# MARYLAND EQUITY PROJECT <br> ADVANCING EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES 

## High Suspending Schools in Maryland:

Where are They Located and Who Attends Them?

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## October 2018

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## About the Maryland Equity Project

The Maryland Equity Project seeks to improve education through research that supports an informed public policy debate on the quality and distribution of educational opportunities. It conducts, synthesizes, and distributes research on key educational questions in Maryland and facilitates collaboration between researchers and policymakers.

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This publication should be cited as: Sunderman, G. L. \& Croninger, R. (2017). High suspending schools in Maryland: Where are they located and who attends them? College Park, MD: Maryland Equity Project, The University of Maryland.

Additional copies of this report may be obtained from our Web site at: www.mdequity.org

The Maryland Equity Project is a program in The Department of Teaching and Learning, Policy and Leadership in the College of Education at The University of Maryland.

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## Executive Summary

There are 196 public schools in Maryland or about 14\% that our analysis identified as "high suspending" - that is, schools that suspend $25 \%$ or more of at least one subgroup of their student enrollment. These schools are located in both rural and urban areas, in small and large districts, and in all regions of the state. While there are more secondary schools than elementary schools that suspend students across multiple subgroups, we found that Black students and students with disabilities were disproportionally suspended out-of-school across all school levels.

Consider the major findings of this report:

- Close to $60 \%$ of out-of-school suspensions (OSS) are Black students, even though Black students make up only $35 \%$ of public school enrollment in Maryland.
- Students with disabilities represent 13\% of enrollment in Maryland public schools but 25\% of out-of-school suspensions.
- School OSS rates for Black students are twice as high as OSS rates for White students.
- The highest school suspension rate is for students with disabilities, with schools suspending on average $9.5 \%$ of their students with disabilities.
- Schools with higher enrollments of Black students, students with disabilities, and low-income students and lower enrollments of White, Asian and Hispanic students suspended more students across multiple subgroups.
- High suspending schools were less successful academically, had lower graduation rates, lower attendance, higher mobility, and fewer experienced teachers. In other words, these were struggling schools across multiple indictors.

This report shows that a subset of schools drives the high suspension rates in Maryland. The high rate of variability across schools-and districts-suggests that the use of disciplinary consequences is related to contextual variables that go beyond individual student behavior. Indeed, it appears that both the district and school a student attends play a role in suspension rates. This suggests that districts with large numbers of high suspending schools either have a culture where exclusionary discipline is condoned or are not providing the leadership, resources and training needed to prevent inappropriate behavior. The variability in suspensions across schools provides evidence that schools can do things differently, but some schools may need more support than they are currently receiving.

## Acknowledgements

The authors are grateful for the assistance and support they received while researching and writing this report. Mathew Henry helped us conceptualize the project and Erin Janulis assisted with constructing the data sets we needed for the analysis. We would like to thank Shilpa Bista, Pamela Callahan, Kayla Good, Charlotte Healy, and Cierra Kahler-Jones for their assistance in formatting the tables and figures and putting this report together. Peter Leone provided invaluable feedback on the report. We also thank our colleagues at the Maryland Equity Project for their support and insightful comments at various stages of writing this report. Finally, we gratefully acknowledge the support of the College of Education and the Department of Teaching and Learning, Policy and Leadership. Nonetheless, the views and opinions expressed in this report are solely those of the authors.

## High Suspending Schools in Maryland: Where are They Located and Who Attends Them?

Exclusionary discipline-the use of suspension and expulsion to remove misbehaving students from classrooms-remains a common approach to school discipline even though there is a lack of evidence on the effectiveness of removal as a means of reducing misbehavior or improving the learning environment (American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Skiba, Shure, \& Williams, 2012). The use of exclusionary discipline has been linked to both shortand long-term negative outcomes, including lower academic performance at the school and individual levels, higher dropout rates, and lower graduation rates (Barrett, McEachin, Mills, \& Valant, 2017; Chu \& Ready, 2018; Fabelo et al., 2011; Gregory, Skiba, \& Noguera, 2010; Hwang, 2018; Losen, 2015; Losen \& Skiba, 2010; Morris \& Perry, 2016; Noltemeyer, Ward, \& Mcloughlin, 2015). Exclusionary discipline has also been associated with increased risk of involvement with the justice system, both as students and as adults (Skiba, Arredondo, \& Williams, 2014; Wolf \& Kupchik, 2014).

Maryland was an early leader in the opposition to exclusionary discipline, adopting new disciplinary guidelines in 2014 that included efforts to make exclusionary discipline a tool of last resort (Maryland State Department of Education, 2014). However, despite the state's effort to reduce the use of exclusionary discipline, disparities persist. While initially the overall suspension rate in Maryland fell ${ }^{1}$, disparities, particularly between Black and White students, increased as schools continued to suspend Black students at significantly higher rates than other students (Henry, 2015).

Even though disparities and the negative impacts of exclusionary discipline on students and schools are well documented, there is little understanding of which schools in Maryland have high suspension rates, where they are located, or the extent to which they impact the educational opportunities of diverse students. One reason for this is that we do not have a clear understanding of what constitutes a high suspending school. While there are well-accepted methods of calculating suspension rates and disproportionality, there are different guidelines for identifying high suspending schools. Complicating the picture is that data on school discipline in Maryland, while available is not widely reported. Discipline data is not included on the Maryland Report Card and state discipline reports are difficult to find and interpret. As a result there is no clear understanding of the extent of the discipline problem in Maryland public schools.

This report examines the continuing disproportionalities in suspension rates by identifying the characteristics of schools with exceptionally high suspension rates.

[^0]To calculate the number of high suspending schools, we define any school that suspends $25 \%$ or more of students in at least one of any major subgroup as high suspending (Losen, Hodson, Keith II, Morrison, \& Belway, 2015). ${ }^{2}$ We adopted this definition of high suspending schools because it reflects school practices and articulates a threshold that we consider too high. Identifying schools with high suspension rates can help districts target supports and interventions to schools that need them most.

