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Understanding a Vicious Cycle: Do Out-of-School Suspensions Impact Student Test Scores?

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**Understanding a Vicious Cycle:
Do Out-of-School Suspensions Impact Student Test Scores?**

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Abstract

A vast amount of correlational research finds a relationship between exclusionary discipline (out-of-schools suspensions and expulsions) and negative outcomes for students such as lower achievement test scores, drop-out and grade retention, and involvement in the juvenile justice system. Recently, many states and large school districts have revised laws or changed codes of conduct to limit the use of exclusionary discipline practices in favor of less-punitive strategies, presumably based on the belief that exclusion harms student outcomes. Education policy makers and school leaders should be interested, however, in identifying the causal impact of out-of-school suspensions, for example, on student outcomes. This study uses six years of de-identified demographic, achievement (test score), and disciplinary data from all K-12 schools in Arkansas provided by the Arkansas Department of Education (2008-09 through 2013-14). We conduct estimates of dynamic panel data models incorporating student fixed effects using Anderson-Hsiao (1981) estimation. The results indicate, perhaps counter-intuitively, a slight positive impact of OSS on math and ELA test scores. Our results suggest that, although policymakers may have other reasons to curb the use of exclusionary discipline, we should not expect academic gains to follow.

Keywords: school discipline, exclusionary discipline, test score impacts

JEL Codes: I20, I24

I. Introduction

There is much discussion in the United States education community about high rates of exclusionary discipline such as suspensions and expulsions for all students in elementary and secondary schools (Bowditch, 1993; Marchbanks, Blake, Smith, Seibert, & Carmichael, 2014, Rausch & Skiba, 2005; Skiba, Peterson, & Williams, 1997). Moreover, there is concern about substantial disparities in rates of suspensions or expulsions between white students and students of color (Anderson & Ritter, 2015; Anderson & Ritter, 2016; Anyon et al., 2014; Losen, Hodson, Keith, Morrison, & Belway, 2015; Losen & Skiba, 2010; Sartain et al., 2015; Skiba et al., 2014; Skiba et al., 2011; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002; Welch & Payne, 2010).

Exclusionary discipline such as suspensions and expulsions are associated with several negative student outcomes including lower academic achievement (Arcia, 2006; Beck & Muschkin, 2012; Cobb-Clark, Kassenboehmer, Le, McVicar, & Zhang, 2015; Raffaele-Mendez, Knoff, & Ferrer, 2002; Raffaele-Mendez, 2003; Rausch & Skiba, 2005; Skiba & Rausch, 2004;), school drop-out and grade retention (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2013; American Psychological Association, 2008; Balfanz et al., 2014; Cobb-Clark et al., 2015; Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rock, 1986; Fabelo et al., 2011; Gregory and Weinstein, 2008; Krezmien, Leone, & Achilles, 2006; Marchbanks et al., 2014; Raffaele-Mendez, 2003; Raffaele-Mendez and Sanders, 1981; Rodney, Crafter, Rodney, & Mupier, 1999; Stearns and Glennie, 2006; Wald and Kurlaendar, 2003), and future involvement in the juvenile justice system (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2013; Balfanz et al., 2003; Fabelo et al., 2011; Nicholson-Crotty, Birchmeier, & Valentine, 2009). The economic impact of these effects could be great. Marchbanks et al. (2014), for example, using data on three cohorts of Texas seventh grade students in 2000-01 to 2002-03, estimated that grade retentions associated with discipline costs the state of Texas about \$76

million per year. Further, in many cases, school suspension predicts higher rates of misbehavior, anti-social behavior, and subsequent suspensions in the future (Balfanz et al., 2014; Costenbader & Markson, 1998; Hemphill, Toumbourou, Herrenkohl, McMorris, & Catalonao, 2006; Raffaele-Mendez, 2003; Tobin, Sugai, & Colvin, 1996).

Some suspect that lower academic achievement is a result of suspensions and other learning time lost (Davis & Jordan, 1994; Public Agenda, 2004; Scott & Barrett, 2004), which is consistent with findings that increased opportunity for learning is associated with high achievement and large achievement gains (Brophy, 1988; Brophy & Good, 1986; Carter, 1984; Cooley & Leinhardt, 1980; Fisher et al., 1981; Greenwood, Horton, & Utley, 2002; Hattie, 2002; Reynolds & Walberg, 1991; Stalling, Cory, Fairweather, & Needels, 1978; Wang et al., 1997). This argument is consistent with studies that find suspensions precede lower performance (Balfanz et al., 2014; Cobb-Clark et al., 2015, McIntosh et al., 2008; Rausch & Skiba, 2005).

For example, Balfanz et al. (2014) examined the connection between receiving an out-of-school suspension in ninth grade and later high school and post-secondary outcomes in Florida. In this descriptive work, even after controlling for demographics, attendance, and course performance, suspensions in ninth grade were associated with suspension in the future, as well as later course failures and chronic absenteeism. An oft-cited reason that suspensions predict future suspensions is that certain students are viewed by school employees as “frequent flyers” (Greene, 2008; Kennedy-Lewis, Murphy, & Grosland, 2014), “problem students” or “bad kids” (Collins, 2011; Pifer, 2000; Weismann, 2015), and this presumption of an inherent discipline issue harms the interactions between students and teachers (Kennedy-Lewis et al., 2014).

However, it is not always the case that misbehavior and suspensions precede lower academic achievement. Several studies have found that low academic performance is predictive

of a variety of undesirable behaviors in the future (Arcia, 2006; Choi 2007; Miles & Stipek 2006; McIntosh et al., 2008). For example, Miles and Stipek (2006) find that poor literacy achievement in the first and third grades predicted relatively high aggressive behavior in the third and fifth grades. Choi (2007) found that performance, measured by grade point average, predicted delinquent offenses, substance abuse, gang initiation, and sexual activity across all racial groups. This could be due to decreased engagement or bond with the school (Hawkins, Smith, & Catalano, 2004). Further, Arcia (2006) matched a group of suspended students to non-suspended peers with the same grade level, gender, race, free- and reduced-lunch status, and English proficiency status. The suspended students had lower pre-suspension achievement, gained less academically over the course of three years, and had higher drop-out rates (Arcia, 2006).

In response to these criticisms, many school districts and states are moving away from exclusionary discipline and towards less punitive consequences. As of May 2015, 22 states and the District of Columbia had revised laws to “require or encourage schools to: limit the use of exclusionary discipline practices; implement supportive (that is, non-punitive) discipline strategies; and provide support services such as counseling, dropout prevention, and guidance services for at-risk students” (Steinberg & Lacoë, 2016, p. 44). Further, as of the 2015–16 school year, 23 of the nation’s 100 largest school districts changed policies to require non-punitive discipline strategies and/or limit suspension use (Steinberg & Lacoë, 2016).

The move away from exclusionary discipline appears to presume a causal effect of exclusionary discipline on these student outcomes, yet prior work is only correlational. Policymakers and school leaders would benefit from more rigorous, causal research on the effect of exclusionary discipline on student outcomes in order to make government and school policies more effective. This is no easy task, however, because of the great potential for reverse causality.

It is unclear whether disciplinary issues precede and “cause” poor student achievement, or the declining achievement of a struggling student and the associated disengagement from school leads to disciplinary problems. Alternatively, another plausible chain of events is that a negative shock outside of the school setting occurs and causes simultaneous problems with both behavior and academic achievement at school. Thus, while the data may show that academic achievement and school discipline are related, sorting out the causality is a far more complicated task.

