ARE WE CLOSING THE SCHOOL DISCIPLINE GAP?

THE CENTER FOR CIVIL RIGHTS REMEDIES

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1 Profiles for 24 district profiles available at http://tinyurl.com/CCRRNationalReports. Profiled districts are: Atlanta (GA), Columbus (OH), Dallas (TX), Houston (TX), Fairfax (VA), Memphis (TN), Pittsburg (PA), Boston (MA), Albany (NY), Providence (RI), Dade County (FL), St. Louis (MO), Detroit (MI), Jefferson County (KY), Las Vegas [Clark County] (NV), Madison (WI), St. Paul (MN), New Haven (CT), Oklahoma City (OK), Baltimore City (MD), Montgomery (AL), Kansas City (KS), Washington (D.C.), and Seattle (WA).

ARE WE CLOSING THE SCHOOL DISCIPLINE GAP?

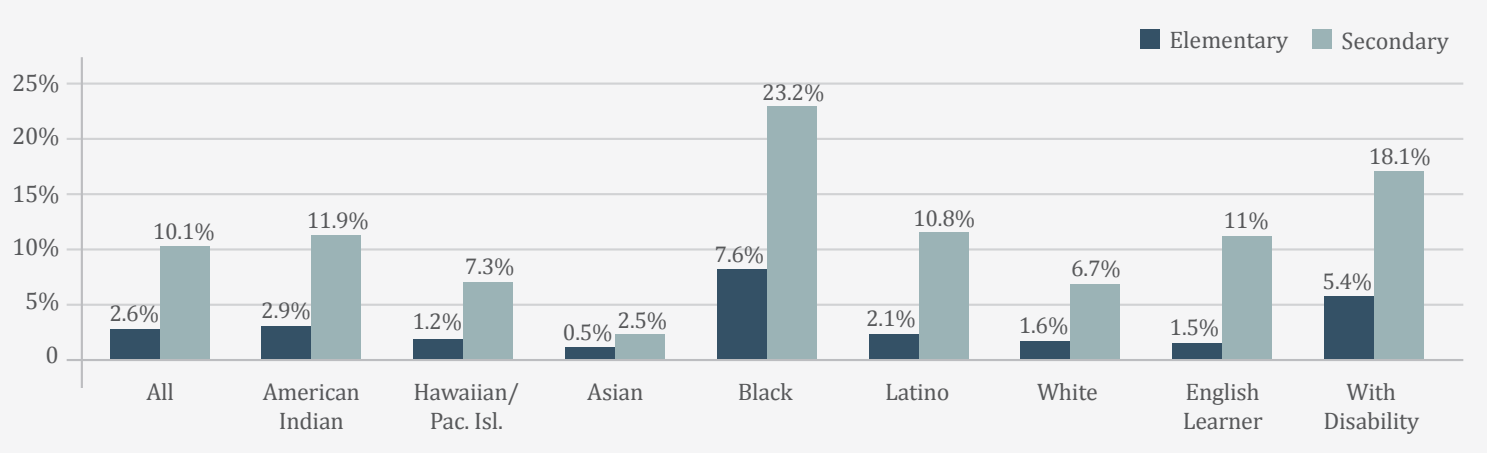
Introduction and National Overview

Nearly 3.5 million public school students were suspended out of school at least once in 2011-12.[12] That is more than one student suspended for every public school teacher in America.[3] This means that more students were suspended in grades K-12 than were enrolled as high school seniors.[4] To put this in perspective, the number of students suspended in just one school year could fill all of the stadium seats for nearly all the Super Bowls ever played—!(the first 45).[5] Moreover, recent estimates are that one in three students will be suspended at some point between kindergarten and 12th grade (Shollenberger, 2015).

If we ignore the discipline gap, we will be unable to close the achievement gap. Of the 3.5 million students who were suspended in 2011-12, 1.55 million were suspended at least twice. Given that the average suspension is conservatively put at 3.5 days, *we estimate that U.S. public school children lost nearly 18 million days of instruction in just one school year because of exclusionary discipline*. [6][7]

Loss of classroom instruction time damages student performance. For example, one recent study (Attendance Works, 2014) found that missing three days of school in the month before taking the National Assessment of Educational Progress translated into fourth graders scoring a full grade level lower in reading on this test. New research shows that higher suspension rates are closely correlated with higher dropout and delinquency rates, and that they have tremendous economic costs for the suspended students (Marchbanks, 2015), as well as for society as a whole (Losen, 2015). Therefore, the large racial/ethnic disparities in suspensions that we document in this report likely will have an adverse and disparate impact on the academic achievement and life outcomes of millions of historically disadvantaged children. This supports our assertion that we will close the racial achievement gap only when we also address the school discipline gap.

Figure 1. Elementary and Secondary Out-of-school Suspension Rates by Subgroup, 2011-12

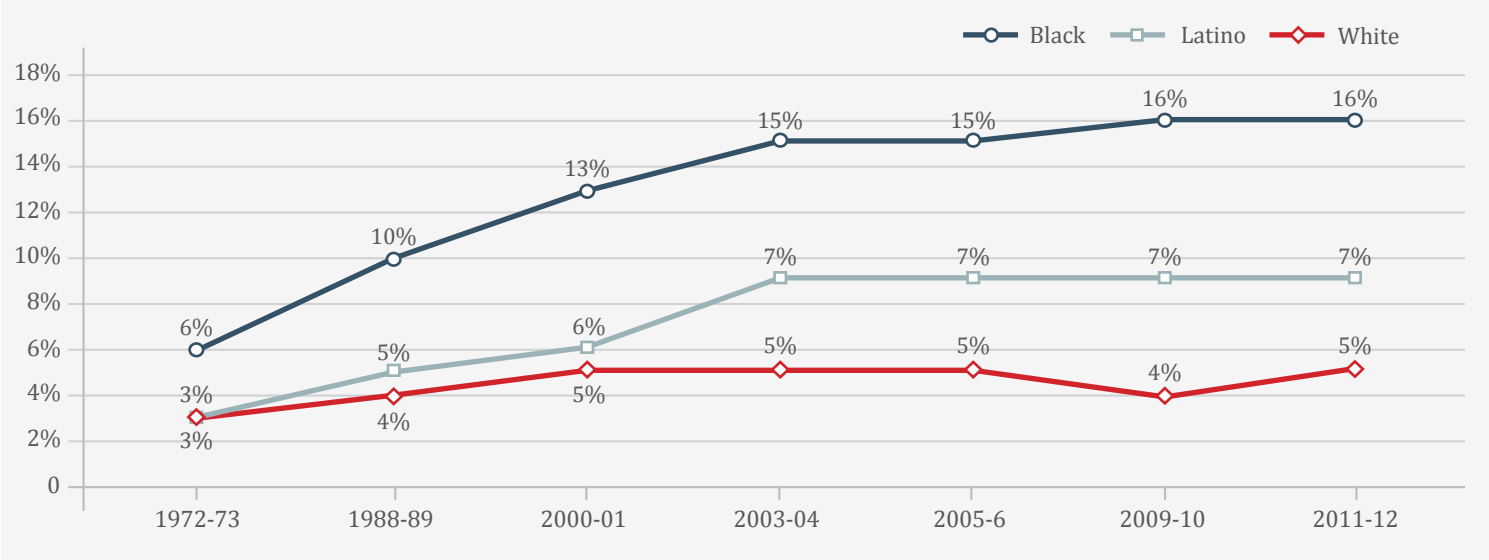


Suspension rates typically are three to five times higher at the secondary level than at the elementary level, as illustrated in figure 1. Furthermore, the actual size of the racial gap, such as that between Blacks and Whites, is much greater at the secondary level.

The national summary of suspension rate trends for grades K-12 indicates that these rates increased sharply from the early 1970s to the early 2000s and then more gradually, until they leveled off in the most recent three-year period (see figure 2). We conclude that in this recent period, no real progress was made in reducing suspension rates for grades K-12.

After many years of widening, the gap in suspension rates between Blacks and Whites and between Latinos and Whites narrowed slightly in the most recent time period—that is, the 2009-10 and 2011-12 school years. The gap narrowed, however, only because of the increase in the White suspension rate. Specifically, 16% of Blacks and 7% of Latinos were suspended in both years, while rates for Whites rose from 4% to 5%.[8]

Figure 2. Suspension Rates over Time by Race/Ethnicity, K-12[9]



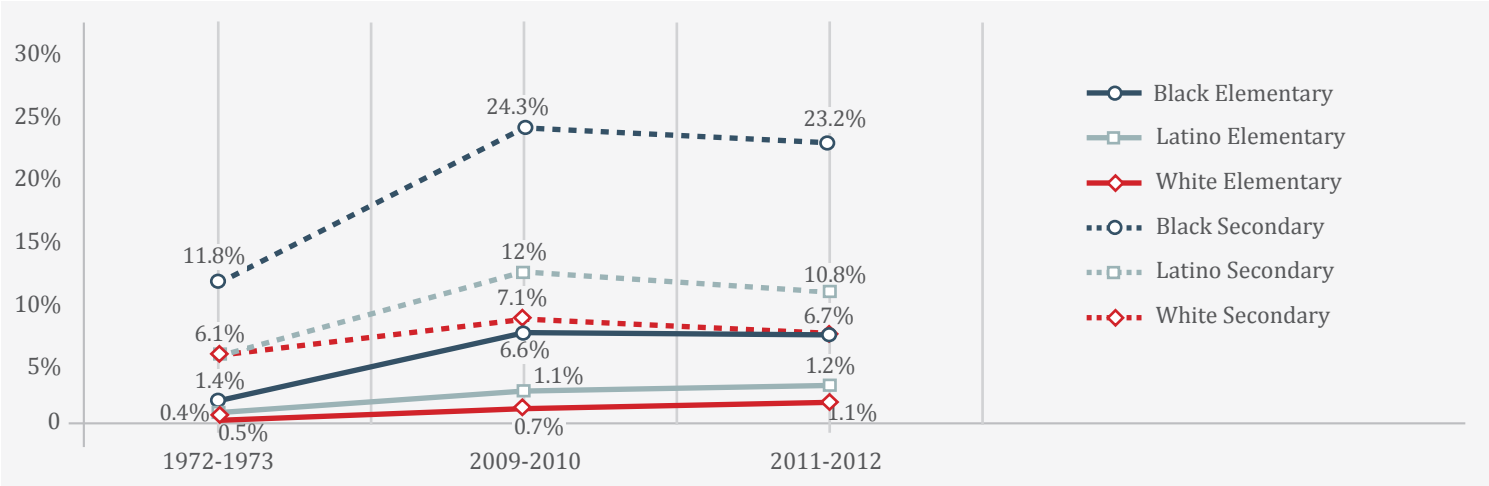
Data Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights

We next broke down the national trend analysis to the elementary and secondary levels. We only had the necessary data for the three years shown in figure 3. Despite the persistence of deeply disturbing disparities, the good news is that we estimate a slight reduction nationally in suspension rates for Blacks, Latinos, and Whites at the secondary level, along with a small narrowing of the racial discipline gap. However, this is countered by a small increase (less than one percentage point) in the use of suspensions at the elementary level and a slight increase in the racial gap at the elementary level.

Breakdown by Elementary and Secondary Levels and by Additional Subgroups Provides a Clearer Picture

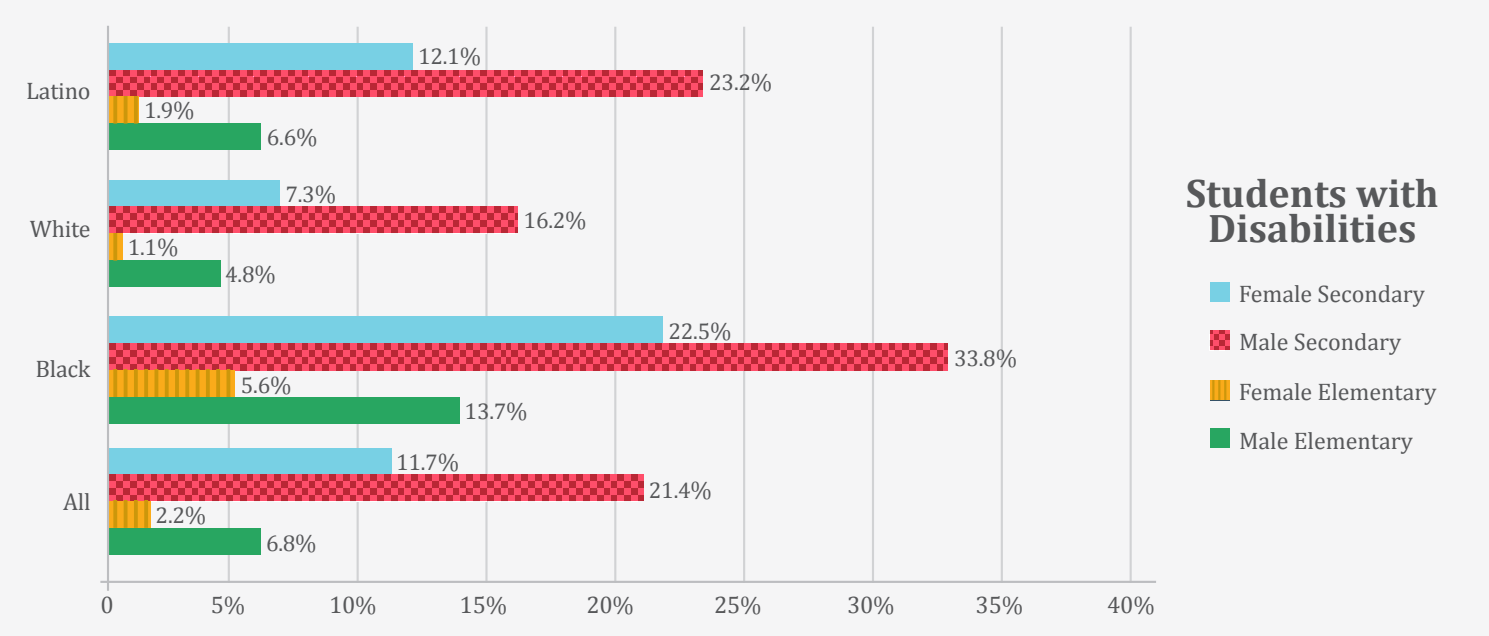
This report breaks down the state and district data at the elementary and secondary levels to present a much clearer picture of current suspension practices and how they vary across similar grade configurations.[10] When we look at subgroups of children, we find that the most disturbing disparities reflect the disparate impact of suspensions on children who fall into more than one category. For example,

Figure 3. Suspension Rates over Time by Race/Ethnicity: Elementary and Secondary Levels



when we look at racial and gender disparities at any grade level, the highest suspension rates typically are for Black males, followed by Black females and/or Latino males. However, the highest rates are found among secondary students with disabilities, which we further disaggregate by race and gender (see figure 4). Specifically, Black males are at the highest risk for suspension (33.8%), followed by Latino males (23.2%). Surprisingly, Black females with disabilities are suspended at higher rates (22.5%) than White males with disabilities at both the elementary and secondary level (figure 4).

Figure 4. Suspension Rates for Students with Disabilities, Further Disaggregated by Race/Ethnicity and Gender



In this report, and in our earlier report based on the 2009-10 school year, we found that schools suspend students with disabilities at rates that are typically two to three times higher than for their non-disabled peers. By law, schools may not suspend students with disabilities for behavior that is caused by their disability. At first glance, the significant difference in suspension rates raises questions as to whether schools are failing to meet their legal and moral obligations to provide a free and appropriate public education to students with disabilities, in particular those who are frequently suspended. Moreover, the data on the

tremendous racial and gender disparities in the suspension rates of students with disabilities suggest that the rights of students with disabilities along the lines of race and gender are being unlawfully violated.