## School-Level Predictors of Suspension

Researchers have examined a range of factors in seeking answers to disparities in suspension rates. While presumed explanations have focused on differences in students' behavior across racial/ethnic and other subgroups of students, there is virtually no support in the literature for this line of thinking (Barrett et al., 2017; Skiba et al., 2012; Skiba \& Williams, 2014). For example, Barrett et al. found that Black and poor students were disciplined more often and harshly than their peers for the same infractions. In contrast, there is substantial evidence that differential selection at the classroom level and differential processing in the administration of consequences contributes to disparities in suspension rates (Barrett et al., 2017; Gregory et al., 2010; Losen \& Gillespie, 2012; Skiba et al., 2011). Both processes point to the role of discretion in the interpretation of behavior and administration of consequences.

Relatively few studies have focused on the influence of school-level characteristics on OSS, although the high rate of variability in the use of disciplinary consequences by schools suggests that school contextual characteristics contribute to some of that variability in suspension rates (Skiba, Chung, et al., 2014). The percentage of Black students enrolled in a school has been found to be a strong predictor of the use of exclusionary and punitive discipline (Sartain et al., 2015; Welch \& Payne, 2010). Anderson and Ritter (2017) provided evidence that racial disparities in discipline are driven by differences across schools that different groups of students attend. Specifically, schools serving larger proportions of non-White students administered longer punishments than schools serving mostly White, non-poor students, suggesting that racial disparities occur due to different disciplinary practices used in schools serving different racial compositions of students (Anderson \& Ritter, 2017). The contribution of poverty to suspension rates is inconsistent, with some studies finding school poverty to be predictors of suspension particularly in poor urban districts (Losen \& Skiba, 2010; Sartain et al., 2015), while others find that the contribution of school-level poverty was an inconsistent predictor of exclusionary discipline (Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, \& Feron, 2002; Skiba, Chung, et al., 2014).

[^1]A number of other school level variables, including principals' attitudes towards disciplinary approaches, have been found to predict the likelihood of suspension and expulsion. Schools with a principal favoring preventive approaches are less likely to have high suspension rates (Skiba, Chung, et al., 2014). Schools with lower attendance rates, poor academic achievement, and higher dropout rates tend to have higher suspension rates (Christle, Jolivette, \& Nelson, 2007; Fabelo et al., 2011; T. Lee, Cornell, Gregory, \& Fan, 2011). Research also has found a relationship between the stability of the school environment and suspensions. For example, the percentage of new staff in a school and student mobility, or changing schools frequently is associated with higher rates of school suspension (Raffaele Mendez et al., 2002). Finally, the duplicated suspension rate, that is multiple suspensions for the same student, is a significant school-level predictor of suspensions, which implies that some schools are more punitive in how they respond to student behavior than others (Theriot, Craun, \& Dupper, 2009). Not all schools with these characteristics have high suspension rates. Rather, they suggest there are schoollevel variables associated with an increased risk of suspension.

In this report we look at disparities in OSS rates to understand which schools across Maryland use OSS at high rates and analyze the school-level factors that predict high suspension rates. Understanding school-level factors associated with suspensions deserve attention because they offer the opportunity to target interventions on high suspending schools as well as provide large-scale prevention efforts. To that aim, we address the following research questions:

1. Do different groups of students experience higher out-of-school suspension rates than others?
2. Which schools suspend students at higher rates than other schools?
3. What school-level characteristics predict the likelihood of high out-ofschool suspensions?

## Methodology

We analyzed school-level out-of-school suspension (OSS) data from the U.S. Department of Education's Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) as a measure of the use of exclusionary discipline in Maryland public schools. The CRDC includes data on the number of OSS for each school in Maryland. Because our school-level analysis involves identifying high suspending schools, we averaged data from the CRDC across three years-2011-12, 2013-14, and 2015-16. ${ }^{3}$ This provides a conservative estimate of the number of high suspending schools since averages adjust for the variability in suspensions across different years. For school-level variables, we used CRDC data on enrollment averaged across three years and teacher experience for the 2013 school year. Other school-level variables are from the Maryland School Report Card for the 2013 school year. The report cards are

[^2]publicly available on the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE) website and present summary information on all public schools in Maryland.

To include as many schools as possible and at the same time, make the analysis understandable, we grouped schools into either elementary or secondary schools. Elementary schools included any school that served grades K-6 or any combination of those grades (i.e., K-3, 3-5, PreK-6, etc.). Secondary schools included schools that served grades 5-12 or any combination of those schools (i.e., 5-7, 6-8, 6-12, 7-12, 9-$10,10-12$ ).

We used descriptive statistics to describe the extent of out-of-school suspensions and one-way ANOVAs to determine whether there were statistically significant differences between schools with different characteristics and schools with different categories of suspension rates. These methods are appropriate for comparing unequal sample sizes, that is, when subgroup enrollments are not equal-in this case, schools categorized as having lower and higher suspension rates. We refer to the percentage of students suspended as the "percent suspended" and report disparities in out-of-school suspensions by seven subgroups: race/ethnicity (Asian, Hispanic, Black, White, and other races), English learners (EL), and students with disabilities (SWD).

Descriptive results are presented as composition indices and rates (Nishioka, with Shigeoka, \& Lolich, 2017). We used the composition index to describe the distribution of suspensions by subgroup at the state level and the rate to look at school-level disproportionality. The discipline composition index describes the racial composition of disciplinary events, that is, the percentage of students receiving an out-of-school suspension that are from a specific racial group. It is interpreted by comparing the group's percentage in a disciplinary category, in this case out-of-school suspensions, to that group's percentage of enrollment. When calculating the proportion of OSS associated with a subgroup, we divided the sum of all students in a subgroup in the state that were suspended by all incidences of OSS in the state.

The rate shows the percentage of students from a specific subgroup that received an out-of-school suspension. It shows the probability of a specific subgroup of students receiving an out-of school suspension. The rate is directly related to overall disciplinary rates and does not vary with the district's underlying racial distribution. We calculated the rate for each school and then averaged those rates for schools across three years. The results include schools that had at least two years of valid rates (i.e., rates that did not exceed 1.0).

Next we calculated the number of high suspending schools in Maryland. We defined any school that suspended $25 \%$ or more students in any one of seven subgroup categories as high suspending. We then aggregated our counts of high suspending schools to the district and state level. Schools that suspend $25 \%$ or more students
from one or more subgroups means that these schools regularly suspend a large number of students. Our goal in identifying high suspending schools is to understand the conditions that continue to expose some students-particularly Black students and students with disabilities-to extraordinarily high suspension rates. We recognize that dedicated and hard-working teachers and administrators staff many of these schools, but they may not have the resources and support they need to move beyond the use of punitive disciplinary practices.

