GLSEN®

Educational Exclusion

Drop Out, Push Out, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline among LGBTQ Youth

Transphobia

Missed school

Discrimination

Expulsion

GSA restricted

Anxiety

Court

Dress codes

Arrest

Gender norms

Harassment

Incarceration

Policing

Fear

Suspension

Biphobia

Unsupported

Homophobia

No access

Punished for PDA

Detention

Principal's Office

Prom restrictions

Bias

Educational Exclusion

Drop Out, Push Out, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline among LGBTQ Youth

Project Staff:
Neal A. Palmer, Ph.D
Emily A Greytak, Ph.D
Joseph G. Kosciw, Ph.D

When referencing this document, we recommend the following citation:
GLSEN (2016). *Educational exclusion: Drop out, push out, and school-to-prison pipeline among LGBTQ youth.*
New York: GLSEN.

GLSEN (the Gay, Lesbian & Straight Education Network) is the leading national education organization focused on ensuring safe schools for all students. Established in 1990, GLSEN envisions a world in which every child learns to respect and accept all people, regardless of sexual orientation or gender identity/expression. GLSEN seeks to develop school climates where difference is valued for the positive contribution it makes to creating a more vibrant and diverse community. For more information on our educator resources, research, public policy agenda, student leadership programs, or development initiatives, visit www.glsen.org.

Graphic design: Ace Creative

Quotes throughout are from students' responses to open-ended questions in the survey.

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Preface

U.S. Secretary of Education John B. King recently decried "the disparities in opportunities and experiences that different groups of students have in our schools" and called for greater action to "close achievement and opportunity gaps." His comments were prompted by the latest wave of findings from the national Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) in our public schools, which revealed dramatic differences in experience for students of color, English language learners, and students with disabilities.

Educational Exclusion: Drop Out, Push Out, and the School to Prison Pipeline among LGBTQ Youth adds another layer of urgency and understanding missing from the federal data by analyzing the various factors that combine to push lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) students out of school and, in some cases, into the criminal justice system. Many of the LGBTQ students whose lives we examine here are drawn from groups identified in the CRDC. In this study, we illuminate the cross-cutting pressures that can have a compounding effect on these students' challenges, further undermining their life chances.

LGBTQ students face a distinct and daunting combination of forces chipping away at their connection to school, their will to persevere, and their ability to complete their studies. They are much more likely than other students to face routine victimization by their peers. Damaging unto itself, that victimization can also increase their experiences of school discipline. These students are also more vulnerable to the impact of discriminatory school policies and active discrimination on the part of some school faculty and staff.

The fundamental impact of these combined factors is clear: LGBTQ students face high rates of school discipline—including detention, suspension, or expulsion from school. And, comparatively, LGBTQ youth were much more likely than non-LGBTQ youth to have experienced each kind of discipline. Perhaps not surprisingly, transgender and gender-nonconforming youth fared the absolute worst, and were three times more likely than LGBQ students to say that they did not expect to finish high school.

The data for this study was collected before the 2015–16 legislative session produced an unprecedented wave of anti-LGBTQ and specifically anti-transgender legislation at the state level. Next school year could be an especially difficult time, particularly for transgender students facing heightened sensitivity regarding the issue of bathroom access. However, there are significant reasons for hope. Some districts and school leaders are newly aware of the challenges facing LGBTQ students and eager to take action in response. And the federal data sets guiding national policymaking are entering a new era, with greater inclusion of LGBTQ youth across several important studies.

As our nation invests in addressing persistent disparities in student opportunity, achievement, and life chances, this study suggests the integral place of LGBTQ identity within the core group of factors that must be part of any effective response. At GLSEN, we continue to develop, test, and advocate for effective responses to the challenges LGBTQ students face, bringing evidence-based solutions to policymakers and school leaders who are ready to act.

The students whose realities are documented in this report deserve nothing less.

Eliza Byard, PhD

Executive Director
GLSEN

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, we thank the youth who participated in the *2013 National School Climate Survey* for enlightening us about their experiences in school. We also wish to acknowledge the organizations that assisted with disseminating information about the survey online, including LGBTQ youth services and programs that invited their constituents to participate in the survey and GLSEN's Chapters.

There were also a number of GLSEN staff members who provided invaluable assistance. We would like to thank Senior Research Associate Christian Villenas for his help with background literature, Research Associate Noreen Giga for her assistance editing and proofreading, Director of Public Policy Nathan Smith for providing his expertise regarding relevant legal and policy issues, and Director of Field Services Daryl Presgraves for his input regarding implications for local advocacy work. Finally, we continue to be grateful to GLSEN's Executive Director Eliza Byard for her ongoing support of GLSEN Research.

Executive Summary

Over the past decade we have witnessed enormous growth in interest in the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ)[1] students in school. More and more attention has been paid to LGBTQ student safety, particularly regarding their disproportionate exposure to bullying and potential ways to make schools safer and more supportive. For the first time, the federal government has committed to asking about harassment and bullying based on sexual orientation via the Civil Rights Data Collection that all U.S. school districts are required to complete. In addition, the Department of Education has added LGBT-inclusive questions to other government surveys, such as the High School Longitudinal Survey[2], and more LGBTQ students than ever indicate that their schools have anti-bullying policies that specifically protect them based on their sexual orientation and gender identity/expression.[3] Yet, despite these recent gains, schools still remain unsafe for many LGBTQ students and may also be unwelcoming to LGBTQ students because of discrimination and a lack of affirming resources.[4]

There also has been growing attention to harsh and exclusionary disciplinary policies that effectively push students, including LGBTQ students, out of schools. A great deal of research has documented the overrepresentation of certain groups of students in the school-to-prison pipeline (STPP). Specifically, Black/African-American youth, Latino/a youth, and youth with disabilities experience disproportionately higher rates of school discipline and involvement with the criminal/juvenile justice system and lower high school graduation rates.[5] Emerging research suggests that these harsh forms of discipline may be also applied disproportionately to LGBTQ youth, thus depriving this population of educational opportunities.[6]

This report expands on the current body of literature by examining potential pathways that push youth out of school and potentially into the criminal justice system in a national sample of LGBTQ middle and high school students. This report draws from data from GLSEN's *2013 National School Climate Survey*,[7] sharing both relevant, previously reported findings, and presenting new findings from analysis conducted specifically for this report.

Methods

Data used in this report come from the seventh installment of GLSEN's *National School Climate Survey*, which was conducted during the 2012–2013 school year. GLSEN used two methods to obtain a representative national sample of LGBTQ youth to participate in the survey: 1) outreach through national, regional, and local organizations that provide services to or advocate on behalf of LGBTQ youth, and 2) targeted outreach on social media. The survey was available online through GLSEN's website. For the first method, we provided organizations with outreach materials about the survey, such as sample social network posts and paper flyers to share with their youth constituents. To ensure representation of transgender youth, youth of color, and youth in rural communities, we made special efforts to notify groups and organizations that work predominantly with these populations. For the second method, we posted advertisements for the survey on Facebook, targeting all users between 13 and 18 years of age who gave some indication on their profile that they were lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer. Information about the survey was also posted on subgroups or pages with significant LGBTQ youth content or followers of additional social media sites (e.g., Tumblr, Reddit, TrevorSpace).

The final sample consisted of a total of 7,898 students between the ages of 13 and 21. Students came from all 50 states and the District of Columbia and from 2,770 unique school districts. Just over two thirds of the sample (68.1%) was White/European American, slightly less than half (43.6%) was cisgender female, and over half identified as gay or lesbian (58.8%). Students were in grades 6 to 12, with the largest numbers in grades 10 and 11.

Key Findings

SCHOOL DISCIPLINE
The use of harsh and exclusionary discipline policies has contributed to higher dropout rates as well as reliance on alternative educational settings where educational supports and opportunities may be less available, including alternative schools or juvenile justice facilities.[8]

These forms of discipline may be applied disproportionately to LGBTQ youth and deprive them of educational opportunities.

Rates of School Discipline

- Over a third (35.6%) of LGBTQ students had received detention.

- 15.1% of LGBTQ students had received in-school or out-of-school suspension.

- 1.3% of LGBTQ students had been expelled.

- Two in five (39.8%) LGBTQ students reported experiencing at least one of these forms of school discipline.

- 46.7% of LGBTQ Black/African American students, 44.1% of LGBTQ Hispanic/Latino students, and 47.3% of LGBTQ Multiracial students had ever been disciplined at school, compared to 36.3% of LGBTQ White/European students and 35.2% of LGBTQ Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander students.

- Nearly half of transgender students (45.2%) and students with another gender identity, i.e., those who were not cisgender, but did not identify as transgender or genderqueer (48.9%), had experienced discipline at school, compared to less than forty percent of genderqueer (39.1%) and cisgender female (37.5%) and male (38.4%) LGBQ students.

- Cisgender LGBQ students whose gender expression was nonconforming reported higher rates of school discipline: 41.8% compared to 35.6% of gender conforming LGBQ cisgender youth.

- LGBTQ students who were homeless were more likely to have experienced school-based discipline: 54.0% vs. 46.6% of those living with relatives and 38.5% of those living at parent/guardian's home, perhaps due to challenges in attending school or completing schoolwork.

- LGBTQ students who reported having an educational, emotional, or physical disability were more likely to have experienced school discipline: 47.8% compared to 36.9% of LGBTQ students without a disability.

Pathways to School Discipline

Several factors may contribute to LGBTQ students' school disciplinary experiences and to any disparities in discipline between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ youth, including those stemming from unsafe or unfair school environments.

Punitive Response to Harassment and Assault

LGBTQ youth's higher likelihood of victimization may put them in greater contact with school authorities and increase their risk of discipline. These youth may be punished even when they are the victims in bullying incidents, including as a result of defensive or preemptive violence.

- Over half of students with higher levels of victimization (sexual orientation victimization: 55.3%; gender expression victimization: 52.1%) had been disciplined at school compared to just over a third of students lower levels of victimization (sexual orientation victimization: 33.8%; gender expression victimization: 34.7%).

Absenteeism

Students who are victimized at school may miss school because they feel unsafe and thus face potential disciplinary consequences for truancy.

- Over half (53.6%) of students who had missed school because of feeling unsafe or uncomfortable had been disciplined at school, compared to just over a third (34.0%) of students who had not missed school for these reasons.

Discriminatory Policies and Practices

Schools may also have official policies or unofficial practices that unfairly target LGBTQ youth. Policies and practices that disproportionately target LGBTQ students and behaviors may result in a system in which LGBTQ youth are at greater risk for school discpline. Over half of LGBTQ students in our survey (55.5%) reported that they had experienced some type of LGBT-related discrimination at school, including:

- 15.5% of LGBTQ students were prevented from wearing clothing or items supporting LGBT issues (e.g., a t-shirt with a rainbow flag).

- 17.5% of LGBTQ students had been prevented from choosing to discuss or write about LGBT topics in class assignments and projects.

- 17.8% of LGBTQ students had been hindered in forming or promoting a GSA or official school club supportive of LGBT issues.

- 18.1% of LGBTQ students were not allowed to attend a school dance with someone of the same gender.

- Almost one in five (19.2%) LGBTQ students said they had been prevented from wearing clothing deemed "inappropriate" based on their legal sex, including 31.6% of transgender students.

- 18.7% of LGBTQ students had unwillingly been required to use the bathroom or locker room of their legal sex, including 59.2% of transgender students.

- One tenth of LGBTQ students (10.8%) had been prevented from using their preferred name, including 42.2% of transgender students.

- More than a quarter (28.2%) of LGBTQ students reported that they had been disciplined for public affection that is not similarly disciplined among non-LGBTQ students.

- 9.2% of LGBTQ students indicated that they had been disciplined by their school simply for identifying as LGBTQ or that they were disciplined more harshly for infractions compared to non-LGBTQ students.

LGBTQ youth who had experienced discriminatory policies and practices at school experienced higher rates of school discipline. For instance, 48.0% of LGBTQ students experiencing discrimination at school had been disciplined at school, compared to 32.0% who had not been discriminated against.

DROPPING OUT OF SCHOOL
Students who fail to complete high school may be limited in the vocational, and economic success they can achieve in later life. LGBTQ students may be more likely to drop out of school due to hostile school climates they may face, in addition to potential other challenges outside of school caused by discrimination and stigma.

High School Completion Plans
Almost all (96.6%) of LGBTQ students in our survey indicated that they planned to graduate high school and the vast majority planned to continue on to some type of post-secondary education (94.5%). Only a small number indicated that they might not complete high school. However, those who do not graduate may be at higher risk for negative future outcomes, such as involvement with the criminal justice system and higher poverty.

- 3.4% of LGBTQ students reported that they did not plan to graduate high school (0.9%) or were unsure if they would graduate (2.5%).

- LGBTQ Multiracial students were somewhat more likely to say that they did not plan to complete high school or were not sure that they would complete school compared to LGBTQ students of other races (5.0% vs 3.2% of White students, 2.9% of Black/African-American students, 2.8% of Hispanic/Latino students, and 1.0% of Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander students).

- Non-cisgender students were more likely to report that they might not complete high school (transgender students: 7.6%, genderqueer students: 6.0%, students of other gender identities: 5.0%), compared to cisgender LGBQ students (cisgender males: 2.1%, cisgender females: 2.3%).

- LGBQ cisgender students who were gender nonconforming were more likely to report that they did not plan to complete high school or that they were not sure if they would complete high school compared to gender conforming LGBQ cisgender students (2.6% vs. 1.7%).

- LGBTQ students who were homeless were more likely to indicate they might drop out of school (8.8% vs. 3.1% of students who live in their parent's/guardian's home and 5.2% of students who live with other relatives).

- 5.8% of LGBTQ students with a physical, emotional, or educational disability indicated that they may drop out of school, compared to 2.6% of students without a disability.