State Rankings at the Elementary and Secondary Level Raise Serious Questions

For the first time ever, we provide a ranking of suspension rates for 48 states. The data raise disturbing questions: Why did school authorities in Florida suspend 19% of all secondary students? Why does North Carolina suspend American Indian secondary students at such high rates (21%)? Why does Missouri suspend over 14% of Black elementary students and have the largest Black/White gap at the elementary level? Are Rhode Island's policies or education resources so deficient that they lead to more frequent suspensions? Why are so many (19%) secondary-level English learners suspended in Montana? It is worth noting here that English learners are particularly vulnerable in certain states. For example, when rank ordered for English learners three states with English-only instruction policies, Arizona, Massachusetts and California, were also among the highest 20 states for English learner suspension rates.

District-Level Data Are Critical to Our Understanding

It is critically important to note that suspension rates, and the size of the racial gap, vary dramatically from one district to the next. We believe that parents, educators, policymakers, and advocates need to know if children in their district are subject to excessive discipline. To meet this need, this report, together with the companion spreadsheet, provides analysis at both the elementary and secondary level for every district in the nation for school year 2011-12. We also provide a detailed trend analysis for every district that provided reliable data in 2009-10, which includes districts from Boston to St. Louis to Los Angeles.[11]

Furthermore, we know from the latest studies that much of what determines whether a school is high or lower-suspending is directly influenced by its leaders (Skiba, 2015). In fact, most large districts show a great deal of variation in suspension rates from one school to the next. For example, a statewide study that tracked every middle school student in Texas, after controlling for race, poverty, and district policy, revealed that school-level factors had a tremendous impact on the suspension rate (Fabelo, 2011). Similarly, a study by Skiba et al. (2015) on the use of suspension throughout Indiana found that, after controlling for race and poverty and other significant factors, one variable stood out as the strongest predictor of both suspension rates and disparities in suspension by race: principals' attitudes toward the use of harsh discipline.

We also calculated the number of high- and lower-suspending schools for the nation and for each state. At the secondary level, any school or district that suspended 25% or more of any major racial/ethnic group's secondary enrollment was labeled "high-suspending," and any school that suspended 10% or less of every major racial/ethnic group's secondary enrollment was deemed "lower-suspending." When we aggregate our counts of high- and low-suspending schools up to the national level, we find, for example, that of the 34,000 secondary schools that met the criteria, 24% suspended one-quarter or more of at least one major racial or ethnic group. Although that figure may be alarming, we did find that more secondary schools (38%) were lower-suspending than high-suspending.

At the elementary level, we changed the criteria. Any school or district that suspended 10% or more of any major racial/ethnic group's elementary enrollment was labeled "high-suspending," and any school or district that suspended less than 2% of every major racial/ethnic group's elementary enrollment was deemed "lower-suspending." We found that 37% of all elementary schools were lower-suspending and just 17% were high-suspending. In other words lower-suspending elementary schools outnumbered

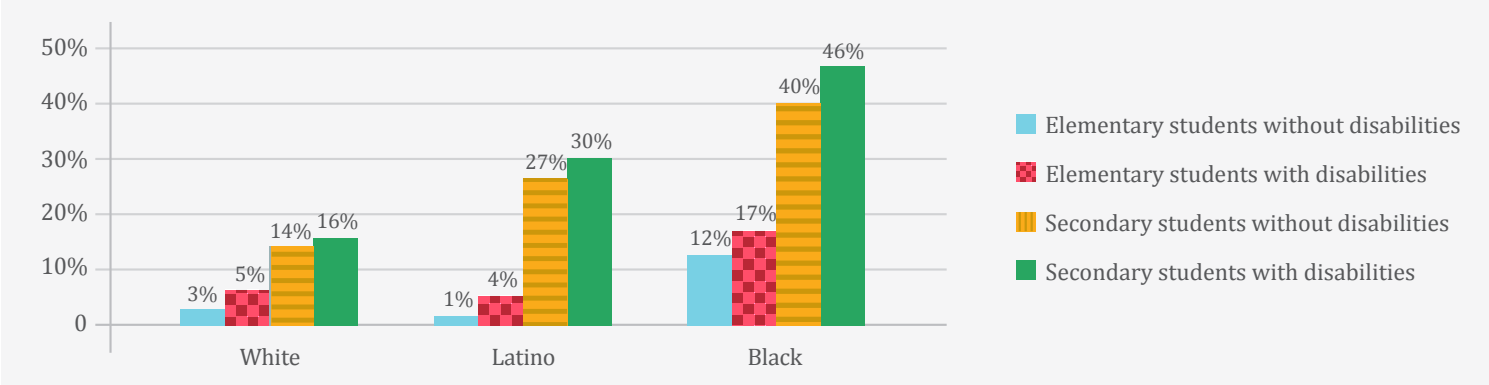
high-suspending schools by more than two to one (approximately 16,765 to 7,520). Once again, the wide variation in elementary school suspension rates suggests that school policies and practices make a significant difference.

However, according to both district-level research and the testimony of school superintendents and administrators in Baltimore, Los Angeles, and elsewhere (Losen, 2015), we also know that districts can foster effective school leadership and positive change at the school level. Notable district-level factors include whether or not schools' discipline disparities are remedied, conducting careful selection and training of principals, providing support for teacher and leadership training, initiating changes to the school discipline code of conduct, and providing the specific behavioral supports and services that students with disabilities need. Furthermore, district policies can determine the degree to which the more effective practices are identified, promoted, and replicated (Gonzalez, 2015).

Memphis, Tennessee: Huge Disparities, but Also Signs of Progress

For each district in the nation, we report on discipline disparities by gender, disability status, and English learner status, and we further disaggregate the data by a cross-section of all these groups for 2011-12. Our district profiles offer good examples of what one can find out about a given district. Here we provide just a segment of one such profile, that of Memphis, Tennessee; the full profile is available in a companion document. We picked Memphis because it is among the highest-suspending large school districts in the nation, and because it reported reliable data for both 2009-10 and 2011-12, which allows us to describe the trends in its suspension rates. Figure 5 compares suspension rates in Memphis by race and disability status at both the elementary and secondary levels.

Figure 5: Risk for Suspension at the Elementary and Secondary Levels in Memphis, by Selected Subgroups, 2011-12



In 2011-12, Memphis suspended students at a rate that was about double the national average. The highest suspension rate in Memphis was for secondary-level Black males with disabilities (53%). However, Memphis also showed some progress. To fully understand the district's discipline rates, it should be noted that suspension rates declined for all students at both the elementary and secondary levels from 2009-10 to 2011-12. Moreover, because the decline was greater for Black students than for White students, the discipline gap between Blacks and Whites narrowed slightly.

As the Memphis example demonstrates, every district has a unique story. In addition to the selected profiles, this report features districts that showed improvement to demonstrate that large-scale change is not just an academic pipe dream, but that it is happening in hundreds of districts across the nation.

This national overview and the district profiles are two places where we combine our elementary and secondary analyses. Otherwise, this report and the companion spreadsheets divide the analysis into two sub-reports, elementary and secondary. At each level we provide a more in-depth look at national disparities, distribution of suspension rates, and trends, followed up with a more detailed district-level analysis that highlights the largest, highest-suspending, and most improved districts. In the appendix, we also provide the first-ever national analysis of suspension in K-8 schools. But first we note some critical background facts and details on the construction of this report.

The Consensus Is That Frequently Suspending Children From School For Minor Offenses Is Not Educationally Sound.[12] The book, *Closing the School Discipline Gap,* the most recent collection of research on this issue, lays out a strong basis for this assertion (Losen, 2015). The book also provides new empirical evidence that demonstrates that there are more effective ways than exclusion from school to ensure that schools provide safe and healthy learning environments. Ultimately, the new research shows that the means for closing the school discipline gap are not only available, but they are also already being employed successfully by school districts across the country. *These findings are bolstered by the empirical district-level data in this report, which shows that lower-suspending districts outnumber the high-suspending districts at both the elementary and secondary levels, and for every racial/ethnic group.*

High Suspension Rates Do Not Improve Learning Conditions

Many readers believe that schools with high suspension rates are boosting the achievement of the students who don't misbehave. However, research on the state of Indiana, which controlled for poverty and race, found that lower-suspending schools had higher achievement rates (Skiba, 2014). Similarly, a study that tracked every middle school student in Texas over six years and controlled for over 80 variables found no academic benefits in schools with higher suspension rates (Fabelo, 2011). And, most notably, a recent study of the Denver Public Schools, where a concerted effort was made to improve the school climate systemically by implementing restorative practices, found that, as suspension rates came down, the racial discipline gaps narrowed and test scores rose consistently at all grade levels in nearly every subject for six consecutive years (Gonzalez, 2015). Finally, a recent study that tracked the effect of high suspension rates on 17,000 individual students who were never themselves suspended found that, over three years, the high rates appeared to lower their math and reading scores (Morris & Perry, 2014). Together these findings dispel as myth the common assertion that you must kick out the bad students so the good students can learn.

The availability of viable alternatives to frequent suspension makes the findings about the high-suspending schools and districts found in every state across the country even more disturbing. Put simply, high suspension rates and large disparities are not justifiable.

Safe Schools Embrace Positive Discipline

For readers who may object to discipline reform on the basis of safety concerns, we call attention to the safety *benefits* that result from reducing suspension rates. For example, a study on the Chicago Public Schools shows that schools serving students from the highest-crime neighborhoods had a wide range of safety ratings (Steinberg, 2015). In these schools, higher safety ratings were predicted by the levels of teacher-student engagement and teacher-parent engagement. Some of the high-scoring schools serving students from the highest-crime areas felt as safe to both teachers and students as many serving students from the lowest-crime neighborhoods. Equally important, after controlling for demographics, the Chicago

schools that felt safer also used exclusionary discipline much less frequently than the schools that ranked low on safety (Steinberg, 2015).

Connecting the dots, one can imagine how frequently relying on suspension for minor offenses could harm the positive relationships between teachers and students that foster a safe environment. Moreover, having large numbers of unsupervised youth hanging out in high-crime neighborhoods during school hours can increase the likelihood that students who are suspended will turn to delinquent activity and join gangs. As mentioned at the outset, extensive research confirms that excessive exclusionary discipline contributes to the risk for dropping out and for juvenile delinquency (Balfanz, 2015; Schollenberger, 2015). This likely makes schools, and the communities in which they are located, less safe (Finn, 2015). Most recently, the Council of State Governments' Juvenile Justice Center facilitated the development of consensus among law enforcement officials, judges, administrators, teachers, researchers, and community groups. After convening to discuss school discipline issues for more than two years, the group recommended reducing reliance on suspension as part of broader efforts to improve the school climate and community safety (School Discipline Consensus Report, 2014).

When discussing safety, it is also important to note that the data in this report do not include expulsions. Expulsions may also be excessive, but they are typically used in response to weapons and drug possession, and to address the most serious and violent behavior. In the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC), the source of all the data in this report, the nearly 3.5 million students suspended outnumber those expelled (130,000) by about 27 to 1.[13] Although the CRDC counts the number of students suspended but does not count the number of suspensions or provide information on the reasons for suspension, analysis of state data where these numbers are collected (Texas, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Ohio, North Carolina, and others) consistently shows that students are suspended most often for minor nonviolent violations of school codes of conduct, not unlawful or dangerous behavior.[14] In our own recent report on the reasons for suspensions in California, the data show that the most frequent reasons for removal were a range of minor misbehaviors that the state code labels "Disruption and Willful Defiance" (Losen & Martinez, 2014).

This introduction emphasizes that concerns about excessive use of suspension are based on evidence that it is harmful to all students in high-suspending schools. In 2011-12 alone, approximately 1.1 million White students were suspended out of school compared to approximately 700,000 Latino and 1.2 million Black students (CRDC, 2014). Thus, reducing the harm done to students by limiting suspension to a measure of last resort will benefit millions.

There Is Growing Concern about the Profound Disparities in Suspension Rates

The main body of this report documents gross disparities in the use of out-of-school suspension experienced by students with disabilities and those from historically disadvantaged racial, ethnic, and gender subgroups. The egregious disparities revealed in the pages that follow transform concerns about educational policy that allows frequent disciplinary removal into a profound matter of civil rights and social justice. This implicates the potentially unlawful denial of educational opportunity and resultant disparate impact on students in numerous districts across the country.

On the other hand, it is worth noting that there has been increased attention to and action on this issue across the nation since 2011 (Losen, 2015). Thus we urge readers to treat the data as snapshots of the very recent past. For example, if a district has changed its policies and practices in the last two years, those changes are not reflected in these data. Moreover, others may be pursuing changes for the first time this year.

In January 2014, the U.S. Justice and Education departments issued joint guidance on racial disparities in school discipline to the leaders of our nation's public schools. The clear message presented in the guidance is that school administrators must examine their data and discipline policies and practices, and undertake efforts to close the discipline gap where unjustifiable disparities are found (DOJ & DOE, 2014). While this legal and moral obligation to eliminate racial disparities is not new, this guidance is the first joint federal effort to explicitly call upon school leaders to take immediate action.

Methods

Important notes on the data and methods. The CRDC is the only source providing data from every large district in the nation that also goes as far back as the 1970s. To get a more accurate sense of the use of exclusionary discipline, and to track changes over time, this report focuses on out-of-school suspensions. Future reports will look at corporal punishment, expulsion, school-based arrests, and referral to law enforcement. We will also cover in-school suspensions, for which data were first collected in 2009-10, in future reports.

While the raw data we used for this report are available to any researcher and can be replicated, the analysis broken down by elementary and secondary levels is currently found only here.

The source of the data and calculation method. This report uses the CRDC's data on students receiving either just one out-of-school suspension or more than one, and combines them to look at the unduplicated count of students receiving one or more out-of-school suspensions. For example, the Office of Civil Rights reports X students suspended once and Y students suspended two or more times. We add these two numbers and then divide the sum (suspended one or more times) by the total student enrollment.

This basic calculation produces the percentage of students suspended. Throughout this report, we refer to this as the "percent suspended," the "suspension rate," or the "risk" for suspension. These rates are based on the unduplicated *number of students suspended,* and should not be confused with the *number of suspensions,* which are distinct counts of disciplinary actions and are not collected by the CRDC. In the appendix, readers will find a complete description of the calculations, data-cleaning methods, and data issues and limitations.

Like all suspension data in the public domain, all the reported values in this report are rounded up or down to protect against disclosing personally identifiable student information. Because, as researchers, we were granted access to the actual counts, prior to publishing all enrollment counts and suspension counts were always rounded to the nearest 5. These rounded numbers are available in the companion spreadsheets. Such rounding typically has little impact on the suspension rates we calculated, but when enrollment numbers are low, rounding can distort the findings. Therefore, we have identified all instances where rounding has had a serious impact. In the text of this report, any distortions from the actual unrounded values are within two percentage points, plus or minus, and we only included trends whose direction remained true after rounding.[15] Further, to conform to the IES requirements for using the unrounded data in our analysis, all published counts of the number of schools and districts were rounded to the nearest 5. To avoid distortion due to rounding, we only report federal and state level counts of the numbers of high and lower-suspending schools.

