

EXCLUDING WHOM? AN EXAMINATION OF RACE, GENDER, & SUSPENSION

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The following faculty members have examined the final copy of this thesis for form and content, and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Arts with a major in Sociology.

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DEDICATION

To my friends, and to the path not taken

I'm just convinced education is the civil rights issue of our generation and we have a lot of hard work ahead of us.

-Arne Duncan, U.S. Secretary of Education 2011

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ABSTRACT

Previous literature indicates a number of factors contribute to disparate rates of suspension among students. Among these are “student level factors” such as race, or socioeconomic level, and “school level factors” such as urbanicity or an administrator’s perception of danger in a school. The Educational Longitudinal Study is utilized to examine how rates of suspension vary by race and gender and what influences those variations. Bivariate results are consistent with the literature showing that males and minorities are more likely to face suspension. Multivariate analysis suggests that even after controlling for various student and school level factors Black males and females are more likely to be given suspension than their White counterparts. Differences between Latino and White students were explained after controlling for student and school factors in the model. This study adds to the literature suggesting race and gender are the biggest contributors to rates of suspension, while also noting other variables that seem to have an effect such as attachment to school, or region of the country.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Exclusionary discipline is punishment that “excludes” a student from the normal school environment. Notable examples of exclusionary discipline include suspension, expulsion, or removal to an alternative school (Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, and Ferron 2002). The purpose of these types of exclusionary discipline is to create consequences severe enough to discourage those punished from reoffending. However, a number of researchers suggest that exclusionary discipline has come to function as a mechanism of classroom control, and as a tool for the removal of unwanted or disruptive students (Bowditch 1993; Ferguson 2000). Some argue that increased rates of the use of exclusionary discipline can be attributed to the prevalence of zero-tolerance policies (Monroe 2005; APA 2008; Welch and Payne 2010), which have their root in federal drug policies and “tough on crime” rhetoric (APA 2008). Furthermore suspension has increasingly been used for subjective offenses and are disproportionately applied to students of color (Skiba et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2003; Kupchik 2009). Exclusionary discipline has time and again been found to affect students of color at disproportionate rates. According to the US Department of Education, Black students made up just 18% of the nations student population but 35% of those suspended (Lewin 2012).

While the idea behind exclusionary discipline is to deter bad behavior it has soundly been found to be ineffective (APA 2008). Teachers and administrators both acknowledge that students who are suspended not only lose class time and subsequently suffer academically, but that suspension rarely acts as a deterrent for future misbehavior (Glass 2014). Exclusionary discipline, far from being an effective deterrent, is also associated with a host of additional problems for students subjected to it, including increased risk of involvement in the juvenile

justice system (Nicholson-Crotty, Birchmeier, and Valentine 2009), and entrance into the “school to prison pipeline” (Rocque and Paternoster 2011).

Discipline disproportionality is a continuing problem in American schools. Findings showing the overrepresentation of Black students in exclusionary discipline have been consistently documented since such data was first tracked by the Children’s Defense Fund in 1975. Most literature has focused on the disproportionate exclusion of Black males; however, recently there has been an increased awareness that Black females suffer from discipline disproportionality in the same way their male counterparts do, even if for different reasons (Morris 2007; Blake et al. 2010; Hannon, Defina, and Bruch 2013; George 2015). Black male and female students suffer from systemic discipline inequality that sees them suspended at rates three times greater than their White counterparts (Civil Rights Data Collection 2014). Black students make up only 18% of the nations’ student population but 48% of those students given out-of-school suspension (Civil Rights Data Collection 2014). Some scholars have noted that while Black students still represent the most inequitably treated subgroup of students in regards to discipline, the use of exclusionary discipline is becoming more widespread as a tool of student coercion (Wallace et al. 2008). In fact, statistics show overall suspension rates have doubled between 1970 and 2006 (Lewin 2012). This study of exclusionary discipline examines suspension for its association with race to assess whether racial differences in the experience of suspension exist.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Exclusionary Discipline: Excluding Whom?

Male students have consistently been found to be subject to disproportionate rates of discipline (Skiba et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez, Howard, and Knoff 2003; Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Skiba et al. 2014). This inequity begins early according to a 2014 report that shows boys represent 54% of preschool enrollment but a staggering 79% of those suspended once and 82% of those suspended multiple times (Civil Rights Data Collection 2014). This overrepresentation is regularly noted but as most studies focus on differences across race it is generally asserted the explanation for this difference is that boys may be regarded as more threatening and hostile when compared to girls in the classroom environment (Morris 2005).

While male students in general are more likely to receive exclusionary discipline than girls, Black boys in particular can fall victim to exclusion if they are perceived as threatening and have their behavior “adultified” by teachers (Ferguson 2000). Differences in race have consistently been found across various models and methodological analyses when examining exclusionary discipline (Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, and Ferron 2002; Skiba et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez and Knoff, 2003; Blake et al. 2010; Welch and Payne 2010; Skiba et al. 2011; Butler et al. 2012; Hannon, Defina, and Bruch 2013; Sullivan, Klingbeil, and Van Norman 2013; George 2015). Black students represent those given suspension at rates that far surpass their proportion of the population, while findings on expulsions are mixed (Skiba et al. 2014). Black students are also more likely to be suspended more than once (Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2003). Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, and Ferron (2002) did a cross sectional analysis of suspension rates from a large, diverse school district and found almost half of all Black students in the district were suspended

at least once during the year under analysis. Skiba and colleagues (2011) found that Black students were overrepresented in “office discipline referrals”, often a precursor to exclusionary discipline, for every type of infraction tested for in the study (tardiness, defiance, etc.). In fact, their findings showed that Black students are twice as likely in elementary school and almost four times as likely in middle school to be suspended as White students. Not only were they more likely to be referred to the office, but once there Black elementary students were more likely to be suspended for all types of infractions analyzed. While Black students in some instances do have higher numbers of discipline referrals or suspensions overall, they are less likely than White students to be referred to the office for serious offenses like bringing a gun or drugs to school, and instead are more likely to be punished for subjective discretions such as loitering, disrespect, and insubordination (Skiba, et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, and Ferron 2002; Raffaele Mendez, Howard, and Knoff 2003).

A growing body of literature suggests that Black girls are also more often subjected to discipline, including suspension at rates that outpace their proportion of the population. Hannon, DeFina, and Bruch (2013) found that Black females were almost three times as likely to experience suspension as White students. Scholars point to the intersection of race and gender as an explanation for this. Normative expectations in adolescence can be difficult to manage for anyone, but especially so for young Black girls who are learning to manage conceptions of what it is to be “Black” and what it is to be a “woman”. Furthermore, being suspended is often just the tip of the iceberg for many Black females. As of the 2009-10 school year Black girls represented less than 17% of all female students but made up 31% of all girls referred to law enforcement and 43% of girls who were subjected to school related arrests (George 2015). Importantly, it is often found that when Black girls are subjected to punishment it is for subjective offenses

concerning personal conduct such as the way they speak or dress (Morris 2007; Murphy, Acosta, and Kennedy-Lewis 2013; George 2015), which teachers often perceive as a way to instill proper comportment.

Most scholars agree that students of color have been, and still are, unduly punished when juxtaposed with their White counterparts, even if there is some dissimilarity of thought as to how this inequity came about. Some have argued an increased emphasis on student test scores has enlarged the reasons for scholastic exclusion in order to maintain a controlled learning environment (Fuentes 2003; Fenning and Rose 2007). As research suggests Black and Latino students are often perceived as disruptive and threatening (Ferguson 2000; Morris 2005; Morris 2007), examining the impact of student test scores may provide some insight into disproportionate rates of exclusionary discipline across race and ethnicity. Others have argued that the “tough on crime” movement has promulgated a stricter, more punitive school environment most notably manifested in “zero tolerance policies” (Monroe 2005; Welch and Payne 2010; Irwin, Davidson, and Hall-Sanchez 2013; George 2015), and other scholars have shown how “zero tolerance policies” are more prevalent in predominantly minority schools (Verdugo 2002). Some scholars have suggested that teacher’s implicit, unconscious bias may be to blame (Monroe 2005; Rudd 2014), and that Black students behavior may be judged by normalized notions of “whiteness”, which when contradicted can be unconsciously perceived as a form of rebelliousness or threat in need of quelling.

2.2 Discipline, Cultural Capital, Social Control

Much of the research on discipline disproportionality stakes its theoretical grounds in Bourdieu’s ideas of “cultural capital” and more broadly in Bourdieu’s reproduction theory. This thesis will also use insights from Bourdieu to create a framework for explaining why students of

color are treated differently than their White counterparts in respect to disciplinary consequences. Bourdieu's reproduction theory argues that schools "reproduce" a society's prevailing norms and standards by transmitting them via school. Bourdieu, and many other scholars assert that this reproduction transmits not just cultural norms but forms of inequality, and may in some cases even exacerbate existing inequality (Bourdieu and Passeron [1977], 2011; Lareau [2001], 2011; Morris 2007). Bourdieu uses the phrase "cultural capital" to describe the various forms of knowledge, mannerisms, skills, styles of dress, modes of speaking, and tastes that individuals use to navigate through the world. He suggests those who possess more "cultural capital", are better able to manage life's complex collection of mores and by doing so, improve their social standing (Bourdieu [1977], 2011) Bourdieu further argued the majority of cultural capital that people come to possess emanates from the social class they are born into, which he argues provides a set of "class conditions" that socialize and provide the means to, and limit of, the cultural capital a person can possess. Teachers and administrators often embody very different "positions in the field" than most students and their parents, and certainly Black students from poor families. Bourdieu argues that these "positions" have accompanying "dispositions" (ways of comportment, style, and taste), and such positional and dispositional differences have sometimes been referred to as "cultural discontinuity" (Skiba et al. 2002). The types of "cultural capital" (i.e. dispositions and practices) that are most valued and preferred in schools are ones typically associated with the white middle class (i.e. certain modes of address, styles of clothing, leisure activities). Schools are thought to validate and reproduce such white, middle class normativity (Morris 2005; Glass 2014; George 2015). Furthermore schools establish and validate power relationships, ones that propagate white middle class values and marginalize others (Morris 2005; Morris 2006; Morris 2007; Glass 2014). Some scholars suggest

the clash between white middle class norms of comportment and other marginalized forms of comportment emanating from various marginalized cultural milieu can explain some of the disproportionate rates of exclusionary discipline (Skiba et al. 2002; Glass 2014). In other words, students of color, or low socioeconomic status, may come into conflict with their teachers or administrators due to simple cultural misunderstandings. Scholars further proffer that school officials judge appropriate student behavior through this lens of white normativity, which has the effect of maintaining or exacerbating already existing inequality. Some have referred to this as “cultural discontinuity” (Skiba et al. 2002), or a lack of “cultural synchronization” (Monroe and Obidah 2004), and use it to explain the cultural differences between students and teachers.