Academic achievement, in terms of performance on tests, is only one outcome that school disciplinary policies can potentially affect. Suspensions are also associated with increased risk of drop-out, and reduced on-time graduation rates (American Academy of Pediatrics, 2013; American Psychological Association, 2008; Balfanz et al., 2014; Cobb-Clark et al., 2015; Ekstrom, Goertz, Pollack, & Rock, 1986; Fabelo et al., 2011; Gregory and Weinstein, 2008; Krezmien, Leone, & Achilles, 2006; Marchbanks et al., 2014; Raffaele-Mendez, 2003; Raffaele-Mendez and Sanders, 1981; Rodney, Crafter, Rodney, & Mupier, 1999; Stearns and Glennie, 2006; Wald and Kurlaendar, 2003). Therefore, while the results of the current study will not provide evidence on all possible impacts of exclusionary discipline, it will provide evidence on at least two measures of academic achievement; math and reading test scores.

Further, we focus specifically on the academic impacts on the students suspended, ignoring more systematic or school-wide impacts. Impacts on academics may not stop with the suspended students themselves. In fact, one study found that high levels of suspensions in schools actually is also associated with lower achievement gains on non-suspended students in the schools (Perry & Morris, 2014). On the other hand, some researchers have argued that strict disciplinary policies could actually improve school achievement through the removal of disruptive students from school (Burke & Herbert, 1996; Kinsler, 2013). Nevertheless, each of

these studies are limited by the potential problems of reverse causality or the confounding effect of an exogenous factor that influences both school achievement and behavior.

In this study, we attempt to better isolate the relationship between out-of-school suspension and future academic achievement.

The main research questions guiding this study are:

1. *What is the impact of out-of-school suspension on academic achievement in reading and math in the following year?*
2. *Do out-of-school suspensions affect academic achievement of certain subgroups differently?*

Next, we turn to a description of the data utilized for this study, and the analytic sample.

II. Data and Sample

This study uses six years of de-identified demographic, achievement (test score), and disciplinary data from all K-12 schools in Arkansas provided by the Arkansas Department of Education (2008-09 through 2013-14). Demographic data include race, gender, grade, special education status, limited English proficiency-status, and free-and-reduced-lunch (FRL) status.

The academic achievement data include standardized scores on state tests in reading and mathematics for six school years from 2008-09 to 2013-14. For the school years from 2008-09 to 2013-14, state tests in reading and math were administered as part of the Arkansas Comprehensive Testing, Assessment, and Accountability Program (ACTAAP). The Arkansas Benchmark exams in English Language Arts (ELA) were administered in grades 3-8, and End of Course (EOC) examinations were administered in Algebra I, Geometry, and Algebra II. All test

scores were standardized within grade, year, test type, and testing group (e.g. with accommodations or without) to account for differences in test administrations.

Discipline data include indicators for 19 infraction types and 13 consequences, the date of the infraction, and the length of the consequence. To simplify the analysis, we group similar infraction types, resulting in only 12 groups.¹ Furthermore, 13 consequence categories are collapsed into 7 (in school suspension (ISS), out of school suspension (OSS), expulsion, referral to an alternative learning environment (ALE), corporal punishment, no action, and other).

Disciplinary data are collapsed to the unit of student-by-school-year, so the indicators for both infractions and consequences indicate the number of times within a given school year the student was cited for some particular type of infraction and received some particular type of consequence. These disciplinary data are merged with the student level demographic data and achievement data using unique student identifiers.

The analytic samples vary by type of analysis, but in our preferred models we exclude from our analytic sample students that were ever expelled or who ever received a referral to an alternative learning environment (ALE). Our focus here is to estimate the impact on students who are suspended out-of-school, relative to receiving some other, non-exclusionary consequence. Therefore, excluding from the analysis any students who ever received an expulsion or ALE referral makes the non-OSS reference category clearly less exclusionary than an OSS. In addition, our results can be considered the impact of OSS on a more typical (not extremely misbehaving) student. Excluding students who were expelled or referred to ALE for

¹ We group all infractions involving weapons (handguns, rifles, shotguns, clubs, knives, or explosives) into one category. We group staff assault and student assault into one category. We group alcohol and tobacco into one category.

disciplinary purposes removed 4,353 to 8,940 observations from our samples, depending on our sample, which in all cases represented about 0.008% of our observations.²

III. Analytic Methods

Our preferred models exploit the panel nature of our dataset. However, we begin with a simple pooled ordinary least squares (OLS) model that serves as a correlational benchmark with which we can compare our preferred dynamic panel data estimates. In the OLS model, the standard errors are clustered at the student level (Angrist & Pischke, 2009; Huber, 1967; Rogers, 1993; White, 1980). The pooled OLS model suffers from endogeneity as the error terms ε_{it} are most probably correlated to the other explanatory variables in the model, due to reverse causality and other sources of endogeneity as described previously.

Our pooled OLS model (benchmark) is:

$$y_{it} = \beta_1 OSSdays_{it-1} + \beta_2 infractioncount_{it-1} + \beta_3 gradelevel_{it} + \beta_4 schoolyear_t + \beta_5 y_{it-1} + \beta_6 X_{it} + d_{it} + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (1)$$

The variable of interest, $OSSdays_{t-1}$, is defined as the number of days of out-of-school suspension student i receives in year $t - 1$. We account for a student's behavioral history using a vector of counts for individual types of infractions a student committed in the previous year (e.g. alcohol/tobacco, weapons, assault, vandalism, truancy, insubordination, gangs, fighting, drugs, disorderly conduct, bullying, or other). We account for district time-invariant characteristics with district fixed effects, d_{it} , and also include a vector of grade level indicators, $gradelevel_{it}$, and school year indicators, $schoolyear_{it}$, with 2008-09 school year as the reference category. The error term, ε_{it} , contains student and district time variant unobserved characteristics. This model

² As a robustness check, we also add back in the students who were referred to an ALE during the study period and/or expelled during the study period, and estimate the impacts of (in total) all three different kinds of exclusionary discipline on student test scores. Details in Results section IV.

also includes a vector of student characteristics, X_{it} , including gender, FRL-status, special education status, limited English proficiency, and a vector of race/ethnicity indicators (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and other).

Despite the ability to control for measures of student behavior and background characteristics in this OLS specification, we still have concerns that there may be other unobservable characteristics of students not accounted for in this model. Unobservable characteristics of students such as their family backgrounds, communities, and school districts may be related to both the student's risk of OSS and his academic outcomes, so omitted variables bias that would be problematic for a causal interpretation of our results. Therefore, our preferred model uses student fixed-effects and is estimated using the approach for dynamic panel data models introduced by Anderson-Hsiao (1981). By adopting a dynamic panel data approach, we are able to exploit the panel-nature of the data and relax strict exogeneity assumptions.

The fixed effects models relaxes the strict exogeneity assumption, allowing a limited form of endogeneity through time-invariant student characteristics. In other words, we allow our regressors to be correlated to unobserved characteristics of a student that are constant over time. A limitation of the fixed effects approach is that it requires an adequate amount of variation within individual students across time, and even if there is "enough" variation within students, biases may remain if endogeneity is driven by time-varying shocks. To the extent that there are time-varying factors that are related both to the likelihood of being suspended out-of-school, and to future academic outcomes, we may be concerned that ε_{it} remains correlated with our variable of interest, $OSSdays_{it-1}$, even after allowing for student fixed effects. This would be the case, for example, if there are temporary shocks to a student's home life, relationship with school, or anything else that affect a student's propensity to be suspended out-of-school as well as

academic outcomes. In addition, the Anderson-Hsiao (1981) method is only valid under the assumption that these time varying shocks are only temporary and so are not correlated across time periods. Although, we recognize both these assumptions may be still strong, we still believe that they are more plausible and less strict than those imposed by simple pooled OLS.