This report provides the most accurate trend analysis of suspension rates at the elementary and secondary levels for this period. We describe the trends for each subgroup, as well as changes in the Black/White and Latino/White discipline gaps over time. We did not track the district trends for Asian Americans or Hawaiians/ Pacific Islanders because of issues with data quality and inconsistent definitions of these two groups. Rates for American Indians often are not included in the featured analysis because of concerns about data quality. However, the data for these three groups are highlighted in several places in this report, and all are presented in detail for every district in the companion spreadsheets. In some cases, we found conflicting data on district or state websites. Some large districts, such as New York City were removed from the analysis but can be found in the "error" tab in our spreadsheets. Full explanations are provided in the appendix.

Elementary School Suspension Rates

Nationally: As the average national suspension rate for students in elementary school (2.6%) shows, the small number of students suspended out of school at least once is substantially lower than the K-12 suspension rate, because younger children are subjected to exclusionary discipline less frequently. That said, these rates have increased significantly since the early 1970s, following the general pattern of suspension rates. The increased use of suspension has come with an increase in the racial gap, with more students of color being suspended at the elementary level as well. The experiences of students in schools and districts vary tremendously from one district to the next, and often within the same school district. Although the suspension rate and racial gap in 2011-12 remained similar to what we observed in 2009-10, many schools and districts have substantially lowered their reliance on out-of-school suspensions, whereas others have increased their use. This variation raises questions about whether the high and disparate rates are necessary, or justifiable, at the elementary level.

Elementary and preschool trends: The district trends we observe thus far at the elementary level may reflect a conscious effort by some district leaders to curtail out-of-school suspensions for elementary school students. However, the 2011-12 data do not reflect some recent and notable developments in elementary school suspension. Most notable is the new California legislation requiring the statewide elimination of some of the catch-all minor offense categories, known as "Disruption or Willful Defiance," as grounds for suspension in grades K-3 (Cal. Education Code §. 48900, 2014). Los Angeles eliminated this punishment category in 2012-13 for all students at every grade level.

While recent developments suggest that elementary suspension rates will decrease, the U.S. Department of Justice shined a light for the first time on what many believe is the growing use of suspension for preschool children. We also find a great deal of disproportionality by race/ethnicity and gender in this category (Data Snapshot, 2014). However, it is difficult to ascertain whether suspension of preschoolers is on the rise or decline, because 2011-12 is the first time the data were collected at this level. Furthermore, the number of public preschools that reported data, preschool enrollment, and the number of suspended preschoolers is much lower than the number of elementary schools (K-5 or K-6) that did so. For these reasons, no analysis of the preschool data by district was included in this report.

Racial gaps remain the same: Nationally, most subgroups at the elementary school level saw an increase in their risk for out-of-school suspension since 2009-10, but it was less than one percentage point. Given the likely harm caused by suspensions, it is no real indication of progress if the racial gap between Blacks and lower-suspended subgroups narrowed only because these subgroups had a larger increase in suspension rates than Black students. Changes in the racial gap at this level are not featured here, but they can be found in the "trend" companion spreadsheet for every district that reported data in 2009-10 and 2011-12. However, more substantial changes were observed in many districts and secondary schools where suspension rates are much higher.

Elementary school suspension rates have a broad scope: Many schools and entire districts did not suspend any elementary students out of school in the 2011-12 school year. Table 1 below provides a sense of the suspension rate distribution for elementary students by district for each racial group that had at least ten elementary students in a district. The graph and table below display the scope of district suspension rates for each racial/ethnic group at the elementary level.

Figure 6. The Distribution of Elementary Suspension Rates, 2011-12

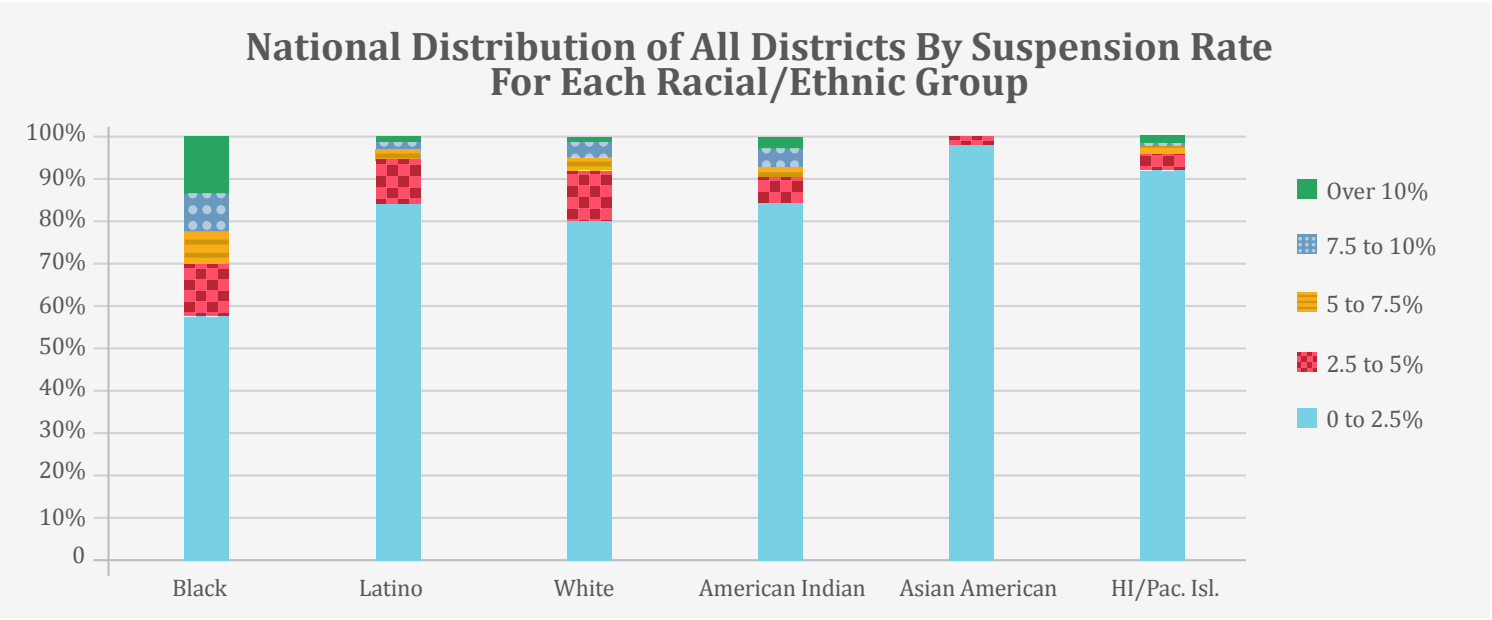


Table 1. The Distribution of Elementary Suspension Rates, 2011-12

Elementary Level: Distribution of District Suspension Rates and Percent of All Districts by Race/Ethnicity

	≤2.5	>2.5 and ≤5	>5 and ≤7.5	>7.5 and ≤10	>10	Total Districts*
Black	58%	11%	9%	8%	14%	5,825
Latino	86%	9%	3%	1%	1%	8,055
White	80%	13%	4%	2%	1%	10,215
Am. Indian	84%	5%	3%	3%	4%	2,520
Asian	98%	1%	0%	0%	0%	4,530
HI/Pac. Islander	93%	3%	2%	1%	1%	915
All	75%	15%	5%	2%	3%	10,595

In most of the nation's school districts, elementary suspension rates are less than or equal to 2.5% of the student enrollment *for each racial and ethnic group.* The data suggest that the excessive and disparate use of suspension is occurring at an egregious rate in elementary schools in a relatively small subset of school districts. This review supports the argument that the excessive use of discipline violates the norm for elementary students. We see a similarly wide distribution at the state level.

Table 2. States' Elementary Rates, Ranked by the Black/White Gap, 2011-12

State	All Students 2011-12	American Indians	Asian Americans	Hawaiian Pacific Islanders	Black Students	Latino Students	White Students	Black/ White Gap in Percentage Points
MO	3.8%	0.6%	0.5%	0.0%	**14.3%**	1.9%	1.8%	**12.5**
WI	2.0%	2.7%	0.4%	0.0%	12.2%	2.0%	1.0%	11.2
IN	3.5%	1.6%	0.3%	1.8%	12.8%	2.7%	2.1%	10.6
MI	3.6%	3.1%	0.4%	1.0%	12.1%	2.6%	2.1%	10.0
OH	2.9%	0.7%	0.2%	0.0%	11.1%	2.0%	1.7%	9.5
DE	4.9%	0.0%	0.0%	*	10.6%	2.9%	2.2%	8.4
PA	2.0%	0.5%	0.2%	0.0%	9.0%	3.4%	1.1%	8.0
AR	3.8%	0.5%	0.6%	0.4%	10.2%	1.3%	2.3%	7.9
NE	1.9%	4.9%	0.6%	0.0%	8.9%	1.4%	1.1%	7.8
TN	3.1%	1.8%	0.3%	0.0%	8.6%	1.0%	1.3%	7.3
OK	3.0%	2.1%	0.5%	0.0%	9.2%	2.7%	2.2%	7.0
RI	3.1%	5.4%	**1.8%**	*	8.4%	**5.2%**	1.5%	6.9
FL	**5.1%**	3.6%	0.6%	2.5%	9.8%	4.3%	**3.3%**	6.5
IL	1.8%	0.5%	0.1%	0.0%	7.1%	1.1%	1.0%	6.1
IA	1.2%	0.5%	0.2%	0.0%	6.7%	1.2%	0.8%	6.0
NC	3.5%	6.0%	0.5%	1.2%	7.8%	1.9%	1.9%	5.9
MN	1.4%	4.4%	0.4%	0.0%	6.4%	1.4%	0.7%	5.7
CA	2.6%	3.9%	0.9%	2.0%	7.9%	2.4%	2.3%	5.6
TX	2.1%	0.8%	0.3%	0.3%	6.6%	1.7%	1.2%	5.4
KS	1.6%	1.2%	0.5%	1.3%	6.5%	1.6%	1.0%	5.4
SC	4.1%	2.0%	0.5%	0.0%	7.6%	1.8%	2.2%	5.3
VA	2.6%	1.7%	0.2%	1.6%	6.7%	1.3%	1.5%	5.3
GA	3.3%	0.9%	0.5%	1.8%	6.4%	1.5%	1.6%	4.8
LA	4.3%	5.0%	0.5%	0.0%	6.9%	1.4%	2.2%	4.7
WA	2.4%	3.7%	0.6%	2.2%	6.8%	2.6%	2.1%	4.6
CO	2.0%	3.1%	0.6%	0.0%	6.1%	2.4%	1.5%	4.6
CT	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	5.0%	2.5%	0.4%	4.6
MS	4.8%	1.0%	0.6%	*	7.1%	1.6%	2.5%	4.5
AL	3.2%	1.1%	0.1%	**4.4%**	6.2%	1.0%	1.7%	4.5
AZ	2.4%	3.8%	0.6%	2.1%	6.5%	2.1%	2.1%	4.4
NJ	1.2%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	4.7%	1.3%	0.5%	4.2
OR	2.3%	3.3%	0.6%	1.2%	6.2%	1.9%	2.3%	3.9
WV	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%	*	6.5%	1.4%	2.7%	3.8
MA	1.4%	1.1%	0.2%	0.0%	4.1%	3.2%	0.7%	3.4
ME	1.1%	0.0%	0.0%	*	3.9%	1.1%	1.0%	2.9
KY	1.4%	1.3%	0.2%	0.0%	3.9%	0.7%	1.0%	2.9
UT	1.0%	2.4%	0.7%	0.7%	3.6%	1.6%	0.9%	2.8
AK	2.1%	3.0%	0.7%	2.3%	4.3%	1.9%	1.8%	2.6
WY	1.6%	2.8%	0.0%	0.0%	3.8%	1.6%	1.4%	2.4
NV	1.6%	2.9%	0.5%	1.2%	3.9%	1.3%	1.6%	2.4

State	All Students 2011-12	American Indians	Asian Americans	Hawaiian Pacific Islanders	Black Students	Latino Students	White Students	Black/ White Gap in Percentage Points
MD	1.7%	0.4%	0.2%	0.4%	3.1%	0.8%	1.0%	2.1
SD	1.1%	2.8%	0.0%	*	2.8%	0.9%	0.8%	2.0
NM	1.9%	1.9%	0.3%	0.0%	3.2%	2.1%	1.4%	1.7
VT	1.5%	0.0%	0.9%	*	2.8%	3.8%	1.4%	1.4
MT	2.2%	**6.8%**	0.0%	0.0%	2.0%	0.8%	1.4%	0.5
NH	1.1%	0.0%	0.2%	*	1.5%	1.9%	1.1%	0.5
ID	1.2%	4.0%	0.0%	0.0%	1.4%	1.2%	1.2%	0.2
ND	0.5%	2.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0%	0.3%	0.0

Highest-suspending states for each subgroup are bolded. Asterisk means that there were less than 100 students reported as enrolled in the state. Hawaii and New York were removed because of data reporting errors.

Are certain states suspending elementary school students at significantly higher rates? Before 2011-12, several states and districts had implemented initiatives to reduce suspension rates, and some focused on elementary schools in particular. In Maryland, for example, the state passed a law in 2004 that requires any elementary school that suspends over 10% of its total enrollment to engage in corrective action.[17] Connecticut passed a law in 2009, which was implemented in 2011, aimed at eliminating out-of-school suspensions except as a measure of last resort.[18] Both states are on the lower end of the overall state rankings on suspension. Maryland also had 305 lower-suspending elementary schools statewide and just 80 high-suspending schools, for a ratio of about 3.8 to 1, which is much better than the national ratio of 2.2 to 1. The number of high and lower suspending schools for each state can be found in the companion spreadsheet.

On the other hand, Florida had the highest overall suspension rates for elementary students. Furthermore, the number of high-suspending elementary schools outnumbered the lower-suspending elementary schools in only seven states—Delaware, Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, North Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi. In Missouri the numbers were just slightly higher for lower-suspending schools.

At 12.5 more Black elementary students than White elementary students suspended per every 100 enrolled, Missouri's Black-White discipline gap was the widest in the nation at the elementary level, and it also had the highest Black elementary suspension rate of any state. It is worth noting that Missouri schools had White elementary suspension rates on a par with the national average for all students. Moreover, Black elementary students in Missouri are suspended at higher rates than the state's White secondary school students.

Elementary School Suspension at the District Level

Suspension in the largest districts: In many of the nation's largest districts, the elementary school risk for out-of-school suspension is similar to the national average (2.6%). The table below shows the risk for suspension for all elementary school students in ten of the nation's largest districts for which we had reliable data in 2009-10 and 2011-12.[19] While an equal number of the selected large districts showed declines as showed increases in 2011-12, they all had suspension rates below 4% of total enrollment, and half had a rate below 2%.

Table 3. Elementary Suspension Rates in Ten of America's Largest School Districts

District	State	2009-10	2011-12	Trend in Percentage Points
LOS ANGELES UNIFIED	CA	1.5%	0.8%	-0.7
CLARK COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICT	NV	1.0%	1.5%	+0.5
HOUSTON ISD	TX	4.3%	3.8%	-0.5
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	VA	0.8%	0.3%	-0.5
DALLAS INDEPENDENT SCHOOL DISTRICT	TX	6.0%	3.2%	-2.8
GWINNETT COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	GA	1.7%	2.1%	+0.4
WAKE COUNTY SCHOOLS	NC	2.0%	1.9%	-0.1
MONTGOMERY COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	MD	0.3%	0.6%	+0.3
CHARLOTTE-MECKLENBURG SCHOOLS	NC	0.6%	3.3%	+2.7
PRINCE GEORGE'S COUNTY	MD	2.5%	2.8%	+0.2

Although not included in Table 3, the data in the companion spreadsheet show that the risk for elementary-level suspension for Black students was below 10% in all of the above large districts. Although most of these districts would not meet our criteria for "lower-suspending" for every racial group, it is noteworthy that none met the criteria for "high-suspending" either. Next we feature some of the nation's highest-suspending districts.