To identify factors that may differentiate high suspending from other schools, we divided schools into three groups: (1) schools that had no subgroups with suspension rates greater than 25\%; (2) schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in one subgroup; and (3) schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in two or more subgroups. We then used analysis of variance to examine a number of school-level variables and their relationships with the different levels of suspension rates. For school demographics, we included the racial composition of a school, the percentage of students eligible for free or reduced priced meals (FRPM), percentage of students with disabilities (SWD), and the percentage of students learning English (EL). The percent of students who scored proficient or above on PARCC math and reading tests in grades 3 to 8, English tests in grades 9, 10, and 11, and Algebra I/II tests were our measures of achievement. Proficiency rates are included because they tell us something about the school's academic program. We included a measure of school size and type. At the elementary level, school type compared P-8 schools to P-6 schools. For secondary school type, we used middle school, high school, or middle/high school combination and alternative schools. Many of the variables that may differentiate high suspending schools from other schools are difficult to measure directly. For those variables we used proxies. For teacher quality we used teacher experience (teachers with 2 or fewer years teaching experience). For school stability, we used student mobility, attendance rates, and, at the secondary level, dropout rates.

Finally, it is important to note that we are not using student level data but rather suspension data aggregated to the school level. To answer the question of how many students are suspended out of school, we use the unduplicated number of students suspended, that is, students are counted once regardless of the number of suspensions the student received.

In the following sections, we first present evidence of disparities in school discipline at the state level, using the discipline composition index. We then identify schools with multiple suspensions rates at the state level and for each district, followed by an analysis of school-level risk factors that differentiate high from low suspending schools.

## Who Gets Suspended in Maryland Public Schools?

Maryland averaged 46,170 OSS across three school years (2011, 2013, 2015), representing $5.2 \%$ of all Maryland public school students. As shown in figure 1, Black students represented the largest share of OSS by race-on average, $60 \%$ of all OSS were Black students. In contrast, White students represented 24\% of suspended students.

Figure 1: Average out-of-school suspensions by race/ethnicity, 2011, 2013, \& 2015

## Average Percent Out-of-school Suspensions by Race/Ethnicity



Figure 2 shows that Black students are the only racial group suspended at a higher rate than their proportion of the school enrollment. Black students represent 35\% of total student enrollment in Maryland but 60\% of students suspended out of school. In comparison, White, Asian and Hispanic students are far less likely to be suspended. For example, White students represent $41 \%$ of the school population but $24 \%$ of OSS. Students with disabilities are also disproportionally suspended (figure 2). Students with disabilities represent 13\% of enrollment but $25 \%$ of OSS on average. Besides White students, we also found that suspended students were less likely to be English learners, Hispanic or Asian students.

Figure 2: Average percent of out-of school suspensions and enrollment by subgroup, 2011, 2013, \& 2015


## Average School Out-of-School Suspension Rates

Figure 3 shows the probability that a student from a particular subgroup receives an out-of-school suspension. Since the suspension rate does not vary with the district's underlying racial distribution, the rate allows us to compare the average OSS rate of one subgroup to another. On average, schools in Maryland reported suspending $5.2 \%$ of their students out-of-school, as shown in figure 4. Students with disabilities had the highest OSS rate, with schools suspending an average of 9.5\% of students with disabilities. The second highest OSS rate was among Black students, with schools suspending $7.8 \%$ of their Black students. This was followed by students classified as "other" race/ethnicity, with of $6.3 \%$ of students suspended on average.

Figure 3: Average school out-of-school suspension rates by subgroup, 2011, 2013, 2015


Average suspension rates are three times higher in secondary schools as in elementary schools, as shown in figure 4 . Elementary schools suspended $2.8 \%$ of students on average while secondary schools suspended $10.1 \%$ of students. Additionally, the gap in suspension rates between racial/ethnic groups, SWD and EL is greater at the secondary level. Students with disabilities had the highest OSS rate, with $6.6 \%$ of elementary students and $15.5 \%$ of secondary school students suspended. The second highest OSS rate was among Black students (4.2\% in elementary; $15.3 \%$ in secondary schools).

Figure 4: Average elementary and secondary out-of-school suspension rates by subgroup, 2011, 2013, 2015


## Schools with Multiple Suspensions

Our next task was to identify the number of schools with multiple suspensions rates at the state level and for each district. Our criterion for identifying schools as "high suspending" was schools where $25 \%$ or more of students in any one or more of seven subgroups was suspended out of school. We used school-level suspension rates averaged across three years, a conservative approach to identifying high suspending schools since averages adjust for the variability in suspensions across different years. That means that high suspension rates in one year can be offset by lower rates in another year. In addition, by using unduplicated counts, we undercount the total number of OSS since students that receive multiple suspensions are counted only once.

Across all public schools in Maryland, 14\% of schools (196) suspended 25\% or more of students in one or more subgroup (Table 1). Of this total, there were 126 schools ( $9 \%$ of all schools) that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in at least one subgroup and another 37 schools ( $2.6 \%$ ) that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in 2 subgroups. An additional 33 schools (2.3\%) suspended $25 \%$ or more of students across 3 to 7 subgroups.

Table 1: Number of Schools with OSS Rates Greater than 25\% in One or More Subgroup (0-7), 2011, 2013, 2015

| \# Subgroups $>25 \%$ |  | Frequency | Percent |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: |
| Valid | .00 | 1210 | 83.8 |
|  | 1.00 | 126 | 8.7 |
|  | 2.00 | 37 | 2.6 |
|  | 3.00 | 16 | 1.1 |
|  | 4.00 | 7 | .5 |
|  | 5.00 | 6 | .4 |
|  | 6.00 | 3 | .2 |
|  | 7.00 | 1 | .1 |
|  | Total | 1406 | 97.4 |
| Missing | System | 38 | 2.6 |
| Total |  | 1444 | 100.0 |

Twenty-two of the 24 school districts had one or more schools with multiple suspensions. ${ }^{4}$ Among elementary schools, 49 schools (5.5\%) in 10 districts suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in one or more subgroups. For our sample of 468 secondary schools, 147 or $31.4 \%$ of schools in 22 districts suspended more than $25 \%$ of students in one or more subgroups. There were no high suspending schools in Caroline and Talbot counties.