The fixed effects are only identified for students who switch states of OSS (i.e. they must have variation in the number of days of OSS they receive, over time). This means the estimates of interest are not identified using students who were never exposed to OSS, although all students remain in the analysis and help gain precision on other variables included in the model.

Our proposed student fixed effects specification includes the same covariates as in our benchmark OLS model, but rather than including student demographic variables, we include student fixed effects. A basic student fixed effects model would be represented by the following:

$$y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 OSSdays_{it-1} + \beta_2 infractioncount_{it-1} + \beta_3 gradelevel_{it} + \beta_4 schoolyear_{it} + \beta_5 y_{it-1} + d_{it} + a_i + \varepsilon_{it} \quad (2)$$

We account for student individual time-invariant heterogeneity with a_i , which is allowed to be correlated to our other regressors through relaxing the assumption of strict exogeneity. With the inclusion of a_i , we exclude the vector of student characteristics X_{it} in Equation (1). Other variables in (2) are the same as those included in Equation (1).

To estimate this student fixed effects model, one could transform the model using first differencing as:

$$y_{it} - y_{it-1} = \beta_1 (OSSdays_{it-1} - OSSdays_{it-2}) + \beta_2 (infractioncount_{it-1} - infractioncount_{it-2}) + \beta_3 (gradelevel_{it} - gradelevel_{it-1}) + \beta_4 (schoolyear_{it} - schoolyear_{it-1}) + \beta_5 (y_{it-1} - y_{it-2}) + \beta_6 (d_{it} - d_{it-1}) + \varepsilon_{it} - \varepsilon_{it-1} \quad (3)$$

Equation (3) above makes it clear that $(y_{it-1} - y_{it-2})$ will be mechanically correlated to $\varepsilon_{it} - \varepsilon_{it-1}$, introducing bias (Nickell, 1981). Similarly, $(OSSdays_{it-1} - OSSdays_{it-2})$, and each of our first-differenced infraction count measures in $(infractioncount_{it-1} - infractioncount_{it-2})$ would be mechanically correlated to $\varepsilon_{it} - \varepsilon_{it-1}$, as we argued above that this variables are potentially contemporaneously endogenous. Fortunately, the bias induced through this endogeneity can be corrected by using prior lags of these variables as instruments for the first differences. We use two-stage least squares (2SLS) to estimate our impact of out of school suspensions (Anderson & Hsiao, 1981). Our 2SLS models are given by:

First Stage:

$$\Delta OSSdays_{it-1} = \hat{\pi}_0 + \hat{\pi}_1 OSSdays_{it-2} + \sum_{j=1}^k \hat{\pi}_{2j} infractioncount_{ijt-2} + \hat{\pi}_3 \Delta gradelevel_{it} + \hat{\pi}_4 \Delta schoolyear_{it} + \hat{\pi}_5 y_{it-2} + \hat{\pi}_6 \Delta d_{it} + \eta_{it}^{OSS} \quad (4)$$

$$\Delta y_{it-1} = \hat{\pi}_0 + \hat{\pi}_1 OSSdays_{it-2} + \sum_{j=1}^k \hat{\pi}_{2j} infractioncount_{ijt-2} + \hat{\pi}_3 \Delta gradelevel_{it} + \hat{\pi}_4 \Delta schoolyear_{it} + \hat{\pi}_5 y_{it-2} + \hat{\pi}_6 \Delta d_{it} + \eta_{it}^{test_scores} \quad (5)$$

And k=12 equations for each infraction type

$$\Delta infractioncount_{ijt-1} = \hat{\pi}_0 + \hat{\pi}_1 OSSdays_{it-2} + \sum_{j=1}^k \hat{\pi}_{2j} infractioncount_{ijt-2} + \hat{\pi}_3 \Delta gradelevel_{it} + \hat{\pi}_4 \Delta schoolyear_{it} + \hat{\pi}_5 y_{it-2} + \hat{\pi}_6 \Delta d_{it} + \eta_{it}^{infrac}$$

for each $j = 1, \dots, 12$ (6)

Second Stage:

$$\Delta y_{it} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \Delta \widehat{OSSdays}_{it-1} + \beta_2 \Delta \widehat{infractioncount}_{it-1} + \beta_3 \Delta gradelevel_{it} + \beta_4 \Delta schoolyear_{it} + \beta_5 \Delta \widehat{y}_{it-1} + \beta_6 \Delta d_{it} + \Delta \varepsilon_{it} \quad (7)$$

A valid instrumental variable requires two key assumptions: independence (the instrument does not directly affect the outcome, Δy_{it} , and the instrument is uncorrelated to the error term, $\Delta \varepsilon_{it}$), and relevance (the instrument is correlated enough with the endogenous variable). The relevance assumption is tested by assessing the results of our first stage equations, and looking for a clear relationship; in this case, mechanically our instruments are going to be sufficiently relevant. The independence assumption in this case is based on the assumption that time varying shocks affecting OSS, infractions, or test scores are only temporary and so, they are not correlated over time with time varying unobservables that determine current or past year test scores. Although we acknowledge this could be a strong assumption, we believe it is still weaker and more reasonable than pooled OLS or other descriptive methods.

We describe our analytic samples in Table 1. The analytic samples are surprising similar, regardless of the method used. In addition, the demographics are also quite reflective of the overall state population. Therefore, we have confidence that the results reported here would generalize to the overall state population.

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for state and analytic samples

	Entire State	Math POLS Sample	Math Student FE (Anderson-Hsiao) Sample	ELA POLS Sample	ELA Student FE (Anderson-Hsiao) Sample
N Observations	N/A	1,033,936	660,826	839,542	512,684
N Students	470,362	367,759	275,810	324,033	235,917
Male	51.0%	51.0%	50.9%	50.7%	50.6%
FRL	60.0%	61.0%	60.7%	61.0%	60.6%
Special Education	11.0%	11.2%	11.0%	11.0%	10.6%
Limited English Proficient	7.0%	6.9%	6.8%	6.9%	6.7%
White	64.6%	65.2%	65.0%	65.5%	65.6%
Black	21.2%	21.1%	21.4%	20.8%	20.8%
Hispanic	10.1%	10.0%	10.0%	9.9%	9.9%
Other Race	4.0%	3.7%	3.6%	3.8%	3.7%
Lagged Math Z-Score	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.04
Lagged ELA Z-Score	0.00	-0.01	0.00	0.02	0.03

IV. Results

Mathematics Results

The mathematics test score results are in Columns 1 and 2 of Table 2. Column 1 indicates the descriptive pooled OLS analysis using full controls. These pooled OLS models do not account for the time-invariant student heterogeneity, and cannot be interpreted as causal estimates of the relationship between OSS days and future academic achievement. The results in Column 1 of Table 2 indicate that the decrease in math test scores in the following year associated with each day of OSS is about -0.006 s.d. (significant at the 99% confidence level). Compared to prior assumptions about large correlations between OSS and student outcomes, this is actually quite small, and reflects the robust set of controls for student behavior and background characteristics.