Pathways to Dropping Out
In addition to factors that might be related to leaving school for any student, there are additional factors specifically relevant to LGBTQ youth that might increase their risk for dropping out of high school. Experiences resulting from anti-LGBTQ bias—such as peer victimization and discriminatory actions on behalf of school authorities—may play a role in pushing LGBTQ youth out of school.

Hostile School Climate
The most common reason LGBTQ students cited for not planning to graduate or being unsure if they would graduate was an unsupportive or hostile school environment.

- Over half (57.9%) of the LGBTQ students who provided reasons for planning to not finish school said that elements of hostile or unsupportive school climates were a barrier to completing high school.

- LGBTQ students who reported higher levels of victimization based on sexual orientation were more likely than other students to report that they may not complete high school (6.6% vs. 2.1%).

- LGBTQ students who reported higher levels of victimization based on gender expression were also more likely than other students to report that they may not complete high school (6.7% vs. 2.0%).

Academic Performance and Attendance
Feeling unsafe or uncomfortable at school can negatively affect the ability of students to succeed academically, particularly if it results in avoiding school. When students skip school, in addition to risking sanctions for truancy, they miss out on valuable instructional time in the classroom, putting them at higher risk of dropping out of school or being pushed out of school for academic reasons.

- LGBTQ youth in our survey who indicated that they did not plan to complete high school (or were not sure if they would) stated concerns about academic achievement and meeting graduation requirements as the second most common reason.

- LGBTQ students were more than three times as likely to have missed school in the past month if they had experienced higher levels of victimization related to their sexual orientation (61.1% versus 17.3%) or gender expression (58.6% vs. 18.2%).

Discriminatory Policies and Practices
School policies and practices that discriminate against LGBTQ students may contribute to a school setting that feels unwelcome and hostile for many students, leading some students to drop out entirely.

- LGBTQ students who had experienced LGBT-related discrimination were more than three times as likely to have missed school in the past month because they felt unsafe or uncomfortable (42.3% vs. 13.8%).

Mental Health Concerns
Hostile school climate may have a negative impact on students' mental health, which may lead students to leave school. In addition, poorer mental health resulting from factors other than a hostile school climate, such as family rejection, might also result in students' inability to complete high school.

- LGBTQ students with higher levels of depression were more likely to plan on not completing high school.

- LGBTQ students with lower levels of self-esteem were more likely to plan to drop out of high school.

School Discipline
Youth who experience harsh discipline at school may be less likely to graduate from high school—either because they no longer feel welcome at school, or, perhaps, because the disciplinary sanctions resulted in them being removed from school (either through expulsion or involvement with the criminal justice system).

- 1.5% of LGBTQ students who had experienced school discipline indicated that they may drop out of school compared to 0.6% of their LGBTQ peers.

CRIMINAL/JUVENILE JUSTICE SYSTEM INVOLVEMENT DUE TO SCHOOL DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS

The increasing use of disciplinary approaches in school, aside from the consequences of pushing students out of school, also has had the unfortunate effect of increasing youth involvement with the juvenile and criminal justice systems.

Rates of Justice System Involvement Resulting from School Disciplinary Actions

Although only a small portion of LGBTQ students in our survey have become involved in the justice system due to school disciplinary sanctions, their involvement may limit their future educational attainment and potential opportunities for success.

- 2.2% of LGBTQ youth said they had contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system as a result of disciplinary action at school, including 1.7% who had appeared before a juvenile or criminal court, 1.1% who had been arrested, and 0.5% who had served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility.

- Transgender students (3.5%) and students with another gender identity, i.e., those who were not cisgender, but did not identify as transgender or genderqueer, (3.1%) reported more overall contact with the juvenile justice system as a result of school discipline compared to their LGBQ cisgender peers.

- Cisgender LGBQ females (2.3%) reported slightly higher rates of justice system contact compared to cisgender GBQ males (1.5%).

- LGBTQ students with less stable housing situations were more likely have experienced contact with the justice system due to school discipline. 1 in 10 (9.7%) LGBTQ students who were homeless experienced such contact compared to 1.9% of LGBTQ students who lived in their parents or guardian's home and 4.1% of those who lived with other relatives.

- LGBTQ students with a physical, emotional, or educational disability were more likely to have been involved in the justice system due to school discipline than their LGBTQ peers (4.4% vs. 1.7%).

Pathways to Justice System Involvement

Numerous factors that put LGBTQ youth at higher risk of school discipline may also work to increase their risk of contact with the justice system, such as peer victimization, unfair disciplinary practices, discriminatory policies, and truancy.

Punitive Responses to Harassment and Assault
Students who are victimized are more likely to come into contact with school officials especially when they attempt to address victimization incidents. School officials may then involve law enforcement in their disciplinary approaches.

- LGBTQ students who reported higher levels of victimization were more likely to have been involved with the justice system as result of school disciplinary actions than those with lower levels of victimization (victimization based on their sexual orientation: 4.7% vs 1.2%; victimization based on gender expression: 3.8% vs. 1.5%).

Absenteeism
LGBTQ students who are truant because they feel unsafe in the school environment may be at greater risk for referral to law enforcement and the court system.

- 4.1% of LGBTQ students who had missed school because they felt unsafe or uncomfortable had been involved with the justice system due to school discipline, compared to 1.4% of LGBTQ students who had not missed school due to safety reasons.

Discriminatory Policies and Practices
When LGBTQ youth violate school policies, they may ultimately be referred to law enforcement as a form of discipline or intervention.

- LGBTQ students who had experienced discriminatory policies and practices at school were more likely to have been involved with the criminal or juvenile justice system as a result of school-related infractions (3.1% vs. 1.1%).

Conclusions and Recommendations

This report illustrates that for many LGBTQ students schools are hostile environments that effectively function to deprive students of the ability to learn, whether by pushing them out, increasing their likelihood of dropping out, or funneling them into the school-to-prison pipeline. When LGBTQ students feel less safe, less comfortable, and less welcome in schools, they are more likely to miss school and to drop out. School policies that disproportionately affect LGBTQ students, such as gendered dress codes and rules about public displays of affection, also expose LGBTQ youth to greater rates of school discipline, and sometimes, as a result, involvement in the justice system. Staff attitudes about and biases against LGBTQ students are also evident in the discretionary use of discipline in ways that target LGBTQ students, such as punishing gay and lesbian couples for public displays of affection in school that are not enforced similarly for heterosexual couples.

Although all LGBTQ youth may face hostile climates and damaging school policies and practices, findings from this report demonstrate that some LGBTQ youth are at even greater risk for pushed out of school and into the criminal/ juvenile justice system. African-American, Latino/a, and Multiracial students experienced higher rates of school discipline and were more likely to believe they might not complete high school. Similarly, transgender and LGBQ gender nonconforming students, as well as LGBTQ students experiencing homelessness and LGBTQ students with disabilities were at greater risk for school discipline and dropping out; they were also more likely to be involved with criminal or juvenile justice system as a result of school discipline experiences. Therefore, as schools develop policies and practices to keep LGBTQ youth in school, they must also pay particular attention to assessing and addressing disparities faced by other groups of traditionally marginalized youth.

Findings from this report suggest that schools regularly employ policies, intentionally or not, that disproportionately and negatively affect LGBTQ students. School administrators and teachers should examine their school policies and practices to ensure that LGBTQ students are not disproportionately affected, and moreover, to assess whether all students are given the opportunity to learn at school. States and school districts also should adopt non-discrimination policies and incorporate sexual orientation and gender identity/expression into existing anti-bullying/harassment and non-discrimination policies to foster school environments where all students are treated equitably.

It is also important that the policies designed to address bullying and other student behavior issues do not contribute further to the school-to-prison pipeline by mandating harsh discipline for all infractions through zero-tolerance policies. We strongly discourage the use of zero-tolerance policies and recommend giving more authority and discretion to educators and school personnel in addressing school discipline, and support the use of exclusionary discipline only for the most serious of infractions, if at all. Instead, schools should employ graduated approaches that take into account the seriousness of the offense in order to keep students in school whenever possible. When discipline is used, educators should take steps to ensure that students who are disciplined have access to learning opportunities, and that if removal from the classroom is a necessary component of the discipline, they are reintegrated into regular classroom environments following the disciplinary response as soon as possible.

Individual educators can also take steps to create school environments where LGBTQ students are supported and engaged. Specifically, teachers can employ culturally responsive teaching that addresses the individual needs of their students and should also incorporate positive representations of LGBTQ people and topics into their teaching to ensure that LGBTQ also feel represented in the classroom. All school staff should engage in fair means of addressing bullying incidents and intervene effectively when these incidents occur, in ways that do not blame LGBTQ students, or any student, for their own victimization. In addition, when addressing behavioral infractions, educators may consider using restorative practices that focus on building

community and repairing relationships, as opposed to simply punitive discipline measures. Such restorative practices have been shown to be effective in reducing school discipline overall. However, there is evidence that they do not reduce racial disparities in rates of school discipline and currently there is no research on their effectiveness in addressing incidents involving LGBTQ students.

Schools should also examine the use of School Resource Officers (SROs) and similar types of security personnel. Their presence in school may result in higher rates of student removal from school, and although further research is warranted, overall, they may be ill equipped to respond effectively and fairly to LGBTQ students. If SROs are present in a school, administrators should take steps to ensure that SROs are trained on how to address the needs of LGBTQ youth.

Although it is a priority to keep students in school, services should be in place for those who have been pushed out. It is critical that these students are provided with opportunities to complete their high school education—either through compensatory schooling or through diploma-equivalent certifications, such as GED (General Education Development). Organizations providing these services, such as juvenile justice facilities, tutoring programs, and alternative schools, should ensure that they are open and welcoming to LGBTQ youth. In addition, programs that currently serve LGBTQ youth, like LGBTQ Centers, may want to provide additional educational opportunities for these youth, such as GED courses.

Advocacy efforts at the state and federal levels should continue to push for policies that prohibit discrimination and bullying of LGBTQ youth in schools, such as the Student Non-Discrimination Act and enumerated anti-bullying laws. In addition, state policies that limit the use of suspensions and expulsions in schools are critical and should be implemented across the nation. Furthermore, schools should comply with Title IX, the federal education law protecting students from sex discrimination, by ensuring that LGBTQ youth are not discriminated against. Students and families should be made aware of their rights and the mechanisms for filing complaints if those

rights are violated. Mandating comprehensive training for school personnel on alternative discipline approaches as well as training on Title IX and LGBTQ student issues in both pre- and in-service is also necessary to ensure that educators are equipped to provide LGBTQ youth with the quality education they deserve.

Further research is needed that examines the potential disparities in drop out, school discipline, and justice involvement for LGBTQ youth. Government data collection tools should include ways to both assess school discipline and identify LGBTQ students in order to better understand potential disparities. Future research should also evaluate the utility of specific approaches in helping reduce the use of school discipline specifically among LGBTQ students.

Together, these recommendations offer strategies to reduce push out, drop out, and forces that push LGBTQ youth into the school-to-prison pipeline. Findings from this report demonstrate that the current educational environment for LGBTQ students is unacceptable and unsustainable if schools are to prepare the next generation of citizens to address the nation's diverse challenges. It is imperative that schools act to improve hostile climates and end harsh and unfair disciplinary practices. These recommendations will help to create more welcoming and supportive environments for LGBTQ students, and all students alike.

Introduction

Over the past decade we have witnessed enormous growth in interest in the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ)[9] students in school. More and more attention has been paid to LGBTQ student safety, particularly regarding their disproportionate exposure to bullying and potential ways to make schools safer and more supportive. For the first time, the federal government has committed to asking about harassment and bullying based on sexual orientation via the Civil Rights Data Collection that all U.S. school districts are required to complete. In addition, the Department of Education has added LGBT-inclusive questions to other government surveys, such as the High School Longitudinal Survey,[10] and more LGBTQ students than ever indicate that their schools have anti-bullying policies that specifically protect them based on their sexual orientation and gender identity/expression.[11] Yet, despite these recent gains, schools still remain unsafe for many LGBTQ students and may also be unwelcoming to LGBTQ students because of discrimination and a lack of affirming resources.[12]

Across the country, there also has been growing attention to harsh and exclusionary disciplinary policies that effectively push students, including LGBTQ students, out of schools. Despite declining rates of youth violent crime over the past decade,[13] school discipline and justice system involvement remain at elevated levels in the United States.[14] Driven at the federal level by the Gun Free School Act of 1994, several disciplinary approaches have contributed to the considerable incarcerated youth population, including the rise of exclusionary zero-tolerance policies which mandate harsh discipline like suspension or expulsion regardless of the severity of the offense.[15] By 2009, 1 in 9 students was suspended from school each year due to a disciplinary infraction,[16] and as of 2010, 1 in every 444 youth was incarcerated.[17]

The pathways out of school and into incarceration have been referred to as the school-to-prison pipeline (STPP).[18] Rather than deterring future transgressive behavior,[19] students who have been suspended from school are subsequently more likely to commit further infractions and be suspended from school once again. Similarly, youth who are suspended or expelled often struggle with limited academic opportunities and lasting stigma following their offenses,[20] and they are substantially more likely to drop out of school as well as become involved in the justice system in subsequent years.[21] Simply attending a school with higher levels of exclusionary discipline has been shown to have a negative impact on math and reading achievement, even among youth who are not subject to these disciplinary procedures,[22] and similarly, living in communities affected by high incarceration rates negatively affects the mental health even among those who have not been incarcerated themselves.[23] Youth who become incarcerated have often experienced prior, unresolved trauma and stress,[24] which may only be exacerbated by the lack of supportive, structured environments in alternative facilities relative to those that could be found in traditional schools.[25]

A great deal of research has documented the overrepresentation of certain groups of students in the school-to-prison pipeline (STPP). Specifically, Black/African American youth, Latino/a youth, and youth with disabilities experience disproportionately higher rates of school discipline and involvement with the criminal/juvenile justice system and lower high school graduation rates.[26] Emerging research suggests that these harsh forms of discipline may be also applied disproportionately to LGBTQ youth and deprive them of educational opportunities.[27] For example, one study found that sexual minority youth in one Wisconsin county face higher rates of school suspension and involvement in the juvenile justice system compared with heterosexual youth even for similar infractions.[28] Non-heterosexual youth, particularly girls, have been found to experience disproportionate rates of school sanctions and justice system involvement, even after accounting for differences in transgressive behaviors,[29] demographic characteristics, and other relevant variables. For instance, in one national study, non-heterosexual adolescents[30] had between 1.25 and 3 times the odds of heterosexual peers of experiencing a range of justice system and school sanctions, including expulsion from school, being stopped by the police, being arrested, and being convicted in court.[31] Although most scholars estimate LGBTQ youth

to comprise 5 to 7 percent of the general youth population, recent research has found LGB and gender nonconforming youth to constitute 15 percent of youth housed in the juvenile justice system.[32] Together, these findings indicate that schools operate via multiple mechanisms to create negative school climates for LGBTQ youth, leading many to drop out of school, feel pushed out by unwelcoming attitudes and policies, and in some cases, be funneled into the STPP.