[^3]Within districts, schools vary in the extent to which students are suspended out-ofschool. Table 2 shows the number and percent of schools by district that are high suspending. For the 10 districts with high suspending elementary schools, the percent of a district's schools ranged from 42.9\% in Dorchester County to 2.7\% in Frederick County. Among the 22 districts with high suspending secondary schools, the percent of a district's secondary schools that was high suspending ranged from $81.8 \%$ in Cecil County to $3.2 \%$ in Howard County. There were 12 districts, or half of all districts, where $40 \%$ or more of the district's secondary schools were high suspending schools.

Table 2: Number and Percent of Schools by District with OSS Rates Greater than 25\% in One or More Subgroups, 2011, 2013, 2015

| District | \# of <br> Elem | \# Elem OSS <br> $>25 \%$ | OSS as Percent of Elem | \# of <br> Sec | $\begin{gathered} \text { \# Sec } \\ \text { OSS } \\ >25 \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { OSS as } \\ \text { Percent of } \\ \text { Sec } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Caroline | 5 | 0 | 0.0\% | 4 | 0 | 0.0\% |
| Talbot | 5 | 0 | 0.0\% | 3 | 0 | 0.0\% |
| Howard | 40 | 0 | 0.0\% | 31 | 1 | 3.2\% |
| Montgomery | 132 | 0 | 0.0\% | 67 | 5 | 7.5\% |
| St Mary's | 17 | 0 | 0.0\% | 7 | 1 | 14.3\% |
| Calvert | 14 | 0 | 0.0\% | 11 | 2 | 18.2\% |
| Frederick | 37 | 1 | 2.7\% | 24 | 5 | 20.8\% |
| Washington | 25 | 0 | 0.0\% | 17 | 4 | 23.5\% |
| Baltimore County | 107 | 0 | 0.0\% | 54 | 13 | 24.1\% |
| Carroll | 24 | 2 | 8.3\% | 21 | 6 | 28.6\% |
| Harford | 32 | 1 | 3.1\% | 20 | 6 | 30.0\% |
| Prince George's | 140 | 11 | 7.9\% | 54 | 19 | 35.2\% |
| Worcester | 7 | 0 | 0.0\% | 5 | 2 | 40.0\% |
| Baltimore City | 127 | 24 | 18.9\% | 56 | 23 | 41.1\% |
| Kent | 5 | 1 | 20.0\% | 2 | 1 | 50.0\% |
| Queen Anne's | 8 | 0 | 0.0\% | 6 | 3 | 50.0\% |
| Anne Arundel | 79 | 3 | 3.8\% | 33 | 19 | 57.6\% |
| Allegany | 14 | 1 | 7.1\% | 8 | 5 | 62.5\% |
| Wicomico | 17 | 0 | 0.0\% | 8 | 5 | 62.5\% |
| Charles | 21 | 0 | 0.0\% | 15 | 10 | 66.7\% |
| Somerset | 5 | 0 | 0.0\% | 3 | 2 | 66.7\% |
| Dorchester | 7 | 3 | 42.9\% | 4 | 3 | 75.0\% |
| Garrett | 8 | 0 | 0.0\% | 4 | 3 | 75.0\% |
| Cecil | 17 | 2 | 11.8\% | 11 | 9 | 81.8\% |

These findings suggest that both school and district level policies and practices contribute to differences in suspension rates. First, not all schools are high suspending, suggesting that schools use different disciplinary practices when
responding to misbehavior. The variability across districts suggests that differences in district-level policies and approaches to school discipline contribute to the degree to which schools adopt alternatives to exclusionary discipline.

## Characteristics of High Suspending Schools: School Contributions to OSS

Given that some, but not all schools, had high suspension rates, the question is, are there school-level risk factors associated with higher suspension rates? To address this question, we compared schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in no categories to schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in one category and schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more in two or more categories. We defined the first category as "low suspending" schools and the last two categories as "high suspending" schools. We used the following school characteristics in our analysis: school demographic composition (i.e., race/ethnicity, EL, SWD, socioeconomic status); achievement (performance on PARCC); teacher experience (percentage of teachers with fewer than 2 years experience); and school stability (mobility, attendances, and, at the secondary level, dropout and graduation rates). We also included a measure of school size and school type. Results for elementary schools are presented in Appendix 1 and for secondary schools in Appendix 2 and are summarized below.

## Elementary Schools

School Demographic Composition: The use of OSS is strongly related to the demographic composition of a school. As the average enrollment of Black students, students with disabilities, and low-income students increased in elementary schools so did the likelihood of one or more high OSS rates. There is a steady increase in Black enrollment in schools with greater numbers of suspension rates exceeding $25 \%$. In low suspending schools, average Black student enrollment was $35.1 \%$, while in high suspending schools it was $59.7 \%$ for schools with one rate exceeding $25 \%$ and $69.9 \%$ in schools with two or more rates exceeding $25 \%$. In contrast, as White and Asian enrollment increased, the likelihood of multiple high OSS rates in a school decreased. We also found that schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in one or more subgroups had higher average enrollments of low-income students and students with disabilities but lower enrollments of Hispanic and EL students. Low suspending schools enrolled on average $50.4 \%$ low-income students compared to between $78.5 \%$ and $86.8 \%$ in high suspending schools. Enrollment of students with disabilities in schools with two or more suspension rates exceeding $25 \%$ was twice that of low suspending schools ( $24.9 \%$ compared to $12.6 \%$ ).

Achievement: We found that school-level achievement was predictive of whether a school had high suspension rates. The average percentage of students scoring proficient or above on the PARCC in math and reading was significantly lower in high suspending schools in grade $3,4,5$, and 6 than in low suspending schools. At
each grade level, as the number of OSS increased, there was a corresponding decrease in achievement. However, there were no statistically significant differences in the 7th and 8th grade math and reading scores, although the direction showed declining achievement as suspensions increased. The lack of significance may be related to the small number of elementary schools with 7th and 8th grades.