We present our preferred student fixed effects models, instrumenting for the endogenous variables, in Column 2 of Table 2. The results of the Anderson-Hsiao model in Column 2 indicate a slight positive impact of days of OSS on math test score outcomes (0.004 s.d. per day of OSS) which is significant at the 99% confidence level. The results of this model imply that, when we are more able to control for the endogeneity of our variable of interest and identify an arguably more causal impact, the effect of exclusionary discipline on math test scores, if anything, is a very small positive.

ELA Results

Turning to our ELA analysis in the final two columns of Table 2, we again begin with our descriptive analysis using pooled OLS with full controls in Column 3. Using pooled OLS, each day of OSS is associated with a -0.006 standard deviation lower ELA test score in the following year (significant at the 99% confidence level). This is similar in magnitude to the estimated

relationship between OSS days and math test scores in Column 1. The relationship in the preferred model (student FE with instruments for the endogenous variables) in Column 4, which is arguably closer to a causal estimate, indicates a slight positive impact of OSS on test scores (about 0.01 s.d.).

Table 2: Relationship between OSS days and student test scores

	Dependent Variable: Math Z-Score		Dependent Variable: ELA Z-Score	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled OLS	Student FE with Anderson-Hsiao	Pooled OLS	Student FE with Anderson-Hsiao
Prior Year (PY) OSS Days	-0.0060 ** (0.0006)	0.0039 ** (0.0013)	-0.0056 ** (0.0008)	0.0095 ** (0.0019)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade Level Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y
School Year Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y
District Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Student Fixed Effects		Y		Y
Student Demographic Controls ²	Y		Y	
Lagged Z-Score	0.714 ** (0.0009)	0.208 ** (0.0042)	0.686 ** (0.0010)	0.261 ** (0.0045)
Constant		0.330 (13.50)		0.403 ** (0.0145)
Observations	1,033,936	660,826	839,542	512,684
Number of Students	367,759	275,810	324,033	235,917
Adjusted R-Squared	0.587	0.000	0.579	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors in OLS models are clustered at the student level.

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

¹PY Infraction Counts By Category are a vector of count variables representing the number of infractions of each type (alcohol/tobacco, weapons, assault, vandalism, truancy, insubordination, gangs, fighting, drugs, disorderly conduct, bullying, or other) in the prior year.

²Student demographic controls include gender, FRL-status, special education status, limited English proficiency, and a vector of race/ethnicity indicators (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Other).

Within-student variation over time

One diagnostic test of whether fixed effects are appropriate is to investigate the amount of variation in the counts of OSS days between and within students over time. Fixed effects use only the within variation to identify the impact of OSS. Appendix Table A1 indicates that there is almost as much variation within students as across students, so fixed effects allows us to control for unobserved heterogeneity, without sacrificing much in terms of identifying variation.

Testing for nonlinearities in impact of OSS days

While we find slight positive impacts on math and ELA test scores, it could be that the impact of OSS on test scores is not linear, and instead may depend in part on how near students are to certain thresholds of days. For example, in the state of Arkansas, out-of-school suspensions longer than 10 days are considered expulsions (Arkansas Code § 6-18-507). In addition, for special education students in particular, if a student has been removed from the current educational placement for more than 10 school days in a school year, it could be considered a change of placement, which requires additional notification and services for that child (Arkansas Department of Education, 2008).

To test whether there is a non-linear relationship between OSS days and student test scores in the follow years, we transform our continuous variables, $OSSdays_{it-1}$ and $OSSdays_{it-2}$ into sets of indicator variables for whether the student received (in either the prior year, or the second prior year) zero days, 1-2 days, 3-4 days, 5-6 days, 7-10 days, or 11 or more days of OSS. In each of these models, student-by-school year observations with zero cumulative days of OSS during the year are treated as the reference group. See Table 3 for the frequencies of each of these groups, as a percent of all student-by-year observations, for each of our four samples. In general, about 95% of student-by-school year observations in each sample had zero

days of OSS in the prior year, with about 1.5 to 2% in each of the 1-2 days and 3-4 day categories, and under 1% in each of the remaining categories. 11 or more days of OSS in the prior year is particular rare (generally less than 0.5% of student-by-school year observations).

Table 3: Frequency of OSS Days in Prior Year, by Sample.

	Math POLS		Math Student FE		ELA POLS		ELA Student FE	
0 OSS Days in PY	981,242	94.9%	623,586	94.4%	803,270	95.7%	487,989	95.2%
1-2 OSS Days in PY	15,789	1.5%	10,780	1.6%	12,396	1.5%	8,149	1.6%
3-4 OSS Days in PY	17,666	1.7%	12,612	1.9%	11,946	1.4%	8,216	1.6%
5-6 OSS Days in PY	8,141	0.8%	5,811	0.9%	5,150	0.6%	3,539	0.7%
7-10 OSS Days in PY	6,639	0.6%	4,763	0.7%	3,969	0.5%	2,760	0.5%
11+ OSS Days in PY	4,459	0.4%	3,274	0.5%	2,811	0.3%	2,031	0.4%
Total Observations	1,033,936	100%	660,826	100%	839,542	100%	512,684	100%

The overall math results using these new explanatory variables are in the left two columns of Table 4, and the ELA results are in the right two columns. The negative relationships in our descriptive, pooled OLS models (Columns 1 and 3) are consistent with the results in Table 2, as expected, but our focus here is on the student fixed effects models in Columns 2 and 4. The sign of the coefficients for the math student fixed effects model (Column 2) are all consistent with the results in Table 2 (which included only a linear count of OSS days). However, not all are statistically significant. We find that 1-2 or 3-4 days of OSS, relative to none, leads to increases of about 0.02 s.d. in math test scores, while certain larger amounts (5-6 days or 11 or more days) lead to increases of about 0.03 to 0.09 s.d. in math test scores. Given the relative infrequency of high numbers of OSS days in Table 3, the lack of significance on the 3-4 OSS days and 7-10 OSS days could be due in part to a power issue. Similarly, the ELA impacts in Column 4 of Table 4 is similar to the results in Table 2 (positive in magnitude), with all except the impact of 1-2 OSS days also statistically significant at the 95% confidence level or higher.

Table 4: Relationship between OSS days and student test scores

	Dependent Variable: Math Z-Score		Dependent Variable: ELA Z-Score	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled OLS	Student FE with Anderson-Hsiao	Pooled OLS	Student FE with Anderson-Hsiao
1-2 OSS Days in PY	-0.047 ** (0.0057)	0.019 * (0.0088)	-0.0505 ** (0.0071)	0.0215 (0.0111)
3-4 OSS Days in PY	-0.0668 ** (0.0058)	0.0126 (0.0092)	-0.0551 ** (0.0075)	0.038 ** (0.0127)
5-6 OSS Days in PY	-0.0521 ** (0.0084)	0.0319 * (0.0137)	-0.0552 ** (0.0113)	0.0461 * (0.0199)
7-10 OSS Days in PY	-0.0695 ** (0.0100)	0.0228 (0.0162)	-0.0775 ** (0.0137)	0.0828 ** (0.0242)
11+ OSS Days in PY	-0.0842 ** (0.0128)	0.0852 ** (0.0233)	-0.0696 ** (0.0169)	0.128 ** (0.0352)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade Level Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y
School Year Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y
District Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Student Fixed Effects		Y		Y
Student Demographic Controls ²	Y		Y	
Lagged Z-Score	0.714 ** (0.0009)	0.208 ** (0.0042)	0.685 ** (0.0010)	0.261 ** (0.0045)
Constant		0.393 (12.00)		0.406 ** (0.0144)
Observations	1,033,936	660,826	839,542	512,684
Number of Students	367,759	275,810	324,033	235,917
Adjusted R-Squared	0.587	0.000	0.579	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors in OLS models are clustered at the student level.