The Highest-Suspending Districts Have Alarming Rates of Suspension

Each of the districts below had at least 1,000 elementary school students and each suspended over 20% of its total elementary enrollment at least once in 2011-12.

Table 4. 10 Highest-Suspending Districts for ALL Elementary School Students

District	State	All OSS 2009-10	All OSS 2011-12	Trend in Percentage Points
PONTIAC CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	MI	39.6%	31.7%	-7.9
ST. LOUIS CITY	MO	17.5%	29.1%	+11.6
TROTWOOD-MADISON CITY	OH	22.1%	25.4%	+3.3
WOODLAND HILLS SD	PA	19.3%	23.8%	+4.5
NORMANDY	MO	18.1%	21.7%	+3.5
RIVERVIEW GARDENS	MO	22.9%	21.4%	-1.5
EAST CLEVELAND CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	OH	22.9%	21.2%	-1.7
EAST DETROIT PUBLIC SCHOOLS	MI	10.0%	20.9%	+10.9
YORK CITY SD	PA	n/a	20.6%	n/a
TAYLOR	FL	n/a	20.5%	n/a

Three of the highest-suspending districts for elementary school students were in Missouri, and two each were in Ohio, Michigan, and Pennsylvania. Given the unrest in Ferguson, Missouri, it is worth noting that Michael Brown reportedly attended high school in Normandy, Missouri, which, like Riverview Gardens (cited above as one of the highest-suspending districts in the nation for elementary students), is part of the greater St. Louis metropolitan area.[20] St Louis is also on the list.

In five of the ten districts with the highest elementary suspension rates, rates have risen significantly since 2009-10: For example, rates rose by over nine percentage points in East Detroit, Michigan and St. Louis. However, rates decreased significantly (by eight points) in the highest-suspending district, Pontiac, Michigan, and by over 1 point in Riverview Gardens, Missouri, and East Cleveland, Ohio.

Students with disabilities were also suspended at a high rate in these districts, between 29% and 47% of their enrollment, and at a substantially higher rate than their peers without disabilities. Black male suspension rates in elementary school in these highest-suspending districts ranged from 31% to 56%.

Demographics are not destiny: Demographically, the seven highest-suspending districts all had majority Black enrollment, although the range was from 26% to 99% Black. Only one district, Taylor, Florida, was majority White, at 67%.

In searching for districts to compare with those above, we found 51 districts from across the nation with at least 25% Black enrollment and at least 1,000 elementary school students, where elementary suspension rates were under 3% for all students and under 3% for Black students (range 2.78% to 0.22%). These included large urban districts, such as Broward County, Florida, and Boston, Massachusetts.

There would have been many more districts in this category, but we eliminated all that reported suspending no elementary students or no Black elementary students. Although it is not uncommon for elementary schools to have zero suspensions, we suspect that some such districts failed to report their data. Black enrollment in these low-suspending comparison districts ranged from 25% to 96%. Furthermore, we found that suspension rates for elementary students in 35 of the lower-suspending districts had declined since 2009-2010. In other words, readers would be wrong to assume that something about the behavior of Black elementary students requires greater use of suspension. To the contrary, these data, along with several studies that tracked behavior ratings of students as well as disciplinary outcomes (Skiba, 2015; Finn, 2015; Fabelo, 2011) suggest that Black students are punished more harshly and more often for subjective minor offenses. Instead, researchers conclude that school policies and practices more than differences in behaviors, predict higher suspension rates (Skiba, 2015; Finn, 2015; Fabelo, 2011; Bradshaw, 2011).

The large number of high-suspending elementary districts in Missouri prompted further investigation into these patterns. Did Missouri's districts look different from other states? Like all states, within the state, Missouri's suspension rates and racial gaps vary dramatically from one district to the next.

When we looked at the 51 districts in Missouri that enrolled at least 1,000 elementary school students and at least 100 Black students, we found that some of these districts relied on suspension far more than others. Four districts—St. Louis, Kansas City, Normandy, and Riverview Gardens—had rates above 20% for Black elementary students. These four districts also enrolled about one-third of all the state's Black elementary school students. Although the racial gaps were large—28 more Black than White students suspended per 100 enrolled in St. Louis—the four districts were also among the highest-suspending for White elementary school students. Another 11 districts had Black elementary suspension rates above 10% but below 20%. It deserves mention that about 4/5^{ths} of the state's Black enrollment attends elementary school in a district with suspension rates above 10% for Black elementary students. However, 15 districts had rates between 5% and 10% for Black elementary students, and 21 districts serving 8,685 Black elementary students had suspension rates below 5% for those Black students. In other words,

even in Missouri, far more school districts had Black elementary suspension rates that were close to the national average for all elementary students (2.6%) than had high suspension rates (above 10%). Finally, although a full-scale review of each state's code of conduct is beyond the scope of this report, we found nothing in Missouri's code to suggest there was a particularly harsh state policy.

Elementary School Students with Disabilities Are at Profound Risk in Some School Districts

When we looked at districts with at least 100 elementary students with disabilities and at least 1,000 students enrolled, we found shocking suspension rates for students with disabilities in 37 school districts—more than 25%! We list the top ten in the table below and compare the rates for students without disabilities (SWOD) to those with disabilities (SWD) to give a clear picture of the broad scope of the problem.

Table 5. Students with Disabilities Compared to Those without in Highest-Suspending Elementary School Districts

District	State	OSS for Elementary SWOD	OSS for Elementary SWD	The Percentage Point Difference
CLOVIS UNIFIED	CA	3.8%	56.9%	53.1
TROY CITY	AL	0.5%	40.9%	40.4
CLOVER PARK SCHOOL DISTRICT	WA	9.6%	46.8%	37.3
MADISON CO SCHOOL DIST	MS	1.5%	38.1%	36.6
NAVASOTA ISD	TX	5.6%	39.1%	33.5
EDGEFIELD 01	SC	0.6%	27.5%	26.9
AVOYELLES PARISH	LA	7.2%	33.9%	26.7
LAKE	FL	6.7%	28.7%	22.0
FREDERICKSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS	VA	6.6%	28.6%	22.0
HANOVER AREA SD	PA	7.8%	29.7%	21.9

Disability rights are in jeopardy: The huge differences observed between students with and without disabilities are shocking. In a separate analysis we found that students with an emotional disturbance or with significant learning disabilities had the highest risk for suspension among students with disabilities (Losen, Ee, Hodson, & Martinez, 2015). The inference from that study is worth repeating:

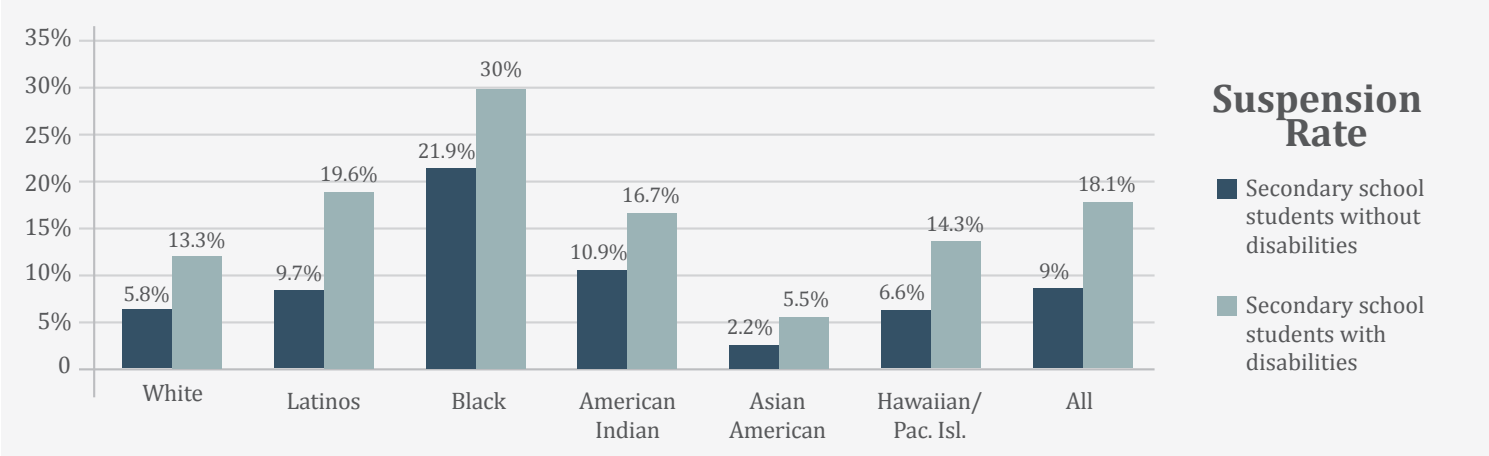
> One plausible explanation is that students with such disabilities are more likely to misbehave because of their disability. However, suspending students for behavior that is a manifestation of their disability is unlawful. Moreover, schools are obligated to determine if the disability is causing the misbehavior . . . It is their legal responsibility *not* to suspend children because of their disabilities. (Losen et al., 2015, p. 99)

Secondary Suspension Rates

Are we closing the school discipline gap at the secondary level? Perhaps, but only slightly. At the national level, since 2009-10, suspension rates declined for Black, Latino, and White secondary school students. During the same period, the racial gap narrowed slightly while rates declined overall, from about 11.3% to 10.1%. Because the 2009-10 national data were based on a sample of all districts and those for 2011-12 were universal, we offer the conservative estimate that the national suspension rates declined slightly while the racial gaps narrowed. The data for 2013-14 are just being gathered now, and this additional period of data will more firmly establish whether these observed trends are true.

As described in the national summary, students with disabilities have the highest risk for suspension. Although even larger disparities are observed when we add gender to the analysis, the graph below, which is similar to our elementary-level analysis, displays the gap in secondary suspension rates by race in 2011-12 for students with disabilities, as compared to their non-disabled peers.

Figure 7. Comparison of Risk for Suspension for Secondary Students by Disability Status, and Race/Ethnicity, 2011-12



As with the elementary school analysis, at the secondary level we observe tremendous disciplinary gaps between students with and without disabilities, which holds for each racial group. Typically, students with disabilities at this level are twice as likely to be suspended as their non-disabled peers, which raises serious questions as to whether schools are denying students with disabilities a free appropriate public education (FAPE), and whether they are unlawfully suspending students because of behavior caused by their disability or that results from the district's failure to meet their special education needs.

The Distribution of Suspension Rates at the Secondary Levels Suggests High Rates are Not Normal: This report provides numerous examples of districts in which the racial gap in suspensions narrowed substantially, as well as those in which it increased. In fact, the companion spreadsheet labeled "trends"

answers this question at the secondary level for every district, which reported accurate data in 2009-10. Explaining the reasons for the observed changes at the district level is beyond the scope of this report, but we do intersperse our analysis of gaps and trends over time at the secondary level with our analysis of large districts and high-suspending schools for 2011-12. To contextualize those findings, we begin by describing the very large scope of suspension rates from all the districts across the nation. The Figure 8 and Table 6 below provide the scope of district suspension rates for each racial/ethnic group at the secondary level.

Figure 8. The Distribution of Suspension Rates by Race/Ethnicity 2011-12

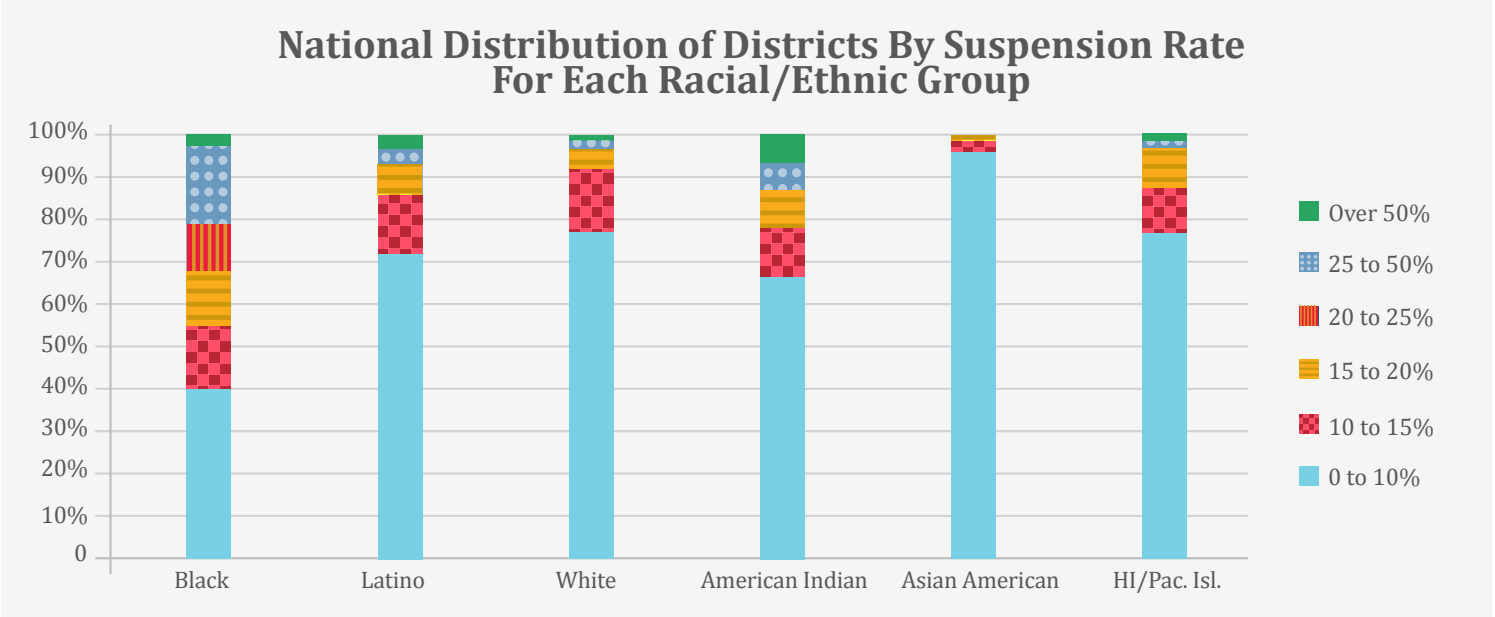


Table 6. Distribution of Secondary District Suspension Rates by Race/Ethnicity

Secondary Level: Distribution of Suspension Rates

	≤10	>10 and ≤15	>15 and ≤20	>20 and ≤25	>25 and ≤50	>50	Total Districts*
Black	40%	15%	14%	10%	19%	2%	5,865
Latino	71%	14%	7%	3%	4%	0%	7,640
White	80%	12%	5%	2%	2%	0%	10,965
Am. Indian	67%	12%	9%	5%	7%	0%	2,455
Asian	97%	2%	1%	0%	0%	0%	4,560
H/Pac. Islander	78%	11%	7%	2%	2%	0%	725
All	72%	13%	6%	3%	4%	0%	11,490

*Percentages rounded to whole numbers. Some rows do not add up to 100% due to rounding. *District totals rounded to nearest 5.*

As the distribution of suspension rates by racial/ethnic group demonstrates, we can identify hundreds of school districts where one or more racial group is being suspended at an extraordinarily high rate. However, for each group there are more districts at the low end than at the high end of the suspension spectrum. A similarly wide distribution is observed when we break down the suspension rates by state. In the table below, the states are ranked by the Black/White gap; the highest-suspending states for each subgroup are bolded.