Teacher experience: High suspending elementary schools had a higher percentage of teachers with two or fewer years of experience than schools with lower suspension rates. Between $21.9 \%$ and $24.2 \%$ of teachers in high suspending schools had two or fewer years experience compared to $14.4 \%$ in schools with low suspension rates.

School stability—mobility and attendance: The school community is likely to be less stable in high suspending elementary schools as these schools had higher mobility rates and lower attendance. Mobility rates in schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in one or more subgroups were between $30 \%$ and $39.2 \%$ compared to $19.8 \%$ in low suspending schools. There was also a steady decrease in the mean attendance rate in schools as the number subgroups with suspension rates exceeding $25 \%$ increased.

School size and type: Smaller elementary schools were more likely to have higher suspension rates than larger schools, a somewhat surprising finding given research suggesting that small schools are more productive and effective than large ones (Iatarola, Stiefel, \& Chellman, 2008). This finding may suggest that smaller schools are struggling, for example, they may be experiencing declining enrollment, high mobility, have high teacher turnover, or are located in high poverty areas (V. E. Lee \& Smith, 1997). For school type, we did not find that the grade level composition of elementary schools (i.e., grades Pre-K to 6 versus Pre-K to 8) differentiated high suspending from low suspending schools.

## Secondary Schools

School demographic composition: In secondary schools, we also found that the likelihood of being suspended increased as the enrollment of Black students, students with disabilities, and low-income students increased. Schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in one or more subgroups had higher average enrollments of Black students (between 44.5\% and 46\%) compared to schools with no suspensions rates exceeding 25\% (33.6\%). There were fewer Hispanic and Asian students enrolled in high suspending schools though White student enrollments were not significantly different across high and low suspending schools. Schools enrolling more SWD had higher OSS rates (between $18.3 \%$ and $21.7 \%$ compared to $15.1 \%$ in low suspending schools), while schools with fewer ELs had lower OSS rates. The enrollment of low-income students in high suspending secondary schools was also higher than in low suspending schools (between $49.5 \%$ and $58 \%$ compared to $37.8 \%$ ).

Achievement: There was a significant relationship between the average percentage of students scoring proficient on the PARCC and the likelihood of suspension. Secondary schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in one or more categories had lower average math and reading scores, and lower high school Algebra and English scores, compared to low suspending schools. The gap between achievement scores in low suspending schools and schools with two or more rates exceeding $25 \%$ widened between 6 th and 8 th grade, from 16 percentage points in grade 6 , to 21.8 percentage points in grade 7 , and 25 percentage points in grade 8.

Teacher experience: The pattern of high suspending schools having more teachers with less experience and low suspending schools having more experienced teachers was evident, but the difference between schools was not large enough to be statistically significant.

School stability—mobility, attendance, and dropout rates: High suspending schools exhibited higher mobility rates, lower attendance rates, and higher dropout rates. Mobility rates were between $19.3 \%$ and $26.9 \%$ in high suspending schools compared to $15.8 \%$ in low suspending schools. The adjusted four-year dropout rate in secondary schools with two rates exceeding $25 \%$ was more than double that in low suspending schools-20.6\% compared to $9.5 \%$. Attendance at high suspending secondary schools was lower than attendance in low suspending schools, averaging $94.8 \%$ in low suspending schools compared to between $92.3 \%$ and $90.3 \%$ in high suspending schools.

School size and type: Similar to elementary schools, there was an inverse relationship between school size and the probability of suspensions across multiple subgroups. As secondary school enrollment decreased, the likelihood of multiple suspensions increased-smaller schools had more suspensions. This may reflect the influence of alternative schools, which tend to be smaller schools and among the schools with the highest suspension rates. Indeed, alternative schools and middle/high school combinations are more likely to suspend $25 \%$ or more students in two or more categories. While 3\% of high schools are alternative schools, they represented $20 \%$ of high suspending high schools. There were 12 out of 14 alternative schools that were high suspending. The middle/high school combination represents $7.1 \%$ of secondary schools but $29.9 \%$ of schools that suspended $25 \%$ or more of students in two or more categories. Neither middle schools nor high schools were more likely to be amongst low suspending schools or the two categories of high suspending schools.

## Conclusion and Recommendations

There are 196 public schools in Maryland or about 14\% that suspend $25 \%$ of students in one or more of seven subgroups out of school. These schools are located in 22 of the 24 school districts in Maryland, but the number of high suspending

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schools varies by district. While there are more secondary schools than elementary schools that suspend students at high levels across multiple subgroups, we found that Black students and students with disabilities were disproportionally suspended out-of-school across all school levels.

The high rate of variability across schools-and districts—suggests that the use of disciplinary consequences is related to contextual variables that go beyond individual student behavior. Indeed, it appears that both the district and the school that a student attends play a role in suspension rates. We did not find that high suspending schools are located in any one district or region of the state. Rather, they are found in both rural and urban areas, in small and large districts, and in all regions of the state. This suggests that districts with large numbers of high suspending schools either have a culture where exclusionary discipline is condoned or are not providing the leadership, resources and training staff need to prevent inappropriate behavior. The variability in suspensions across schools provides evidence that schools can do things differently, but some may need more support than they are currently receiving.

A primary conclusion policymakers should draw from this analysis is the clear evidence it provides of disparities across schools. Schools with higher enrollments of Black students, SWD and low-income students and lower enrollments of White, Asian and Hispanic students suspended more students across multiple subgroups. For these schools, reducing suspensions requires discerning why these disparities exist. It may be that teachers and administrators' professional training in discipline practices is insufficient so they lack knowledge and skills about how best to manage student behavior. It may also be that the district has not made adopting alternatives to suspension a priority or provided the training and support needed. The high rate of suspensions among Black and low-income students and SWD suggests that staff may view similar behaviors differently based on a student's race, income level, or disability status. Alternatively, it suggests that schools with a higher proportion of Black and low-income students and SWD tend to use more punitive discipline and may have fewer supportive resources and interventions (Anderson \& Ritter, 2017; Skiba, Chung, et al., 2014).

We found a relationship between measures of school success/failure and the likelihood of suspensions across multiple subgroups. Two measures of school success-achievement scores on the PRACC and graduation rates-differentiated high and low suspending schools. High suspending schools also have higher mobility rates, lower attendance and graduation rates. While we cannot conclude that attending a school with high suspension rates is detrimental to all students in the school, it does suggest that attending high suspending schools increases the likelihood of academic failure. The finding that high suspending schools have teachers with fewer years of experience, at least at the elementary level, again argues for a need for greater teacher training in classroom management and other approaches to resolving conflict.