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

Note: Reference group is 0 days of OSS in prior year.

¹PY Infraction Counts By Category are a vector of count variables representing the number of infractions of each type (alcohol/tobacco, weapons, assault, vandalism, truancy, insubordination, gangs, fighting, drugs, disorderly conduct, bullying, or other) in the prior year.

²Student demographic controls include gender, FRL-status, special education status, limited English proficiency, and a vector of race/ethnicity indicators (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Other).

Subgroup Effects

After assessing the overall impact of OSS on academic achievement, we explore whether the impact is different for certain groups of students. We present results for the following subgroups: FRL and non-FRL, white and non-white, male and female, and special education and regular education students. In addition, we report separate results for students whose first test score was above average for their grade and school year and for students whose first test score was below average, as well as for observations recorded in grades 2-5 and grades 6-10.

Tables 5 and 6 present the subgroup impacts on math and ELA, respectively, using our preferred dynamic panel data methods. Recalling that the overall impact on math was about 0.004 s.d., per OSS day, we see similar impacts (0.004 to 0.006 s.d.) in Table 5 for FRL students, non-white students, male students, regular education students, below average students, and students in grades 6-10 with no impacts on the remaining subgroups. None of the analyses in Table 5 indicate statistically significant heterogeneous impacts in math. For example, even though there is a positive impact on non-white students, we cannot reject (at the 95% confidence level) the null hypothesis that the impact for white and non-white students is the same.

Subgroup effects in ELA are in Table 6. Compared to the overall ELA impact of about 0.01 s.d. per OSS day, we find similarly sized significant impacts on certain subgroups. As with the math impacts, we see positive impacts on FRL students, non-white students, male students, regular education students, below average students, and students in grades 6-10, but we also see some positive ELA impacts on female students as well. In addition, there is evidence that the students who initially scored below or above average are impacted differently, although these effects could just be reversion to the mean, if some of these students simply have idiosyncratically low or idiosyncratically high scores the first time we observe them.

Table 5: Subgroup impacts of OSS days on standardized math test scores (Anderson-Hsiao)

Panel A:	FRL	Non-FRL	Non-White	White	Male	Female
Prior Year (PY) OSS Days	0.0040 ** (0.0014)	0.0029 (0.0032)	0.0051 ** (0.0016)	-0.0006 (0.0023)	0.0044 ** (0.0016)	0.0027 (0.0022)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade Level Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
School Year Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
District Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Student Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lagged Math Z-Score	0.243 ** (0.0051)	0.152 ** (0.0065)	0.213 ** (0.0070)	0.216 ** (0.0050)	0.245 ** (0.0060)	0.165 ** (0.0059)
Constant	-0.666 (22.24)	0.468 (3.445)	-0.441 (10.50)	0.436 ** (0.0165)	0.390 (8.370)	0.378 ** (0.0202)
Observations	404,859	255,967	230,981	429,845	336,029	324,797
Number of Students	168,096	107,714	95,494	180,316	140,556	135,254
Adjusted R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Panel B:	Special Education	Regular Education	Below Avg. Math Score	Above Avg. Math Score	Grades 2-5	Grades 6-10
Prior Year (PY) OSS Days	-0.0033 (0.0046)	0.0050 ** (0.0012)	0.0064 ** (0.0016)	-0.0009 (0.0023)	0.0052 (0.0048)	0.0039 ** (0.0013)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade Level Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
School Year Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
District Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Student Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lagged Math Z-Score	0.367 ** (0.0113)	-0.0259 ** (0.0044)	0.283 ** (0.0057)	0.00912 (0.0055)	0.181 ** (0.0085)	0.214 ** (0.0049)
Constant	0.563 ** (0.0470)	0.312 ** (0.0115)	0.394 ** (0.0151)	0.646 (12.09)	0.726 ** (0.0275)	22.1 ** (4.225)
Observations	72,338	588,488	333,836	326,990	129,908	530,743
Number of Students	33,897	247,024	136,869	138,941	128,565	239,462
Adjusted R-Squared	0.000	0.045	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

†Subgroup effects are statistically different

¹PY Infraction Counts By Category are a vector of count variables representing the number of infractions of each type (alcohol/tobacco, weapons, assault, vandalism, truancy, insubordination, gangs, fighting, drugs, disorderly conduct, bullying, or other) in the prior year.

Note: FRL, non-FRL, White, non-White, and above or below average test scores are based on the first available observation for that student. Grade-level subgroups and special education or regular education subgroups are based on the grade level associated with each particular observation.

Table 6: Subgroup impacts of OSS days on standardized ELA test scores (Anderson-Hsiao)

Panel A:	FRL	Non-FRL	Non-White	White	Male	Female
Prior Year (PY) OSS Days	0.0093 ** (0.0021)	0.0069 (0.0049)	0.0099 ** (0.0024)	0.0021 (0.0033)	0.0083 ** (0.0024)	0.0145 ** (0.0037)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade Level Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
School Year Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
District Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Student Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lagged ELA Z-Score	0.251 ** (0.0057)	0.266 ** (0.0066)	0.212 ** (0.0078)	0.293 ** (0.0053)	0.258 ** (0.0062)	0.284 ** (0.0063)
Constant	0.520 (7.620)	0.399 ** (0.0296)	-4.022 (31.46)	0.700 (13.30)	0.370 (8.029)	0.415 ** (0.0239)
Observations	310,955	201,729	176,177	336,507	259,632	253,052
Number of Students	143,427	92,490	81,323	154,594	119,758	116,159
Adjusted R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Panel B:	Special Education	Regular Education	Below Avg. ELA Score	Above Avg. ELA Score	Grades 2-5	Grades 6-10
Prior Year (PY) OSS Days	0.0101 (0.0067)	0.007 ** (0.0017)	0.0134 **† (0.0025)	-0.0055 † (0.0034)	0.0085 (0.0050)	0.0092 ** (0.0021)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade Level Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
School Year Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
District Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Student Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lagged ELA Z-Score	0.296 ** (0.0118)	0.0201 ** (0.0048)	0.277 ** (0.0067)	0.139 ** (0.0058)	0.225 ** (0.0082)	0.274 ** (0.0054)
Constant	22.86 (34.22)	0.308 ** (0.0128)	0.394 (17.28)	0.400 (3.343)	0.738 ** (0.0289)	0.312 ** (0.0174)
Observations	54,294	458,390	233,186	279,498	128,568	384,112
Number of Students	28,087	211,684	107,377	128,540	127,284	199,859
Adjusted R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

†Subgroup effects are statistically different

¹PY Infraction Counts By Category are a vector of count variables representing the number of infractions of each type (alcohol/tobacco, weapons, assault, vandalism, truancy, insubordination, gangs, fighting, drugs, disorderly conduct, bullying, or other) in the prior year.

Note: FRL, non-FRL, White, non-White, and above or below average test scores are based on the first available observation for that student. Grade-level subgroups and special education or regular education subgroups are based on the grade level associated with each particular observation.