A student’s comportment and cultural capital affect the way a teacher perceives a student, and naturally the way a teacher perceives a student affects how the teacher labels the student. Bowditch (1993) discusses the effect on students when they have been labeled “troublemakers”. In her observations she found students were actively funneled out of school through a number of formal and informal methods that she generally referred to as “pushout”. Furthermore, when a student is labeled a “troublemaker” or “deviant” it unlocks the possibility of secondary deviance for any one or combination of reason that Becker (1963) discussed in his book *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance*. Once labeled a deviant, possible stigmatization follows that may ostracize the student from all but those people who themselves are considered deviant, possibly leading to an increased frequency in deviant activities as well as acceptance of them. Also of concern is unduly demonizing a student who is admonished once, labeled a deviant and then monitored more closely and responded to more severely than they might if they did not have the label of “deviant” affixed to them. This does not alleviate the responsibility of students who

commit an infraction, but does question the efficacy of the punitive nature of exclusionary discipline.

2.3 Student Factors Influencing the Use of Suspension

In discussions of why the use of exclusionary practices have increased and why they seem to disproportionately affect students of color the literature is mostly split in its analysis of the factors that may contribute to the use of such practices. Many studies have focused on student level variables to test for correlations between student characteristics and disproportionate rates of exclusionary discipline. These things include demographic information such as gender (Mendez, Howard, and Knoff 2003; George 2015), or SES (Skiba et al. 2002; Skiba et al. 2014). Some studies include things such as measures of parental education, and family composition (Wallace Jr. et al. 2008). Even while findings from these studies have been mixed as to the degree they affect rates of student exclusionary discipline, researchers have focused most attention on the intersection of race, class, or gender. Oftentimes researchers use one or more variables in search of a way to proximate students' levels of "cultural capital". Glass (2014) takes the approach of many of her contemporaries by producing her understanding of student cultural capital by first situating the student within racial, gender, and socioeconomic space. She then addresses how activities such as participating in sports further modify the cultural capital a student has at their disposal to reduce or defer the discipline they may incur.

Some researchers have suggested that race itself may act to signal whether one possesses cultural capital, which allows White individuals social privilege not extended to individuals of other races (Glass 2014). Researchers have observed that Black students' comportment is more closely observed and delinquency more harshly responded to than White students, seemingly for no reason (Morris 2005; Morris 2006). Such an idea would be consistent with Bourdieu and

Passeron's conception of reproduction theory. If schools actively work to reproduce white normativity they may be inherently less likely to punish White students than Black students, even for similar amounts of delinquency, as a White student's race may act as a protective factor against exclusionary discipline. Some scholars suggest "cultural discontinuity" (Skiba et al. 2002), or a lack of "cultural synchronicity" (Monroe and Obidiah 2004), may be a contributing factor to the disparate rates of exclusionary discipline meted out to Black students. Some researchers have shown some teachers view their disciplining of Black students as instilling in them values they "don't get at home" (Morris 2007). This is consistent with the idea that schools and by extension teachers actively reproduce behaviors and attitudes consistent with the white middle class.

Black males' behavior is viewed through the dual prism of race and gender. Researchers have shown Black males are apt to be perceived as threatening and hostile (Ferguson 2000; Morris 2005). Black males are disciplined more regardless of infraction type (Skiba et al. 2011), more likely to attend schools with zero tolerance policies (Welch and Payne 2010), and represent 48% of all student suspension (CRDC 2014). Ferguson (2000) shows how some teachers believe some students (almost always Black) have a prison cell "waiting" for them and how perceptions of black masculinity shape teachers and administrators perceptions and interactions with them, particularly when dealing with those Black students they label deviant.

Black girls are also viewed through this dual prism of race and gender. It has been suggested that race differences in discipline for females emanate from teacher perceptions of Black females as either aggressive, loud, hyper-sexualized, "unladylike" or any other nominal category not defined as acceptable according to the standards of the white middle class (Ferguson 2000; Morris 2005; Morris 2006; Morris 2007; Blake et al. 2011; Hannon, DeFina,

and Bruch 2013; George 2015). It should be noted though that scholars have suggested certain affectations of comportment amongst ethnic minorities may not just be stylistic differences, but adapted modes of address and carriage that are personally beneficial but are perceived as inappropriate in the school environment. Interestingly Morris (2007) makes the assertion that the same styles of comportment identified with Black girls as bold, loud, and aggressive, are actually acknowledged by their teachers as traits that are beneficial to their schoolwork, even while teachers try to stamp out such conduct when they deem it inappropriate. Teachers often thought their admonishments were actively instilling female students with proper social skills. However, as Morris points out "...for most teachers, molding these girls into young ladies, included subtly (and unwittingly) molding them into less active learners" (Morris 2007:511). The modification of student modes of comportment and address despite academic achievement is consistent with the concept of reproduction theory that suggests schools transmit and reproduce White hegemony.

Black students are not alone in their disciplinary circumstances. While research rarely focuses on them, some scholars have found Latino and Asian students have substantially different odds of being suspended than their White counterparts. Findings on Latino students have been somewhat mixed (Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2002; Wallace Jr. 2008) as some studies indicate Latino students are more likely to be excluded than White students while others suggest there is no difference. Morris (2005) suggests that Latino boys in particular are viewed as threatening in school and more likely to be disciplined. Findings concerning Asian students clearly show they are less likely than their White peers to be given exclusionary discipline. (Wallace Jr. 2008).

It is also important to assess how a student's behavior affects the likelihood they will be suspended. Several studies on student discipline do not control for student delinquency, perhaps because of the unreliability of self-reported measures, or because such data was unavailable. Skiba et al. (2011) show Black and Latino students are as much as five times more likely to be given office referrals for simple infractions like disruption or noncompliance. Examining and controlling for student delinquency will assure that student suspension is not an artifact of student behavior.

There are a few factors other than race and gender researchers have discussed that may contribute to a student's cultural capital, and therefore the way they are perceived. Socioeconomic status is regularly cited as a possible rationale for disproportionate rates of discipline (Skiba et al. 2002; Christine Nelson and Jolivette 2004). It has been suggested that some teachers perceive students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds as not well prepared for the school environment, either academically or socially (Skiba et al. 2002; Glass 2014). Socioeconomic status does seem to have an effect on rates of student exclusionary discipline, seeing students from low socioeconomic backgrounds more often subject to them (Skiba et al. 2002; Skiba et al. 2014). Several studies have shown the effect of school or district socioeconomic level on schools or districts exclusionary rates, showing a negative association between socioeconomic status and rates of exclusionary discipline usage (Kupchik 2009; Noltmeyer and Mcloughlin 2010). While it is true that students categorized as low SES (usually found through free and reduced lunch records) are more likely to be disciplined than those considered middle or upper class (Skiba et al. 2002), numerous studies have shown that race is still a contributing factor to the overrepresentation of black students in disciplinary proceedings even after controlling for socioeconomic status (Skiba et al. 2002; Mendez and Knoff 2003;

Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Noltemeyer and Mcloughlin 2010; Skiba et al. 2014). The importance of socioeconomic status should not be discounted though, and seems more strongly emphasized in qualitative literature. In these studies authors spend time around the students, their teachers, and the school's administration who seem to use perceptions of students' socioeconomic status to help inform their interactions with the youths they encounter (Ferguson 2000; Morris 2005; Glass 2014). This study also tests for the association between student suspension and the student's parent's highest level of education. Levels of parental education have been shown to be associated with student suspension. Findings suggest those students that have more educated parents are less likely to experience suspension (Wallace Jr. et al. 2008).

Other studies have used a number of different student level factors that may help explain the ways in which teachers perceive students. Literature suggests that a student's attachment to school is inversely related to the odds they participate in delinquent acts (Dornbusch 2001), even if a causal direction has not been adequately determined. It is therefore worthy to examine whether after holding constant a student's level of school attachment racial differences still exist in the odds of experiencing suspension. A few studies have examined the relationship between students' test scores and exclusionary discipline, as does this one, and show evidence that student test scores also have an inverse relationship with student suspension (Rausch and Skiba 2005). While these measures do not get at cultural capital directly they can account for things, other than student's comportment, that may inform the way in which teacher and administrators perceive students and their behaviors.

2.4 School Level Factors Influencing the Use of Suspension

When studies are not focused on student level factors they tend to examine school level factors in an attempt to discern patterns that may further explain discipline disproportionality.

Indeed some scholars have called for a more concerted focus on addressing the contextual factors affecting the usage of various types of exclusion based punishment (Fenning and Rose 2007; Hemphill et al. 2014). Examination into which school level variables might play a role in the inequitable application of exclusionary discipline is just beginning and as such the factors under consideration are quite varied. Studies analyzing school level factors have looked at various possibilities such as school racial composition (Welch and Payne 2010; Skiba et al. 2014), school or district socioeconomic level (Kupchik 2009; Noltemeyer and Mcloughlin,2010; Hemphill et al. 2014), residential or school segregation (Eitle and Eitle 2004), perceptions of school administrators (Skiba et al. 2014), the experience of school administrators (Christine, Nelson, and Jolivette 2004), the urbanicity of the community, or the region of the country the school resides in (Wallace, et al. 2008) among others. In a qualitative analysis Aaron Kupchick (2009) notes that rates of suspensions were much greater at the schools he observed in a mid-Atlantic state when compared to schools he observed at in a southwestern state. Using nationally representative data, Wallace and his colleagues (2008) found black and Latino males to be statistically significantly more likely to receive suspension even after controlling for school factors such as the school's region or the level of urbanicity in which the school resides. Welch and Payne (2010) found student composition, the percentage of black students in a school, was significantly and positively correlated to the use of exclusionary disciplinary measures. Administrator opinions about the student body and towards discipline management seem to be among the strongest factors yet tested contributing to discipline disproportionality (Skiba 2014). Administrators with more punitive attitudes towards discipline have much higher rates of suspensions at their schools than do administrators who have a more restorative attitude towards discipline policy (Skiba 2014).

Researchers have suggested that the urbanicity of community the school serves may also have some influence on rates of suspension (Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Noltemeyer and Mcloughlin 2010). Here too it is important to situate the usage of such a measure within the understanding that highly urban schools are more likely to house larger numbers of students of color who are perceived, particularly Black students, as threatening and hostile (Morris 2007). Other researchers have examined geographical region for variations in student suspension (Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Kupchick 2009). A school's sector (i.e. public, private, Catholic) while very rarely tested (Farmer 1999) has been suggested by Aaron Kupchick (2009) as a possible variable of importance in order to broaden the understanding of racial and socioeconomic disparities in student experience of discipline. Finally a measure of community crime level can be thought to work dialectically with several of the others discussed above. Research on the influence of community crime suggests that communities with more crime are positively associated with suspension (Ganao et al. 2013).