The finding that students from vulnerable populations are more likely to be suspended and the relationship between school success and failure raises concerns that suspensions may exacerbate the racial achievement gap (Morris \& Perry, 2016). This is obviously a multi-pronged issue. It suggests that approaches to reducing the suspension rate will need to adopt strategies to address disruptive student behavior, confront staff perceptions of student behavior that may contribute to disparities but also create learning environments that engage all students.

On the positive side, the variability across schools and districts suggests that it is possible for individual schools and districts to alter their disciplinary practices in ways that reduce suspensions. While this study did not examine what these schools and districts are doing differently, it's a good bet that they are taking steps to implement alternative approaches that result in different disciplinary outcomes.

## Recommendations

- Because of the variability across schools and districts in disciplinary practices, we recommend that school discipline data be widely shared with education stakeholders, including teachers, administrators, families, and community.

The local education community may not be aware of disciplinary problems in their schools or district when comparison data is not widely shared or available. Reports that allow for comparisons in disciplinary practices and consequences across schools and districts can raise awareness among the local education community and alert district and school leaders to potential disciplinary problems. Awareness of potential disciplinary issues may then serve as a catalyst for educators to seek out alternative strategies to address the issues or galvanize parents to advocate for better solutions to disciplinary issues.

We specifically recommend that school level discipline data be reported on the Maryland School Report, disaggregated by commonly reported subgroups. In addition, we recommend that the State routinely provide district-level reports that compare districts across the state and school-level reports that compare schools within a district. These reports should be publicly available.

- MSDE should take an active role in funding, supporting, and persuading schools to adopt approaches that focus on prevention, early identification, and early intervention rather than managing and punishing behavior after it occurs.

While Maryland took steps to curtail exclusionary disciplinary practices by revising its school discipline guidelines, disparities in suspension rates persist. These guidelines laid out a process for schools to follow when disciplining students; however, research shows that there is no clear relationship between the alignment of district codes of conduct to state guidelines, out-of-school suspension rates, or the

Black-White discipline gap (Curran \& Finch, 2018). These findings suggest that how the disciplinary code is implemented in schools and classrooms matters. That is, because teachers and school administrators retain considerable discretion in the application of disciplinary practices, their decisions contribute to who is referred for misbehavior and how consequences are administered.

Shifting to a preventative approach can decrease the frequency of behavior problems and reduce the development of more serious problems with students. Preventative approaches and programs are designed to prevent misbehavior in schools and seek pro-active ways to deter misbehavior early by creating positive and inclusive school communities and by fostering communication among students, teachers, and administrators. Programs such as peer mediation, conflict resolution, anti-bullying programs, restorative justice practices, and tiered approaches to behavior management recognize that school behavior problems are not easily amenable to simple solutions. Because of the high rate of racial disparities, it may also be necessary to include training on interventions that address racial bias (IspaLanda, 2018).

- Districts should work with high suspending schools to first assess why a school suspends students at high rates, and then to design a plan for addressing those issues.

District policies and leadership can provide the impetus for schools to identify, adopt and implement more effective practices. The challenge for districts with high suspending schools is twofold. First, the district needs to assess each high suspending school to determine why suspension rates are high and identify where there are disparities. Second, the school needs to reduce the use of suspensions as a disciplinary practice and adopt preventative models of school discipline. Both of these issues call for better practices, the adoption of alternatives to suspension, and more effective training of school personnel in behavior management. In addition, professional development that focuses on building productive relationships among staff, students, and the community can increase student engagement in schooling.

For many students there is a relationship between acting out and poor academic performance. This may be because the curriculum and instruction are not engaging or the instructional program is not relevant to students' racial, ethnic, cultural and linguistic diversity or their disabilities. Providing training in culturally relevant pedagogy can provide teachers with skills for teaching diverse students (Osher et al., 2015).

- Schools need a discipline data collection system that they can review regularly.

One of the first steps that schools can take to reduce OSS is to track disciplinary events, interventions, and consequences and monitor the data on a regular basis. This include collecting information on what happened for each disciplinary event,
when and where the event happened, which student, teacher, staff, or others were involved, what interventions were attempted, and what consequences were administered. Collecting and reviewing this data will help schools identify patterns in disciplinary events, discern if consequences are more punitive for some students based on their race or disability, and closely examine the reasons a student may misbehave.

Summary: Reducing the use of exclusionary discipline is not often thought of as a reform strategy. However, it may be one of the most productive approaches a district and school can take to both improving the school climate and student outcomes.

## Methodological Notes

Data for this policy brief comes from the Office of Civil Rights' (OCR) website (https://ocrdata.ed.gov) and the Maryland State Department of Education (MSDE) website (http://reportcard.msde.maryland.gov). We downloaded Maryland data from OCR's Discipline Report for 2011, 2013 and 2015. These data include a wide range of information, including the number of unduplicated out-of-school suspensions (OSS) and enrollments for specific student populations reported by public schools to OCR in a given year. We merged these data with school information, such as proficiency rates and attendance rates, that we downloaded from the Maryland's Report Card for 2013.

We then calculated the OSS rates by racial/ethnic groups (Asian, Hispanic, Black, White, and Other), English learners (EL), and students with disabilities (SWD) for each school for 2011, 2013, and 2015. We divided the number of suspensions for a specific group of students by the number of that group of students enrolled in a school and multiplied the result by 100. Because we used the unduplicated OSS counts, in which a student is counted only once regardless of the number of times suspended during the year, no rate should exceed 100. However, we found a small number of schools in each year had abnormally high rates for one or more groups of students ( 21 in 2011; 3 in 2013, and 10 in 2015). We excluded these counts and rates from our analyses.