Subgroup effects for non-linear models

We conduct similar subgroup analyses using the buckets for 1-2 days, 3-4 days, 5-6 days, 7-10 days, and 11 or more days of OSS, focusing, again, on our preferred dynamic panel data method. As in Table 5, regular education students' math scores appear to be impacted positive by OSS. Further, students who we first observe with test scores below average also consistently appear to benefit, but it is worth noting that this result could just be due to mean reversion after an idiosyncratically low first test score. Otherwise, the subgroup effects do not indicate clear and consistent stories, other than that there is only one coefficient (out of 60) in Table 7 that is statistically significant and negative. Therefore, it is just as likely that this single negative impact is a result of chance, and we conclude that there are generally no negative impacts of OSS on math test scores.

Table 8 shows the same subgroup analyses, but predicting ELA test scores. As in Table 6, there are generally positive or null impacts of OSS on ELA test scores, with more consistently positive impacts on non-white students, regular education students, and students who scored below average the first time we observe their ELA score. This last result, as noted previously, could be a result of reversion to the mean. In addition, while we do see two negative and significant impacts of students who were scoring above average the first time we observe their ELA score, these could be the result of reversion to the man for students who scored idiosyncratically high the first year we observe them.

Table 7: Subgroup impacts of OSS days on standardized Math test scores (Anderson-Hsiao)

Panel A:	FRL	Non-FRL	Non-White	White	Male	Female
1-2 OSS Days in PY	0.0197 (0.0102)	0.0149 (0.0184)	0.0327 ** (0.0118)	-0.0039 (0.0133)	0.0134 (0.0110)	0.0369 * (0.0152)
3-4 OSS Days in PY	0.0154 (0.0105)	-0.00290 (0.0202)	0.0209 (0.0120)	-0.0079 (0.0144)	-0.0081 † (0.0117)	0.0538 ** (0.0157)
5-6 OSS Days in PY	0.042 ** (0.0154)	-0.0242 (0.0319)	0.0527 ** (0.0171)	-0.0192 (0.0231)	0.0196 (0.0173)	0.0602 ** (0.0232)
7-10 OSS Days in PY	0.0318 (0.0180)	-0.0472 (0.0409)	0.0227 (0.0202)	0.0180 (0.0278)	0.0073 (0.0204)	0.0527 (0.0278)
11+ OSS Days in PY	0.0785 ** (0.0257)	0.153 * (0.0635)	0.107 ** (0.0278)	0.00894 (0.0451)	0.118 ** (0.0293)	0.0209 (0.0404)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade, School, District, and Student FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lagged Math Z-score	0.242 ** (0.0051)	0.152 ** (0.0065)	0.213 ** (0.0070)	0.216 ** (0.0050)	0.245 ** (0.0060)	0.164 ** (0.0059)
Constant	-4.560 (10.11)	0.361 ** (0.0263)	1.187 (11.36)	0.438 ** (0.0165)	0.420 (4.554)	0.379 ** (0.0202)
Observations	404,859	255,967	230,981	429,845	336,029	324,797
Number of Students	168,096	107,714	95,494	180,316	140,556	135,254
Adjusted R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Panel B:	Special Education	Regular Education	Below Avg. Math Score	Above Avg. Math Score	Grades 2-5	Grades 6-10
1-2 OSS Days in PY	0.0331 (0.0324)	0.0355 ** (0.0080)	0.0374 ** (0.0113)	-0.00441 (0.0142)	0.0358 (0.0253)	0.0149 (0.0094)
3-4 OSS Days in PY	-0.0817 * (0.0348)	0.0514 ** (0.0083)	0.0272 * (0.0117)	0.00293 (0.0151)	0.0178 (0.0317)	0.0142 (-0.0096)
5-6 OSS Days in PY	-0.00135 (0.0503)	0.0569 ** (0.0124)	0.0542 ** (0.0171)	-0.00004 (0.0236)	0.134 * (0.0537)	0.0249 (0.0141)
7-10 OSS Days in PY	-0.0179 (0.0579)	0.047 ** (0.0148)	0.0444 * (0.0199)	-0.0040 (0.0292)	-0.0366 (0.0604)	0.0267 (0.0168)
11+ OSS Days in PY	-0.0795 (0.0914)	0.0752 ** (0.0208)	0.124 ** (0.0282)	-0.00591 (0.0458)	0.0780 (0.0892)	0.0886 ** (0.0241)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade, School, District, and Student FE	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y	Y
Lagged Math Z-score	0.367 ** (0.0113)	-0.026 ** (0.0044)	0.283 ** (0.0057)	0.0090 (0.0055)	0.181 ** (0.0085)	0.214 ** (0.0049)
Constant	0.564 ** (0.0470)	0.314 ** (0.0114)	0.421 (7.536)	2.781 (4.788)	0.727 ** (0.0275)	5.26 ** (1.724)
Observations	72,338	588,488	333,836	326,990	129,908	530,743
Number of Students	33,897	247,024	136,869	138,941	128,565	239,462
Adjusted R-Squared	0.000	0.045	0.000	0.010	0.000	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

†Subgroup effects are statistically

¹PY Infraction Counts By Category are a vector of count variables representing the number of infractions of each type (alcohol/tobacco, weapons, assault, vandalism, truancy, insubordination, gangs, fighting, drugs, disorderly conduct, bullying, or other) in the prior year.

Note: FRL, non-FRL, White, non-White, and above or below average test scores are based on the first available observation for that student. Grade-level subgroups and special education or regular education subgroups are based on the grade level associated with each particular observation.

Table 8: Subgroup impacts of OSS days on standardized ELA test scores (Anderson-Hsiao)