This report expands on the current body of literature by examining potential pathways that funnel youth out of school and potentially into the criminal justice system in a national sample of LGBTQ middle and high school students. This report draws predominately from data from GLSEN's *2013 National School Climate Survey*,[33] sharing both relevant, previously reported findings and presenting new findings from analysis conducted specifically for this report. We explore potential mechanisms by which LGBTQ youth are pushed out of school— from direct victimization to individual and institutional discrimination. We also examine LGBTQ students' specific experiences with school discipline and criminal and juvenile justice systems. Furthermore, as existing data has revealed that some students—specifically Black and Latino youth, youth with disabilities, and gender nonconforming youth—may be unfairly disciplined at school and overrepresented in the juvenile justice system,[34] we assess potential differences in LGBTQ students' experiences by demographic factors, such as race/ethnicity, gender, housing status, and disability. Lastly, we present recommendations for both further research and specific programmatic and policy strategies that may help to keep LGBTQ youth in school and reduce their risk of involvement with the criminal and juvenile justice systems.

Methods and Sample

Data used in this report come from the 2013 installment of GLSEN's *National School Climate Survey*, a biennial survey of students who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and/or queer (LGBTQ). Youth were eligible to participate in the survey if they were at least 13 years of age, attended a K–12 school in the United States during the 2012–13 school year, and identified as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or a sexual orientation other than heterosexual (e.g., queer, questioning) or described themselves as transgender or as having another gender identity that is not cisgender[35] (e.g., genderqueer). Participants completed an online survey about their experiences in school, including their educational aspirations, disciplinary experiences, and contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system.

The survey was available online through GLSEN's website. Notices and announcements were sent through GLSEN's email and Chapter networks as well as through national, regional, and local organizations that provide services to or advocate on behalf of LGBTQ youth. The national and regional organizations posted notices about the survey on listservs, websites, and social networking websites (e.g., TrevorSpace). Local community groups serving LGBTQ youth notified their participants about the online survey via email, social networking, and paper flyers. To ensure representation of transgender youth, youth of color, and youth in rural communities, additional outreach efforts were made to notify groups and organizations that work predominantly with these populations about the survey.

Contacting participants only through LGBTQ youth-serving groups and organizations would have limited our ability to reach LGBTQ students who were not connected to or engaged in LGBTQ communities in some way. Thus, in order to broaden our reach to LGBTQ students who may not have had such connections, we conducted targeted outreach and advertising through social media sites. Specifically, we advertised the survey on Facebook to U.S. users between 13 and 18 years of age who indicated on their profile that they were: male and interested in men or both men and women, female and interested in women or both women and men, students who were connected to Facebook pages relevant to LGBTQ students (e.g., Day of Silence page), or friends of other students connected to relevant Facebook pages. We also advertised to those 13–18 year old Facebook users who listed relevant interests or "likes" such as "LGBT," "queer," "transgender," or other LGBTQ-related terms. Information about the survey was also posted on subgroups or pages with significant LGBTQ youth content or followers of additional social media sites (e.g., Tumblr, Reddit).

The final sample consisted of a total of 7,898 students between the ages of 13 and 21. Students came from all 50 states and the District of Columbia and from 2,770 unique school districts. Table 1 presents participants' demographic characteristics and Table 2 shows the characteristics of the schools attended by participants. Just over two thirds of the sample (68.1%) was White/European American, slightly less than half (43.6%) was cisgender female, and over half identified as gay or lesbian (58.8%). Students were in grades 6 to 12, with the largest numbers in grades 10 and 11.

Table 1. Characteristics of Survey Participants

Race and Ethnicity[36] (n = 7378)	%
White or European American	68.1
Hispanic or Latino, any race	14.7
African American or Black	3.3
Asian, South Asian, or Pacific Islander	2.7
Middle Eastern or Arab American, any race	1.4
Native American, American Indian or Alaska Native	0.7
Another Race or Ethnicity	0.2
Multiracial	8.9

Gender[37] (n = 7466)	%
Cisgender	75.6
Female	*43.6*
Male	*32.0*
Transgender	9.5
Female	*1.5*
Male	*5.9*
Another Transgender identity (e.g., transgender and also identifying as both male and female, or transgender only)	*2.1*
Genderqueer	10.6
Another Gender (e.g., agender, genderfluid)	4.3

Sexual Orientation[38] (n = 7579)	%
Gay or Lesbian	58.8
Bisexual or Pansexual[39]	31.6
Queer	4.8
Another Sexual Orientation (e.g., omnisexual)	2.2
Questioning or Unsure	2.6

Average Age (n = 7898) = 16.0 years

Grade in School (n = 7357)	%
6th	0.1
7th	3.5
8th	9.0
9th	18.2
10th	23.6
11th	25.8
12th	19.8

Table 2. Characteristics of Survey Participants' Schools

Grade Level (n = 7821)	%
K through 12 School	6.5
Elementary School	0.1
Lower School (elementary and middle grades)	0.9
Middle School	8.9
Upper School (middle and high grades)	7.8
High School	75.8

School Type (n = 7695)	%
Public School	89.2
Charter	*3.5*
Magnet	*8.8*
Religious-Affiliated School	4.1
Other Independent or Private School	6.6

Region[40] (n = 7897)	%
Northeast	22.2
South	31.2
Midwest	21.9
West	24.8

| School Locale[41] (n = 7821)	%
Urban	28.8
Suburban	40.7
Rural or Small Town	30.4

Results

School Discipline

The use of harsh and exclusionary discipline, such as zero tolerance policies, has proliferated over the previous several decades for both serious infractions as well as minor violations of school policies.[42] Initially framed as vital to protecting teachers and students,[43] these disciplinary policies are now widely regarded as being over-employed in removing students from the traditional school environment.[44] The use of harsh discipline has contributed to higher dropout rates as well as reliance on alternative educational settings, including alternative schools or juvenile justice facilities, where educational supports and opportunities may be less available.[45]

Growing awareness of the soaring use of exclusionary school discipline approaches in the U.S. has included some attention to their effect on LGBTQ youth.[46]

RATES OF SCHOOL DISCIPLINE AND DISPARITIES

We asked LGBTQ students in the *National School Climate Survey* if they had experienced certain types of experiences at school as a result of disciplinary action. Two in five (39.8%) respondents in this survey said they had ever been disciplined at school, including 35.6% who had received detention, 15.1% who had been suspended, and 1.3% who had been expelled (see Figure 1).

Figure 1. Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced School Discipline
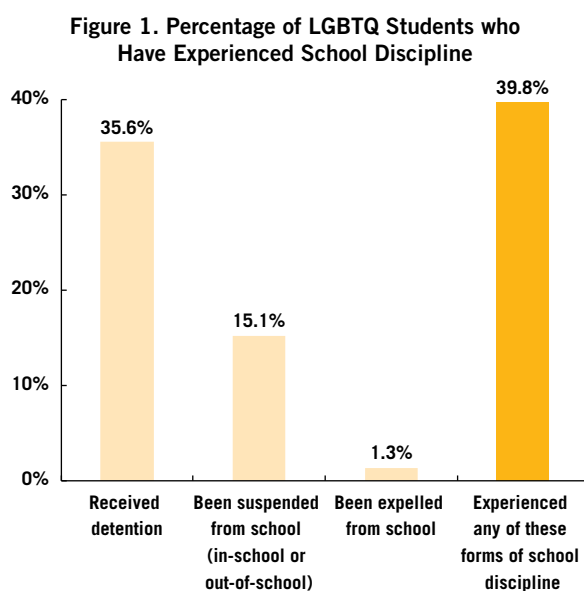
To date there has been no published research examining potential differences in rates of school discipline[47] among LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ youth. Although one study assessed sexual orientation disparities regarding school discipline, this research did not include transgender youth. Preliminary findings from an upcoming GLSEN study of a nationally representative sample of 1,367 middle and high school students[48] indicate that LGBTQ students were far more likely to have experienced any type of school discipline (62.8% vs 45.8%).[49] Specifically, LGBTQ students were more likely to: have been called to the principal's office (38.1% vs. 24.8%), have received detention (45.0% vs. 33.4%), and have been suspended (24.9% vs. 14.5%). The prevalence rates for school discipline in this sample of students is greater than the rates we found for LGBTQ students in our *National School Climate Survey* which may be due to differences between the two surveys in sampling or question wording.[50] Regardless, additional national datasets that include ways to identify LGBTQ youth and incorporate data about school discipline experiences are needed to further assess these disparities.

PATHWAYS TO SCHOOL DISCIPLINE

Several factors may contribute to LGBTQ students' school disciplinary experiences and to any disparities in discipline between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ youth, including those stemming from unsafe or unfair school environments.

Punitive Response to Harassment and Assault
LGBTQ youths' higher likelihood of victimization, and policies that intentionally or unintentionally target them, may also put them in greater contact with school authorities and increase their risk of discipline. Recent research of LGBTQ youth in the STPP has suggested that LGBTQ youth are sometimes punished even when they are the victims in bullying incidents, including as a result of defensive or preemptive violence.[51] Our prior research indicates that 1 in 10 LGBTQ students (9.8%) who reported incidents of victimization to school authorities say they themselves were disciplined as a result of reporting.[52]

We examined whether students who experienced higher rates of victimization also experienced higher rates of school discipline, perhaps because they were perceived to be the perpetrator in these incidents. LGBTQ youth who reported higher than average levels of victimization based on their sexual orientation or gender expression did experience substantially higher levels of all types of discipline examined in this report (see Figures 2 and 3).[53–54] For example, half (49.4%) of students who experienced higher levels of victimization based on sexual orientation reported experiencing detention, compared to just under one third (30.2%) of students experiencing lower levels of victimization.

Absenteeism

In addition to potential disciplinary sanctions students may face when they are involved in an altercation with a student who may be targeting them, students who are victimized at school may miss school because they feel unsafe and thus face potential disciplinary consequences for truancy. We found in our study that students who had missed school due to safety concerns were much more likely to have experienced school discipline.[55] For example, 53.6% of students who had missed school due to safety reasons had been disciplined at school, compared to 34.0% of students who had not missed school due to safety reasons (see Figure 4).

"My school has a policy that you can only have two unexcused absences, otherwise you lose credit. I skip school a lot due to harassment and feeling uncomfortable at school."

Figure 2. Experiences of School Discipline and Victimization Due to Sexual Orientation
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced Disciplinary Action)

Experienced Lower Levels of Victimization Based on Sexual Orientation / Experienced Higher Levels of Victimization Based on Sexual Orientation

- Received detention: 30.2% / 49.4%
- Been suspended from school (in-school or out-of-school): 10.7% / 26.5%
- Been expelled from school: 0.8% / 2.6%
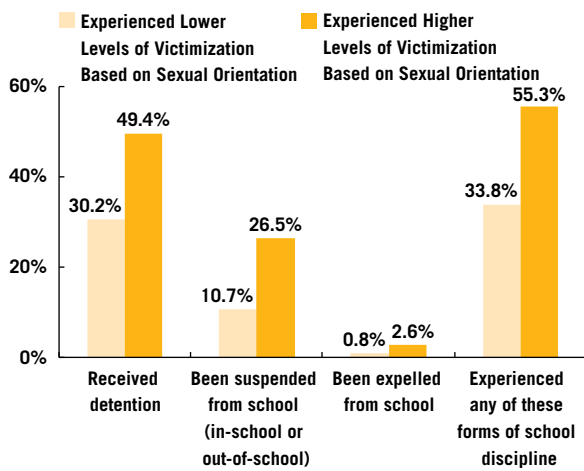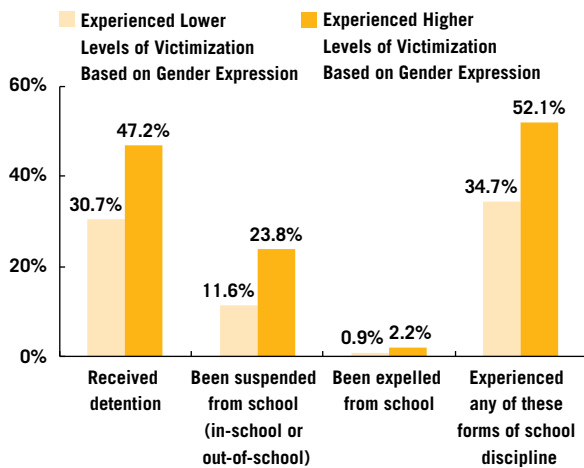- Experienced any of these forms of school discipline: 33.8% / 55.3%

Figure 3. Experiences of School Discipline and Victimization Due to Gender Expression
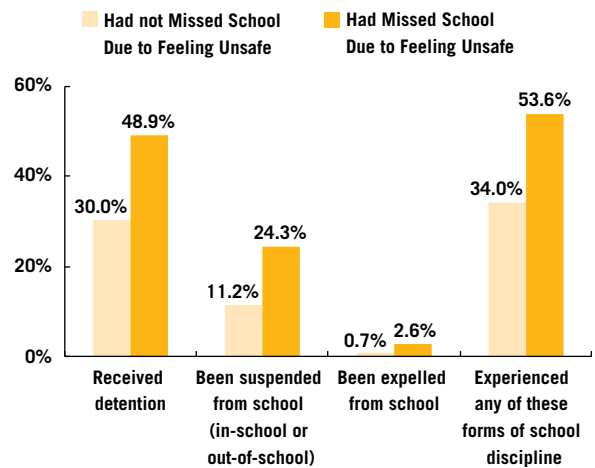(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced Disciplinary Action)

Experienced Lower Levels of Victimization Based on Gender Expression / Experienced Higher Levels of Victimization Based on Gender Expression

- Received detention: 30.7% / 47.2%
- Been suspended from school (in-school or out-of-school): 11.6% / 23.8%
- Been expelled from school: 0.9% / 2.2%
- Experienced any of these forms of school discipline: 34.7% / 52.1%

Figure 4. Experiences of School Discipline and Missing School Due to Feeling Unsafe
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced Disciplinary Action)

Had not Missed School Due to Feeling Unsafe / Had Missed School Due to Feeling Unsafe

- Received detention: 30.0% / 48.9%
- Been suspended from school (in-school or out-of-school): 11.2% / 24.3%
- Been expelled from school: 0.7% / 2.6%
- Experienced any of these forms of school discipline: 34.0% / 53.6%

> "At the beginning of the year I got in a fight after standing up to a bully. I was punished and he was not, because by being genderqueer, I provoked the fight."