We then averaged the school OSS rates for each racial/ethnic group, EL students, and SWDs across 2011, 2013, and 2015. We also averaged the OSS counts for each group of students and student enrollments across this time period. Schools with fewer than two years of data were excluded from the analyses. Using these data and the data we downloaded from the MSDE website for 2013, we created three datasets: a) a dataset that included all schools; b) a dataset for elementary schools; and c) a dataset for secondary schools. We defined an elementary school as any school with mostly elementary-level grades; the majority of these schools were K-6. We defined a secondary school as any school with mostly secondary-level grades; the majority of these schools were either 5-8 or 9-12. The dataset with all students included 1,406 schools or approximately 97\% of all public schools in Maryland.

We calculated the composition index - the percentage of OSS associated with specific racial/ethnic groups, EL students, SWDs - using the dataset that included all public schools in Maryland. We summed the average OSS counts for each racial/ethnic group (Asian, Hispanic, Blacks, Whites, and Other) and for EL students and SWDs. We then divided these numbers by the average incidences of OSS across all schools in the state. The result is the average percentage of OSS across the state that involved students from each racial/ethnic group, EL students, and SWDs. In the case of race/ethnicity, these percentages add to $100 \%$. We also calculated the average OSS rates across all schools in the state and compared these rates to the average school enrollments for specific groups of students.

Using the elementary and secondary datasets, we next identified high suspending elementary and secondary schools and examined the characteristics of these schools. We defined a high suspending school as any school that suspends $25 \%$ or more of a given student population. This standard was used by The Civil Rights Projects' recent analysis of discipline data, though it set a lower standard in their analysis for elementary schools (Losen et al., 2015). We then examined each school's average OSS rates for each population of students, and we totaled the number of average OSS rates equal to or greater than $25 \%$. We categorized a school as having low suspension rates if none of the rates exceeded our standard, high suspension rates if only one rate exceeded the standard, and highest suspension rates if two or more rates exceeded the standard. We then listed all the elementary schools and secondary schools with one or more average OSS rates of $25 \%$ or more of a given student population.

Because we were interested in the characteristics of schools with high suspensions rates, we compared the characteristics of schools with low, high, and highest average suspension rates. We used Oneway Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) to do so, comparing the group means for a series of school characteristics for each category of suspension rates. We used the $p$ value for the F statistic to determine if there was a statistically significant relationship between a school characteristic and schools with low, high and highest average OSS rates. If the $p$ value was less than .05 , we considered the relationship to be statistically significant. For example, in the case of achievement, we found statistically significant relationships between the percentage of students who scored proficient or higher for most grade-level state assessments and whether a school had 0,1 or 2 or more average OSS rates greater than or equal to $25 \%$. As a result, we concluded that schools with high OSS rates also tend to be schools with lower levels of achievement, at least when compared to schools with low OSS rates.

## Appendix 1: Characteristics of High Suspending Elementary Schools

Table 1.1. Elementary School Enrollments by No Rate, One Rate and Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to 25\%


Table 1.2. Elementary School Size (Total Enrollment) \& Mobility Rate by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to $25 \%$

|  |  | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ```Average elementary total enrollment 2011_2013_2015 (min 2 yrs.)``` | None | 843 | 469.99 | 170.68 |
|  | One | 37 | 348.41 | 143.36 |
|  | Two or More | 12 | 250.54 | 128.76 |
|  | Total (p < .000) | 892 | 462.00 | 172.52 |
| Average percent mobility | None | 781 | 19.77 | 10.86 |
|  | One | 36 | 29.99 | 12.58 |
|  | Two or More | 11 | 39.16 | 16.98 |
|  | Total (p < .000) | 828 | 20.47 | 11.42 |

Table 1.3. Elementary School Achievement by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to 25\%

|  |  | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Average percent proficient or better for 3rd grade math and reading scores | None | 794 | 74.64 | 16.64 |
|  | One | 35 | 58.53 | 19.98 |
|  | Two or More | 10 | 48.68 | 10.82 |
|  | Total (p < .000) | 839 | 73.66 | 17.24 |
| Average percent proficient or better for 4th grade math and reading scores | None | 806 | 82.63 | 13.73 |
|  | One | 32 | 67.54 | 17.78 |
|  | Two or More | 8 | 59.15 | 19.19 |
|  | Total ( $\mathrm{p}<.000$ ) | 846 | 81.83 | 14.41 |
| Average percent proficient or better for 5th grade math and reading scores | None | 810 | 79.72 | 14.43 |
|  | One | 35 | 63.10 | 17.32 |
|  | Two or More | 11 | 58.09 | 18.28 |
|  | Total (p < .000) | 856 | 78.76 | 15.14 |
| Average percent proficient or better for 6th grade math and reading scores | None | 106 | 63.71 | 17.56 |
|  | One | 12 | 47.61 | 14.09 |
|  | Two or More | 3 | 42.15 | 11.23 |
|  | Total ( $\mathrm{p}<.002$ ) | 121 | 61.58 | 17.98 |
| Average percent proficient or better for 7th grade math and reading scores | None | 46 | 63.64 | 20.94 |
|  | One | 6 | 43.93 | 19.17 |
|  | Two or More | 1 | 51.25 | -- |
|  | Total (p<.092) | 53 | 61.17 | 21.36 |
| Average percent proficient or better for 8th grade math and reading scores | None | 75 | 50.62 | 20.41 |
|  | One | 13 | 42.62 | 17.89 |
|  | Two or More | 3 | 34.53 | 14.87 |
|  | Total (p<.189) | 91 | 48.94 | 20.13 |

Table 1.4. Elementary School Attendance, FARMs Rate \& Teachers with Two or Fewer Years Experience by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to $25 \%$

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Average percent free $\&$ <br> reduced price meals <br> enrollment | None | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
|  | One | 843 | 50.39 | 28.36 |
|  | Two or More | 36 | 78.51 | 23.79 |
|  | Total (p <.000) | 89 | 86.82 | 10.56 |
| Mean attendance rate | None | 838 | 91.98 | 28.83 |
|  | One | 35 | 94.68 | 1.74 |
|  | Two or More | 12 | 93.37 | 2.30 |
|  | Total (p <.000) | 885 | 96.54 | 3.21 |
| Average percent of teachers | None | 842 | 14.37 | 1.88 |
| with two or fewer years of | One | 36 | 21.85 | 12.16 |
| experience | Two or More | 12 | 24.16 | 17.56 |

Table 1.5. Elementary School Grades \& Focus by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to 25\%