Table 7. State Secondary Suspension Rates by Race/Ethnicity, with Black-White Gap

State	All	American Indians	Asian Americans	Hawaiian/ Pacific Islanders	Blacks	Latinos	Whites	Black/ White Gap	English Learners	With Disabilities
WI	7%	12%	2%	2%	**34%**	11%	4%	**30**	8%	18%
NE	8%	13%	4%	3%	31%	9%	5%	26	9%	15%
TN	13%	8%	4%	6%	29%	11%	7%	22	11%	19%
MO	10%	8%	3%	5%	27%	10%	7%	20	9%	17%
AL	16%	11%	3%	3%	29%	8%	9%	20	5%	21%
IN	11%	8%	3%	1%	28%	13%	8%	20	12%	19%
IA	6%	7%	2%	4%	25%	10%	4%	20	8%	12%
MI	12%	10%	3%	1%	28%	13%	8%	20	12%	20%
IL	10%	8%	2%	3%	25%	10%	6%	19	11%	17%
OH	10%	2%	2%	6%	26%	12%	7%	19	12%	17%
AR	12%	5%	2%	**15%**	26%	9%	7%	19	9%	16%
PA	8%	3%	2%	2%	24%	16%	5%	19	9%	14%
FL	**19%**	17%	3%	13%	31%	19%	**14%**	17	10%	**37%**
DE	15%	9%	3%	*	26%	15%	9%	17	16%	26%
NC	13%	**21%**	2%	6%	25%	12%	8%	16	10%	23%
SC	16%	17%	3%	10%	26%	13%	10%	16	10%	26%
MN	5%	14%	2%	1%	19%	8%	3%	16	7%	13%
TX	9%	5%	2%	5%	19%	9%	4%	15	13%	16%
KS	7%	6%	2%	0%	19%	10%	5%	15	10%	12%
MS	16%	5%	3%	*	23%	7%	9%	15	3%	23%
GA	13%	9%	3%	7%	21%	10%	7%	15	11%	19%
KY	9%	7%	2%	0%	22%	8%	8%	14	9%	17%
OK	10%	8%	3%	9%	22%	15%	8%	14	16%	14%
WV	14%	3%	2%	*	27%	12%	13%	14	7%	18%
VA	10%	8%	2%	4%	21%	8%	7%	14	6%	18%
CT	7%	8%	1%	7%	17%	13%	3%	14	11%	14%
RI	14%	**21%**	**7%**	**15%**	24%	**21%**	11%	13	**17%**	24%
NV	9%	11%	3%	8%	20%	10%	7%	13	15%	28%
NJ	8%	6%	2%	5%	18%	11%	5%	13	6%	14%
CA	9%	13%	3%	7%	20%	10%	7%	13	11%	17%
NH	9%	5%	2%	*	21%	11%	8%	13	9%	17%
LA	14%	12%	3%	0%	20%	10%	9%	12	10%	26%
WA	8%	14%	3%	13%	19%	11%	7%	11	13%	18%
CO	8%	11%	3%	5%	16%	12%	6%	11	11%	15%
OR	8%	13%	3%	7%	18%	10%	7%	11	12%	15%
MA	8%	11%	3%	5%	16%	14%	6%	10	11%	15%
MD	9%	9%	2%	5%	15%	7%	6%	9	6%	18%
SD	6%	**21%**	4%	*	13%	9%	3%	9	13%	11%
NM	13%	14%	4%	0%	17%	15%	8%	9	14%	19%
AZ	9%	17%	3%	8%	15%	10%	7%	8	14%	16%
AK	7%	9%	3%	12%	14%	8%	6%	7	9%	13%

State	All	American Indians	Asian Americans	Hawaiian/ Pacific Islanders	Blacks	Latinos	Whites	Black/ White Gap	English Learners	With Disabilities
UT	4%	9%	2%	7%	10%	8%	3%	7	6%	8%
WY	6%	12%	1%	0%	12%	8%	5%	7	3%	10%
ME	7%	7%	1%	*	12%	7%	7%	5	9%	13%
ID	6%	8%	2%	6%	9%	8%	5%	4	6%	9%
ND	3%	11%	0%	*	5%	4%	2%	3	5%	5%
MT	7%	17%	0%	3%	7%	7%	5%	2	19%	13%
VT	8%	16%	1%	*	9%	7%	8%	1	5%	16%

Hawaii and New York were removed because of data reporting errors. Asterisk indicates less than 100 students in the state in that subgroup.

It is worth noting the scope of each subgroup's suspension rates, as well as gaps between them. For Blacks the range was 7% to 35%; for Latinos, 4% to 21%; for Whites, 2% to 14%; and for Asian Americans the range was 0% to 11%.

The highest-suspending state for ALL secondary students was Florida, at 19%. Rounding out the top three were Alabama, South Carolina, and Mississippi, tied for second at 16%, and Delaware was third at 15%. Florida, Mississippi, and Delaware were also the three highest-suspending states at the elementary level. Most notable is that with a rate of 37%, Florida's secondary students with disabilities were suspended at the highest rate of all.

Table 8. Highest-Suspending States by Racial/Ethnic Group and English Learners at Secondary Level

Group	All	Black	White	Latino	American Indian	Asian American	HI/Pac. Isl.	EL
State	FL	WI	FL	RI	NC	RI	RI	MT
Rate	19%	34%	14%	21%	21%	7%	15%	19%

Curiously, when we ranked the states from high to low for each subgroup, the 20 highest-suspending states varied a good deal from the 20 highest for ALL students. Not surprisingly, Florida, Alabama, South Carolina, and Rhode Island were among the 20 highest-suspending overall for each group ranked separately. Mississippi and Delaware were both among the top 20 for all groups, except American Indians. Some states were among the highest-suspending states for a specific group but not high-suspending for ALL students. For example, Wisconsin stood out as the highest-suspending state for African Americans (34%) and was among the top 20 for Latino and American Indian students, but it was not among the top 20 overall. Similarly, Massachusetts and Connecticut were among the top ten for Latinos but were not among the top 20 for ALL students, or for any other racial or ethnic group.

Montana stood out because it was the highest-suspending state for English learners but otherwise was only among the top 20 for American Indians. Also striking is that Arizona, Massachusetts, and California, the three states with English-only education requirements, were among the top 20 states for English learners but were not among the top 20 for ALL students. Although beyond the scope of this descriptive report, these data raise questions about the possible influence some state policy restrictions have on teaching English learners and the higher risk of suspension they experience in those states.

Secondary Rates by Race and Gender

Our current examination of suspension rates at the secondary level, when disaggregated by race and gender, reveals that, despite our estimate of a slight decline in rates, Black males face the greatest risk for suspension. This rate is nearly 19 points higher than that for White males.

Meanwhile, Black females' suspension rate of 17.9% is the second highest rate, and also alarmingly high. Some advocates have expressed concern that the plight of Black females in the school-to-prison pipeline has not received enough attention (LDF Report, 2014)(Blake, 2015). A prior study of middle school rates, based on a sample of large urban districts, suggested that between 2002 and 2006, Black females' suspension rates increased at a greater rate than those of any other subgroup (Skiba & Losen, 2012). Worth noting is the fact that the Black female rate is not only 14 percentage points higher than that of White females (3.8%) and higher than that of all other females, it is also higher than the rate for all male subgroups, except Black males (28.4%).

Table 9. National Rates by Race, with Gender, at the Secondary Level

	Black	American Indian	Latino	White	HI/ Pac. Isl.	Asian American
Male	28.4%	15.2%	14.4%	9.4%	9.6%	3.7%
Female	17.9%	8.1%	6.9%	3.8%	4.7%	1.0%

Further, if one compares the highest to lowest suspended subgroup **across** race and gender status we find some of the most profound discipline disparities even within the same grade configuration. For example, nationally the rate for Black secondary level males compared to that of Asian American secondary females, means that Black male students experience at least 27 more suspensions per 100 enrolled. Given what we know about the counterproductive nature of frequent use of out of school suspension, even to those who believe boys are less well behaved than girls, we assert that all misbehaving youth deserve an educationally sound response to their misbehavior, whereby out of school suspensions are truly measures of last resort. These profound cross-sectional gaps also raise concerns about whether the structure of the learning environment and response to misbehavior is appropriate developmentally, and culturally responsive to all members of a student body.

Secondary Rates at the District Level

A relatively small percentage of school districts are extraordinarily high suspending. This is an important finding for federal-, state-, and district-level policymakers, school leaders, and civil rights enforcement agents. To deepen our understanding, and as a tool for stakeholders, we counted the number of high-suspending and lower-suspending schools for each district and aggregated these numbers at the state and national level.

High- and lower-suspending school counts at the secondary level for the nation. We have labeled all schools where one or more major racial or ethnic group had suspension rates of more than 25% of their secondary school enrollment as high-suspending. As a contrast, we also provide the number of lower-suspending secondary schools in the same districts. In our prior report, *Out of School and Off Track,* we found that large districts often had high numbers of both (Losen & Martinez, 2013).

As mentioned in the national overview, when we aggregate our counts of high- and lower-suspending schools up to the national level, we find, for example, that of the 34,000 secondary schools that met the criteria, 24% suspended a quarter or more of at least one major racial or ethnic group. Although that distribution may be alarming, we found that even more secondary schools (38%) were lower-suspending than high-suspending.

Many Districts Show Dramatic Reductions Overall and a Decrease in the Discipline Gap

Figure 9. Average Per-District Decline by Subgroup, 2009-10 to 2011-12, across the 28 Districts with the Greatest Declines

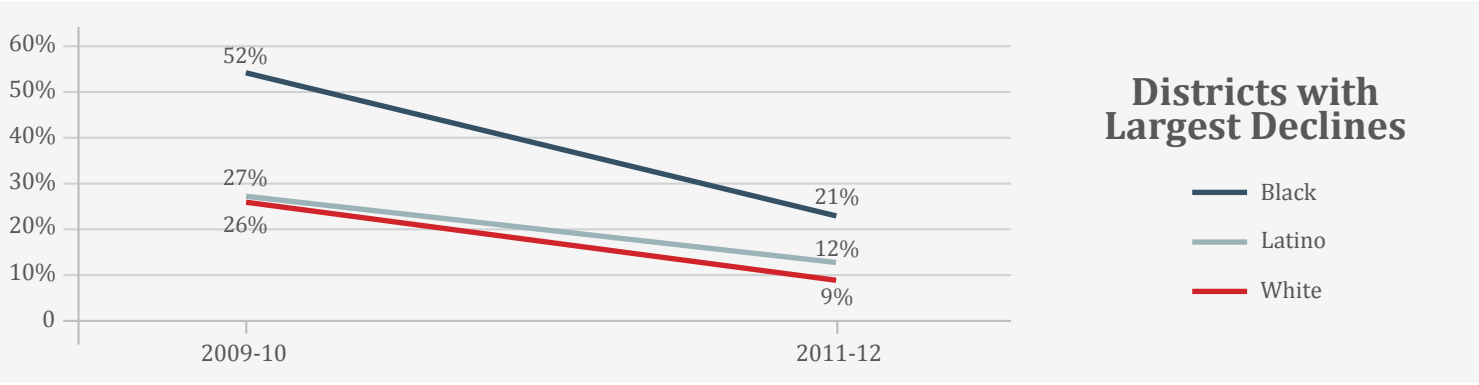


Table 10. Sample of the Most-Improved Large Districts, ALL Secondary Students

District	State	Suspension rate ALL 2009-2010	Suspension rate ALL 2011-12	Increase or decrease in suspension rate ALL since 2009-2010	Disaggregated Trend
SAGINAW CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	MI	43.0%	28.5%	-14.5	Black -18 White -3 Latino -14
FORT WAYNE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS	IN	37.1%	22.3%	-14.8	Black -27 White -12 Latino -9
LANCASTER 01	SC	30.2%	14.4%	-15.8	Black -24 White -12 Latino -19
WICHITA	KS	24.4%	8.5%	-15.9	Black -27 White -11 Latino -14
PASQUOTANK COUNTY SCHOOLS	NC	21.1%	4.2%	-16.9	Black -24 White -12 Latino + 11
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	VA	31.0%	13.8%	-17.2	Black -29 White -8 Latino – 16
BLOOM TWP HSD 206	IL	47.4%	24.9%	-22.5	Black -25 White -12 Latino -21
WORCESTER	MA	37.0%	15.5%	-22.5	Black -27 White -19 Latino -29
VISALIA UNIFIED	CA	40.5%	15.5%	-25.0	Black -33 White -20 Latino -28
RICHMOND COUNTY	GA	58.4%	12.4%	-46.0	Black -53 White -25 Latino + 7

We analyzed 28 large school districts (at least 3,000 enrolled) that showed the greatest improvement in reducing overall suspension rates at the secondary level. Not all of them narrowed the racial disparities in their discipline rates, but most did. When we combined the results from those 28 districts and looked at the per-district averages, the change dwarfed the documented change in the national average. The details on each of the 28 most improved large districts are provided in the appendix. The companion spreadsheet provides detailed analysis on this subject for every district, with valid data from both years.

The highest-suspending districts for secondary school students. In the beginning of each section of this report we have highlighted the fact that the majority of schools are not in the high-suspending category. However, those that are have shockingly high rates. Although very high rates are sometimes found when the number of students enrolled is very small, we have avoided that problem by presenting only the highest-suspending districts with enrollments of at least 1,000 students and two years of data with no obvious errors. We also remind readers that, in each case, a top-level district administrator or superintendent certified that the data were accurate before submitting them to a federal civil rights enforcement agency.

Table 11. ALL Students: Districts with the Highest Suspension Rates, Further Disaggregated by Gender and Disability

District	State	OSS ALL	Trend for OSS Rates	M	F	All Students with Disabilities
CAHOKIA CUSD 187	IL	61.7%	+9.9	67.5%	57.1%	62.0%
GREENVILLE PUBLIC SCHOOLS	MS	58.5%	+6.3	73.6%	43.2%	51.3%
SOUTHFIELD PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT	MI	57.2%	+22.5	60.5%	53.8%	56.4%
PINE BLUFF SCHOOL DISTRICT	AR	52.5%	+8.8	61.3%	43.8%	0.0%
OAK PARK CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	MI	52.4%	-17	58.4%	45.7%	63.2%
MAPLE HEIGHTS CITY	OH	49.4%	+24.6	56.7%	40.8%	52.9%
RIVERVIEW GARDENS	MO	49.3%	+1.3	54.0%	44.5%	85.1%
NORMANDY	MO	48.4%	+20.5	56.2%	39.6%	72.3%
ESPANOLA PUBLIC SCHOOLS	NM	46.8%	+20.4	68.3%	26.8%	23.3%
OKLAHOMA CITY	OK	45.2%	+20.5	53.7	36.6	49.4

The ten highest-suspending districts overall: The top ten highest suspending districts at the secondary level include two of the same Missouri districts identified at the elementary school level, Riverview Gardens and Normandy, Missouri. Interestingly, half of the districts showed a large increase in suspension rates, thus it is unlikely that those with an increase of 20 points or more were among the highest suspending in 2009-10. On the other hand, Riverview Gardens showed just small increase and, remarkably, the 52% rate for Oak Park represents a decline of 17 percentage points.