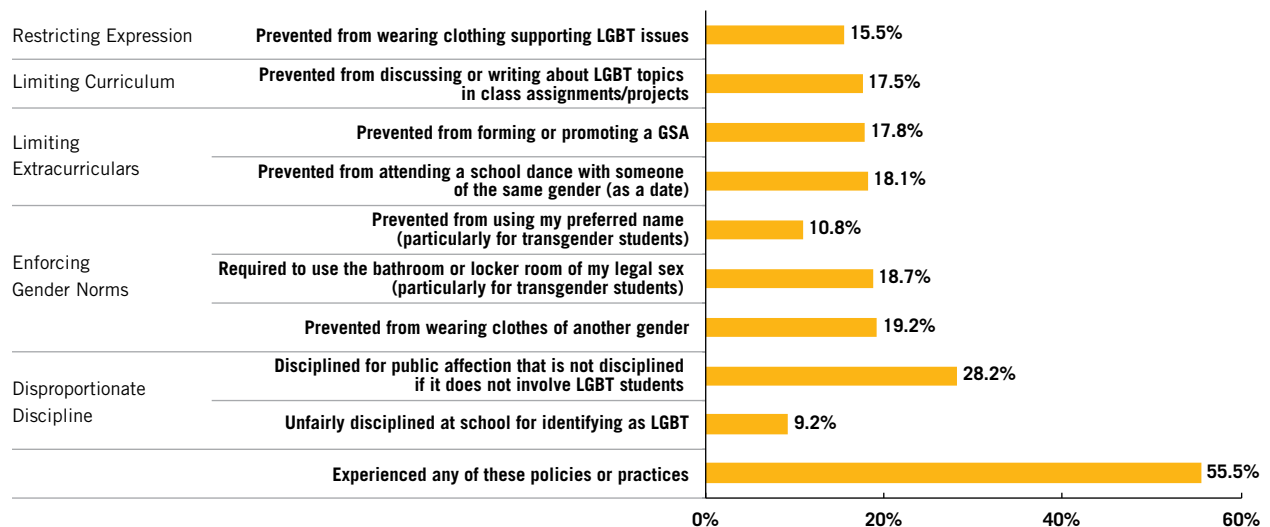## Discriminatory Policies and Practices

Schools may also have official policies or unofficial practices that unfairly target LGBTQ youth. Policies and practices that disproportionately target LGBTQ students and behaviors may result in a system in which LGBTQ youth are at greater risk for school discpline. Based on previous research asking LGBTQ students to describe ways in which they had been discriminated against at school,[56] we asked LGBTQ students in the *2013 National School Climate Survey* if they had experienced any of the most common discriminatory policies and practices at school. Over half of LGBTQ students (55.5%) reported that they had experienced some type of LGBT-related discrimination at school (see Figure 5 below).

Restricting LGBT Expression in School

Many of the policies and practices we asked about involved efforts to restrict students from expressing themselves in the school environment. As such, they conveyed to some degree that the school setting is not a space for openly LGBT people. Over a tenth (15.5%) of students were prevented from wearing clothing or items supporting LGBT issues (e.g., a t-shirt with a rainbow flag).

> "My school dress coded me for wearing a gay pride bracelet and staff doesn't care when students use gay slurs or make fun of gay students or call students gay."

Figure 5. Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced Discriminatory Policies and Practices at School

Category	Practice	Percentage
Restricting Expression	Prevented from wearing clothing supporting LGBT issues	15.5%
Limiting Curriculum	Prevented from discussing or writing about LGBT topics in class assignments/projects	17.5%
Limiting Extracurriculars	Prevented from forming or promoting a GSA	17.8%
Limiting Extracurriculars	Prevented from attending a school dance with someone of the same gender (as a date)	18.1%
Enforcing Gender Norms	Prevented from using my preferred name (particularly for transgender students)	10.8%
Enforcing Gender Norms	Required to use the bathroom or locker room of my legal sex (particularly for transgender students)	18.7%
Enforcing Gender Norms	Prevented from wearing clothes of another gender	19.2%
Disproportionate Discipline	Disciplined for public affection that is not disciplined if it does not involve LGBT students	28.2%
Disproportionate Discipline	Unfairly disciplined at school for identifying as LGBT	9.2%
	Experienced any of these policies or practices	55.5%

Prohibiting LGBT Content in the Curriculum
Schools also maintained policies and practices that sought to keep classrooms, events, and other official school spaces devoid of LGBT content or people. Such policies maintain a silence around LGBT issues and can have the effect of further stigmatizing LGBT people. We found that 17.5% of LGBTQ students had been prevented from choosing to discuss or write about LGBT topics in class assignments and projects.

Limiting LGBT Inclusion in Extracurricular Activities
A number of LGBTQ students (17.8%) had been hindered in forming or promoting a GSA or official school club supportive of LGBT issues, and a similar percentage (18.1%) were not allowed to attend a school dance with someone of the same gender. By marking official school activities distinctly as non-LGBT, these types of discrimination prevent LGBTQ students from participating in the school community as fully and completely as other students.

Enforcing Adherence to Traditional Gender Norms
Other policies appeared to specifically target students' gender identity and gender expression. Almost one in five (19.2%) LGBTQ students said they had been prevented from wearing clothing deemed "inappropriate" based on their gender (i.e., violated the dress code; e.g., a boy wearing a dress. One tenth of LGBTQ students (10.8%) had been prevented from using their preferred name, and 18.7% had unwillingly been required to use the bathroom or locker room of their legal sex. These policies disproportionally affected transgender students:[57]

- 42.2% of transgender students had been personally prevented from using their preferred name.

- 59.2% of transgender students had been required to use the bathroom or locker room of their legal sex.

- 31.6% of transgender students had been prevented from wearing clothes because they were considered inappropriate based on their legal sex.

Disproportionate Discipline
In addition to creating an unwelcome and exclusionary school environment, these discriminatory policies and practices may result in disciplinary sanctions if students violate these policies (e.g. violating gendered dress codes). Other discriminatory actions may more directly contribute to disproportionate punishment for LGBTQ students. More than a quarter (28.2%) of LGBTQ students reported that they had been disciplined for public affection that is not similarly disciplined among non-LGBTQ students. Furthermore, just less than one in ten (9.2%) LGBTQ students indicated that they had been disciplined by their school simply for identifying as LGBTQ or that they were disciplined more harshly for infractions compared to non-LGBTQ students. Thus, in addition to implicitly conveying that school is not a welcome place, these discriminatory policies and practices might also actively function to push LGBTQ students out of school, and thus may account for some of the discipline disparities emerging in research among LGBTQ youth. And, in fact, as illustrated in Figure 6, we found that LGBTQ youth who had experienced discriminatory policies and practices at school did experience higher rates of school discipline (this was true even for those who experienced discrimination that was not directly related to punishment, such as being preventing from bringing a same-gender date to prom).[58] For instance, 43.1% of LGBTQ youth experiencing

Figure 6. Experiences of School Discipline and Discrimination at School
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced Disciplinary Action)
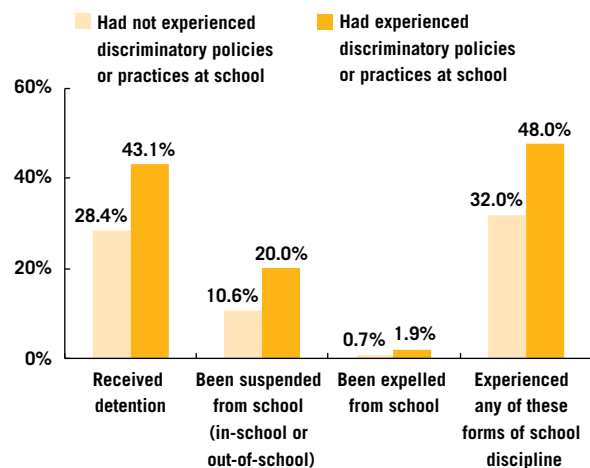
discrimination at school had received detention, compared to 28.4% of youth who had not been discriminated against.

It is important to note that many of these forms of discrimination violate federal and state laws and policies. For instance, restrictions on students' clothing supportive of LGBT issues may violate the First Amendment when there is no evidence that such clothing or support disrupts the learning environment.[59] Preventing the formation of a GSA when other student-formed, non-curricular clubs are present is a violation of the Equal Access Act which requires public schools to allow GSAs to exist alongside other noncurricular student clubs.[60] Prohibiting LGBTQ students from attending school functions (e.g., dances) or from activities permitted among other students (e.g., PDA) violates the First and Fourteenth Amendments of the U.S. Constitution which guarantee freedom of expression and equal protection to all citizens, respectively.[61] Restricting students' gender expression via strict dress codes is a violation of gender protections under Title IX of the federal Educational Amendments of 1972 which prohibits discrimination in education on the basis of sex,[62] In addition, as of 2014, 14 states and Washington, DC had non-discrimination laws protecting students on the basis of sexual orientation and/or gender identity/expression.[63] Recently, transgender students in several states have won lawsuits challenging schools' efforts to restrict their access to bathrooms.[64]

"On my bus the driver discriminates against the LGBT kids. She punishes us for things like sitting together or holding hands, but not the other kids."

Dropping Out of School

Students who fail to complete high school may be limited in the vocational, and economic success they can achieve in later life. Among the general population, youth who have dropped out of high school before completion are more likely to be unemployed, live in poverty, suffer from health problems, and be involved in the criminal justice system.[65] Although there is little empirical research assessing the disparities between LGBTQ youth and non-LGBTQ youth regarding high school completion, some literature suggests that LGBTQ students are more likely to drop out of school, perhaps due to hostile school climates they may face, in addition to potential other challenges caused by discrimination and stigma.[66]

HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION PLANS

We asked students in the *National School Climate Survey* about their overall educational aspirations, including plans to graduate versus dropping out of school. Almost all (96.6%) of LGBTQ students in our survey indicated that they planned to graduate high school and the vast majority planned to continue on to some type of post-secondary education (94.5%). However, 3.4% of survey respondents said that they did not plan to graduate high school (0.9%) or were unsure if they would graduate (2.5%). It is also important to note that the *2013 National School Climate Survey* only included students who were in school during the 2012–2013 school year. Thus, the percentage of LGBTQ students not planning to graduate would be higher with the inclusion of students who had already dropped out of high school.

Furthermore, although there is limited comparative data on the general population of secondary students, some research does suggest that LGBTQ students in our survey may be less likely to plan to complete high school. Some national data from the U.S. Department of Education indicates that slightly less than 1% of general population of high school students believe they will not finish high school,[67] compared to 3.4% of our sample of LGBTQ students who thought that they might not or were not sure. However, given that we included students who indicated that they were not sure

if they would finish in our sample and the other data sets did not provide that option for students to indicate that they were not sure, this is not an exact comparison. Future research is needed that directly assesses potential disparities in drop-out rates between LGBTQ youth and non-LGBTQ youth in general population datasets.

PATHWAYS TO DROPPING OUT

To better understand why LGBTQ students would not finish high school, we asked those students to clarify why they did not plan to complete high school or were not sure about their reasons for leaving school.

> "School is such a toxic environment for me that I couldn't force myself to go for almost a month or two and now I can't miss any-more. If I do, I can fail my senior year of high school."

Hostile School Climate

By far, the most common reason LGBTQ students cited for not planning to graduate or being unsure if they would graduate was an unsupportive or hostile school environment. Over half (57.9%) of the LGBTQ students who provided reasons for leaving high school said that elements of hostile or unsupportive school climates were a barrier to completing high school. Many of these students mentioned general negative experiences at school and/or feeling alienated from their school communities, including statements such as "I can't stand it" or "It's not worth it." Others were more specific about their experiences of harassment and assault at school and/or explained that they felt unsafe in their school environments, such as this 8th grader from Delaware: "I'm not sure if I can deal with the hate for the full four years. I've been dealing with the hitting and kicking for too long."