Research suggests American schools are largely segregated by race (McNulty, Eitle, and Eitle 2004). As such it is important to ascertain whether racial differences in discipline are an artifact of the punitive controlling nature of the schools students of color reside in and not attributable to race. There are only a few studies that have looked at student and school level factors simultaneously (Theroit, Craun, and Dupper 2010; Sullivan, Klingbeil, and Van Norman 2013; Hemphill et al. 2014; Skiba et al. 2014). Perhaps most recently, Skiba et al. (2014) constructed a study comparing the strength of the two levels of analysis and found that school factors had a stronger influence on the use of exclusionary discipline. The most robust school level factors were associated with the percentage of Black students in a school and administrator attitudes towards discipline. In fact Skiba and his colleagues (2014) found the percentage of

Black students in the schools population was the strongest predictor of student suspension, except for fighting. Administrators with attitudes favorable to exclusion ran schools that were significantly more likely to assign suspension or expulsion than in-school suspension.

The discussion above lays the groundwork for an examination into student suspension and the various factors that may influence a student's chance of experiencing it. Race is of particular importance in this examination as is the discernment of the aggregate influence of student and school level factors considered above. The current state of research into student exclusion and its intersection with race and gender lead to the following research questions in order to test Bourdieu's reproduction theory.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL MODEL AND HYPOTHESES

3.1 Research Questions

1. Is race associated with suspension?
2. Is race still significantly associated with suspension after controlling for possible mediating variables?
3. Do different factors influence the odds of suspension for males and females?

3.2 Theoretical Model

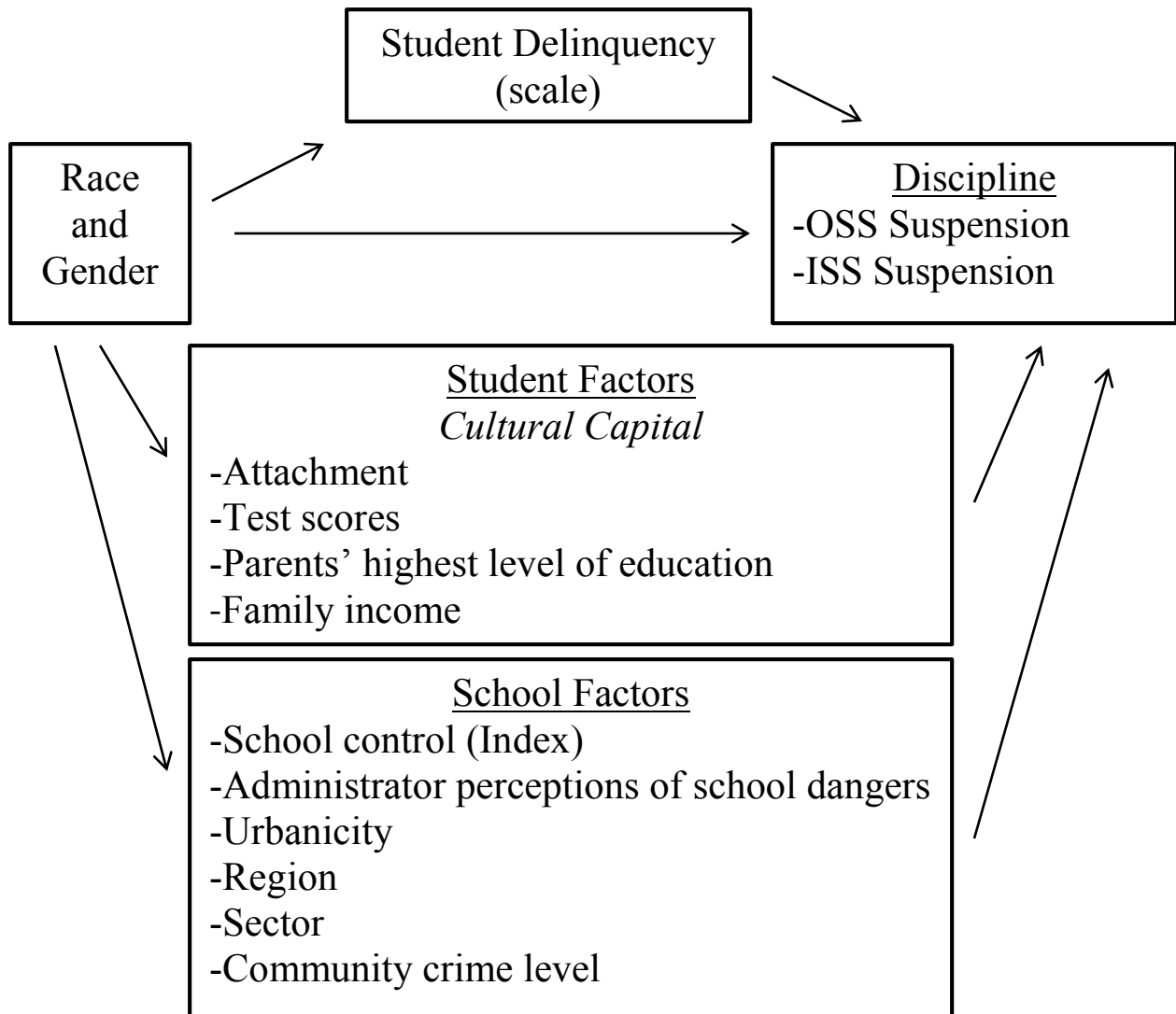


Figure 1. Theoretical Model for Analysis

3.3 Discussion of Model Segments

3.3.1 Model Segment One

The first model segment tests for the association of race and gender with a student's odds of being suspended. A scale measuring students' self-reported delinquency is used as a control variable in order to test for the association of race and suspension after delinquent behavior is taken into account. Analysis is split along gender lines to allow for the discernment of possible differences in the factors influencing suspension. The necessity of this is made clear by the overwhelming qualitative and quantitative research suggesting that males and females, as they are perceived through the dialectic interplay of normative conceptions of gender and race, are perceived and disciplined for differing reasons (Ferguson 2000; Morris 2005; Morris 2007; Blake et al. 2011; Lance, DeFina and Bruch 2013; Skiba et al. 2014; George 2015). While there are notable differences in the numbers of suspension experienced by males and females with males suspended at significantly greater rates (Skiba et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez 2002; Skiba et al. 2014), most studies, as does this one, focus on differences in race. Race has consistently been shown to be associated with a student's odds of being suspended. Black students in particular have been given exclusionary discipline that well outpaces the rates of their White counterparts in either one time or repeat experiences of exclusion (Raffaele Mendez 2002; Sullivan et al. 2013). While findings on Latino students have been mixed (Raffaele Mendez 2002; Wallace Jr. 2008) those concerning Asian students have not, and suggest that Asian students are less likely than White students to experience disciplinary exclusion (Wallace Jr. 2008).

Hypothesis 1: Race will be significantly associated with receiving suspension, even after controlling for student delinquency.

Literature suggests that Black students will be more likely to receive suspension than their White peers (Skiba et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, and Ferron 2002; Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2003; Welch and Payne 2010; Skiba et al. 2011), while Asian students will be less likely than their White peers to receive suspension (Wallace Jr. 2008). The current ambiguity in regards to research on Latino students does not allow for a specific hypothesis to be specified.

3.3.2 Model Segment Two

The second model segment adds to the logistic regression what can generally be termed as “student level factors” to ascertain 1) whether race differences, in any, still persist after controlling for various student level factors, and 2) which factors may explain the use of suspension for students. As discussed above a student’s attachment to school (Dornbusch 2001), test scores (Rausch and Skiba 2005), parental level of education (Wallace Jr. et al. 2008), and SES (Skiba et al. 2014; Skiba et al. 2002) are all thought to be possible intervening variables and as such warrant inclusion in analysis. Student attachment and test scores are considered more direct measures of cultural capital as they are assessing the dispositions and practices of students, conversely SES and parental education can be considered more indirect measures of cultural capital as they help shape and structure student’s class of conditions which in turn help inform their levels of cultural capital. While these variables are not facsimiles of cultural capital they are thought to affect how teachers and administrators perceive students and their actions. Most research suggests that these student level factors themselves do not explain completely why Black students are more likely than their White peers to be given exclusionary discipline (Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Skiba et al. 2014).

Hypothesis 2: Student attachment, test scores, parental level of education, and familial income will all be inversely related to suspension.

Research suggests that each of the student factors included in analysis should provide some insulation from being suspended. As student's scores increase on these measures the odds they will experience suspension will decrease. While the addition of student level factors will explain some of the racial differences related to suspension it will not explain them entirely and differences in the odds of suspension by race will still persist after controlling for student factors.

3.3.3 Model Segment Three

The third model segment replaces student level factors with what are referred to as "school level factors". These variables are thought to inform the disciplinary environment in the school either directly or indirectly and are tested for their association with suspension while controlling for race and delinquency measures. An index addressing the number of overt and covert forms of coercion students are subjected to in school (see methods section for details) is included in the regression analysis. Such a measure is important in a study of race differences in discipline as research is beginning to suggest that such forms of control may be becoming more prevalent across the country (Monroe 2005; Kupchick 2009). It should be ascertained whether after controlling for level of student surveillance Black students are still disproportionately suspended. Administrator perceptions of the level of school danger is also thought to inform the frequency of student suspension (Skiba et al. 2014), and when such an idea is layered with qualitative researchers' assertions that Black students are perceived by faculty as more threatening (Ferguson 2000; Morris 2005), the rationale for the variable's inclusion becomes apparent. As discussed above, research into school level factors has also examined a school's urbanicity (Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Noltemeyer and McLoughlin 2010), geographical region (Adams 1992; Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Kupchick 2009), sector (e.g. public, private, Catholic)

(Farmer 1999; Kupchick 2009), and proximate crime levels (Ganao et al. 2013) for their possible influence on student discipline.

Hypothesis 3: School control, administrator perceptions of school danger, urbanicity, region, sector, and community crime level will all be significantly associated with suspension.

School control, administrator perceptions of school danger, and community crime level will be positively related to suspension. As a student's school's scores increase on these measures the likelihood a student will be given suspension will also increase. Students attending schools classed as urban will be more likely than their peers to receive suspension. Students attending schools in the south will be more likely than their counterparts in other regions to experience suspension. Students attending public schools will be more likely to be subjected to suspension than students from either private or Catholic schools. School factors will explain some of the race differences associated with suspension but will not explain them entirely.