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Elementary School grades | None | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| P-8 | One | 843 | 9.49 | 29.33 |
|  | Two or More | 36 | 36.11 | 48.71 |
|  | Total (p<.000) | 12 | 25 | 45.23 |
| Elementary School grades | None | 891 | 10.77 | 31.02 |
|  | One | 843 | 90.51 | 29.33 |
|  | Two or More | 36 | 63.89 | 48.71 |
|  | Total (p<.000) | 12 | 75 | 45.23 |
| Alternative education | None | 891 | 89.23 | 31.02 |
| school?* | One | 843 | 0 | 0.00 |
|  | Two or More | 37 | 0 | 0.00 |
|  | Total (p<.000) | 892 | 8.00 | 28.90 |

[^4]
## Appendix 2: Characteristics of High Suspending Secondary School

Table 2.1. Secondary School Enrollment by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to 25\%


Table 2.2. Secondary School Size (Total Enrollment) \& Mobility Rate by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to $25 \%$

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :--- | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Average secondary school <br> total enrollment | None | Mean | Std. Deviation |  |
| 2011_2013_2015 (min 2 | One | 322 | 979.95 | 520.56 |
| yrs.) | Two or More | 89 | 834.07 | 491.36 |
| Mobility rate | Total (p <.000) | 58 | 560.69 | 388.82 |
|  | None | 269 | 900.42 | 518.82 |
|  | One | 84 | 15.78 | 10.73 |
|  | Two or More | 45 | 19.32 | 13.19 |
|  | Total (p <.000) | 397 | 17.80 | 19.69 |

Table 2.3. Secondary School Achievement by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to 25\%

|  |  | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Average percent proficient or better for 6th grade math and reading scores | None | 169 | 77.06 | 14.43 |
|  | One | 39 | 70.49 | 15.75 |
|  | Two or More | 22 | 61.07 | 12.12 |
|  | Total (p < .000) | 230 | 74.42 | 15.24 |
| Average percent proficient or better for 7th grade math and reading scores | None | 173 | 72.95 | 17.00 |
|  | One | 42 | 62.54 | 15.74 |
|  | Two or More | 26 | 51.13 | 15.54 |
|  | Total (p < .000) | 241 | 68.78 | 18.10 |
| Average percent proficient or better for 8th grade math and reading scores | None | 172 | 70.54 | 16.44 |
|  | One | 43 | 59.62 | 17.28 |
|  | Two or More | 30 | 45.50 | 19.53 |
|  | Total (p < .000) | 245 | 65.56 | 18.96 |
| Average percent proficient or better for high school students in English and Algebra | None | 151 | 83.32 | 17.07 |
|  | One | 50 | 75.54 | 21.49 |
|  | Two or More | 27 | 72.97 | 19.55 |
|  | Total (p < .002) | 228 | 80.39 | 18.80 |

Table 2.4. Secondary School FARMs Rate \& Teachers with Two or Fewer Years Experience by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to $25 \%$

|  |  | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Average percent of teachers with two or fewer years experience | None | 318 | 13.67 | 11.96 |
|  | One | 89 | 15.73 | 13.71 |
|  | Two or More | 57 | 16.49 | 12.01 |
|  | Total ( $\mathrm{p}<.151$ ) | 464 | 14.41 | 12.34 |
| Average percent free and reduced price meal enrollment | None | 312 | 37.76 | 24.19 |
|  | One | 87 | 49.52 | 23.30 |
|  | Two or More | 56 | 58.04 | 16.76 |
|  | Total ( $\mathrm{p}<.000$ ) | 455 | 42.51 | 24.34 |

Table 2.5. Secondary School Attendance Rate \& Four Year Dropout Rate by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates Greater than or Equal to 25\%

|  |  | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Average percent attendance | None | 320 | 94.78 | 6.21 |
|  | One | 89 | 92.31 | 8.69 |
|  | Two or More | 57 | 90.34 | 5.93 |
|  | Total ( $\mathrm{p}<.000$ ) | 466 | 93.77 | 6.89 |
| Numeric adjusted four-year dropout rate in percentages | None | 154 | 9.48 | 13.71 |
|  | One | 51 | 11.67 | 13.13 |
|  | Two or More | 30 | 20.63 | 22.47 |
|  | Total (p < .001) | 235 | 11.38 | 15.35 |

Table 2.6. Secondary School Focus \& Grade Span by No Rate, One Rate \& Two or More OSS Rates GE Greater than or Equal to 25\%

|  |  | N | Mean | Std. Deviation |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Combined middle high secondary school | None | 322 | 3.73 | 18.97 |
|  | One | 89 | 8.99 | 28.76 |
|  | Two or More | 57 | 22.81 | 42.33 |
|  | Total (p<.000) | 468 | 7.05 | 25.63 |
| Secondary middle school | None | 322 | 50.31 | 50.08 |
|  | One | 89 | 41.57 | 49.56 |
|  | Two or More | 57 | 42.11 | 49.81 |
|  | Total (p<.232) | 468 | 47.65 | 50.00 |
| Secondary high school | None | 322 | 45.96 | 49.91 |
|  | One | 89 | 50.56 | 50.28 |
|  | Two or More | 57 | 31.58 | 46.90 |
|  | Total (p<.068) | 468 | 45.09 | 49.81 |
| Alternative education school?* | None | 322 | 1.00 | 07.90 |
|  | One | 89 | 1.00 | 10.60 |
|  | Two or More | 58 | 9.00 | 39.50 |
|  | Total (p < .000) | 469 | 3.00 | 17.00 |

[^5]
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[^0]:    ${ }^{1}$ The percent of students suspended or expelled fell in 2014-15, but increased in subsequent years (Maryland State Department of Education, 2018).

[^1]:    ${ }^{2}$ Losen et al. used "any major racial/ethnic group" while we included students with disabilities and English learners as well. In addition, Losen et al. defined high suspending elementary schools as schools that suspended $10 \%$ or more of students in any major racial/ethnic group. We used $25 \%$.

[^2]:    ${ }^{3}$ The CRDC surveys schools and school districts every two years. The CRDCs for 2011-12, 2013-14, and 2015-16 school years includes data from every school and school district in the country.

[^3]:    4 Information on which schools were high suspending is available from the authors.

[^4]:    *There is only one alternative elementary school

[^5]:    * There are 17 alternative secondary schools with data

