916   |
| PER_FREE_LUNCH | -.8728826 | .4151628 | -2.10 | 0.053 | -1.757781, 0.0120159 |
| _cons      | 51.73051 | 45.92204  | 1.13  | 0.278 | -46.14999, 149.611   |

Regression of ACE Score and 4-year College Attendance Rates

| _PER_4YR_COLL~E | Coef.  | Std. Err. | t     | P>|t| | [95% Conf. Interval] |
|----------------|--------|-----------|-------|------|----------------------|
| ACEscore       | 4.060368 | 18.30604  | 0.22  | 0.828 | -35.20219, 43.32293  |
| PER_FREE_LUNCH | -1.764469 | .3128436  | -5.64 | 0.000 | -2.435452, -1.093486 |
| _cons          | 148.8986 | 34.75182  | 4.28  | 0.001 | 74.3634, 223.4339    |
Conclusions

- ACEs differ across different demographics
  - Parental put-downs higher for high-SES students
  - Neighborhood violence higher for low-SES status
- ACEs associated with lower individual-level performance
  - Grades
  - School attachment
  - Drug abuse
- School Average ACES associated with higher performance
  - Graduation rates
  - College attendance
  - State test scores
Implications for Schools
Working in Silos

Health

Academics
World Health Organization: Commission on Social Determinants of Health (CSDH)
Social Determinants of Health

- SDoH - the conditions in which people are born, grow up, live, work and age (WHO)

1) Affect access to and quality of health care

2) Affect likelihood of healthy behaviors (e.g., diet and exercise)

3) Affect one’s biology directly (e.g. toxic physical environments, chronic, toxic, unmitigated stress “gets under the skin” via stress hormone and epigenetic mechanisms (no resources to mitigate stress) --- Chronic unmitigated stress and the neuro-endocrine system
   a) Systemic effects of chronic elevations of stress hormones (e.g. cortisol, adrenaline) - increases blood pressure - increases risk for heart disease and stroke
   b) Maternal-Fetal Health - reduced placental blood flow during pregnancy (IUGR) and increased uterine muscle irritability \(\rightarrow\) increased risk of preterm labor
   c) Glucose Metabolism - impaired glucose metabolism increases risk for obesity and diabetes (also disturbs maternal-fetal glucose metabolism)
   d) Immune System - impaired immune system increases cancer & other chronic disease risks
   e) Epigenetic Mechanisms (one off switch allowing genes to be expressed or not) - heritable methylation of non-DNA “on-off” switches for genes - can be passed on to next generation

4) Experience of discrimination - (race, gender, class, sexual orientation, etc.)
   - Additive effects over and above other effects of SDoH, probably also through the effects of chronic stress hormone elevation (ACE scores - Adverse Childhood Experiences)
Poverty

School Quality

Housing/Neighborhood

Health

Family/Home

Academic Performance
ACES can have lasting effects on:

- Health (obesity, diabetes, depression, suicide attempts, STDs, heart disease, cancer, stroke, COPD, broken bones)
- Behaviors (smoking, alcoholism, drug use)
- Life Potential (graduation rates, academic achievement, lost time from work)

ACES have been found to have a graded dose-response relationship with 40+ outcomes to date.

Risk for Negative Health and Well-being Outcomes

*This pattern holds for the 40+ outcomes, but the exact risk values vary depending on the outcome.
As ACE score goes up (40 outcomes to date) affects:

**Health** – obesity, diabetes, depression, suicide attempts, STDs, heart disease, cancer, stroke, COPD, broken bones

**Behaviors** – smoking, alcoholism, drug use

**Life Potential** – graduation rates, academic achievement, lost time from work) - graded dose-response relationship with 40 plus outcomes to date (Anda et al., 2004)

- Financial problems
- Job problems
- Absenteeism
High School non-completion - access for health literacy, general health related knowledge, problem solving skills, prestige and influence over others and one’s own life

Unemployment - access to skills, prestige, social influence

Household poverty status - access to material resources needed for access for health and living, prestige

****critically interrelated - and are linked to access for life opportunity***

Education leads to employment - > employment leads to income

• Impact of early adversity on these outcomes affects one’s own life course; parental education, employment and income increase risk for lower educational outcomes for their children.

• children who grow up in poverty are at increased risk of remaining in poverty the rest of their lives

• children living in poverty are at increased risk of early adversity - accumulating adversity is thus linked to future generations
Influence of ACEs:

Mechanism by Which Adverse Childhood Experiences Influence Health and Well-being Throughout the Lifespan
What can Be Done About ACES?

These wide-ranging health and social consequences underscore the importance of preventing ACEs before they happen. Safe, stable, and nurturing relationships and environments (SSNREs) can have a positive impact on a broad range of health problems and on the development of skills that will help children reach their full potential. Strategies that address the needs of children and their families include:

- Voluntary home visiting programs can help families by strengthening maternal parenting practices, the quality of the child’s home environment, and children’s development.
  Example: Nurse-Family Partnership

- Home visiting to pregnant women and families with newborns
- Parenting training programs
- Intimate partner violence prevention
- Social support for parents
- Parent support programs for teens and teen pregnancy prevention programs
- Mental illness and substance abuse treatment
- High quality child care
- Sufficient Income support for lower income families
Buffalo Public Schools

Goal: Trauma Informed Schools

- Trained all School Wellness Team (SWT) Chairpersons/Leaders in all schools on ACEs (UB School of Social Work / Institute on Trauma and Trauma Informed Care (ITTIC))

- Trained all SWT Engagement Leaders - SWT Chairperson(s), SWT Administrator, parents and students on ACEs; January 2016 by ITTIC

- Small grant purchased staff online module ($60) for all high schools to implement to all teachers/staff each high school; Spring 2016

- PBIS, District Crisis Support Team and HRS Central Office Administration staff trained summer 2016 on the ITTIC Online Trauma-Informed Organization Certificate Program: Basics for All Staff

- Next steps?
Coordination of Efforts:
Stop Asking - “What is wrong with this person?” and ask - “What has happened to this person?”
QUESTIONS ?
Corey Bunje Bower
cbower@buffalo.edu

Sue Baldwin
sbauldwin@buffaloschools.org
References


References


References