Panel A:	FRL	Non-FRL	Non-White	White	Male	Female
1-2 OSS Days in PY	0.0154 (0.0129)	0.0585 * (0.0232)	0.0382 ** (0.0146)	-0.00677 (0.0171)	0.0233 (0.0137)	0.00976 (0.0203)
3-4 OSS Days in PY	0.0436 ** (0.0146)	0.0189 (0.0286)	0.0579 ** (0.0161)	-0.0168 (0.0209)	0.0265 (0.0159)	0.0637 ** (0.0231)
5-6 OSS Days in PY	0.0487 * (0.0226)	0.0233 (0.0476)	0.0666 ** (0.0241)	-0.0505 (0.0365)	0.044 (0.0246)	0.0490 (0.0369)
7-10 OSS Days in PY	0.0745 ** (0.0272)	0.146 * (0.0618)	0.079 ** (0.0298)	0.0575 (0.0425)	0.0891 ** (0.0295)	0.0733 (0.0468)
11+ OSS Days in PY	0.138 ** (0.0391)	-0.114 (0.0999)	0.143 ** (0.0416)	-0.0552 (0.0709)	0.104 * (0.0427)	0.231 ** (0.0696)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹ Grade, School, District, and Student FE	Y Y	Y Y	Y Y	Y Y	Y Y	Y Y
Lagged ELA Z-score	0.252 ** (0.0057)	0.266 ** (0.0066)	0.212 ** (0.0078)	0.301 ** (0.0054)	0.258 ** (0.0062)	0.284 ** (0.0063)
Constant	0.554 (9.463)	0.427 ** (0.0303)	0.31 ** (0.0227)	0.629 ** (0.0210)	0.416 (8.069)	0.42 ** (0.0238)
Observations	310,955	201,729	176,177	336,507	259,632	253,052
Number of Students	143,427	92,490	81,323	154,594	119,758	116,159
Adjusted R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000
Panel B:	Special Education	Regular Education	Below Avg. ELA Score	Above Avg. ELA Score	Grades 2-5	Grades 6-10
1-2 OSS Days in PY	0.0899 * (0.0400)	0.0267 ** (0.0098)	0.0451 ** (0.0152)	-0.0098 (0.0164)	0.0464 (0.0266)	0.0134 (0.0122)
3-4 OSS Days in PY	0.00240 (0.0467)	0.0564 ** (0.0113)	0.0721 ** (0.0173)	-0.0111 (0.0194)	0.0367 (0.0336)	0.0369 ** (0.0138)
5-6 OSS Days in PY	0.126 (0.0719)	0.0436 * (0.0177)	0.0925 ** (0.0261)	-0.0694 * (0.0340)	0.14 * (0.0567)	0.0300 (0.0213)
7-10 OSS Days in PY	0.136 (0.0841)	0.0653 ** (0.0216)	0.144 ** (0.0311)	-0.122 ** (0.0446)	-0.00692 (0.0639)	0.093 ** (0.0261)
11+ OSS Days in PY	-0.0950 (0.136)	0.0887 ** (0.0308)	0.17 ** (0.0454)	-0.0454 (0.0642)	0.125 (0.0953)	0.12 ** (0.0378)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹ Grade, School, District, and Student FE	Y Y	Y Y	Y Y	Y Y	Y Y	Y Y
Lagged ELA Z-score	0.297 ** (0.0118)	0.0203 ** (0.0048)	0.277 ** (0.0067)	0.134 ** (0.0057)	0.225 ** (0.0082)	0.274 ** (0.0054)
Constant	6.732 (35.90)	0.311 ** (0.0127)	0.470 (8.481)	0.206 ** (0.0228)	0.738 ** (0.0289)	0.316 ** (0.0173)
Observations	54,294	458,390	233,186	279,498	128,568	384,112
Number of Students	28,087	211,684	107,377	128,540	127,284	199,859
Adjusted R-Squared	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

{}Subgroup effects are statistically

¹PY Infraction Counts By Category are a vector of count variables representing the number of infractions of each type (alcohol/tobacco, weapons, assault, vandalism, truancy, insubordination, gangs, fighting, drugs, disorderly conduct, bullying, or other) in the prior year.

Note: FRL, non-FRL, White, non-White, and above or below average test scores are based on the first available observation for that student. Grade-level subgroups and special education or regular education subgroups are based on the grade level associated with each particular observation.

Robustness Checks

The results presented so far are only for the population of students (over 99%) who were never expelled or referred to an ALE for disciplinary reasons during the study period. We conduct similar analyses adding these back in, and estimating the effect of total days of exclusion (including ALE and expulsion) rather than just OSS. In general, the results reiterate that there is not a negative impact of exclusionary discipline on math or ELA test scores, although when we include the ALE and expulsion cases, the overall estimates are null, rather than positive. For example, compared to the overall results in columns 2 and 4 of Table 2, (0.0039 s.d. in math and 0.0095 in ELA), the overall results using all three forms of arguably exclusionary discipline has impacts on both types of test scores that are null but positive in magnitude. These results are in Appendix B, Table B1.

In addition, while the subgroup impacts of OSS days in Tables 5 and 6 were always null or positive, we find some indication that there is a negative impact of exclusionary discipline more generally (including ALE and expulsions along with OSS) on white students in math (-0.002 s.d.) and in ELA (-0.003 s.d.). Otherwise, the results are still negative or positive.³

Further, we analyze for each subgroup, the impacts of 1-2 days, 3-4 days, 5-6 days, 7-10 days, and 11 or more days of exclusionary discipline (comparable to Tables 7 and 8 but with all three types of exclusionary discipline, rather than just OSS).⁴ None of the impacts in math were negative, and we actually see more consistently positive (but still small) impacts for FRL students, non-White students, female students, regular education students, students scoring below average the first time they are observed, and students in grades 6-10. Further, look at the impacts of 1-2 days, 3-4 days, 5-6 days, 7-10 days, and 11 or more days of exclusionary discipline (OSS,

³ Regression output tables available by request.

⁴ Regression output tables available by request.

expulsion, and ALE) was only negative in a couple of cases and only for the group of students who were scoring below average the first time we observe them. Even though we had found a slight negative impact of exclusionary discipline on white students overall, none of the impacts of 1-2 days, 3-4 days, 5-6 days, 7-10 days, and 11 or more days of exclusionary discipline were statistically significant. Overall, these subgroup impacts, with the exception of a potential negative impact on white students, are all positive or null. Therefore, we have confidence that the null to positive impacts of OSS in both math and ELA are not driven by excluding students who were ever expelled or referred to an ALE.

Discussion and Conclusions

We embarked on this study with the objective of generating a better understanding of the impact of out-of-school suspensions on future academic achievement, in light of the growing concern that excessive exclusionary discipline practices such as OSS and expulsion harm the academic progress of students. Our prior assumption was that students should learn less when they are not in school. However, it is also possible that the kinds of students who receive OSS – perhaps disaffected or disengaged students – were exactly the students who would suffer academic declines precisely because of that disengagement. Thus, in this situation fraught with endogeneity concerns, sorting out the difference between causal relationships and mere correlations is quite challenging.

Using dynamic panel data methods, we aimed to identify the causal impact of OSS days on a student's academic achievement in the following year. The use of student fixed effects, with instruments for endogenous variables, produces an estimate that is closer to a causal impact than most of the previous work on this topic. A remaining concern for a causal interpretation of our results is that there may be time-varying shocks to students that affect student outcomes over

time. The use of student fixed effects controls for the time-invariant characteristics of students, and predicting test scores in a future year allows us to avoid the likely impact of contemporary shocks on OSS and test scores in the same year. Still, with the data available, the student fixed effect model utilizing Anderson-Hsiao (1981) estimation is the best way to estimate the causal impact of OSS on student test scores, and is an important contribution to the field

In general, we find that OSS days have a slight positive impact on the following year's test scores in math (about 0.004 s.d. per day of OSS) and in ELA (about 0.010 s.d. per day of OSS). When we test for nonlinearities in the impact of OSS days on test scores, we find evidence of null to positive effects, with no evidence of negative impacts on the test scores of the state's overall student population. In addition, when we analyze the effects of OSS across various different models, there were only three negative and statistically significant impacts, (out of 156 different coefficients reported), so these three negative estimates could just be a result of chance.

In terms of subgroup impacts, the main consistent story is that regular education students' test scores (in both math and ELA) consistently benefit from OSS, and that non-white students also consistently benefit from OSS. However, given that these impacts are generally relatively small (about 1 percent of a standard deviation *at most*), we interpret the results less as an indication of positive and more as an indication that there is clearly no negative causal impact of OSS on test scores.

Our primary estimates are derived from a sample that is very representative of the state as a whole, but that excludes the most extreme disciplinary offenders. While this is important to ensure comparison of OSS with non-exclusionary consequences such as in-school suspension, corporal punishment, no action, or other, these primary estimates refer to the impacts of OSS on a more typical, perhaps less high-risk type of student. Even in our robustness checks, where we

include in the sample the most highly disciplined students (those who were expelled or referred to an ALE for disciplinary reasons), the general finding is again of null to positive impacts, with any negative impacts likely just being a chance occurrence.