The ten highest-suspending districts are classified according to suspension rates rather than racial composition. However, each of the top eight had a Black student enrollment of over 92%. One, however, Espanola Public Schools, had only 3% Black enrollment and 89% Latino enrollment. Oklahoma City was 45% Latino and 27% Black. None had a White enrollment of over 20%. Although a full exploration of the relationship between racial and socioeconomic isolation and high suspension rates is beyond the scope of this report, we note that the highest-suspending school districts are often found in the most highly segregated school districts.

Highest-Suspending School Districts for Each Major Racial/Ethnic Group

Thus far we have highlighted the racial gaps and trends over time for large districts and the highest suspending for ALL students. The following set of tables focuses on districts with at least 1,000 secondary students and at least 500 students from the racial group in question. For the first four subgroups, Blacks, Latinos, Whites, and American Indians, we provide trend analysis by comparing 2011-12 data to those from 2009-10. We omitted the trend analysis for Asian Americans and Hawaiians/ Pacific Islanders because many districts combined them in 2009-10, and in 2011-12 all districts reported on these groups separately.

We chose these parameters to provide a clear sense of how the excessive use of out-of-school suspension was experienced by each group in the districts where they were well represented in the total enrollment. We further disaggregate by gender and disability status within each group. In the last three columns we describe the trend in the suspension rate for the group in question and for White students and end with gap trend, which tells whether it widened or narrowed for the particular subgroup. For the highest suspending districts for Whites we compare to Blacks.

Table 12. Black Students: Suspension Rates by Gender

District	State	All	M	F	Black Trend	White Trend	B/W Gap Trend
OKLAHOMA CITY	OK	64.2%	75.0%	54.0%	+27.9	+16.7	+11.2
CAHOKIA CUSD 187	IL	63.4%	68.2%	58.5%	+8.9	+36.7	-27.8
GREENVILLE PUBLIC SCHLS	MS	59.0%	74.5%	43.5%	+5.8	0	+5.8

Numbers rounded to the nearest 10th

Table 13. Latino Students: Suspension Rates by Gender

District	State	All	M	F	Latino Trend	White Trend	L/W Gap Trend
FALL RIVER	MA	50.3%	59.1%	39.7%	+16.3	+9.8	+6.5
ESPANOLA PUBLIC SCHLS	NM	49.8%	72.4%	28.7%	+22.9	+20.8	+2.1
HOLYOKE	MA	42.4%	46.4%	38.7%	-15.4	-4.6	-10.8

Table 14. White Students: Suspension Rates by Gender

District	State	All	M	F	W Trend	B Trend	B/W Gap Trend
KANSAS CITY	KS	38.4%	47.8%	28.0%	+17.6	+15.3	-2.3
WESTMINSTER, SCHL DISTRICT NO. 50	CO	35.7%	47.4%	23.8%	+22.1	+45.1	+23.0
AMHERST CO PBLC SCHLS	VA	35.6%	45.3%	24.7%	+7.2	+14.6	+7.4

Table 15. American Indian Students: Suspension Rates by Gender

District	State	All	M	F	Am. Ind. Trend	White Trend	Am. Ind./ White Gap
OKLAHOMA CITY	OK	51.0%	60.0%	40.0%	+31.2	+16.7	+14.5
ROBESON COUNTY SCHLS	NC	32.0%	42.5%	21.7%	-3.1	+3.8	-6.8
SIOUX FALLS SCHL DISTRICT 49-5	SD	30.1%	37.9%	21.5%	+3.3	-0.4	+3.7

These tables demonstrate that some districts suspend students from many racial/ethnic groups at extraordinarily high rates, including Whites. Furthermore, male suspension rates exceed female suspension rates within each racial group.

The next set of tables is for Asian American and Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students. Keep in mind that, by setting the parameters to include an enrollment of at least 500 students from the group in question, many districts where these subgroups were suspended at even higher rates were not included.

Table 16. Asian American Suspension Rates by Gender

District	State	All	M	F
BREA OLINDA UNIFIED	CA	17.2%	23.4%	10.5%
COLUMBUS CITY SCHL DISTRICT	OH	13.0%	19.6%	6.3%
SCHENECTADY CITY SCHL DISTRICT	NY	14.0%	19.1%	8.2%

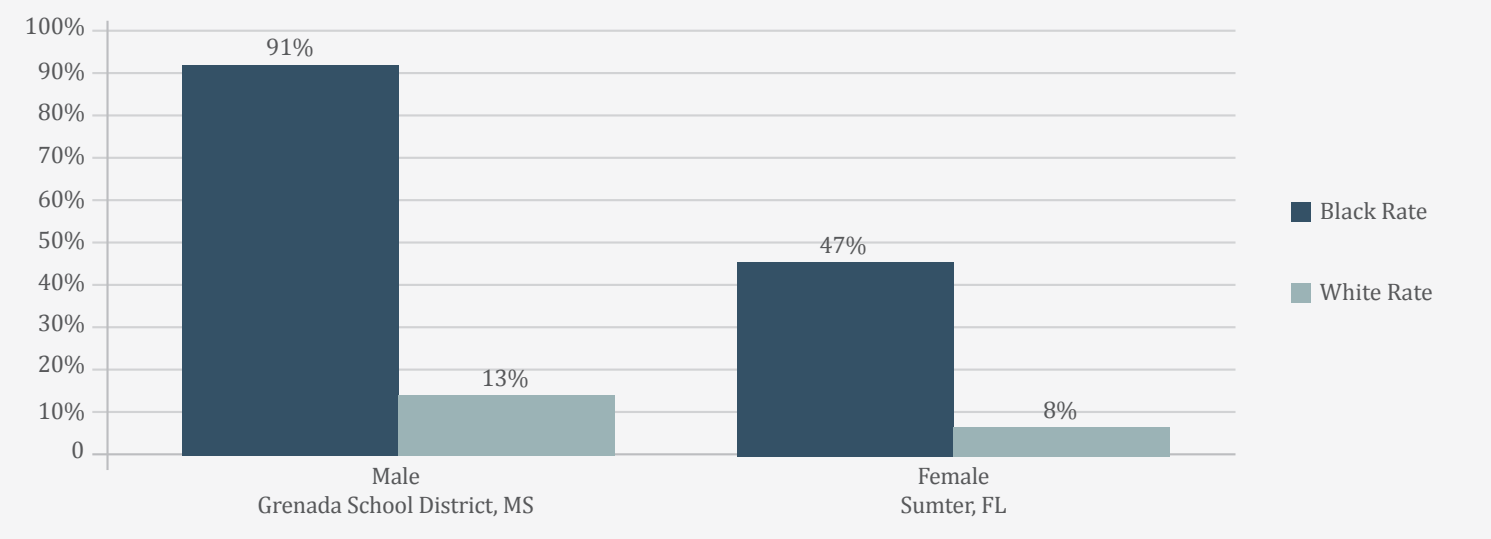
Among all racial/ethnic groups, Asian American students tend to have the lowest suspension rates. While these rates are still very high, and while some districts suspended Asian Americans at even higher rates, each of these districts enrolled at least 500 Asian American students.[22]

Table 17. Hawaiian/Pacific Islander Suspension Rates by Gender

District	State	All	M	F
SPRINGDALE SCHOOL DISTRICT	AR	18.8%	26.8%	10.5%
ANCHORAGE SCHOOL DISTRICT	AK	14.5%	16.8%	10.8%
LONG BEACH UNIFIED	CA	11.6%	13.3%	8.3%

We conclude our secondary-level analysis by highlighting the districts with the largest Black/White racial gaps, further disaggregated by gender. We present two districts, one featuring males and the other females. In each case there were at least 100 members of each racial/gender group and the district's total enrollment was at least 1,000.

Figure 10. Districts with Largest Black/White Racial and Gender Gaps



When looking more closely at the gaps in suspension rates among Black and White students, we focused on the combination of race and gender and found deeply disturbing disparities. At 78 percentage points, the Grenada School District had the greatest disparity between Black and White males. Sumter Florida had the greatest disparity between Black and White females, with a gap of 39 percentage points. Raleigh County, West Virginia, also had a 39 point disparity between Black and White females. One recent study posited that Black females' lack of adherence to traditional gender roles makes them more likely to be disciplined at school than their peers who adhere more closely to "standards of femininity" (Blake, Butler, & Smith, 2015). Given the high rates and extraordinarily large gaps revealed by the intersection of race and gender, we join the call for more research into the discipline gap at these intersections, as they raise questions about the possible influence of race-specific gender bias and stereotypes.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Parents, Educators, Policymakers, and the Media Need to Understand School Discipline More Fully and Address Disparities

A school's or district's excessive use of exclusionary discipline should raise alarms about the negative impact on the learning environment, student achievement, graduation rates, and rates of juvenile crime and delinquency in the larger community. Elementary schools that suspend one out of ten students every year and secondary schools that suspend over a quarter of their enrollment—whether overall rates or for a major subgroup—are far out of line with most schools across the nation. This is made clear by looking at the distribution of suspension rates at both school levels. Specifically, there are more schools and districts at the low end of the suspending spectrum than at the high end. However, we do not suggest that slightly lower rates are healthy or that racial disparities within lower-suspending schools and districts are not problematic. As the Council of State Governments' Consensus Report states, researchers and child development experts agree that suspending a child out of school should be a measure of last resort. There is a consensus on this point among many of the nation's leading school administrators, representatives of national teachers unions, law enforcement officers, juvenile justices, researchers, experts in child development and psychology, parent and community based organizations and civil rights advocates (CSG, 2014).

We have strong evidence from other research studies cited throughout this report and found in the new research volume, *Closing the School Discipline Gap,* that the main engines of the observed differences in suspension rates are school policies, practices, and leadership, rather than differences in student behavior. This suggests that district leaders have the power and capacity to eliminate excessive disciplinary exclusion, and thus the large disparities it often produces.

Civil Rights Enforcement Efforts Are Under Way

Even before a joint letter of guidance on this issue was sent by the departments of justice and education in January 2014, the U.S. Department of Education had started to step up enforcement efforts regarding potentially discriminatory discipline. We asked the OCR to provide us with all race-based discipline complaints and reviews between September 2009 and July 2012 to give us a rough idea of federal activities in the nation's school districts for the period covered by this report. During that time there were 821 discipline-based complaints and agency-initiated compliance reviews, of which 789 were resolved. As of our inquiry in the fall of 2014, of those resolved, 55 resulted in an agreement to address discipline policies and/or practices, and 32 remain under investigation. It is important to note that few complaints of this nature result in findings of a violation, because most are resolved through a resolution agreement with the school district in question.

In terms of geographic scope, there were complaints or compliance reviews in all states except Alaska, Montana, North Dakota, Vermont, and Wyoming. Enforcement agencies have helped a great deal by issuing guidance, initiating compliance reviews, and investigating complaints. They need to do a great deal more, but evaluating their efforts is beyond the scope of this report.

Ultimately, however, the task of improving learning conditions by eliminating excessive and disproportionate discipline will require a more widespread acknowledgement of the problem and a deeper commitment to changing practices and policies in ways that are informed by the research. It is worth repeating that approximately 1.1 million White students were suspended out of school in 2011-12, compared to approximately 700,000 Latino and 1.2 million Black students (CRDC, 2014). Thus, reducing the harm to students by limiting suspension to a measure of last resort will benefit millions.

We believe that the empirical district- and school-level data support our main conclusion—that educators have an opportunity to implement serious reform in this area and are legally and morally obligated to do so. We have found that the racial gap nationwide remains as large as it was in 2009-10, but that many districts have shown dramatic reductions in suspension rates and narrowed the racial gap. Recent efforts include changes in state laws or regulations, such as those made in California (2014), Maryland (2014), Massachusetts (2013), and Virginia (2013), among others.

The 2011-12 data this report is based on is the most recent, most consistent, most detailed and the only uniform collection of suspension data available from every district in the nation. Although we anticipate that newer data will reveal substantial improvements in some states and districts, there is no question that much more reform is needed if we are to be successful in closing the school discipline gap.

Recommendations

Based on the empirical evidence in this report and the new findings in our book, *Closing the School Discipline Gap,* along with additional research produced by the Disparities in Discipline Research Collaborative, we set forth three basic recommendations that we believe will help ensure that effective reforms are pursued.

- **Data:** Mine the discipline data for lessons about what works, and to expose what isn't working, including annual and public review of discipline data disaggregated by race, disability, and gender, down to the school level.

- **Support:** Give districts and schools the resources they need to provide effective training and professional development for teachers and school leaders. Educators need adequate training to ensure that they can fulfill their legal and professional responsibility to avoid unjustifiable use of disciplinary exclusion. This includes providing access to information and training on implementing practical alternative strategies. All schools must be given the capacity and skills to provide effective behavioral supports for students who need help to stay in school and to be successful academically and socially.

- **Accountability:** Make evaluations of school climate an equal factor among those used to evaluate school and district performance, and for accountability measures. Protect the civil rights of all children and ensure that all schools provide equal educational opportunity for all.

For each of the above, we conclude with a series of audience-specific recommendations: for members of the media, for federal and state policymakers, for educators, and for parents and child advocates.

For members of the media:

Data: Mining the data includes seeking missing information and supporting federal and state laws that require public reporting of school discipline data. The public often receives data on school discipline one or two years after it has been collected. Another part of the problem is that the national data are only collected every other year and often are only sampled. In addition to requesting discipline data from districts annually, the media has a role to play in highlighting blatant noncompliance with public reporting requirements if school districts report clearly erroneous data or refuse to report it, and in pressuring school authorities to make timely corrections.

Support: The media can support what works by making a conscious effort to find and feature districts that have successfully improved their learning environment without relying on Draconian discipline. Furthermore, when schools and districts appear to be using excessively punitive discipline that has a disparate impact on students, the media should question school authorities about their justification for these methods and whether they explored alternatives. Secondary schools boasting higher achievement as a result of strict discipline policies should be queried about their attrition rates and the graduation rates among suspended students.

Accountability: The media rarely describe discipline data as an indicator of school performance or achievement. Because suspension data do reflect the efficacy of the learning environment, reporting on school discipline should become a regular part of reporting on school performance and accountability, along with test scores and graduation rates. When covering concerns about safety and discipline, the media should raise questions about the impact that leaving large numbers of children unsupervised in the community at large has on community safety, as well as the long-term safety implications of frequent suspensions that lead to higher dropout and delinquency rates.

For federal and state policymakers:

Data: One major reason we often do not see or understand the connections between high suspension rates and unhealthy school environments and poor academic outcomes is that the discipline data are not regularly reported to the public. Federal and state legislators could change this quickly, as several states already have done. The simple solution is to make reporting on school discipline an annual federal requirement. In fact, there is a federal requirement that states report on discipline data for students with disabilities. This should be extended to cover all students, and require reporting at the school and district levels as well as the state level. If faced with gridlock in Congress, state legislators and administrators should follow examples from California, Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, Maryland, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Texas, Virginia, and Wisconsin, all of which made reporting disaggregated discipline data a requirement under state law or regulation. Moreover, data reporting efforts should capture the cross-sections, such as race with gender and with disability status to ensure that the confluence of race, gender, and disability bias does not go unnoticed when identifying problems and in the implementation and evaluation of remedies.

Federal and state policymakers should ensure that schools have the technical support they need to annually collect and report student discipline data to the public and positive incentives for meeting the requirements. That said, if schools and districts flaunt reporting requirements, policymakers should

enforce penalties for noncompliance. These might include withholding of administrative funds or disqualification from competitive grant opportunities.