In order to better understand the relationship between school climate and dropping out of school, we examined how experiences of victimization were related to students' aspirations regarding high school completion. LGBTQ students who reported higher levels of victimization because of their sexual orientation or gender expression were more likely than other students to report that they did not plan to complete high school.[68–69] Specifically 6.6% of students who experienced a higher severity of victimization based on sexual orientation did not plan to finish high school, compared to 2.1% of those who had experienced less severe victimization (findings were similar for victimization based on gender expression: 6.7% vs. 2.0%).

Academic Performance and Attendance
Feeling unsafe or uncomfortable at school can negatively affect the ability of students to succeed academically, particularly if it results in avoiding school. When students skip school, in addition to risking sanctions for truancy, they miss out on valuable instructional time in the classroom, putting them at higher risk of dropping out of school or being pushed out of school for academic reasons. Research on the general population of students indicates that students who miss more days of school have been found to have lower grades and are at substantially greater risk for dropping out.[70]

When LGBTQ youth in our survey who indicated that they did not plan to complete high school (or were not sure if they would) were specifically asked why, the second most common reason they gave involved concerns about academic achievement and meeting graduation requirements. These concerns typically referenced struggles with grades, not having earned the credits required to graduate, and/or missing too much class, often because they felt too unsafe to attend, as one 11th grade student in Utah explained: "I have failed the last three years because I didn't go to school because I didn't feel comfortable there, so it's all a matter of making my grades up."

Students who are regularly harassed or assaulted in school may feel less safe in school and thus attempt to avoid these hurtful experiences by not attending school. We found that experiences of harassment and assault were, in fact, related to

missing days of school.[71] As shown in Figure 7, students were more than three times as likely to have missed school in the past month if they had experienced higher levels of victimization related to their sexual orientation (61.1% versus 17.3%) or gender expression (58.6% vs. 18.2%).

Discriminatory Policies and Practices
School policies and practices that discriminate against LGBTQ students may contribute to a school setting that feels unwelcoming and hostile for many students, leading some students to drop out entirely. And, we did find that experiencing discrimination was related to missing more days of school.[66] LGBTQ students were more than three times as likely to have missed school in the past month because they felt unsafe or uncomfortable if they had experienced the types of LGBTQ-related discrimination discussed in the previous section on school discipline (42.3% vs. 13.8%).

Mental Health Concerns
Previous research has shown that both victimization and discrimination at school may have a negative impact on students' mental health,[73] which may lead students to leave school. In addition, poorer mental health resulting from factors other than a hostile school climate, such as family rejection[74] or other forms of stigmatization,[75] might result in students' inability to complete high school. We found that for students in our survey, poorer well-being was

Figure 7. Missing School Because of Safety Concerns and Severity of Victimization
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students Who Had Missed at Least One Day of School in the Past Month)
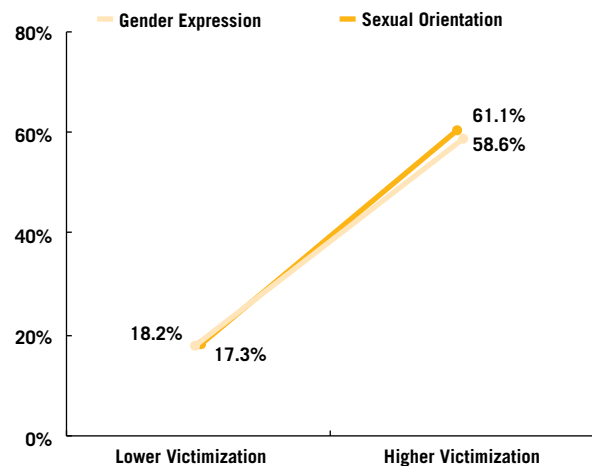
related to greater likelihood of plans to drop out. Specifically, LGBTQ students with higher levels of depression were more likely to plan on not completing high school. In addition, LGBTQ students with lower levels of self-esteem were also more likely to plan to drop out.[76]

When asked directly about why they planned to drop out, about a fifth (19.8%) of the LGBTQ students who did not plan to graduate or were not sure about graduating identified mental health struggles as a barrier to graduation. Many mentioned a mental health diagnosis such as depression or anxiety, and a few students cited high levels of stress in the school environment. An 11th grade student from Wisconsin reported that "I have been so viciously tortured in public school that I now have severe anxiety and can no longer cope with the panic attacks and thoughts that plague me while I'm there." These findings illustrate how for some students, concerns about academic achievement and/or mental health are directly related to experiences of a hostile school climate. Thus, negative school climates may push students out of school via a number of direct and indirect pathways, as prior research has found.[77]

"After someone found out I am a lesbian, they told everyone at school. I felt so uncomfortable being at school that many of my grades dropped and I was unable to graduate."

School Discipline

In the general student population, research indicates that youth who experience harsh discipline are less likely to graduate from high school and that the overuse of harsh discipline in recent years has undermined ongoing attempts to increase graduation rates.[78] We examined the relationship between disciplinary experiences at school and high school completion plans for LGBTQ students in our survey. LGBTQ students were more likely to say they planned to drop out of school when they had been disciplined at school: 1.5% of LGBTQ students who had been disciplined said they planned to drop out, compared to 0.6% of their LGBTQ peers.[79] Considering that this survey only includes students who are still in school, the disparity in dropping out of school may be even larger than observed here.

Justice System Involvement

The increasing use of disciplinary approaches in school, aside from the consequences of pushing students out of school, also has had the unfortunate effect of increasing youth involvement with the juvenile and criminal justice systems.[80] Once involved with the justice system, many youth find it difficult to regain or attain developmental trajectories that offer them the broadest opportunities in life. Youth who serve time in juvenile detention facilities are 13 percent less likely to graduate from high school compared to their peers who commit similar crimes but who do not serve time in such facilities, thereby decreasing their later earnings potential and ability to contribute financially to their families and communities.[81] Youth who are incarcerated for crimes are 22 to 26 percent more likely to commit new crimes as adults compared to youth charged with similar crimes but who do not serve time in juvenile detention facilities, after accounting for demographic and other factors.[82] In addition, juveniles who are tried in adult courts are also more likely to be involved in crime as adults than youth who are retained in the juvenile system.[83] Conversely, research shows alternative sentencing and so-called "diversion" or rehabilitative programs to be much more effective at directing youth away from adult incarceration than juvenile judicial interventions, including incarceration.[84]

As with research on school discipline, there is limited but emerging evidence suggesting that LGBTQ youth may be at disproportionate risk of justice system involvement. Although most scholars estimate LGBTQ youth to comprise 5 to 7 percent of the general youth population, recent research has found LGB and gender nonconforming youth to constitute 15 percent of youth housed in the juvenile justice system.[85]

RATES OF JUSTICE SYSTEM INVOLVEMENT RESULTING FROM SCHOOL DISCIPLINARY ACTIONS

We asked students in our survey about several types of involvement with the juvenile or criminal justice system resulting from school discipline: 2.2% of LGBTQ youth said they had had contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system as a result of disciplinary action at school, including

1.7% who had appeared before a juvenile or criminal court, 1.1% who had been arrested, and 0.5% who had served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility (see Figure 8). Given that existing data on youth involvement in justice system does not provide information on current students who became involved specifically due to school infractions, we are not able to make comparisons between our sample of LGBTQ students and the general student population of students. Future research should explore potential disparities by collecting data on school sanctions that lead to justice system involvement among broader populations of students.

PATHWAYS TO JUSTICE SYSTEM INVOLVEMENT

Many of the factors that put LGBTQ youth at higher risk of school discipline may also work to increase their risk of contact with the justice system. Experiencing school discipline, such as due to a violation of school policies, may also increase an LGBTQ student's risk of contact with the justice system, whether through direct school referral, or via one of the other, indirect mechanisms thought to increase contact with the justice system when students are not in school (e.g., students who have been suspended or expelled are at greater risk of being arrested during the school day due to the absence of structured, supervised support that schools provide).[86] If students are truant for an excessive number of days, such as due to feeling unsafe, schools may refer cases to juvenile and family courts.

Figure 8. Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Been Involved in the Juvenile/Criminal Justice System Due to School Discipline
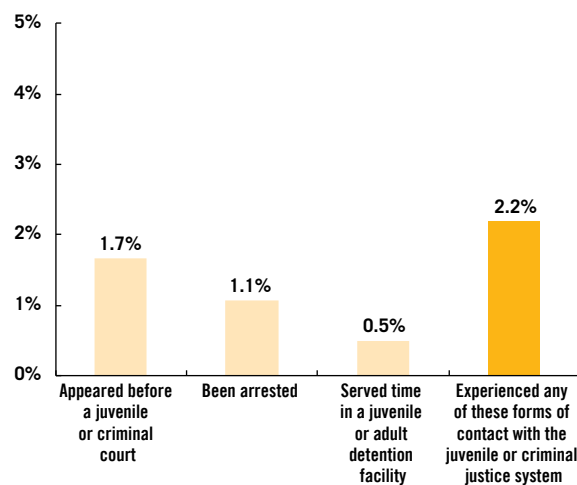
Although disciplinary measures are theoretically employed to ensure a safe and supportive learning environment, their use may initiate a cycle of disciplinary referrals rather than serving as a deterrent.[87] Recent research has shown that they may be a particularly poor deterrent for youth who are otherwise at low risk for delinquency, suggesting that exclusionary school discipline might funnel youth into the justice system who otherwise might remain out of it.[88]

Harassment and Assault
Students who are victimized are more likely to come into contact with school officials especially when they attempt to address victimization

Figure 9. Involvement in the Justice System Due to School Discipline, and Victimization Due to Sexual Orientation
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Had Contact with the Justice System)
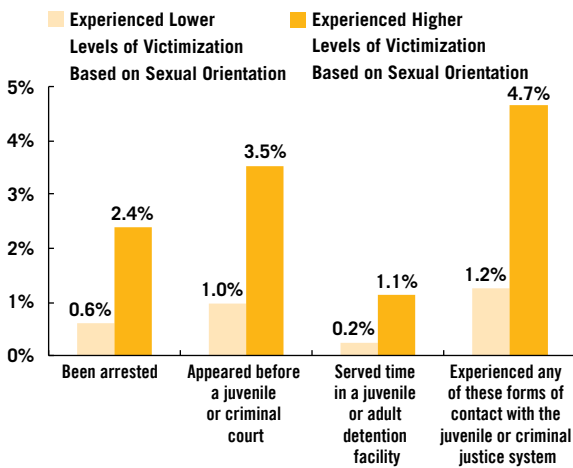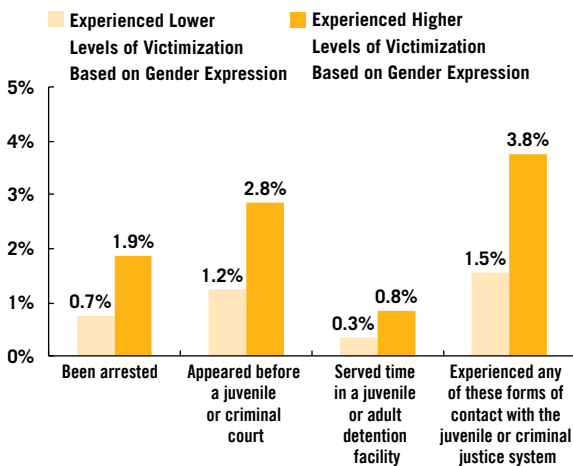

Figure 10. Involvement in the Justice System Due to School Discipline, and Victimization Due to Gender Expression
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Had Contact with the Justice System)

incidents. School officials may then involve law enforcement in their disciplinary approaches. We examined whether students who experienced higher rates of victimization also experienced higher rates of contact with the justice system. As shown in Figures 9 and 10, LGBTQ youth who reported higher than average levels of victimization based on their sexual orientation or gender expression experienced substantially higher levels of justice system contact examined in this report.[89–90] For example, 3.5% of students who experienced higher levels of victimization reported having appeared before a juvenile or criminal court as a result of school discipline, compared to 1.0% of students experiencing lower levels of victimization.

Absenteeism
LGBTQ students who are truant because they feel unsafe in the school environment may be at greater risk for referral to law enforcement and the court system.[91] Similar to what we found for school discipline (see the section Pathways to School Discipline), students who missed more days of school for safety reasons were also more likely to have had contact with the justice system.[92] For example, 4.1% of students who had missed school due to safety reasons had been involved with the justice system due to school discipline, compared to 1.4% of students who had not missed school due to safety reasons (see Figure 11).

Figure 11. Involvement in the Justice System Due to School Discipline, and Missing School Due to Feeling Unsafe (Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Had Contact with the Justice System)
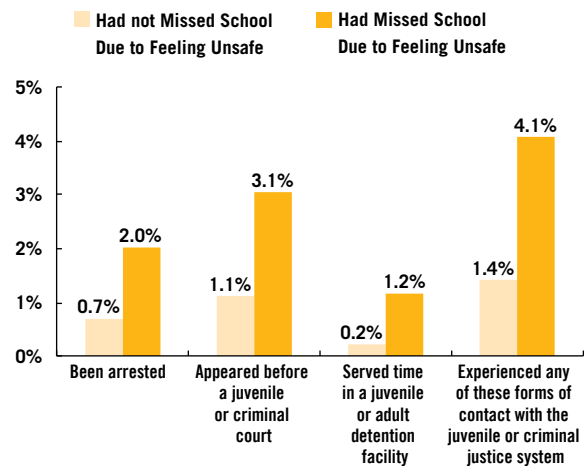
Discriminatory Policies and Practices

When LGBTQ youth violate school policies, they may ultimately be referred to law enforcement as a form of discipline or intervention. Similar to findings related to school discipline, LGBTQ youth who had experienced discriminatory policies and practices at school were more likely to have been involved with the criminal or juvenile justice systems as a result of school-related infractions (3.1% vs. 1.1%; see Figure 12).[93]

It is important to note that findings from our survey are likely not a comprehensive estimate of LGBTQ youth contact with the justice system, as youth were asked about contact with the justice system only if it had resulted from disciplinary action at school. In addition, our survey only includes youth currently attending school or who had recently been in school. Youth who were not in school during the 2012–2013 year, perhaps as a result of disciplinary infractions and/or justice involvement, were not eligible to participate. Thus, the actual rate of LGBTQ students' experiences of school discipline and involvement with the juvenile/criminal justice system may be higher than assessed in the survey.[94] Though it offers a conservative estimate particularly of justice system involvement, this report illuminates the many school-related factors that may contribute to the school-prison-pipeline for LGBTQ youth.