3.3.4 Model Segment Four

The fourth model segment will combine all of the previously discussed model segments to examine factors predictive to suspension. Black students have regularly been found to be significantly more likely to experience suspension after controlling for various student level factors (Skiba et al. 2002; Mendez, Howard, and Knoff 2003; Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Welch and Payne 2010; Skiba et al. 2011; Hannon, DeFina, and Bruch 2013; Skiba et al. 2014; George 2015) as well as assorted school level factors (McNulty, Eitle, and Eitle 2004; Christine, Nelson, and Jolivette 2004; Wallace et al. 2008; Kupchik 2009; Welch and Payne 2010; Noltemeyer and McLoughlin 2010; Skiba et al. 2014; Hemphill et al. 2014; Skiba, et al. 2014). However, to date very few studies have combined both student and school level factors into one statistical analysis (Theriot, Craun, and Dupper 2010; Sullivan, Klingbeil, and Van Norman 2013; Hemphill, et al.

2014; Skiba et al. 2014). By examining student and school level factors simultaneously this study will 1) provide support or dissent for previous findings, 2) broaden the inquiry and understanding of the interplay of factors influencing exclusionary discipline, and 3) to assess whether differences in the rates of suspension can be explained by the combination of these factors.

Hypothesis 4: After controlling for student and school level factors, as well as student delinquency, racial differences in the experience of suspension will persist.

After controlling for student and school level factors as well as a self-reported measure of delinquency, Black and Latino students will be significantly more likely than their White counterparts to be given suspension. Asian students will be significantly less likely to experience suspension when compared with their White counterparts.

3.4 Current Study

This quantitative study will attempt to add to and extend the literature addressing racial disparities in student experiences of suspension. This study utilizes a logistic regression to predict the odds of student suspension after controlling for a number of what are generally termed “student level variables” and “school level variables”. Researchers have suggested that these variables are associated with student suspension. Furthermore, research consistently finds male students more likely to be disciplined than female students. As such, analysis is split along gender lines to allow for the assessment of the differential impact of variables across gender. Student and school level factors are held constant, and student delinquency is controlled for in order to test reproduction theory. Reproduction theory would predict students of color will be more likely to be subject to discipline than their White peers as schools attempt to acculturate them to normative, white, middle class styles of address, comportment, and values.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Sample

This study will utilize the Educational Longitudinal Study (ELS). ELS is a longitudinal study that started data collection in 2002 and has had follow-ups in 2004 and 2006 with the hopes of providing data on educational and career transitions, as well as the personal development of America's youths. The sample provided by ELS was drawn through a multi-stage sampling process, in which a random probability sample of schools, including public, private and Catholic schools was produced. From those schools, 10th grade participants were randomly sampled to participate in the study. The entire sample consists of 15,362 student respondents, 13,488, parent respondents 7,135 teachers, 743 administrators, and 718 librarians. This study utilizes only student and administrator responses. Individual variables used in this study were selected from The National Center for Education Statistics where they are publicly available. ELS is well suited for studying student exclusion from school. It has the most important component, measures of student exclusion, but as it is targeted towards understanding young people's school experience has a wealth of data that may be used to understand what mediates student exclusion.

It was necessary to remove respondents from analysis on several of the variables that will be used in this examination of disproportional discipline. Only student and administrators who had fully completed their respective questionnaires were included in analysis. For students, only those who had completed both math and reading tests administered by the researcher were left in the sample, this was done because student test scores will be used as an independent variable in this analysis. Several more students had to be removed or "selected out" of the sample due to the

fact that they had missing responses on variables to be used in analysis. Among the variables that required the removal of respondents were in-school and out-of-school suspension which were variables used to create the study's dependent variable, student delinquency, attachment to school, parental education, family income, a school control index, administrator perceptions of danger, and a measure of community crime. Similarly, only students who had a valid sampling weight associated with their case were included in the following analysis. After all sample selections had been completed a total of 11,153 respondents were suitable for inclusion in analysis.

A sampling weight was also created for use in analysis. Weights are used to correct for under or over sampling of a given population (in this case U.S. 10th graders), by giving slightly more or less weight to participants' responses. This weight was created by dividing each case's weight by the mean of all the case weights. Any cases that did not have a valid weight provided by ELS were removed from analysis and were not included in the procedure done to produce the relative weight used in analysis.

4.2 Dependent Variable

This examination of the use of suspension will combine two measures from ELS, one measuring out-of-school suspension while the other measures in-school suspension. Out-of-school suspension is defined as being removed completely from the schooling environment for a set period. ELS provides an ordinal variable measuring the times a student was suspended and a 1 is coded as "never", 2 is coded as "1-2 times", 3 is coded as "3-6 times", 4 is coded as "7-9 times", and 5 is coded as "10 or more times". These categories were collapsed into a binary variable measuring whether students had ever been suspended. All students who responded they had been given out-of-school suspension during the school year the survey was taken were given

a 1 coded as “yes” and those who responded they had not been given out-of-school suspension were given a 0 coded as “no”.

In-school suspension is the removal from the standard classroom setting, not necessarily the school itself, for a set period of time. In-school suspension is recorded as an ordinal variable with five categories precisely as it was for the out-of-school suspension variable above. Again, this variable’s five categories were collapsed into a binary variable measuring in-school suspension, where 1 was coded as “yes” meaning the student had been subjected to in-school suspension, and 0 was coded as “no” meaning the student had not been given in-school suspension. Participants who responded yes to being given out-of-school suspension, in-school suspension or both were combined into a variable measuring “suspension”, where a value of 1 indicated the student had been given suspension at least once within the school year the survey was administered and those with a value of 0 did not.

4.3 Race

Student factors can be thought of as personality or physical characteristics, as well as the beliefs and attitudes that student bring with them into school. In short, student characteristics are, generally speaking, the features by which other people categorize and understand students and their behavior. Race is one of these types of factors and is central to the study of unfair and unequal discipline. ELS provides a race variable with seven categories in it, which was recoded to include only five. Those participants who responded that they were American Indian or Native Alaskan and those participants who responded that they were more than one race were combined because of their small numbers and coded as “other, non-Hispanic”. There were two Hispanic options, “Hispanic, no race specified” and “Hispanic, race specified”. These were combined to create a response category coded “Hispanic”. This was done under the belief that “Hispanic” was

the lens through which many would interact with the student and therefore inform their odds of suspension. The remaining three variable values are coded “Asian, non-Hispanic”, “Black, non-Hispanic”, and “White, non-Hispanic”. As the literature most commonly refers to these students as Latino, I will as well in the discussion that follows.

4.4 Student Level Factors

A student delinquency scale was created from four variables provided in ELS asking students how many times they were late to school, had skipped class, had been absent from school, or got in trouble. To make the scale easier to use in analysis, participants’ responses on the variables that were combined to create the delinquency scale were modified in the following way. Those respondents that said they had never committed the delinquent act were given a value of 0 for that variable, those respondents who reported participating in the deviant act (such as “skipped class”) 1-2 times were given a value of 1, those respondents who reported participating in the deviant act 3-6 times were given a 2, those respondents who reported participating in the deviant act 7-9 were given a value of 3, those respondents who reported participating in the deviant act 10 or more times were given a value of 4. Students’ scores on the variables constitutive of the delinquency scale were then added together, and a mean was taken across the four items to create each respondents score on the scale. This produces a measure of student delinquency that ranges from 0 “never delinquent” to 4 “frequently delinquent”. This scale’s Cronbach’s Alpha is just below the .7 threshold normally used for scale reliability at .684.

Analysis will incorporate a model segment that will be referred to as “student factors” as seen in the logic model discussed above. School attachment is a scale that was created from several variables provided by ELS. These variables included nine items asking participants if school was interesting or challenging, if they were satisfied with their schooling, or if they

thought school was important for getting a job. Respondents could choose 1 “strongly agree”, 2 “agree”, 3 “disagree”, and 4 “strongly disagree”. After running a reliability test on the nine items one item was removed leaving my scale with eight total items. A reliability test ran on those eight items produced a Cronbach’s Alpha of .735, indicating a fair amount of variable inter-correlation. All variables used in the scale were reversed coded so that higher scores indicated that a student was attached to school and lower scores indicated the opposite. Respondent’s scores on the eight items were then added together and mean was figured across the eight scale items to create respondent’s scores on the scale. The scale’s values range from 1 to 4, where a 1 indicates the lowest levels of attachment to school and a 4 indicates the highest levels of attachment to school.

Student test scores are used in analysis but necessitated no alteration except for the removal of non-valid cases. This measure was a composite score of both math and reading tests administered by ELS. Scores were standardized and those included in analysis range in score from 20.91 to 81.04.

A variable measuring parent’s education was also altered for analysis. The original variable provided by ELS came with eight categories. Three of the possible responses, corresponding to attending a two year college but not receiving a degree, attending a two year college and receiving a degree, and attending a four year college and not receiving a degree, were collapsed into one response category. These responses were then combined and coded as 3 “some college no degree”. The remaining five response categories are coded with the same labels they were coded with on the original variable. Where 1 is coded as “did not finish high school”, 2 coded as “graduated from high school or GED”, 4 coded as “graduated from college”,

5 coded as “completed masters degree or equivalent”, and 6 is coded “completed PhD, MD, or other advanced degree”.

ELS provides a variable measuring family income which required alteration. This variable is ordinal and asks respondents what their family’s income is from all sources of income. Fifty of the participants responded that they had “none”, as in their family had no income from any source. These respondents were excluded from analysis under the belief that they are outliers. This variable was further altered by recoding it from an ordinal level variable to an interval/ratio level variable. This was done by assigning the midpoints of each interval to the cases associated with each interval. For example, those who responded that their family’s income was between 1,000 dollars or less were assigned a value of 500 dollars. Those who said their families earned between 1,001 dollars and 5,000 dollars were assigned a value of 2,500 dollars. This assignment of midpoints continued for every category appearing in the original income variable.

4.5 School Level Factors

Another model segment used in analysis will address a number of what will be referred to as “school factors” thought to be associated with unequal distributions of punishment. A number of these variables necessitated modification or creation. One such variable was called “types of school control”, which is an index that was created that counts the number of rules or policies a school has concerning student coercion as reported by school administrators. The index was created by adding together 11 existing variables in ELS which asked administrators questions such as whether or not students had to wear I.D. badges, or if they had to pass through metal detectors. The index has a range of values, from 0 to 11, where a 0 indicates that the school had none of the types of student controls and an 11 indicates that the school had all of the types of

student controls. After this index was made a few cases had non-valid values, these cases were removed from analysis.