Support: What too few policymakers realize is that addressing excessive disciplinary exclusion by improving school climate, and by finding more effective approaches to address student misbehavior, are among several essential and related elements of efforts to improve academic outcomes for all students. Mining the data also means that public funds need to support empirical and qualitative research to help document and replicate approaches that are successful and eliminate those that are not working. Moreover, as federal and state legislatures and school board members pursue reform of education statutes or revise regulations, they should concentrate on changing state codes to curtail the use of suspensions for minor offenses, and provide districts with funding and incentives to pursue more effective interventions. Incentives can include competitive grant opportunities to initiate effective research-based interventions.

Accountability: Federal and state policymakers can also create incentives by including discipline disparities among school and district accountability measures. Moreover, accountability requires state and federal policymakers to directly support civil rights enforcement agencies' efforts to use the data to identify and intervene where misguided district policies and practices are producing profound disparities in school exclusion, even absent an intent to discriminate.

For educators:

Data: Not only does the reporting of suspension vary dramatically from one school or district to the next, there is great variation in the use of data. School administrators should ensure that disaggregated discipline data (including crosssectional data) are used internally as part of their routine evaluation of learning conditions, and when implementing and evaluating reforms. Staying within the boundaries of privacy rules, district leaders can take steps to improve public access to and understanding of school discipline data. Although not covered in this report because the data are not collected, educators should also collect and analyze data on the discipline experiences of LGBT youth and consider the needs of these students when engaged in discipline reform efforts.

Support: School leaders can direct data resources and ensure that attention is given to discipline disparities by race, gender, and disability status. Moreover, they should work closely with union leaders to ensure that teachers have the training and support they need to be successful in classroom management, as well as in identifying students who demonstrate a need for additional support by exhibiting behavioral or social/emotional problems. Educators can develop early warning systems and tiered systems of support to ensure that such students stay in school and succeed both academically and socially. School leaders can also prioritize training and support for teachers to improve their engagement with students and parents. Ultimately, high-suspending districts must acknowledge that they need to their revise discipline policies and practices, and explicitly address racial and other disparities.

Accountability: School leaders and teachers can work together to incorporate school discipline and school climate data into their ongoing improvement efforts. Internally, all educators can share responsibility for looking at and remedying disparities by race/ethnicity, gender, and disability status. Ultimately, school personnel need to acknowledge that they are responsible for creating the optimum learning conditions for all students and take action to address disparities directly, which includes talking about them openly and on a regular basis.

For parents and child advocates:

Data: Parents and advocates should request discipline data annually and pressure schools and districts to provide data that are disaggregated by race/ethnicity, gender, and disability status. All members of the community should be given data on the unduplicated number of students subjected to disciplinary exclusion, the number of exclusions, and the reason or violation that required such action. The data provided should include all reasons for discipline, not just the most serious violations.

Support: When child advocates and parents raise concerns about excessive and disparate discipline, they should also express their support for positive policies and practices. As stakeholders, they can directly participate in efforts to revise school and district codes of conduct. At board and committee meetings they can encourage the use of resources for staff training and professional development in initiating and implementing more effective methods.

Accountability: Parents and advocates should bring their concerns about excessive and disparate discipline to the attention of both administrators and state and local education boards. In districts with excessive and disparate discipline outcomes, advocates and parents have been successful in framing school discipline as a concern about learning conditions and equitable educational opportunity. Groups such as Cadre in Los Angeles, Padres Unidos in Denver, and many others continue to play a critical role in bringing about reform. They have been successful in part because they also play a crucial role in monitoring school and district efforts on an ongoing basis. Parents and advocates should apply pressure to include school discipline as an accountability indicator at the federal, state, and local levels. Finally, parents and advocates play a critically important role in getting the attention of state and federal enforcement agencies, whether by filing a civil rights complaint, agreeing to be interviewed by investigators, or supporting those who do. The united voices of parents and community advocates are critical to triggering reform and sustaining successful efforts.

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Endnotes

1 The U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Civil Rights Data Collection. For a summary of counts see School Discipline Data Snapshot. The actual number of Out of School suspension of 3.45 million represents 99% of responding public schools. OCR reported 1.9 million students suspended just once and 1.5 million suspended more than once. A separate 135,000 students were reported expelled. [Add website] (http://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/crdc-discipline-snapshot.pdf). The totals in our spreadsheet are lower because we removed school districts with obvious data errors, school districts serving youth in the juvenile justice system and districts in which the federal data seriously conflicted to other reports for the same year.

2 This is approximately the same total as was estimated for 2009-10 when the discipline data were sampled. In 2011-12 they were collected from every public school district.

3 http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d11/tables/dt11_038.asp

4 http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d11/tables/dt11_038.asp

5 http://www.sportingcharts.com/articles/nfl/super-bowl-attendance-by-the-numbers.aspx. According to the website, the average attendance over the last 47 games was 77,987. So 45 Super Bowls is equal to 3,509,415 attendees.

6 Average days of lost school per suspended student are not calculated nationally at this time, but when they were collected and reported in 1972-73 the average suspension lasted 4 days (Children's Defense Fund, 1974). In Connecticut in 2012-13 the state reported the average suspension was 3.56 days for an out of school suspension. See http://sdeportal.ct.gov/Cedar/WEB/ct_report/SanctionsViewer.aspx last visited on December 29th, 2014.

7 All data, from each year, come from the U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC). All references to K-12 suspension rates are to the publicly available data published by OCR. The 2011-12 national suspension rates for grades K-12 are summarized in the Civil Rights Data Collection Data Snapshot: School Discipline (p. 1, 2014) available at ocrdata.ed.gov. OCR does not currently provide the elementary, secondary, or K-8 summaries at any level. However, the national, state and district level elementary, secondary, and K-8 suspension rates we provide are all derived from the same CRDC data collection.

8 It is worth noting that the 2009-10 data estimates were based on a sample representing about 85% of all students. OCR didn't release estimated national suspension rates for 2009-2010 until March of 2014. When statistical weights were applied to the sample, American Indian suspension rates nearly doubled from about 8% to 14%. For Blacks, Whites, and Asian/Pacific Islanders the recently published OCR estimates for 2009-10 were within 1 percentage points of the estimates we published in 2012 that did not apply weights. Moreover, there were no national averages published for Asian Americans separately from Hawaiian and Pacific Islanders. For this reason our trend analysis only looks at Black, White, and Latino students, along with gender and disability analysis. Our estimate for Latinos for 2009-10 was 7%, 2 points below the weighted estimates published by OCR. Further, our estimated rates for the nation tend

to be slightly lower because we start with the exact same data, but we remove all errors, such as districts that say they suspended more than 100% of the enrollment of a sizeable racial group, before we calculate the national averages. Finally, we have access to the researcher's data set, which contains no rounding. We have noticed that when rounding rules are applied the aggregate impact on the national average is that rates are consistently higher (but only slightly) than without rounding.

9 All the data were collected and publicly reported by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights. The 1972-73 data were OCR data taken from the Children's Defense Fund of the Washington Research Project. (1975) *School Suspensions: Are they helping children"?* Cambridge MA: Washington Research Project. App B. Available on line at http://diglib.lib.utk.edu/cdf/main.php?bid=115. The 1988 data are from the Office for Civil Rights' Time Series CD: the 2000, 2004, and 2006 data are from the Civil Rights Data Collection "Projected Values for the Nation" and are available online at ocrdata.ed.gov. It must be noted that only the values in 1972-73 and for 2009-10 and 2011-12 include students with disabilities who were suspended one or more times. Suspensions for IDEA eligible students were not included in the total counts for 1988-89; 2000-2001; 2003-04; 2005-2006. However, they were included in the enrollment numbers. Since in the included years students with disabilities had suspension rates that were about twice as high as students without disabilities it is nearly certain that the rates in these years would be slightly higher had the suspensions of students with disabilities been included.

10 In our report on the 2009-2010 secondary data we provided a spreadsheet with a further breakdown of middle schools and high schools and found that nationally and in most districts their rates were very similar.

11 Some districts did not report data in the 2009-10. That sample represented approximately 85% of all public school students and over half of all districts. However, in 2012-2013 every school and district was covered and over 95% replied. To provide a complete picture, and to provide a baseline for future trend analyses, the companion spreadsheet provides the 2011-12 out-of-school suspension data on every district in the nation (errors notwithstanding).

12 (Morgan, Salomon, Plotkin, & Cohen, 2014)

13 CRDC, 2011-12 School Discipline Data Snapshot available at www.ocrdata.ed.gov

14 Independent analysis of data from California (Losen and Martinez, 2012), Indiana (Skiba, 2015) and Texas (Fabelo, 2011) demonstrate that most suspensions are meted out for minor offenses that do not involve violence or possession of drugs or weapons and that racial disparities in the use of suspension are much greater in offense categories that are minor and involve subjective perceptions and discretionary punishments. In Connecticut, the state reported that more than 70% of the reported incidents were for misdeeds it labeled as "non-serious" offenses. See http://sdeportal.ct.gov/Cedar/WEB/ct_report/CedarHome.aspx under incident reports for 2012-13. The state does not indicate what percentage of non-serious offenses resulted in out of school suspensions versus in-school suspensions.

15 We report all suspension rate values in the companion spreadsheet and indicate the range of possible distortion due to rounding. To guarantee that no personally identifiable information was disclosed we apply all required rounding rules. In some cases, this application caused the results to be distorted. To safeguard individuals' privacy and also ensure accurate reporting on district progress or lack thereof, we do not report on any trends if the rounding produced a distortion that cancelled out the direction of the trend. For example, if between 2009 and 2012 a district showed an increase in suspension rates for Latinos, but after the rounding, the distorted results show no change or a decrease for this subgroup, we did not report the inaccurate distorted trend caused by applying the rounding rules. Instead, for that district the trend over time would not be reported.

16 The criteria set for a qualifying district include: a minimum of 10 students represented from the respective racial/ethnic group; an overall district population of at least 100 students; and, a percentage error of less than 5 percent.

17 Losen, 2011 National Education Policy Center, Good Discipline: Legislation for Education Reform at page 9 (citing MD. Education Code Ann. Sec. 7-3041). Available at www.nepc.colorado.edu/files/NEPC-SchoolDiscipline-Losen-2-LB_Final.pdf.

18 For a more complete description of the Connecticut legislation and its implementation see Losen, Good Discipline: Legislation for Education Reform, supra note x at page 16-17.

19 No Florida districts had reliable data in 2009-10. New York City did not produce reliable data in either year.

20 Diane Ravitch, *This Was Michael Brown's High School,* Diane Ravitch's Blog, August 14, 2014, www.dianeravitch.com

21 The criteria set for a qualifying district include: a minimum of 10 students represented from the respective racial/ethnic group; an overall district population of at least 100 students.

22 Asian Americans tend to be underrepresented among students with disabilities, and in many of the districts above the rounding distorted the low suspension and enrollment numbers to the extent that we could see they were not reliable.

Appendix A: K-8 Schools

For the purpose of our K-8 analysis we provide a sample based on districts with at least 3,000 K-8 enrollment and at least 100 Black, Latino and White students. From there we selected the districts with the largest K-8 enrollment and ordered them from highest suspending to lowest. These selected districts also account for about one third of all students attending a K-8 school nationwide.

Suspension Rates

State	District	All	Am. Ind.	Asian	HI/Pac. Isl.	B	L	W	SWD
WI	MILWAUKEE SCHOOL DISTRICT	19%	*	2%	*	29%	8%	7%	35%
OH	TOLEDO CITY	18%	*	6%	*	28%	11%	10%	23%
NY	BUFFALO CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	17%	*	2%	*	23%	15%	9%	26%
FL	ST. LUCIE	16%	*	3%	*	30%	12%	8%	30%
MI	DETROIT CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	16%	*	1%	*	17%	4%	5%	20%
OH	CLEVELAND MUNICIPAL	15%	*	3%	*	19%	8%	7%	18%
AZ	GLENDALE ELEMENTARY DISTRICT	12%	*	6%	*	22%	10%	13%	15%
CT	BRIDGEPORT SCHOOL DISTRICT	9%	3%	3%	*	14%	8%	7%	16%
CA	STOCKTON UNIFIED	8%	18%	4%	6%	19%	7%	11%	14%
NJ	PATERSON	8%	*	2%	*	14%	6%	4%	15%
AZ	PEORIA UNIFIED SCHOOL DISTRICT	8%	9%	2%	5%	18%	9%	6%	26%
CA	MANTECA UNIFIED	7%	13%	4%	6%	22%	5%	8%	18%
CT	NEW HAVEN SCHOOL DISTRICT	7%	*	0%	*	10%	5%	2%	9%
MD	BALTIMORE CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS	6%	10%	0%	0%	8%	1%	2%	14%
AZ	DYSART UNIFIED DISTRICT	6%	*	2%	*	10%	7%	4%	9%
AZ	DEER VALLEY UNIFIED DISTRICT	5%	*	3%	*	16%	6%	5%	8%
FL	DADE	5%	*	1%	*	15%	3%	3%	16%
NJ	ELIZABETH	5%	*	3%	*	11%	3%	2%	5%
IL	CITY OF CHICAGO SD 299	4%	2%	1%	1%	8%	2%	1%	7%
CO	SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 1 DENVER, CO	4%	10%	2%	*	9%	3%	2%	8%
NY	YONKERS CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	4%	*	1%	*	8%	3%	2%	7%
OR	PORTLAND SD 1J	4%	6%	1%	6%	9%	3%	2%	8%
MA	BOSTON	3%	*	1%	*	7%	3%	1%	7%

Districts are rank ordered by their suspension rates overall. As with our analysis of elementary and secondary schools the suspension rates in this sample vary dramatically for all students from 3% in Boston, MA to 19% in Milwaukee, Wisconsin. In order to understand whether the K-8 schools tend to have lower suspension rates a grade level analysis would need to be conducted comparing K-8 suspensions rates by grade level to the respective grade level suspension rates in traditional elementary and middle schools.

A separate analysis conducted by the author on behalf of the Syracuse Public Schools using data provided by the district indicated that students in grades 6-8 attending a K-8 school were less likely to be suspended than those attending a more traditionally configured middle school.[1] Unfortunately, in this report, we could not tell if that pattern is found elsewhere because of the way the federal data are collected and reported.

1 The findings are available here: http://www.syracusecityschools.com/tfiles/folder84/Syracuse%20Report%20on%20Student%20Discipline%20Practices-1.pdf at pages 23-28. See also, Mary Tamer, Do Middle Schools Make Sense? *New research finds that keeping kids in K-8 schools has benefits*, in. In ED. (Fall 2012) available at http://www.gse.harvard.edu/news-impact/2012/09/do-middle-schools-make- sense/#ixzz32E4LfYlk

Appendix B: Method, Data Cleaning, & Racial Disparities Measures

Method

Data Omissions

Data on students identified as having disabilities under "Section 504 only:" These students were not covered by this report because OCR did not collect data on their suspension numbers disaggregated by race. Their omission did not affect what we have reported for students with disabilities identified under the IDEA or for students without disabilities.