Figure 12. Involvement Justice System Due to School Discipline, and Discrimination at School
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Had Contact with the Justice System)
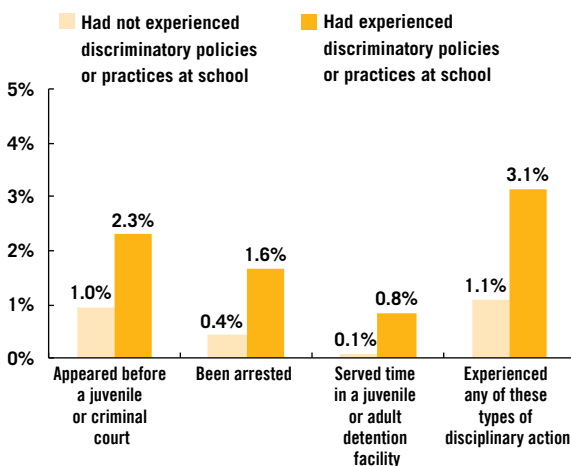
Demographic Differences in Drop Out, School Discipline, and Justice System Involvement

Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (LGBTQ) youth may often share experiences that put them at risk for negative academic outcomes and potentially increased likelihood for dropping out of school and increased involvement in the criminal justice system. Nevertheless, they constitute a diverse group, and differences within the LGBTQ youth population may heighten the risk of negative outcomes for some youth compared to others. For instance, research from the *National School Climate Survey* has found that certain subgroups of LGBTQ youth experience victimization at higher rates compared to other groups.[95] For example, we found that transgender students experienced higher rates of harassment and assault than their cisgender LGBQ peers. In addition, among the general youth population, rates of school discipline and justice system involvement have been found to vary dramatically by a number of personal and social factors.[96] Therefore, whereas LGBTQ youth in general may be more at risk, certain subgroups of LGBTQ may be even more so. Thus, we examined differences in intentions to drop out, experiences of school discipline, and contact with the justice system by race/ethnicity, gender identity, gender nonconformity, housing status, and disability.

RACE AND ETHNICITY

In the U.S., youth of color, specifically African American, Native American, and Latino youth, experience disproportionate rates of school discipline and criminal justice involvement.[97] For example, African American youth constitute more than one third of youth who have been suspended or expelled from school despite comprising less than one fifth of the secondary student population, and African American and Hispanic youth are also disproportionately likely to be referred to law enforcement and be arrested for school-related reasons.[98] Furthermore, although youth of color are only one third of the total population of youth, they comprise two thirds of the population of youth serving time in juvenile detention facilities.[99] Of note, these trends begin to form even in preschool and continue through high school and graduation, and likely result from as well as contribute to the racial achievement gap.[100] Further, use of harsh, zero-tolerance policies has been shown to exacerbate discipline disparities between African American and White students.[101]

Research among the general youth population has also reported lower graduation rates for African American and Hispanic/Latino youth, compared to White and Asian American youth.[102] Among LGBTQ youth who may already report disproportionate rates of school drop out, school discipline and justice system involvement,[103] certain racial/ethnic sub-groups of LGBTQ youth may be more at risk. Some recent research among LGBTQ youth indicates that LGBTQ youth of color report biased application of discipline policies and/or the perception of increased surveillance relative to other students.[104] Thus, we examined whether LGBTQ students' school discipline, justice system involvement, and likelihood to drop out of school differed by racial/ethnic groups (Asian, South Asian, or Pacific Islander; White or European American; Hispanic or Latino; Black or African American; and Multiracial).[105] Schools composed predominantly of youth of color are often located in lower income areas in relatively segregated schools with fewer resources, schools which are likely to employ harsh discipline policies.[106] In addition, students of color, particularly African Americans, who attend predominantly White schools are also overrepresented in disciplinary programs and approaches relative to other students in their schools.[107] Therefore, we also examined how racial/ethnic differences may vary depending on whether they are in the minority racial/ethnic group in their school.

School Discipline

Among the LGBTQ students in our sample, Black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, and Multiracial LGBTQ students were substantially more likely to experience school disciplinary action than White/European American and Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander LGBTQ

students (see Figure 13).[108] For instance, 46.7% of Black/African American, 44.1% of Hispanic/ Latino, and 47.3% of Multiracial students had ever been disciplined at school, compared to 36.3% of White/European students and 35.2% of Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander students. We also found that LGBTQ youth of color reported higher levels of school disciplinary experiences when they attended schools in which they were not the predominant race/ethnicity (i.e., when they attended predominantly White schools, or schools that predominantly included students of color, but of a different ethnicity of race).[109]

Dropping Out

Multiracial students were most likely to say that they did not plan to complete high school or were not sure that they would complete school (see Figure 14).[104]

Justice System Involvement as Result of School Discipline

LGBTQ students in our survey did not report different levels of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system as a result of school discipline by race/ethnicity.[111] Given previous findings from the general youth population on racial disparities in justice involvement, it is somewhat surprising that we did not find significant racial differences. However, in our survey we asked a narrower question about justice involvement that was specifically due to school discipline, and the majority of the existing literature examines any justice involvement. Nevertheless, given our findings on racial disparities in school discipline itself (as reported previously), we might still expect

to find differences in justice involvement resulting from school sanctions. These rates of justice involvement in our survey are extremely low, perhaps make it difficult to identify differences in our sample. Furthermore, school experiences may play a role in pushing LGBTQ youth into the justice system for reasons other than specific instances of school discipline. For example, youth who are not in school, because of absenteeism or because they dropped out, are more likely to become engaged in the criminal justice system.[112] Future research should examine racial differences in LGBTQ youth's involvement with the justice system for any reason in order to have a more complete understanding of racial disparities for LGBTQ youth in the school-to-prison pipeline.

Figure 14. Race/Ethnicity and Dropping Out
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students Not Planning to Complete High School or Not Sure if will Complete)
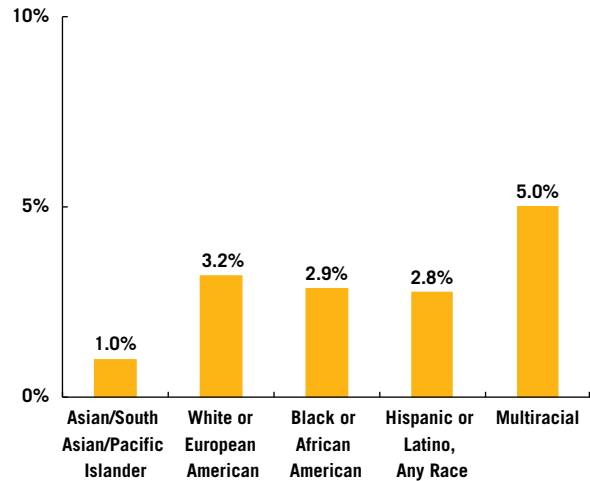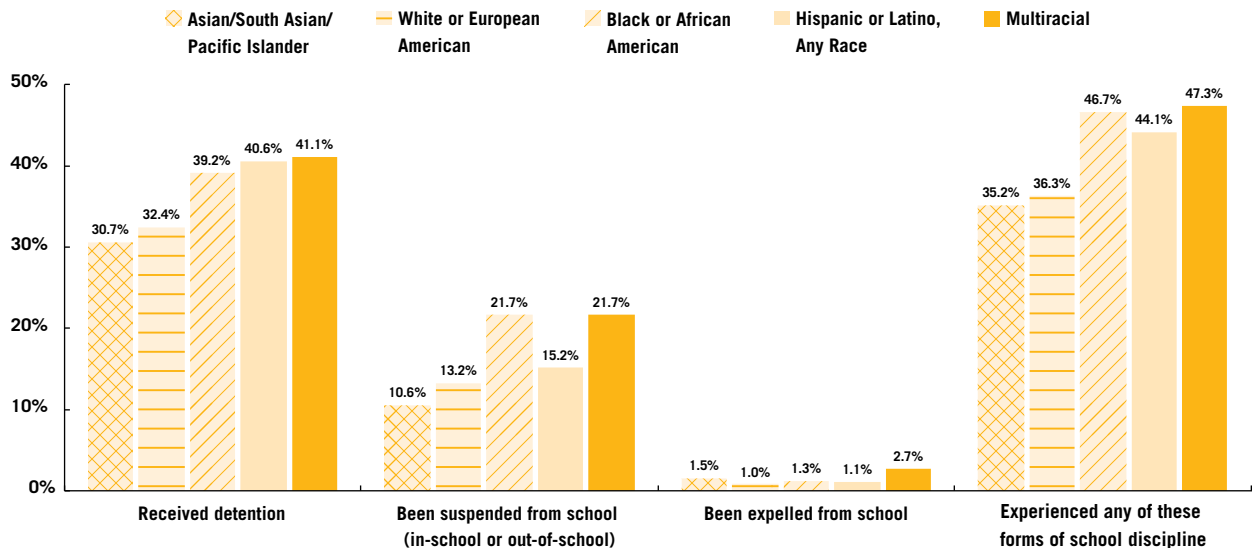

Figure 13. Race/Ethnicity and Experiences of School Discipline (Percentage of LGBTQ Students)

"I have the choice of the girls' bathroom (my legal sex) or the nurses' bathroom. I was suspended out of school for using the boys' bathroom."

GENDER IDENTITY

Research among the general youth population has found males, broadly speaking, to be at greater risk than females of some negative educational outcomes, including drop out, school discipline, and involvement in the justice system.[113] Less research has examined gender differences within the LGBTQ community, but emerging evidence suggests that transgender and other gender minority youth may be at greater risk of dropping out of school and being disciplined in school.[114]

School Discipline

Transgender youth and youth with another gender identity (i.e., those who were not cisgender, but did not identify as transgender or genderqueer) reported the highest rates of school disciplinary action in our survey, whereas male and female cisgender youth reported the lowest levels of school discipline and were not different from one another.[115] As shown in Figure 15, just under half of transgender students (45.2%) and of other gender students (48.9%) had experienced discipline at school, compared to less than forty percent of genderqueer and cisgender students. Although not illustrated in the Figure 15, among transgender students, transgender females reported higher rates of school discipline than transgender males.

Dropping Out

As shown in Figure 16, transgender, genderqueer, and students of other gender identities were more likely to report that they might not complete high school, as compared to cisgender LGBQ students.[116] For example, 7.6% of transgender students indicated that they might drop out versus just over 2% of cisgender students.

Figure 16. Gender Identity and Dropping Out
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students Not Planning to Complete High School or Not Sure if will Complete)
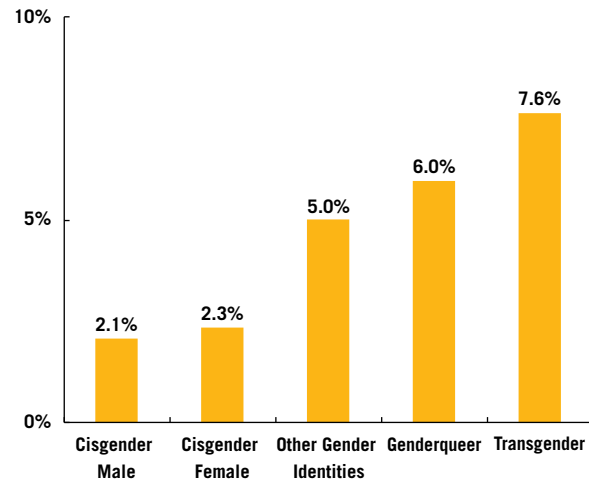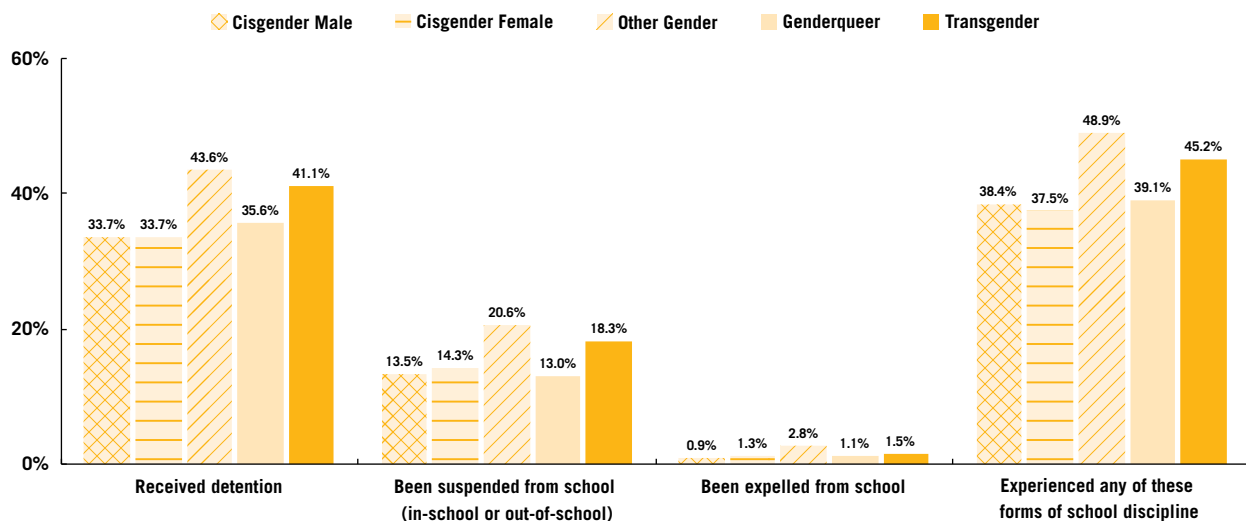

Figure 15. Gender Identity and Experiences of School Discipline
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced Disciplinary Action)

◇ Cisgender Male — Cisgender Female ⫽ Other Gender   Genderqueer ▮ Transgender

Justice System Involvement as Result of School Discipline

Transgender youth (3.5%) and other gender youth (3.1%) reported more overall contact with the juvenile justice system as a result of school discipline compared to their LGBQ cisgender peers; cisgender females (2.3%) reported slightly higher rates of justice system contact compared to cisgender males (1.5%).[117]

GENDER NONCONFORMITY

As reported in the previous section on comparisons by gender identity, youth whose gender identity was not the same as their assigned sex at birth (i.e., transgender, genderqueer, and other youth who are not cisgender) reported higher drop out rates and experienced higher rates of school discipline and justice system involvement. However, even for cisgender students, traditional expectations regarding gender expression may negatively affect school experiences. Given the hostile climate faced by gender nonconforming students in general (e.g., elevated harassment and assault),[118] they may also be at higher risk of being pushed out or dropping out of school. Therefore, within the sample of cisgender LGBQ students, we examined whether those students who were gender nonconforming (GNC) reported worse outcomes than those who were more gender conforming. (Students were considered gender nonconforming if they reported a gender expression that did not align with traditional gender norms, i.e., a male student who reported a gender expression on the feminine scale or as equally masculine and feminine.)