Another school factor variable that was created was that of “administrator perceptions of school danger”. This variable is a scale that was created from 19 items provided in ELS which asked administrators questions such as how often vandalism is a problem at school, how often weapons were a problem at school, or how often the physical abuse of teachers was a problem at school. These variables had categorical responses like “happens daily” or “happens at least once a week” and coded in such a way so that lower values equated to more frequent occurrence and vice versa. All variables used in the index were reverse coded so that higher values on the scale items corresponded with a higher frequency of school dangers. A reliability test was ran on these 19 items to assess their correlation with one another, and as evidenced by a Cronbach’s Alpha of .868 there is a good degree of variable inter-correlation. The scale was created by taking the mean of participants’ responses to the 19 items to be included in the scale. The resulting scale ranged in value from 0 to 5 where 0 represented lower levels of school danger and 5 represented higher levels of school danger. After this variable was made there were some cases with missing values, these cases were excluded completely from analysis.

This study uses a variable assessing a school’s level of urbanicity. Schools could either be classified as “urban” (reference), “suburban”, or “rural”. Additionally, this study uses a variable addressing which region of the country a school is in. Schools could be categorized as “Northeast”, “South” (reference), “Midwest”, or “West”. Additionally, school sector (e.g. public, Catholic, private) is analyzed. Schools could be classified as “public” (reference), “Catholic”, or “private-other”. For each of the three variables mentioned above, each response category was made into a binary variable for use in regression analysis. For example the variable measuring

“urbanicity” became three binary variables measuring whether or not a school was urban, suburban, or rural.

Administrators were also asked their perceptions of the crime in student’s neighborhoods. This is an ordinal variable with four possible values. The variable’s coding was modified so that higher values corresponded with perceptions of higher crime by the administrator. Thus responses were coded as 1 “low level of crime”, 2 “mixed levels of crime”, 3 “moderate level of crime”, and 4 “high level of crime”.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

5.1 Univariate Analysis

This study looks at the differences in rates of suspension for students along a number of factors, which can be grouped together as “student factors” and “school factors”. Exclusionary discipline is any type of discipline that excludes the student from the normal classroom environment. This study restricts itself to examining only suspension. Descriptive statistics were produced for all variables discussed below and are summarized in Table 1 (see Appendix).

5.1.1 Dependent Variable

Student suspension was recorded by ELS at the interval/ratio level and was collapsed into a binary as described above in the methods section. This variable measured whether or not students had been suspended at all during the current school year. The large majority of the sample did not report being suspended, though close to one fifth of the sample did with 16.2% of respondents’ reporting being suspended at least once within the last school year.

5.1.2 Student Level Factors

A control variable measuring self-reported student delinquency was used in analysis. A 0 indicates that students very rarely, if ever behave in a delinquent manner and a 4 indicated that the student reported behaving delinquently often. The mean student response value on the scale measuring student delinquency is 1.00 with a standard deviation of .75. This indicates that students report being generally well behaved, even while the standard deviation shows that there is a fair amount of variance. This variable’s distribution is strongly skewed to the right indicating that the majority of student’s view themselves as well behaved.

A race variable provided by ELS and modified (for more detail see methods section) to include the categories “other”, “Asian or Pacific Islander”, “Black”, “Latino”, and “White” was examined during analysis. The majority of respondents are White (64.1%) followed by Latino (14.2%), Black (12.6%) Other (5.1%) and Asian or Pacific Islander (4.1%).

This study tries to assess the differential influences of student suspension by gender, as such it is included in analysis. The sample includes just over 11,000 respondents’, which were split almost exactly in half along gender lines. There are slightly more male respondents (50.7%) in the sample than female respondents (49.3%).

Respondent’s attachment to school was another independent variable in analysis. School attachment was measured through a scale (for information on scale construction see methods section) that ranged in value from 1 to 4. The distribution for this variable is slightly skewed to the left and the average response for all cases is 2.96 indicating that, generally speaking, students’ feel more attached to the school environment than detached from it. This variable also has a standard deviation of .45 demonstrating that there is a fair amount of variance in students’ feelings of attachment to school, and that while some students feel very at home in the school environment others feel the opposite.

Student test scores were also included in analysis. Simple descriptive statistics were produced for this variable and the results are summarized in Table 1. The average student test score was 50.44 and with a standard deviation of 10.06. The distribution of students’ test scores appears almost exactly “normal”.

Parental levels of education were also assessed in this study for its effect on a student’s odds of suspension. It should be noted, as this is an ordinal measure the median is reported, rather than the mean. The median, as well as the most common response was a “3” equating to

attending college but not receiving a degree. Responses cluster themselves around this median with response frequency declining on either side creating a distribution that is slightly positively skewed.

The last student factor to be addressed is referred to as “family income”. The average family income is \$62,390.06 with a standard deviation of \$50,017.76, which indicates an enormous amount of variance in student’s familial income. The distribution of family income is extremely positively skewed with the majority of cases clustering around \$50,000 dollars.

5.1.3 School Level Factors

School factors are contextual attributes of the school thought to affect the practice of discipline. The first school level variable that will be accounted for is the overall perceived level of danger at schools as reported by school administrators. This variable is a scale with values ranging from 0 to 5. A 0 would indicate a belief that the school was never dangerous and a 5 would indicate that the school was perceived to be dangerous frequently. The average response value for the scale measuring perceptions of school danger is 2.42 with a standard deviation of .39. This variable is fairly normally distributed, and it is worth noting that no schools are recorded as categorically safe or unsafe as scores of 0 or 5 would attest.

An index measuring the number of various school control methods was also used in analysis. Lower scores indicate fewer types of school control while higher values indicate more types of school control. Administrators in the sample reported a mean number of school control methods of 3.63 with a standard deviation of 1.90. This suggests that many schools have index values falling in the middle, but there are a few that have most all of the various methods of surveying students listed.

Another school factor to be taken account of is that of the crime level of the school's surrounding neighborhood. This variable has four possible values ranging from 1 "low levels of crime" to a 4 "high levels of crime". As this is an ordinal level variable the median is reported instead of the mean. The median and by far the most common response was a 1 equating to a perception that crime was little or no problem in the school's neighborhood. This was followed in frequency of response by "mixed levels of crime" "moderate levels of crime" and lastly "high levels of crime. The distribution of responses is severely positively skewed as the large majority of responses are at the lowest response value possible.

This study also takes into account the geographic region the school of the respondent resides in. This is a nominal variable and has four categories "Northeast" "Midwest" "South" and "West". The largest percentage of respondents came from the South (33%) followed by the Midwest (25.9%), the West (21.9%) and the Northeast (19.2%).

School sector will also be addressed during analysis. School sector can be thought of as the organization with purview over the school, whether it be the government, a religious organization, or a private school or academy. The extreme majority of respondents attended schools that were classified as "public" (92.6%) and were trailed by those whose schools were classified as "Catholic" (4.1%) or "private" (3.3%).

School urbanicity will also be considered during this study. The majority of respondents (51.2%) attended suburban high schools while 28% and 29.8% attended urban and rural schools respectively.

5.2 Bivariate Analysis

5.2.1 Student Level Factors

A chi-square test was used to determine the association between race and suspension. The results of this test for association, and all others using chi-square tests are detailed in Table 2 (see Appendix). Race was found to be statistically significantly associated with receiving suspension ($\chi^2=370.8$, $p<.001$). Black students were the most likely to have received suspension at least once (31.4%). The race category referred to as “other” containing Native American, and Alaskans respondents had the next highest percentage of survey participants (20.8%) respond that they had been suspended at least once that school year. Latino students were the next most likely to respond that they had been subjected to suspension at least once that school year (20.7%). White and Asian/Pacific Islander respondents were the least likely to be given suspension at 12.3% and 8.2% respectively.

A chi-square test was done to assess the relationship between gender and suspension. The results show that 20.0% of males were suspended at least once compared to 12.2% of females. The chi-square value ($\chi^2=124.8$, $p<.001$) indicates that there is a statistically significant association between gender and suspension. Males are more likely to be subjected to exclusionary discipline in the form of suspension.

Correlations were also produced as a part of bivariate analysis examining suspension. In this case Pearson’s product-moment correlations are used to test for the strength of the association between suspension and factors thought to influence suspension. As mentioned above the dependent variable is measured with a “0” indicating the respondent had not been suspended at all that year or, a “1” indicating the respondent had been suspended at least once. A correlations table was produced for the dependent variable measuring suspension with a number

of other independent variables, the results of which are summarized in Table 3. A student's attachment to school was significantly, and negatively correlated with being suspended ($p < .001$), meaning, as a student's attachment goes up their chances of receiving suspension goes down. However, the Pearson's r value ($r = -.155$) indicates that there is only a weak relationship between student attachment and the application of suspension. Family income was also tested for association with suspension. The relationship between family income and suspension was found to be negative and significant ($p < .001$); however, its correlation coefficient ($r = -.140$) suggests there is a weak relationship between family income and suspension. Parental education was negatively and statistically significantly ($p < .001$) correlated with a student reporting suspension, although the correlation coefficient suggests that it is a rather weak relationship ($r = -.132$). Test scores were found to be negatively, and significantly correlated with suspension ($p < .001$). This means that as student test scores go up chances of receiving suspension diminish. Again though, the correlation coefficient ($r = -.274$) indicates that there is only a weak association between student test scores and suspension. Suspension was most strongly correlated with the control variable measuring student delinquency ($r = .441$, $p < .001$). This shows that as a student's delinquency goes up their odds of being given suspension do as well.

5.2.2 School Level Factors

The relationship between geographic region and suspension was tested using a chi-square test (See Table 2). Students in the south were most likely to be given suspension (19.1%). Students in western states were the next most likely to report receiving suspension (15.2%). Students from the Midwest were similarly likely to report suspension (15.2%) Students from northeastern states were least likely to report receiving suspension (13.7%). The results from the

chi-square test ($\chi^2=36.1$, $df=3$) indicate that a student's region is significantly associated with the chance they will be given suspension.

The relationship between urbanicity and the use of suspension was tested using a chi-square test. Students at urban schools were most likely to respond that they received suspension with 18.6% of the urban students reporting they had been given suspension at least once that year. 15.2% of suburban students reported being given suspension at least once that year, compared with 15.4% of students classed as rural. The chi-square test indicates that there is a significant association between urbanicity and suspension ($\chi^2=18.4$ $df=2$).

School sector (i.e. public, Catholic, private) was tested for an association with suspension using a chi-square test. Students from public schools were the most likely to report being given suspension (17.0%). Of private school respondents only 7.1% of them reported being suspended at least once during the school year. Students at Catholic schools were the least likely to report being suspended with only 4.8% of students attending Catholic schools reported being given suspension. Chi-square test results indicate that there is a significant association between school sector and the use of suspension ($\chi^2=22.3$ $p<.001$). This suggests that the type of school a student attends affects the chances they will be given suspension.