Students in state-run, long-term juvenile justice facilities: We excluded 50 secondary districts composed solely of students in juvenile justice facilities from our calculation of national- and district-level secondary school suspension rates. However, we listed them in a separate spreadsheet contained in the excel file posted online. We believe that, although this information is very valuable, these educational settings are different enough from regular schools that the data on them deserved separate treatment. Most of these districts reported no out-of-school suspensions, but that may mean that in some cases the students did not actually attend school while in the facility or that the responding correctional district did not regard disciplinary removal from a classroom as an out-of-school suspension. Furthermore, the out-of-school suspension of students attending a correctional facility has different implications, as the students remain under adult supervision. Moreover, all the students in these settings are there for disciplinary reasons, although not necessarily for misbehaving at school. We believe that some of the students in these facilities may have been disciplined at some point during the 2011-2012 school year in a regular school district, thus there is a high risk that such students would have been counted twice in the same sample. There was no way to check, so we omitted these facilities. Finally, the research in the discussion section pertains to regular schools, not juvenile justice facilities, so we decided it did not make sense to compare or rank order such districts with regular school districts. Where juvenile justice schools were counted as part of a school district we also removed such schools before calculating the district's suspension rates. Future reports will review these districts and their data more fully so that we might better understand the implications of disciplinary removal from schools within juvenile justice facilities. For similar reasons we removed "virtual" schools and districts. When most students are attending school from their own home, the term "out-of-school" suspension has an entirely different meaning.

Materials and Procedure (including Treatment of Errors)

Data source: The data used in this report, which covers the 2011-2012 school year, comes from the Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC), a survey administered by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR). The data are sometimes referred to as the "OCR" data and sometimes as the "CRDC"

data; the two are identical. These data were made available to the public in March 2014. The data and more details about the data collection can be found online at http://ocrdata.ed.gov.
All district and national estimates were calculated using unsuppressed school-level data that is available on CD to research organizations meeting specific requirements needed to safeguard against the disclosure of personally identifiable information as required by the Institute of Educational Sciences (IES). Per IES requirements, to protect the identity of individual students, we rounded off all numbers regarding how many students were suspended or enrolled in this report and the related spreadsheets to the nearest five. The numbers of schools and districts reported at the state and national levels were also rounded to the nearest five per IES requirements.

In the spreadsheets that accompany this report, we shaded the suspension rates to reflect the margin of error created by the rounding. The margin of error was divided into five categories: 0 to 2%, >2 to 5%, >5 to 10%, >10 to 20%, and >20%. In addition, with respect to *trends* (change from 2009-2010 to 2011-2012) we provided shading which indicated whether the trend directionality changed due to error caused by the rounding. Finally, it is important that note that due to error created by rounding the suspension rates, the suspension rates *gaps* may also contain errors that could range from 0 percentage points to greater than 40 points, depending on the margin of error of the underlying suspension rates that comprise the gap.

Sample: The OCR gathered data from every public school in the nation (approximately 16,500 school districts that were comprised of multiple school levels). At the elementary level, 11,275 school districts enrolled students with any combination of K – 5. Only students enrolled in these schools were included in the district-level estimates of elementary school suspension risk. At the secondary level, 12,530 school districts had the following grade spans: 5 to 8, 6 to 8, 7 to 9, 9 to 12, 10 to 12, and 6 to 12. Only students enrolled in these schools were included in the district-level estimates of the secondary school suspension risk. For a more detailed breakdown of how we categorized schools by grade-span configuration, see the "Procedure" section below. We excluded 16 elementary-level and 45 school-level districts for which we identified reporting errors. We also removed and 50 secondary districts that contained only juvenile justice facilities, leaving a total of approximately 11,260 elementary-level and 12,480 secondary-level districts (see "School- and district-level data cleaning" section for more detail).

Procedure: The district estimates for secondary and elementary school students were calculated by selecting just those schools within each district that conformed to the specific grade-span configuration associated with each level of schooling. The following table summarizes how we categorized the schools into elementary, middle, high, and secondary schools.

Table X

Category	Grade-Span Configurations
Elementary School	Any school with any combination of kindergarten through 5th and without a 7th or 8th grade
Middle School	5-8, 6-8, 7-9, 6th-grade academies
High School	9-12, 10-12, 9th-grade academies
Secondary	5-8, 6-8, 7-9, 6-12, 9-12, 10-12, 9th-grade academies
Other	K-8 and K-12

After we coded and stratified the school-level data by grade configuration, we then calculated the suspension risk for each school and district, based on straightforward percentage calculations. We divided the number of suspended students by the total enrollment; the result is the percentage suspended. We describe this percentage throughout the report as the *risk* for out-of-school suspension. These out-of-school suspension data are exclusive of other discipline data collected by OCR, including the number of students expelled and the number receiving in-school suspension. For this report we analyzed only out-of-school suspension data.

The OCR data included the number of students suspended out-of-school one time, and separately, the number of students suspended out-of-school two or more times. We added these mutually exclusive categories together to report the *unduplicated* number of students suspended one or more times. The spreadsheet published with this report includes three categories of students: all students, students with disabilities, and students without disabilities.

To determine the estimated risk for *all* students, we combined the number of suspended students *with disabilities* and *without disabilities*. OCR reports the suspension numbers for these two groups separately; it also provides the total enrollment and the enrollment of students with disabilities, but not the enrollment of students without disabilities. To find the baseline enrollment of students without disabilities, we subtracted the number of enrolled students with disabilities from the total enrollment. This enabled us to report the risk for suspension for every major racial/ethnic group for all students, and to break it down further by students with disabilities and students without disabilities.
In addition to calculating overall district-level suspension rates, we analyzed how many high- and lower-suspending secondary schools were in each district and present them aggregated at the state-level . We categorized schools as being either high-suspending or lower-suspending, according to the following criteria:

- Elementary-level
  - High-suspending schools were those with 10% or greater suspension rates and at least 50 enrollees for ***any*** of the following groups: all students and students by race. We then created counts of the high-suspending elementary schools in each district.
  - Lower-suspending schools were those with 2% or lower suspension rates and at least 10 enrollees for ***all*** of the following groups: all students and students by race. We then created counts of the lower-suspending elementary schools in each district.
- Secondary-level
  - High-suspending secondary schools were those with 25% or greater suspension rates and at least 50 enrollees for ***any*** of the following groups: all students and students by race. We then created counts of the high-suspending secondary schools in each district.
  - Lower-suspending secondary schools were those with 10% or lower suspension rates and at least 10 enrollees for ***all*** of the following groups: all students and students by race. We then created counts of the lower-suspending secondary schools in each district.

To calculate the national out-of-school suspension averages, we added up all the suspensions in every district sampled for each subgroup and divided that total by the enrollment number of each subgroup. Because of large statewide errors in Hawaii this state is excluded from the analysis.

School- and district-level data cleaning:[1] In addition to the 50 juvenile justice districts at the secondary level, we removed 16 elementary-level and 45 school-level districts from our school analysis. When the districts reported their data to OCR, each district superintendent was required to certify that the data were accurate and the certifications checked before OCR published the data. Unfortunately, we discovered obvious collection or reporting errors in several districts that forced us to remove them from our analysis. These error districts are listed in a separate tab on our Excel spreadsheet called "Error Districts." The error sheet provides the data as reported by OCR on the data CD, rounded per IES requirements.
Some schools and districts may accidentally have reported suspending more students than they enrolled (over-reported), some may have underreported their data, and others may have failed to report baseline enrollment data or reported nothing at all in some categories, essentially ignoring the federal requirement that they respond.

In a small number of districts that over-reported, we were able to apply a data-cleaning strategy to fix the error and include the district in the final analysis. We looked at whether the error involved only very small numbers, such that eliminating the specific cell would not change the district numbers. Specifically, we only attempted to fix a district if the group with an over-report of the number of students suspended accounted for 1% or less of the total number of students suspended in that district. If so, we then subtracted the offending group's number of suspensions and its corresponding enrollment from the district totals. Because this cleaning process is not foolproof, readers of the spreadsheet we highlighted the cells we eliminated in red.

The following details the error types at both levels:

- 35 elementary-level and 255 secondary-level schools were removed from the analysis because they reported more out-of-school suspensions than students enrolled for any of the following subgroups: all students and/or students by race. Schools are required to report their suspension data to OCR as unduplicated counts of the *number of students suspended.* By definition, there *cannot be more students suspended* than *students enrolled*. None of these schools was included in the final calculation of district-level suspension rates.
- 1 elementary-level and 18 secondary-level districts were removed because they reported suspension rates of over 100% for all students or for any racial/ethnic group.
  8 elementary-level and 10 secondary-level districts were removed because they reported zero out-of-school suspensions to OCR, despite having reported some suspension numbers on their state or district website.
- 6 elementary-level and 6 secondary-level districts were removed because there was a conflict between OCR data and data on the state department of education website or there were other errors in their discipline data, enrollment data, or both. New York City is included in this category.

Of these errors, it is far easier to detect over-reporting of suspension errors than to know if a district reported few to no suspensions accurately. Unfortunately, in most states we found no alternative source to reference that would have helped us flag grossly underreported data. Moreover, it is worth noting that most of the error districts removed were those with large over-reporting errors. To the extent that the over-reporting districts also may have been high-suspending districts, their removal may have lowered the national and state estimates.

1 In a few in a few cases (e.g., City of Chicago SD 299 [IL], Patterson Joint Unified [CA]), after noticing unusual patterns in the OCR data, and after consulting with other researchers who were familiar with the district, we decided not to feature a school district because the data were inconsistent with state reports for the same year, but not in such an obvious way or to an extent that we could label the district's data as having errors.

Measures of Racial Disparities

Why are suspension rates and rate differences (gaps) used almost exclusively in this report? Why doesn't the report use relative measures that, for example, compare Black rates to Whites as in the sentence, "Blacks were suspended at three times the rate of Whites?" Looking at suspension rates to see whether they are high or low and measuring racial disparities in absolute terms is the most simple and straightforward measure. The calculations used in this report capture whether suspensions are used frequently, rarely or somewhere in between. Because absolute values are used, the suspension rate of any subgroup in any district can be compared to any other. The same is true of the size of the racial/ethnic gaps and in measuring the size of the increase or decrease in suspension rates over time. Moreover all comparisons of rates between districts and across states are valid. The racial composition of the district has no impact on the outcome, mathematically. The calculations are not influenced by changes in demographics or changes in suspension rates to other groups because, unlike ratios or proportionality indexes, they are not relative values. Relative measures such as ratios are useful for highlighting the degree of racial differences at a given point in time, especially when the two values being compared are also known. The following is an example of how relativity makes risk ratios problematic:

A risk ratio of 2.0 means one group was twice as likely to be suspended as another. However, a ratio of 2.0 can be found in very low suspending district or a very high suspending one. For example, the statement that Blacks are suspended at twice the rate of Whites is equally true if the Black rate is 100% and the White rate is 50% as when the Black rate is 2% and the White rate is 1%. Both yield a risk ratio of 2.0 even though the Black/White racial gap is 50 times larger in the first instance (50 percentage points versus 1 percentage point).

Racially isolated school districts escape scrutiny when comparison metrics are purely relative. A school with 100% Black enrollment has no comparison group from which a risk ratio can be derived. Similarly, if the comparison group is White students, but no White students were suspended, a ratio cannot be calculated.

Finally, changes in risk ratios over time can be very misleading. Consider the following example: In 2009-10 a district suspended 40% of the enrolled Black students and 20% of the enrolled White students. The "risk ratio" is 2.0, meaning that the suspension rate for Blacks is twice the rate for Whites (40% divided by 20% = 2). The Black/White Gap is a wide 20 percentage points. Now imagine that in 2011-12 the same district suspended 3% of the Black students and 1% of the White students. The Black/White gap narrowed, from 20 percentage points to just 2 (-18 points) and the difference between the two groups in 2011-12 is one tenth of what is was in 2009-10. Black rates fell more (-37 points) than did White rates (-19 points) and harm from excessive suspension is now much lower for both groups. However, despite these clear improvements, the risk ratio has increased considerably, from 2.0 to 3.0 (because 3% divided by 1% = 3). While we agree that a risk ratio of 3.0 does suggest that a problem remains, we assert that progress has been made when suspension rates go down and the racial gap narrows. Further, if the scenario above was reversed, and rates increased more for Blacks than for Whites, and the racial gap widened tenfold, from 2 points to 20 points, we assert that the situation should be described as having seriously deteriorated.

Appendix C: Most Improved Large Districts

The most improved large districts for period in question: All students (at least 3,000 enrolled at the secondary level)

District	State	Suspension rate ALL 2009-10	Suspension rate ALL 2011-12	Increase or decrease in suspension rate ALL since 2009-2010	Disaggregated Trend
PATERSON	NJ	33.83%	19.90%	-13.94	Black -10 White -11 Latino -15
CORPUS CHRISTI ISD	TX	25.81%	11.54%	-14.27	Black 14 White -6 Latino -16
SAGINAW CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	MI	43.03%	28.48%	-14.55	Black -18 White -3 Latino -14
FORT WAYNE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS	IN	37.05%	22.26%	-14.80	Black -27 White -12 Latino -9
FAYETTE COUNTY SCHOOLS	WV	25.60%	10.56%	-15.04	Black -34 White -14 Latino -0
LOGAN COUNTY SCHOOLS	WV	24.50%	9.19%	-15.31	Black -6 White -15 Latino -0
LAURENS COUNTY	GA	19.97%	4.37%	-15.60	Black -27 White -11 Latino -24
LANCASTER 01	SC	30.15%	14.38%	-15.77	Black -24 White -12 Latino -19
WICHITA	KS	24.35%	8.45%	-15.90	Black -27 White -11 Latino -15
PASQUOTANK COUNTY SCHOOLS	NC	21.10%	4.21%	-16.88	Black -24 White -12 Latino +11
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	VA	31.03%	13.77%	-17.26	Black -29 White -8 Latino -16
BRYANT SCHOOL DISTRICT	AR	33.79%	16.39%	-17.40	Black -38 White -17 Latino -11
AURORA EAST USD 131	IL	28.18%	9.70%	-18.48	Black -35 White -13 Latino -17
CLINTONDALE COMMUNITY SCHOOLS	MI	32.92%	13.96%	-18.96	Black -28 White -7 Latino +17

District	State	Suspension rate ALL 2009-10	Suspension rate ALL 2011-12	Increase or decrease in suspension rate ALL since 2009-10	Disaggregated Trend
EAST ST LOUIS SD 189	IL	45.19%	25.38%	-19.81	Black -20 White -0 Latino*
LANCASTER ISD	TX	57.17%	35.76%	-21.41	Black -24 White -37 Latino -19
BLOOM TWP HSD 206	IL	47.35%	24.89%	-22.47	Black -25 White -12 Latino -21
NEW BEDFORD	MA	38.31%	15.82%	-22.49	Black -28 White -19 Latino -29
WORCESTER	MA	37.96%	15.45%	-22.50	Black -27 White -19 Latino -29
EDGEWOOD ISD	TX	39.33%	15.71%	-23.61	Black -61* White -11 Latino -23
VISALIA UNIFIED	CA	40.50%	15.51%	-24.99	Black -33 White -20 Latino -28
BEAUFORT COUNTY SCHOOLS	NC	28.97%	0.62%	-28.35	Black -47 White -15 Latino -21
IREDELL-STATESVILLE SCHOOLS	NC	40.11%	9.57%	-30.54	Black -38 White -29 Latino -23
GARY COMMUNITY SCHOOL CORP	IN	46.15%	12.12%	-34.04	Black -34 White -29 Latino +10*
BRIDGEPORT SCHOOL DISTRICT	CT	52.56%	18.06%	-34.50	Black -43 White -12 Latino -28
LAWTON	OK	53.14%	16.11%	-37.04	Black -49 White -25 Latino -31
RICHMOND COUNTY	GA	58.36%	12.44%	-45.91	Black -53 White -25 Latino +7
NATRONA COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICT #1	WY	72.62%	5.28%	-67.34	Black -57 White -68 Latino -59

**Value distorted by more than 2 percentage points*