School Discipline

The *National School Climate Survey* has found that students who are gender nonconforming experience higher levels of victimization, which places them at greater risk for school staff's responses to victimization, including those that blame LGBTQ students for the victimization they experience. In addition, many of the discriminatory policies and practices described in the previous sections specifically target students' self-expression as it relates to gender. As a result, these policies and experiences may contribute to higher levels of discipline among GNC youth. Prior research has found that youth whose

gender expression does not conform to traditional expectation for their gender may have policies applied to them in a biased manner and/or experience disproportionate discipline.[119] Among LGBQ youth in our survey, cisgender youth whose gender expression was nonconforming reported higher rates of school discipline than their gender conforming peers,[120] perhaps due to school rules that prohibit some types of nonconforming gender expression, such as gendered dress codes (see section on Biased Institutional Policies). For instance, 41.8% of GNC cisgender youth had experienced school disciplined compared to 35.6% of gender conforming LGBQ cisgender youth.

Dropping Out

LGBQ cisgender students who were gender nonconforming were more likely to report that they did not plan to complete high school or that they were not sure if they would complete high school (2.6% vs. 1.7%).[121]

> "Certain things are considered as a distraction. A very close gay friend of mine dropped out because the school bothered him for wearing makeup as a distraction and saying that boys in his class felt harassed by it."

Justice System Involvement as Result of School Discipline

There were no differences in contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system as result of school discipline between gender conforming or gender nonconforming LGBQ cisgender students.[122] The low rates of involvement due to school discipline may make it difficult to identify any real differences. Furthermore, this sample only includes LGBTQ students, but it may be that for general population of students (including both LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ students), gender

nonconforming students are at greater risk, but within a sample of only LGBTQ students, the disparities are not as evident. Further research should examine the role of gender nonconformity in school discipline and justice involvement in a general population of students.

HOUSING INSECURITY

LGBTQ youth are thought to be overrepresented in the homeless population and among the group home and foster care system.[123] Once there, LGBTQ youth face unfair treatment in the child welfare system.[124] As many LGBTQ youth may enter the foster care system as a result of being kicked out of their homes (for being LGBTQ), they may be labeled by the criminal justice system as ungovernable and incorrigible.[125] Many such youth end up on the streets, where their efforts at basic survival expose them to further risk of becoming engaged with the justice system.[126] The lack of stable housing can also make it more difficult for youth to attend school, increasing the likelihood of dropping out as well as the likelihood of disciplinary action resulting from school absences and of referrals to the court system.[127]

School Discipline

We found in our study that LGBTQ students that did not live at home with parents or guardians were substantially more likely to report all forms of disciplinary action examined in this study (see Figure 17).[128] For example, students who were

homeless[129] were substantially more likely to have experienced school-based discipline (54.0% vs. 46.6% of those living with relatives and 38.5% of those living at parent/guardian's home).

Dropping Out

LGBTQ students who were homeless were substantially more likely to say they planned to drop out of school than other students (see Figure 18). For example, 8.8% of LGBTQ students who were homeless indicated they might drop out of high school as compared to 3.1% of students who live in their parent's/guardian's home.[130] This may be due to a lack of family support and/or a lack of stable, safe place to do schoolwork and rest at night.

Figure 18. Housing Status and Dropping Out
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students Not Planning to Complete High School or Not Sure if Will Complete)
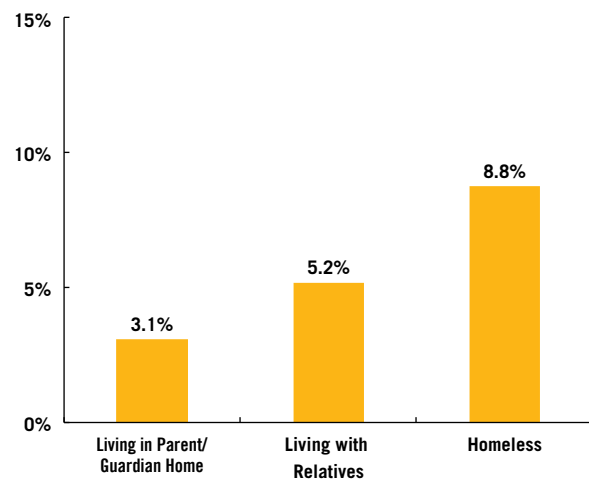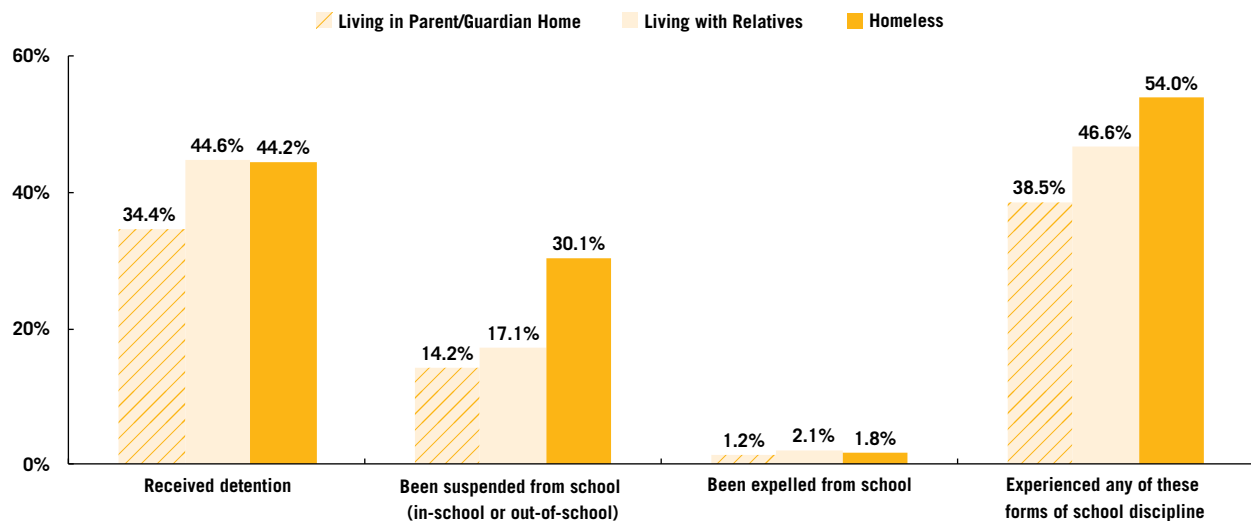

Figure 17. Housing Status and Experiences of School Discipline
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced Disciplinary Action)

Justice System Involvement as Result of School Discipline

As shown in Figure 19, LGBTQ students with less stable housing situations were more likely to have experienced contact with the justice system due to school discipline.[131] For example, 1 in 10 (9.7%) LGBTQ students who were homeless experienced such contact compared to 1.9% of LGBTQ students who lived in their parents' or guardians' home.

PHYSICAL, EMOTIONAL, OR EDUCATIONAL DISABILITY

Among the general youth population, students with disabilities, particularly males and those with learning disabilities and emotional disturbances, are disproportionately disciplined at school and overrepresented in juvenile correction institutions.[132] Graduation rates for students with disabilities are also substantially lower than for students without disabilities among the general population.[133] Thus, we examined the experiences of LGBTQ students with disabilities[134] regarding school discipline, justice system involvement, and dropping out of school.

School Discipline

LGBTQ students who reported having an educational, emotional, or physical disability were substantially more likely to have experienced all types of disciplinary actions examined in this report.[135] For instance, 47.8%

of students with a disability had been disciplined at school, compared to 36.9% of students without a disability.

Dropping Out

LGBTQ youth who reported having a disability were less likely to say they planned to graduate from high school: 5.8% of students with a disability indicated that they may drop out of school, compared to 2.6% of students without a disability.[136]

Justice System Involvement as Result of School Discipline

We found that students with a disability were more likely to have been involved in the justice system due to school discipline (4.4% vs. 1.7% of LGBTQ students without a disability).[137]

Figure 19. Housing Status and Involvement in the Juvenile/Criminal Justice System Due to School Discipline
(Percentage of LGBTQ Students who Have Experienced Disciplinary Action)
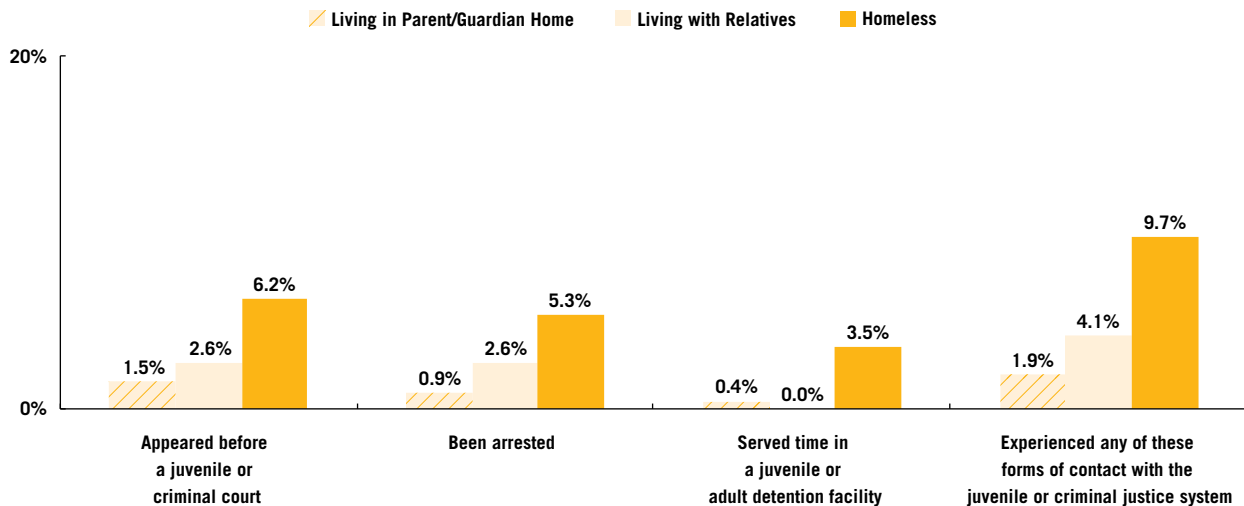
Discussion

Limitations

The methods used for this survey resulted in a nationally representative sample of LGBTQ youth. However, it is important to note that the sample is representative only of youth who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or transgender, have some connection to the LGBTQ community (either through LGBTQ organizations or through the Internet), and/or have a Facebook page. Thus, we may not have reached LGBTQ students who were not connected to LGBTQ community organizations in some way or who had limited access to computers or the Internet. We also cannot make determinations from our data about the experiences of youth who might be engaging in same-sex sexual activity or experiencing same-sex attractions but who do not identify themselves as lesbian, gay, bisexual, or something else other than heterosexual (e.g., queer).

It is important to note that with respect to contact with the justice system, our survey asked about such contact resulting from school infractions. Thus, our survey asked a narrower question about justice system involvement than some other studies have asked (as this was a study of LGBTQ youth in schools).

Although the sample was relatively representative of the U.S. secondary student population in terms of region, type of school attended, and portion of students of color overall, the percentage of African American/Black youth in the sample was somewhat lower than the general population of secondary school students, which may be another possible limitation to the survey. However, any discrepancies may have resulted from different methods for measuring race/ethnicity, as most national youth surveys restrict students to selecting only one racial category, and do not provide a multiracial response option. In contrast, we allow for students in our survey to select multiple options for their race/ethnicity, and code students who selected two or more racial categories as being multiracial.

It is also important to note that our survey only reflects the experiences of LGBTQ students who were in school during the 2012–2013 school year. Thus, findings from this survey may not necessarily reflect the experiences of LGBTQ youth who had already dropped out of school, whose experiences with a hostile school climate or school discipline may differ from those students who remained in school.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Findings from this report demonstrate that, for many LGBTQ students, schools are hostile environments that effectively function to push students out of school, depriving them of the opportunity to learn. When LGBTQ students feel less safe, less comfortable, and less welcome in schools, they are less likely to attend and more likely to drop out. School policies that disproportionately affect LGBTQ students, such as gendered dress codes and rules about public displays of affection, also expose LGBTQ youth to greater rates of school discipline and sometimes, as a result, involvement in the justice system. Staff biases against LGBTQ students are also manifest in the discretionary use of discipline in ways that target LGBTQ students, such as punishing gay and lesbian couples for public displays of affection in school that heterosexual couples are not punished for.