A number of school level factors were also tested for their association with suspension using Pearson's r (See Table 3). The number of school controls (e.g. metal detectors, locker sweeps, etc.) that a school had was positively and significantly correlated with suspension ($p<.001$). This intimates that as the numbers of student controls increase the application of suspension increases as well. While statistically significant the correlation coefficient ($r=.054$) was not large enough to denote a meaningful difference. Administrator perceptions were found

to be significantly and positively correlated with suspension ($p < .001$). However, this relationship did not appear to be a meaningful one ($r = .098$). There is a positive and statistically significant ($p < .001$) relationship between crime level of the community the student goes to school in and students reporting receiving suspension. However, the correlation coefficient suggests this relationship is not meaningful ($r = .098$).

5.3 Multivariate Analysis

5.3.1 Model 1

5.3.1.1 Males

A logistic regression was performed to assess whether student level factors, school level factors, or the combination of both explain race differences in the experience of suspension. Odds ratios, beta coefficients, and standard errors are reported below in Table 4. Analysis was split by gender and the following discussion will discuss results for both males and females for each model segment. Model 1 (Table 4) displays the results for the regression for male students including race and delinquency variables, and White students are used as the reference group. Student delinquency was a strong predictor of male suspension (O.R.=4.286, $p < .001$). However, even after accounting for the effect of student delinquency the odds of a Black male receiving suspension are almost one and a half times (O.R.=1.440, $p < .001$) greater than that of their White peers, while the odds of suspension for Latino males (O.R.=1.065, $p < .05$) are just slightly higher than that of their White counterparts. Model 1 including only race and delinquency variables explains 30% ($R^2 = .308$, $p < .001$) of the variation in male student suspension.

5.3.1.2 Females

The results from Model 1 for females are available in Table 5. As was the case with males, after controlling for levels of student delinquency and race, student delinquency was the

strongest predictor of female suspension (O.R.=4.505, $p<.001$). A one unit increase in the scale measuring student delinquency increases the odds a female student will be suspended over four and a half times. However, after controlling for delinquency non-White females have significantly different odds of suspension when compared with White females. The odds an Asian female is suspended is almost half that (O.R=.616, $p<.05$) of their White counterparts. Latino (O.R.=1.126, $p<.001$), Black (O.R.=1.675, $p<.001$), and students in the “other” category (O.R.=1.713, $p<.001$) all have significantly greater odds of suspension than their White peers. The variables included in Model 1 explain 30% ($R^2=.300$, $p<.001$) of the variance in female student suspension

5.3.2 Model 2

5.3.2.1 Males

The second model segment for males includes in the regression the various student level factors discussed above (Table 4). For males all student level factors except delinquency were significantly and inversely associated with suspension. A one unit increase in a student’s score on the scale measuring attachment to school decreases the odds a male student will be suspended by almost 25% (O.R=.760, $p<.001$). Parental level of education appears to have a similarly negative relationship to male suspension (O.R=.903, $p<.001$). Student test scores also seem to have an effect on the odds a male student will be subjected to discipline. A one point increase in composite math and reading test scores decreases the odds a student will receive suspension slightly (O.R=.948, $p<.001$). Level of family income is negatively associated with male suspension (O.R=.952, $p<.001$). This suggests that each additional 10,000 dollars of family income decreases the odds a student will be suspended 5 percentage points. Student delinquency is still a predictor of suspension for males (O.R.=3.819, $p<.001$). It is also important to note,

even after controlling for student level factors and delinquency in Model 2, Black and Latino students are significantly more likely than their White peers to receive suspension. Model 2 explains 36% ($R^2=.366$, $p<.001$) of the variance in a male students odds of suspension. This is 6 percentage points more of explained variance than was explained by only race and delinquency in Model 1.

5.3.2.2 Females

Student level factors were also included in the regression for female students (Table 5). Only three student factors, parental education, composite math and reading test scores, and delinquency were significantly associated with suspension. Results suggests that each increase in the level of education of the most educated parent decreases the odds a female would be suspended a modest amount (O.R.=.831, $p<.001$). For a one point increase in a female student's composite math and reading score the odds she would be suspended decreases slightly (O.R.=.934, $p<.001$). A female student's delinquency is again a strong predictor of suspension (O.R.=4.177, $p<.001$). Yet even after controlling for all variables in Model 2, including student level factors thought to influence student suspension, race differences in the experience of suspension still persisted. Black females were still significantly more likely (O.R.=1.416, $p<.001$), and Asian females significantly less likely (O.R.=.568, $p<.01$) than their White counterparts to be suspended. Interestingly differences in the odds of suspension for Latino and students in the "other" group are no longer statistically significant after the inclusion of student level factors. Model 2 explains a similar amount of variance in female suspension as it does for males. Model 2 which includes race, delinquency, and all other student level factors explains 35% ($R^2=.355$, $p<.001$) of the variance in female suspension.

5.3.3 Model 3

5.3.3.1 Males

Model 3 excluded student factors and included school factors thought to influence the use of suspension (Table 4). School sector seems to have a marked effect on male student's odds of suspension. When holding other variables in the model constant attending either a private (O.R.=.419, $p<.001$) or Catholic (O.R.=.309, $p<.001$) school decreases a male's odds of being suspended by over 50 percent. Male students attending schools in the west have odds of suspension that are almost half that of their male counterparts attending schools in the south (O.R.=.603, $p<.001$). Interestingly, as administrator perceptions of a school's danger increase a male student's odds of suspension actually *decreases* (O.R.=.769, $p<.001$). Surprisingly students attending either suburban (O.R.=1.220, $p<.001$) or rural (O.R.=1.471, $p<.001$) schools are more likely than their male equivalents attending schools in urban environments to receive suspension when holding other variables in the model constant. After the removal of student factors and the addition of school factors racial differences in suspension still persisted. Black (O.R.=1.386, $p<.001$) and Latino (O.R.=1.088, $p<.001$) males were still significantly more likely than their White peers to receive suspension after controlling for school level factors. Notably students in the "other" racial grouping are now found to be statistically more likely to receive suspension than their White peers (O.R.=1.410, $p<.05$). Model 3 excludes student factors for school factors and find that the combination of race, delinquency and school level factors explain almost 33% ($R^2=.328$, $p<.001$) of the variance in suspension for male students.

5.3.3.2 Females

For females Model 3 also excluded student factors and included school factors for analysis (Table 5). Several fewer school factors were statistically significantly associated with suspension than when used in analysis for males. Only school sector and school region seem to have an effect on female student suspension. Female students attending Catholic schools have odds of suspension that are almost two thirds less than their counterparts attending public schools (O.R.=.347, $p<.001$). After controlling for all other variables in the model female students attending schools in the Midwest (O.R.=.628, $p<.001$) and West (O.R.=.523, $p<.001$) have almost half the odds of being suspended than females from the South, while female students attending schools in the Northeast (O.R.=.459, $p<.001$) have slightly less than half the odds of suspension than their counterparts in the South. Here again, after controlling for school level factors racial differences in the likelihood of suspension still persist. Black (O.R.=1.541, $p<.001$), Latino (O.R.=1.117, $p<.01$), and females in the “other” racial group (O.R.=1.779, $p<.001$) have statistically significantly higher odds of suspension than their White counterparts. Asian females on the other hand still have significantly lower odds of suspension when compared to White females after controlling for the variables in the model (O.R.=.651, $p<.001$). The variables in model three explain roughly 32% ($R^2=.323$, $p<.001$) of the variance in female suspension, which is a 2 percentage point increase from Model 1’s explanatory power.

5.3.4 Model 4

5.3.4.1 Males

A logistic regression was performed to assess the association of race and suspension after accounting for both student and school level factors. The estimated effects of student and school level factors vary little when combined in Model 4. Importantly, when compared to White male students, black male students are still more likely to be given suspension when controlling for the

other variables in the model (O.R.=1.211, $p<.001$). Thus, even after holding constant levels of delinquency, student, and school factors, Black males' odds of suspension are 20% greater than that of their White peers. Additionally, for Latino males, the association between race and suspension is eliminated when controlling for student and school level factors. Both of these findings are noteworthy, and their implications will be discussed in more detail below.

5.3.4.2 Females

The same model that was used to test the odds of suspension for males was used to test the odds of suspension for females, the results of which are summarized in Table 5. Black females are more likely than White females to receive suspension (O.R.=1.317, $p<.001$), even after controlling for student and school level factors. The association of race and suspension was eliminated for Latino females after the inclusion of both student and school level factors; however, it should be noted that this association was also eliminated in Model 2 after controlling for only student factors. Female students in the "other" racial group are also significantly more likely than their White peers to receive suspension (O.R.=1.536, $p<.001$). Asian females however are significantly less likely, after controlling for all variables in the model, to be suspended than their White counterparts (O.R.=.603, $p<.05$). Race is clearly a contributing factor in the odds of receiving suspension for female students. After controlling for delinquency, student, and school level factors, Black females odds were 30% greater, and Asian females odds 40% lower, than their White counterparts to be subject to exclusion through suspension. These results and their findings will be discussed below.

5.3.4.3 Full Model Assessment

A Hosmer and Lemeshow test was utilized to test how well the models fit in analysis. As the analysis was split by gender so was the test of fit. For male students the Hosmer and Lemeshow test was not statistically significant indicating the variables in the model are appropriate. While the test of fit was statistically significant for females, the variables selected for the model are driven by the literature, which indicated those variables as ones that may influence the likelihood of the use of exclusionary discipline.

For males the models Nagelkerke R^2 value is .377 ($p < .001$) indicating that the model explains over 35% of the variation in the use of suspension for male students. For female students the Nagelkerke R^2 value is .372 ($p < .001$) suggesting that the variables in the model account for more than 35% of the variance in use of suspension for female students. The difference in R^2 values suggests that the model explains variations in the use of suspension for boys just slightly better than it does for girls.

Along with examining race and suspension this study wanted to examine if there were different factors for males and females influencing their likelihood of suspension. All student level factors were significantly associated with suspension for males while only parental education and test scores proved influential for female students. This suggests that the various student factors that shape how students and their behaviors are perceived and subsequently labeled are differentially influential for male and female students. While males receive some protective influence against suspension from increased levels of attachment to school, female students do not share in that privilege. Among school factors, region, urbanicity, and school sector were all significant predictors of suspension for male students, while only the region in which female students attended school was a significant predictor of suspension for females.

These differences suggest there are indeed variations in which factors, whether they be student or school factors, influence male and female student's odds of suspension.