While these impacts are null or small, it is important to reiterate what these results represent: the effect of OSS days on test scores in the *following* year. While this is important for arguing that the shocks to a student's life affecting receipt of OSS are less likely to affect the outcome measure, it is also a relatively stringent test, and we may expect that the true impact on test scores in the same year of OSS is different, and perhaps even negative.

Overall, the results were somewhat surprising to us. While our prior assumptions were in line with the general thinking that high rates of exclusionary discipline most likely hurts student academic achievement, it is important to highlight that these findings indicate that, in this one state at least, we do not find evidence of negative impacts of OSS on student test scores.

These results are important given the trend toward reigning in the use of OSS in schools. According to Steinberg and Lacoë (2016), as of May 2015, 22 states and the District of Columbia had revised their laws in order to “require or encourage schools to: limit the use of exclusionary discipline practices; implement supportive (that is, nonpunitive) discipline strategies that rely on behavioral interventions; and provide support services such as counseling, dropout prevention, and guidance services for at-risk students.” In addition, as of the 2015–16 school year, 23 of the nation's 100 largest school districts changed policies to require non-punitive discipline strategies and/or limit suspension use (Steinberg & Lacoë, 2016). Based on our results, if policymakers continue to push for changes to disciplinary policies, they should do so for reasons other than the hypothesized negative impacts of exclusionary discipline on all students. As mentioned before, the most at-risk students (those who were ever expelled or

referred to an ALE for a disciplinary issue) are excluded from our analysis, so our research does not indicate how OSS might be affecting these students. It could be that while OSS does not harm students in general, there are still reasons for states or school districts to change discipline policies particularly with the most at-risk students in mind. School-Wide Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (SWPBIS a.k.a PBIS), for example, is a framework that implements three tiers of supports, with the top tier focusing on intensive supports for at risk students. There is some experimental evidence indicating that implementation of a PBIS framework has a variety of positive impacts such as decreases in office referrals (Flannery et al., 2014), and improvement in student perceptions of school safety and test scores (Horner et al., 2009).

While there may be some promising alternatives, there is an ongoing debate about what we should hope to expect from reductions in OSS, particularly if high-level policy changes are not supported by capacity building at the local level. For example, a reporter for the Washington Post has argued that school districts are changing discipline policies too quickly (Mathews, 2017), referring to it as “sickening rides on the out-of-school-suspension roller coaster.”

A report from Tom Loveless (2017) at the Brookings Institution documents the trend in California to reduce out-of-school suspensions. These reforms in California were of two forms: outlawing suspensions in third grade and below for willful defiance (which I similar to what we refer to as insubordination), and by incorporating restorative justice. While the report argues that this push to reduce OSS use was largely out of concern over the fears of racial disparities, that the reforms have reduced the rate of suspensions overall without actually closing the gap between OSS usage for different racial groups. Further, using California school-level data over three years (2013-15), Loveless (2017) finds that middle schools and schools serving high proportions of poor or black students tended to have elevated suspension rates for Black

students. In addition, Loveless (2017) argues that some educators are concerned about declines in safety and learning because more trouble makers need to remain in school.

Max Eden (2017) reports on changes in school climate in NYC, using student and teacher surveys conducted over ten years. Two changes to discipline policy occurred during this time: one during the Bloomberg mayoral administration, and one under Mayor Bill de Blasio. Eden argues that school climate (measured by five questions that were consistently asked throughout this time period) stayed relatively constant during Bloomberg's reform, but then deteriorated during Blasio's reform. According to the survey results, teachers reported less order and discipline, and students reported more violence, drug use, alcohol use, and gang activity, as well as lower mutual respect among their peers. Echoing some of Loveless' (2017) concerns about differential impacts on certain types of schools, Eden (2017) also finds that schools with high concentrations of non-white students experienced the worst declines in school climate.

While issues highlighted in Loveless (2017) and Eden (2017) focus more on systemic effects on the whole school, it is clear from our work that even expected impacts on the suspended students themselves may be minimal, at least in terms of student test scores. Therefore, as some have argued, the case against the use of suspensions is weaker than advocates have often led themselves to believe (Griffith, 2017).

However, there could be other reasons that school leaders may want to use exclusionary discipline sparingly. There is much evidence that exclusionary discipline disproportionately affects students of color (Anderson & Ritter, 2015; Anderson & Ritter, 2016; Anyon et al., 2014; Losen, Hodson, Keith, Morrison, & Belway, 2015; Losen & Skiba, 2010; Sartain et al., 2015; Skiba et al., 2014; Skiba et al., 2011; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002; Welch & Payne, 2010). Perhaps, regardless of the positive or null impacts on student test scores, if perceived as

overly harsh or unfair, the use of exclusionary discipline could still lead to negative school climate or distrust in a school community.

It is important to note, as well, that large-scale policy changes focused on reducing suspensions may achieve that short-sighted goal, but without the resources or capacity to actually change the underlying behaviors of students, their very well could be larger scale impacts on the school as a whole. Therefore, as we seek to better understand these relationships, we must also consider the systemic effects, as well as how differences in context or implementation mediate or moderate these effects. While either of these stories are plausible, this is an empirical question that we can address with additional data in future analyses.

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APPENDIX

Appendix A – Within Student Variation

Appendix Table A1: Variability of number of OSS days (lagged) between and within students, models excluding students referred to ALE or expelled

	Math Anderson-Hsiao Sample	ELA Anderson-Hsiao Sample
Overall	1.644 s.d.	1.466 s.d.
Between	1.370 s.d.	1.265 s.d.
Within	1.071 s.d.	0.922 s.d.

Appendix B – Robustness Check to Include Students Expelled and/or Referred to ALE

Appendix Table B1: Overall impacts (comparable to Table 2)

	Dependent Variable: Math Z-Score		Dependent Variable: ELA Z-Score	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Pooled OLS	Student FE with Anderson-Hsiao	Pooled OLS	Student FE with Anderson-Hsiao
Prior Year (PY) Exclusion Days	-0.0038 ** (0.0004)	0.0010 (0.0006)	-0.0031 ** (0.0005)	0.0012 (0.0008)
PY Infraction Counts By Category ¹	Y	Y	Y	Y
Grade Level Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y
School Year Indicators	Y	Y	Y	Y
District Fixed Effects	Y	Y	Y	Y
Student Fixed Effects		Y		Y
Student Demographic Controls ²	Y		Y	
Lagged Z-Score	0.715 ** (0.0009)	0.208 ** (0.0042)	0.687 ** (0.0010)	0.26 ** (0.0045)
Constant		0.375 ** (0.0124)		0.403 ** (0.0142)
Observations	1,042,876	666,665	846,583	517,037
Number of Students	370,744	278,171	326,672	237,906
Adjusted R-Squared	0.588	0.000	0.581	0.000

Robust standard errors in parentheses. Standard errors in OLS models are clustered at the student level.

** p<0.01, * p<0.05

¹PY Infraction Counts By Category are a vector of count variables representing the number of infractions of each type (alcohol/tobacco, weapons, assault, vandalism, truancy, insubordination, gangs, fighting, drugs, disorderly conduct, bullying, or other) in the prior year.

²Student demographic controls include gender, FRL-status, special education status, limited English proficiency, and a vector of race/ethnicity indicators (White, Black, Hispanic, Asian, and Other).

Exclusion Includes Out of School Suspension, Expulsion, and referrals to ALE.