The combination of student and school level factors seem to explain a notable amount of the variation in the use of suspension. This study's findings are consistent with prior literature on suspension suggesting black students are disproportionately punished. Black male and female students are more likely than their White equivalents to be given suspension, even after controlling for a number of student and school factors. Particularly noteworthy is the difference in factors that predict suspension for males and females. This suggests that further gender specific examinations of exclusionary discipline are warranted.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

The purpose of this study was to examine race and gender differences in student experiences of suspension. Black students in particular were more likely than their White counterparts to be suspended. This finding is in agreement with current and past literature (Childrens Defense Fund 1975; Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, and Ferron 2002; Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2003; Blake et al. 2010; Welch and Payne 2010; Skiba, et al. Skiba, et al. 2011; Butler et al. 2012; Hannon, Defina, and Bruch 2013; Sullivan, Klingbeil, and Van Norman 2013; George 2015). Female students in the “other” racial group were more likely to be suspended and Asian females less likely to be suspended than their White peers. While this study cannot say anything about students in the “other” group, results suggesting Asian females are less likely to be suspended than their White peers is consistent with previous literature (Wallace Jr. 2008). Of particular note is that the combination of student and school level factors used in Model 4 explain away the differences in Latino males and females odds of suspension, as research has previously been ambiguous in this regard (Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2002; Wallace Jr. 2008). While findings concerning student level factors, which are used in an attempt to assess student’s possible levels of cultural capital, provide support for Bourdieu’s reproduction theory, they suggest that differences in cultural capital do not fully explain differences in the experience of suspension by race. Findings related to school factors provide further insight into elements influential in student suspension, but race differences in suspension still persist after controlling for both school and student level factors. While the final model did explain almost 40% of the variance in male and female suspension, 30% of the variance was explained with the inclusion of just race and delinquency variables.

The first model simply tested for the association between race and suspension after controlling for student delinquency. Models 2, 3, and 4 accounted for those variables, as well as student factors, school factors, or both, respectively. Results suggest a robust answer to the first research question. Race is unequivocally associated with the likelihood a student will receive suspension. These results provide partial support for Hypothesis 1, which suggested Black and Asian students would have significantly different odds of suspension than that of White students. Black students are more likely, and Asian females are less likely to be suspended than their White counterparts. Additionally findings suggest that while race is significantly associated with suspension among Latino males and females, after controlling for student and school level factors that is no longer true. Findings on Black and Asian students are in line with the suggestion of current research (Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, and Ferron 2002; Skiba et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2003; Wallace Jr. 2008; Blake et al. 2010; Welch and Payne 2010; Skiba et al. 2011; Butler et al. 2012; Hannon, Defina and Bruch 2013; Sullivan, Klingbeil, and Van Norman 2013; George 2015). While it could be said this study's findings add to the ambiguity that some researchers say exist in regards to Latino youth and exclusionary discipline (Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2002; Wallace Jr. 2008), its findings provide future avenues of inquiry, and provide support for the qualitative findings of Morris (2005) that suggest social class, signaled through clothing styles, and middle class mannerisms, can help deflect punishment for Latino males.

Males and females seem to receive differing returns on various aspects of their personal characteristics thought to create and modify their cultural capital. There appears to be, as suggested in Hypothesis 2, an inverse association between all student factors, except delinquency, and a male student's odds of suspension. For females on the other hand, Hypothesis

2 is only partially supported. Females do receive some protective benefit from suspension from increased levels of cultural capital, but not all variables constitutive of cultural capital were significantly associated with suspension as they were for males. Accounting for student factors alone did not explain race differences in suspension for males but explained differences in the odds of suspension for Latino females. These findings 1) provide support for Bourdieu's reproduction theory, 2) partially support and contradict the suggestion of Hypothesis 2 which suggested all student factors besides delinquency would be inversely related with suspension, and 3) provide a partial answer to the second research question, which asked whether differences in the experience of suspension by race would persist after controlling for student and school factors. Furthermore results concerning student factors support the literature (Dornbusch 2001; Wallace Jr. et al. 2008), which suggest those variables have a negative relationship with discipline, but differences in which factors are influential across gender provide new insight to the discussion on exclusionary discipline.

School level factors were similarly variable in their effects across race and gender. Some, but not all, of the school level factors were significantly associated with suspension. Among school factors, region, level of urbanicity, and school sector were significant predictors of suspension for males, while only region was a significant predictor of suspension for females. These results suggest a partial answer to the second research question, which asked whether differences in the experience of suspension by race would persist after controlling for student and school factors. Controlling for school factors alone does not alleviate race differences in suspension. They also provide partial support for Hypothesis 3, which suggested school factors would be positively associated with suspension. Additionally, findings suggesting that male students attending urban schools are less likely to be suspended than those attending schools in

suburban or rural areas contradict the assertion of Hypothesis 3. Similarly in contradiction with the literature discussed above, and the suggestion of Hypothesis 3, at least for males, administrator perceptions of the schools danger are inversely related to male student suspension. Region was important for males and females. These findings generally support the literature (Adams 1992; Wallace Jr. et al. 2008; Kupchick 2009) and the assertion of Hypothesis 3, which suggested that students from the south would be more likely than their counterparts to be suspended. The only subgroup this did not hold true for was males attending schools in the Midwest. Variations of the school factors influential in student suspension suggest a partial answer to the third research question, which asked if student and school factors instrumental in student suspension varied by gender.

The final model combined both student level factors with school level factors as only a few other studies have (Theroit, Craun, and Dupper 2010; Sullivan, Klingbeil, and Van Norman 2013; Hemphill et al. 2014; Skiba et al. 2014), to test for racial differences in the experience of suspension. Research has consistently shown that Black students are more likely than their White counterparts to be subject to suspension or other forms of exclusionary discipline (Childrens Defense Fund 1975; Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, and Ferron 2002; Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2003; Blake et al. 2010; Sullivan, Klingbeil, and Van Norman 2013; George 2015) and this study's findings add to and extend that literature. After accounting for race, delinquency, student and school level factors, Black students are still significantly more likely than their White peers to receive suspension, while differences in the odds of suspension for Latino students are accounted for after holding those variables constant. Asian females on the other hand, are significantly less likely than their peers to receive suspension. These results provide a multi-point answer to the second research question posed above. Race differences for Black males and

females, and Asian females persist after controlling for various student and school factors while they do not for Latino students. These results suggest partial support for Hypothesis 4, which asserted race differences would remain after controlling for student and school level factors.

6.1 Limitations

There are a few limitations of this study, the most prominent being that it is cross sectional. This study utilized only data from the first wave of ELS and did not use any of the follow-up waves. This means changes in a student's cultural capital, or the school environment are not measured, and therefore their effect on suspension cannot be determined relative to the way in which they have changed. Additionally, the cross sectional nature of this study does not allow for the testing of a causal mechanism in regards to suspension.

Another limitation of this study is the timing of data collection for the dataset utilized (ELS). The survey was administered during the second semester before the end of the school year so the variable measuring the dependent variable, suspension, is likely not a full accounting of all students suspended that year. A secondary limitation associated with the dataset is that by some standards the data could be considered old at 14 years, the first wave of data collection was completed in 2002. Finally, the control variable used to measure student delinquency was self-reported which some may not believe to be the most appropriate way to measure deviant activity as it may fall victim to social desirability response bias.

6.2 Future Research

Results from this study suggest that cultural capital and the school environment do play a part in a student's chances of being subjected to suspension. As this study noted the combination of race, delinquency and student factors explained more variance in student suspension than did

the combination of race, delinquency, and school factors. However, due to the type of regression utilized, assessment of the relative effects each set of factors could not be measured against each other. Future research should attempt to assess which set of factors plays a larger role in predicting the odds a student will receive suspension as this study was unable to do so.

Variations in the ability of the variables used to measure cultural capital to predict student suspension suggest that perhaps some aspects of what produce cultural capital play a larger role in student suspension than others. Continued research should try to tease out what these differences are and if they vary by race and gender. Furthermore variations in student factors that were significantly associated with suspension varied by gender. As Morris (2005; 2007) and Ferguson (2000) both provide strong support for the dialectic way in which gender and race inform teacher's perceptions of students, gender and race specific examinations of suspension should be performed. This would allow researchers to flush out what differences exist and to provide possible gender and racially sensitive solutions for the cessation of disciplinary inequity. This study combined both in-school and out-of-school suspension for a more inclusive measure of "exclusionary discipline". Although this study was not able to include expulsion, other researchers (Skiba et al. 2014) have suggested that suspension and expulsion should be studied separately. Perhaps future research should parse examination of exclusionary discipline by in-school and out-of-school suspension as well.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

There are several implications issuing from the study's findings. Perhaps most apparent is that race is unequivocally associated with a student's odds of suspension. It seems simply by virtue of being Black, Black males and females are more likely to be suspended than White students. Results suggest, at least for Black students, that regardless of their level of cultural capital or school environment, Black students will be disproportionately likely to be disciplined. Furthermore, results indicate that programs designed to correct discipline disproportionality by increasing a student's attachment to, or comfort with, school, while helpful, will not eliminate the problem. Additionally, findings suggest that changes to the school environment alone will also have little impact decreasing a student's odds of suspension. With regard to school factors it is also notable that for males, findings regarding school urbanicity conflict with current literature discussed earlier in this study. Further research should be done to attempt to duplicate these findings to assess whether this finding is an artifact of the dataset used or is worthy of a more nuanced assessment of the ways in which urbanicity interact with student discipline. Region seemed to play a bigger role in suspension for both males and females. Regional differences may be related to segregation, which scholars assert exacerbate disproportional use of discipline for students of color (McNulty, Eitle, and Eitle 2004). This study's results suggest that Black students are affected by some sort of bias. Whether this bias is implicit and below the surface of one's awareness as some have suggested (Monroe 2005; Rudd 2014), or related to teacher perceptions of Black students as alternatively aggressive, threatening, or "un-ladylike" (Ferguson 2000; Morris 2005; Morris 2007) this examination is unable to assess. Regardless, the results for Black students is inequitable discipline. As exclusionary discipline has been linked with a host of

negative consequences, including a negative effect on the scholastic achievement of those excluded (Brown 2007), those not suspended (Perry and Morris 2014), increased levels of detachment from school (Brown 2007) and association with entrance into the “school to prison pipeline”, as well as involvement with the juvenile justice system (Hirschfield 2008; Nicholson-Crotty, Birchmieier, and Valentine 2009; Rocque and Paternoster 2011) concerted efforts must be put forth to further understand how those who administer punishment perceive Black males and females and their behaviors.

Perhaps most importantly, this study extends the literature on exclusionary discipline among Latino students. Previous literature has been ambiguous in its results concerning Latino youths and suspension. This study suggests that while student and school factors do not alone explain existing differences in the odds of suspension for both Latino males and females, when utilized together cultural capital and school environment can provide an explanation for differences in suspensions associated with Latino students. Morris (2005) suggested that a higher social class, signaled through clothing styles and mannerisms, can help deflect punishment for Latino students. My findings suggest that Latino students’ attachment to and success within school also play a role in the disproportional discipline levied against them. Perhaps cultural, and stylistic dispositions and practices that conflict with white normativity will create negative perceptions of a Latino student unless modified by certain student factors, such as a student’s SES, or attachment to school. Of course, such negative perceptions work against school connectedness and performance, the very signals teachers may use to interpret student behavior (Morris 2007).

While we may not be able “give” students cultural capital, or those things constitutive of it, like better test scores, additional cultural or diversity training for teachers as suggested by

some (Skiba et al. 2002; APA 2008) may help alleviate disparate rates of discipline for students of color. Such training, on how race, class and gender intersect may lessen the discipline levied against students for subjective offenses such as issues of address (Vavrus and Cole 2002; Skiba et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2002; Raffaele Mendez, Howard, Knoff and Ferron 2003) and comportment (Morris 2005; Morris 2007; Hannon, Defina, and Bruch 2013), which have been shown to be disproportionately administered to minority students (Skiba et al. 2002; Raffaele Mendez and Knoff 2003; Kupchik 2009). This study's results suggest that while programs designed to improve students' attachment or comfort with school, or perhaps increase their teachers' cultural awareness may not be completely effective in eliminating disparate rates of discipline for Black and Latino students

This study's findings contribute to the current literature on student exclusionary discipline and its inequitable distribution to students of color. It finds that males and females receive differential amounts of protection from various aspects of their personal lives. Reproduction theory and cultural capital are fruitful theoretical devices around which to orient an understanding of how disproportionate punishment arises. However, they require researchers to utilize them with some acknowledgement that similar amounts of cultural capital do not net all persons the same reward, that an individual's employment of their cultural capital may be modified by their habitus (Dumais 2002), and that reproduction theory has its limits. It appears regardless of Black students' cultural capital, or the schools they attend, they are more apt to be disciplined through exclusion from school.

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APPENDIX

Table 1. Descriptive Statistics

	(f)	Percent	Mean	Standard Deviation	Range
<i>(Student Level Factors)</i>					
<i>Suspended</i>					
No	9349	83.8			
Yes	1804	16.2			
<i>Race</i>					
Other	567	5.1			
Asain	453	4.1			
Black	1400	12.6			
Latino	1584	14.2			
White	7149	64.1			
<i>Sex</i>					
Male	5659	50.7			
Female	5494	49.3			
School Attachment Scale			2.96	0.45	1.00-4.00
Test Score-Math/Reading			50.44	10.06	20.91-81.04
Either Parents Highest Educational Level*			3.00		1.00-6.00
Family Income			62390.06	50017.76	500.00-250000.00
<i>(School Level Factors)</i>					
<i>Region</i>					
Northeast	2143	19.2			
Midwest	2885	25.9			
South	3679	33.0			
West	2446	21.9			
<i>Sector</i>					
Public	10328	92.6			
Catholic	457	4.1			
Other/Private	368	3.3			
<i>Urbanicity</i>					
Urban	3118	28.0			
Suburban	5706	51.2			
Rural	2329	20.9			
Administrator Perceptions of School Dangers			2.42	0.39	1.16-4.05
School Controls (Index)			3.63	1.90	1.00-10.00
Community Crime Level*			1.00		1.00-4.00
<i>(Primary Control Variable)</i>					
Student Delinquency Scale			1.00	0.75	0.00-4.00

N=11153

*Variables are ordinal measures and the median rather than the mean is used

Table 2. Chi-Square Test Results

<i>Student Level Factors</i>	Suspended		Not Suspended		Total	Chi-Square
	Frequency (f)	Percent	Frequency (f)	Percent		
<i>Race</i>						
Other	118	20.8%	449	79.2%	567	370.8
Asian	37	8.2%	416	91.8%	453	
Black	439	31.4%	961	68.6%	1400	
Latino	328	20.7%	1256	79.3%	1584	
White	881	12.3%	6268	87.7%	7149	
					11153	p<.001
<i>Gender</i>						
Male	1132	20.0%	4527	80.0%	5659	124.8
Female	671	12.2%	4823	87.3%	5494	
					11153	p<.001
<i>School Level Factors</i>						
<i>Urbanicity</i>						
Urban	579	18.6%	2539	81.4%	3118	18.4
Suburban	866	15.2%	4840	84.8%	5706	
Rural	359	15.4%	1971	84.6%	2330	
					11153	p<.001
<i>Region</i>						
Northeast	294	13.7%	1850	86.3%	2143	36.1
Midwest	437	15.2%	2447	84.8%	2884	
South	701	19.1%	2978	80.9%	3679	
West	371	15.2%	2075	84.8%	2446	
					11153	p<.001
<i>Sector</i>						
Public	1755	17.0%	8574	83.0%	10329	70.0
Catholic	22	4.8%	434	95.2%	456	
Private-Other	26	7.1%	342	92.9%	368	
					11153	p<.001

Table 3. Correlations of Student and School Level Factors to Suspension

	Suspension	Student Delinquency	School Attachment	Family Income	Either Parents Highest Educational Level	Standardized Test Composite Score-Math/Reading	Types of School Control Index (e. g. metal detectors, random sweeps, uniforms)	Administrator Perceptions of School Dangers	Administrator Perceptions of Crime in Students Neighborhoods
Suspension	1								
Student Delinquency	.441 ***	1							
School Attachment	-.155 ***	-.300 ***	1						
Family Income	-.140 ***	-.094 ***	.023 *	1					
Either Parents Highest Educational Level	-.132 ***	-.091 ***	.036 ***	.441 ***	1				
Standardized test composite score-math/reading	-.274 ***	-.200 ***	.058 ***	.329 ***	.321 ***	1			
Types of School Control Index (e. g. metal detectors, random sweeps, uniforms)	.054 ***	-.041 ***	.042 ***	-.088 ***	-.064 ***	-.114 ***	1		
Administrator Perceptions of School Dangers	.064 ***	.097 ***	-.014	-.083 ***	-.059 ***	-.098 ***	.063 ***	1	
Administrator Perceptions of Crime in Students Neighborhoods	.098 ***	.065 ***	.006	-.154 ***	-.126 ***	-.192 ***	.204 ***	.219 ***	1

*p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

Table 4. Logistic Regression Predicting the Odds of Suspension for Males

Variable	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4		
	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio
<i>(Reference: White)</i>												
Other	.327	.170	1.386	.100	.177	1.105	.344	.173	1.410 *	.148	.180	1.160
Asian	-.131	.115	.877	-.166	.116	.847	-.056	.117	0.945	-.083	.118	.920
Black	.365	.034	1.440 ***	.205	.037	1.228 ***	.326	.038	1.386 ***	.191	.041	1.211 ***
Hispanic	.063	.027	1.065 *	-.058	.029	.943 *	.084	.029	1.088 ***	-.021	.031	0.979
Student Delinquency	1.455	.051	4.286 ***	1.340	.054	3.819 ***	1.508	.053	4.518 ***	1.397	.056	4.045 ***
<i>(Student Factors)</i>												
School Attachment				-.275	.085	.760 ***				-.257	.086	.773 **
Family Income				-.049	.011	.952 ***				-.041	.011	.960 ***
Highest Educational Level of Either Parent				-.102	.038	.903 **				-.081	.039	.923 *
Composite Math/Reading Score				-.054	.004	.948 ***				-.053	.005	.948 ***
<i>(School Factors)</i>												
Number of School Control Mechanisms							.000	.023	1.000	-.016	.024	.984
Administrator Perceptions of the School's Dangers							-.236	.118	.769 *	-.175	.122	.839
<i>(Reference Region: South)</i>												
Northeast							-.105	.119	.901	-.091	.122	.913 **
Midwest							.017	.105	1.017	-.039	.108	.961
West							-.505	.127	.603 ***	-.544	.130	.580 ***
<i>(Reference Urbanicity: Urban)</i>												
Suburban							.199	.102	1.220 *	.180	.104	1.197
Rural							.386	.128	1.471 **	.302	.132	1.353 *
<i>(Reference Sector: Public)</i>												
Catholic							-1.173	.287	.309 ***	-.702	.293	.496 *
Private							-.870	.294	.419 **	-.534	.310	.586
<i>(Reference Crime Level: High)</i>												
Low Crime							-.335	.221	.715	-.081	.227	.922
Mixed Crime							-.250	.234	.779	-.082	.241	.921
Moderate Crime							.178	.231	1.195	.297	.237	1.346
Pseudo R-Squared Value	R ² =.308			R ² =.366			R ² =.328			R ² =.377		
* p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001												

Table 5. Logistic Regression Predicting the Odds of Suspension for Females

Model 1												
Variable	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio	B	S.E.	Odds Ratio
<i>(Reference: White)</i>												
Other	.539	.187	1.713 **	.359	.192	1.432	.576	.190	1.779 **	.429	.195	1.536 *
Asian	-.484	.206	.616 *	-.566	.214	.568 **	-.429	.209	.651 *	-.505	.216	.603 *
Black	.516	.039	1.675 ***	.348	.043	1.416 ***	.432	.043	1.541 ***	.275	.047	1.317 ***
Hispanic	.119	.032	1.126 ***	-.022	.035	.978	.111	.035	1.117 **	-.015	.038	.986
Student Delinquency	1.505	.061	4.505 ***	1.430	.066	4.177 ***	1.556	.064	4.741 ***	1.483	.068	4.405 ***
<i>(Student Factors)</i>												
School Attachment				-.190	.115	.827				-.186	.117	.831
Family Income				-.006	.013	.994				-.001	.013	.999
Highest Educational Level of Either Parent				-.185	.045	.831 ***				-.167	.046	.847 ***
Composite Math/Reading Score				-.068	.006	.934 ***				-.068	.006	.934 ***
<i>(School Factors)</i>												
Number of School Control Mechanisms							.049	.028	1.050	.034	.029	1.034
Administrator Perceptions of School's Dangers							.250	.135	1.284	.270	.143	1.310
<i>(Reference Region: South)</i>												
Northeast							-.779	.155	.459 ***	-.764	.159	.466 ***
Midwest							-.464	.128	.628 ***	-.559	.131	.572 ***
West							-.647	.148	.523 ***	-.733	.153	.480 ***
<i>(Reference Urbanicity: Urban)</i>												
Suburban							.133	.122	1.143	.062	.125	1.064
Rural							.230	.157	1.259	.051	.162	1.053
<i>(Reference Sector: Public)</i>												
Catholic							-1.058	.454	.347 *	-.657	.464	.519
Private							-.434	.382	.648	-.123	.389	.884
<i>(Reference Crime Level: High)</i>												
Low Crime							-.332	.240	.717	-.220	.246	.802
Mixed Crime							-.287	.251	.750	-.307	.257	.736
Moderate Crime							-.119	.247	.888	-.172	.252	.842
Pseudo R-Squared Value			R ² =.300			R ² =.355			R ² =.323			R ² =.372

* p<.05 **p<.01 ***p<.001