Although all LGBTQ youth may face hostile climates and damaging school policies and practices, findings from this report demonstrate that some LGBTQ youth are at even greater risk for being pushed out of school and into the criminal/ juvenile justice system. African American, Latino/a, and Multiracial students experienced higher rates of school discipline and were more likely to believe they might not complete high school. Transgender students and cisgender gender nonconforming LGBQ students were also more likely to have experienced school discipline and to believe they might not graduate high school, as well as more likely to be involved in the justice system as a result of school discipline. LGBTQ youth who were homeless and LGBTQ youth with disabilities also had higher rates of school discipline, dropping out, and school discipline-related justice involvement. Therefore, as schools develop policies and practices to keep LGBTQ youth in school, they must also pay particular attention to assessing and addressing disparities faced by other groups of traditionally marginalized youth.

In spite of the pervasive barriers that often limit LGBTQ youth's access to an equal education, there are clear remedies for these exclusionary policies and practices, and many schools and districts have begun to implement them. Supportive personnel, critical to improving the overall school climate for LGBTQ youth and instrumental in advocating on behalf of individual LGBTQ students, have steadily become more prevalent over the past decade.[138] A number of school administrators across the country have begun to assess the appropriateness and the impact of exclusionary disciplinary policies on their students. For example, in 2014 the Los Angeles Unified School District ceased bringing criminal sanctions for low level offenses committed by students, such as alcohol and tobacco possession, and instead now refers students to school counselors or administrators.[139] The public is becoming more supportive of less punitive juvenile justice approaches as well. A national public opinion poll found that approximately two-thirds of respondents favored schools handling minor offenses such as truancy and damaging school property over involving the juvenile justice system.[140] Educator practices in the classroom are also gradually changing as some educators move away from exclusionary, discipline-heavy policies and practices and begin to adopt approaches that focus on keeping students in school and engaged in learning.[141] Thus, whether on the part of educators, advocates, or policy makers, schools are changing, but more work remains to be done.

Below, we offer several recommendations for schools to create safer, more supportive, more inclusive, and less exclusionary learning environments for LGBTQ and all youth, including: the development of responsive teacher practices; an assessment of existing school policies, the fostering a non-punitive school cultures, and the advancement of a national agenda addressing disparities and the use of discipline in schools.

IMPLEMENT EFFECTIVE AND UNBIASED SCHOOL POLICIES

School policies are often designed to structure social interactions within the school, maintain order in the classroom, and facilitate learning for students. When students violate these policies, they are frequently subject to disciplinary action,

which can include, at times, their removal from the school. Unfortunately, schools sometimes employ policies excessively and in ways that do not support student learning. As findings from this report suggest, schools commonly employ policies, intentionally or not, that disproportionately and negatively affect LGBTQ students—the majority of LGBTQ students said they had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school and those who had were more likely to have been disciplined as well as have lower educational aspirations. School administrators and teachers should examine their school policies and classroom practices to ensure that LGBTQ students are not negatively affected, and moreover, to assess whether all students are given the opportunity to learn at school. States and school districts also should adopt non-discrimination policies and incorporate sexual orientation and gender identity/expression into existing anti-bullying/harassment and non-discrimination policies to foster school environments where all students are treated equitably. Districts and schools may want to explore the use of model policies provided by their state departments of education or organizations like GLSEN, such as our model anti-bullying policy and model policy related to transgender and gender nonconforming students.

As attention to bullying and harassment has increased in recent years, schools have implemented policies seeking to define, prevent, and address victimization incidents when they occur. Although it is laudable when schools take these incidents seriously and help all students feel safe and protected in schools, it is also important that these policies do not contribute further to the school-to-prison pipeline by mandating harsh discipline for all infractions through zero-tolerance types of policies. Research suggests that exclusionary discipline strategies are associated with more disorderly classrooms and lower engagement and trust with the teacher, and thus, may be counterproductive to learning.[142] Therefore, we strongly discourage the use of zero-tolerance policies and recommend giving more authority and discretion to educators and school personnel in addressing school discipline, and support the use of exclusionary discipline only for the most serious of infractions, if at all. However,

given that discretion may also be employed to discipline some students at disproportionate rates, schools should have systems in place to ensure that discipline policies are applied equitably. Schools should examine their anti-bullying/harassment policies to ensure that they do not mandate classroom removal for all infractions, perhaps except in the most serious cases when students' safety is at risk. Rather, schools should employ graduated approaches that take into account the seriousness of the offense in order to keep students in school whenever possible, and they should instruct students fully on school policies and the consequences for breaking them.[143]

Disciplinary actions on the part of the school will likely remain a necessary tool in some cases. Ignoring dangerous incidents or not disciplining students when warranted is not likely to solve underlying behavior issues, and would simply exchange one problem (the potential for overuse or inequitable use of discipline) for another (not intervening and/or potentially failing to ensure safe learning environments for students). Educators should take steps to ensure that students who are disciplined have access to learning opportunities, and that if removal from the classroom is a necessary component of the discipline, they are reintegrated into regular classroom environments following the disciplinary response as soon as possible.

BUILD SUPPORTIVE CLASSROOM AND SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS THAT VALUE ALL STUDENTS' LEARNING

The use of overly harsh discipline and the persistent negative school climate experienced by some students represent a failure to value and support all students' learning. When some students are treated differently than others, experience the school as less safe than others, or experience persistently worse outcomes than others, schools have broken their commitment to providing an education for all students. Because of the negative school climate experienced by many LGBTQ students, support from educators and administrators can play an important role in making schools better and more welcoming for LGBTQ youth.

Staff members function in a number of ways to show support for LGBTQ students and keep them in school. In schools where LGBTQ students are more supported and accepted, LGBTQ students may be seen as less of a risk of "disruption", and thus, less subject to disciplinary reproach. Educators who employ culturally responsive teaching and are aware of the needs of their students may help their students feel more engaged, increasing their academic achievement, and educational aspirations and attainment.[144] Specifically, when educators incorporate LGBTQ people and topics into their teaching, LGBTQ students are more likely to be engaged in school—prior research demonstrates that they are less likely to skip school and feel more connected to their school community.[139] In addition, schools that foster a supportive environment convey that the success of all students is important and help to keep students in school.

Individual educators can also play a direct role in LGBTQ students' lives. For instance, individual staff members may serve as the inspiration for school-wide measures to create safer schools (e.g., implementing inclusive policies), and they model behavior for other educators and students when they serve as a resource for LGBTQ students and treat them with respect. Schools' administration are also critical for creating a supportive environment for LGBTQ youth, and each can take steps to build a more supportive environment. As is detailed in the recommendations related to policies discussed in the previous section, administrators can be instrumental in ensuring that policies are applied fairly and non-punitively and by supporting teachers and students to be respectful of all students.[146]

DEVELOP AND SUPPORT RESPONSIVE TEACHER PRACTICES

As teachers have the most contact with students and are often tasked with implementing school policies, they serve a key role in improving the school environment and keeping students in school. In addition to proactively implementing responsive teaching practices and engaging in LGBTQ-supportive efforts, educators can also take steps to improve the school response to student behavior issues. Educators are instrumental in responding to incidents that threaten the safety

of students and the learning environment, but it is important that they do so in ways that are not needlessly punitive.

Intervene in Bullying Incidents Effectively

Because LGBTQ students experience higher rates of victimization at school than non-LGBTQ youth, they are at greater risk of being subject to schools' disciplinary protocols related to peer victimization incidents. Our findings indicated that some LGBTQ students were disciplined themselves when they reported harassment or assault. Unresponsive and ineffective intervention may be associated with higher rates of discipline among LGBTQ youth. Thus, it is crucial that schools develop fair means of addressing bullying incidents and intervene effectively when these incidents occur, in ways that do not blame LGBTQ students, or any student, for their own victimization.

Employ Restorative Teaching Practices

When teachers intervene in behavioral infractions and incidents of harassment, it is not only important that they do so effectively, but that they do not use forms of discipline that are excessive relative to the infraction that occurred. One approach for reducing the use of discipline in the classroom involves using alternative teacher strategies when infractions do occur. Recent research and practice suggest a number of alternatives to harsh discipline and classroom removal when infractions occur in the classroom, including restorative justice and Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS), as described below.[147]

In restorative justice models, rather than simply punishing the perpetrator and removing them from the classroom, the individual takes responsibility for the infraction and understands its impact on others, as well as takes action to correct the issue and prevent it from occurring again in the future.[148] In essence, the focus of restorative models is on acknowledging and rebuilding relationships among the different parties involved in an incident. Such approaches have been linked with reduced use of discipline as well as with narrowed gaps in discipline sanctions between typically marginalized groups of students.[149] Other restorative strategies emphasize supportive relationships between teachers and students rather than discipline; these have been found to

reduce discipline gaps as well.[150] Circle models are another restorative approach in which school community members involved or affected by infractions come together in a circle to discuss the situation and work together toward a solution.[151] These models, which seek buy in from students, educators, and even parents, have been used not only for prevention, to foster trust and relationships in the school environment, and to build community, but also to assess the impact and consequences of wrongdoing and infractions.[152] Restorative justice approaches do seem to share some similarities with peer mediation models, in which students speak to one another about an incident, and which can be harmful if they fail to address social power imbalances and implicate all students equally in an incident. To date, the use of these restorative approaches have not been examined among LGBTQ youth specifically. Thus, although some of these practices have been found to reduce racial discipline disparities, it is unclear how they might apply specifically to LGBTQ youth and/or reduce any discipline gaps between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ youth. Nevertheless, given that these approaches appear to be effective in limiting disciplinary sanctions, and in some cases, curbing discipline disparities with other marginalized groups, they may be promising practices to help address LGBTQ push-out, drop-out, and involvement in school-to-prison pipeline. However, future research should assess the effectiveness of restorative practices in addressing incidents involving anti-LGBTQ bias and consider how they can best be used with incidents involving LGBTQ youth.

Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports, or PBIS, is a framework in which appropriate student behaviors are emphasized and rewarded via positive feedback, thus reducing the need for disciplinary approaches over time. However, whereas they have been shown to reduce overall discipline rates, they do not necessarily reduce discipline gaps between some students, such as between Black/African American and White students.[153] Thus, they may fail to address the issues that underlie racial disparities, such as discretionary use of discipline when minor infractions do occur. As with restorative justice, there is no information about how well this approach works with LGBTQ youth or in

addressing anti-LGBT behaviors. Future research should examine the effectiveness of PBIS in addressing discipline disparities for LGBTQ youth, along with other youth disproportionately represented in the school-to-prison pipeline, such as Black/African American youth, Latino youth, and youth with disabilities.

ASSESS THE USE OF SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICERS

In response to school violence, and as part of a general trend of surveillance in schools, many schools now employ school resource officers (SROs), police officers, or other security personnel in schools.[154] The responsibilities of such personnel vary among states and across schools, but they are often used when victimization occurs, and in some districts they serve as a direct link to a local police department.[155] Thus, SROs have been lauded as a possible means of creating safer school environments, but their critics have pointed out the role that they play in removing students from the school environment, perhaps excessively and for relatively minor offenses (i.e., disorderly conduct).[156] School security measures overall have been found to be related to higher suspension rates, even after accounting for behavioral infractions, and are also more likely to be found in schools with high compositions of racial/ethnic minorities.[157] Some research suggests that SROs display varying knowledge of bullying policies, which may be associated with differential enforcement and intervention with regard to different types of students and in different types of schools.[158]

SROs might be particularly ineffective in addressing incidents related to LGBTQ youth. Recent scholarship has found SROs and several other surveillance measures to have no impact on the rates of homophobic bullying.[159] Other research has focused on the personal interaction between school security officers and LGBTQ students.[160] For example, a 2012 study by Lambda Legal found that security officers, mainly appointed to protect students, may have actually contributed to a hostile or indifferent climate for LGBTQ students. Fourteen percent of all survey respondents said that the attitudes of school security officers toward them were hostile. Larger percentages of transgender and gender non-conforming respondents (20%) and transgender gender non-conforming respondents of color (28%) described the attitude of security toward them as "hostile." Nearly 15% of transgender and gender non-conforming respondents with security and/or police in their schools reported that they were verbally assaulted by those security personnel.

Schools should assess the practices of SROs and their utility to determine whether they would improve the school climate. If SROs are present in a school, administrators should take steps to ensure that SROs are informed on school policies and how to address the needs of LGBTQ youth . Furthermore, organizations such as the National Association of School Resource Officers should consider providing training and guidance to SROs to ensure they are equipped to effectively respond to anti-LGBTQ incidents and to treat LGBTQ youth respectfully and fairly.

EMPLOY MEASURES TO SUPPORT COMPLETION OF HIGH SCHOOL EDUCATION

Students who do not complete high school have greater negative outcomes, such as limited career opportunities, higher poverty, poorer health, and greater involvement in the criminal justice system.[161] Therefore, it is critical that students who drop out of high school, or are pushed into the justice system, are provided with opportunities to complete their high school education—either through compensatory schooling or through diploma-equivalent certifications, such as GED (General Education Development).

In order to ensure that LGBTQ youth have access to these opportunities, services that provide GED courses and tutoring must be safe and affirming for LGBTQ youth. These services should implement LGBTQ-inclusive non-discrimination policies and provide professional development to increase staff's LGBTQ competency. Furthermore, LGBTQ youth centers and other LGBTQ youth support organizations should provide GED courses and tutoring to LGBTQ youth who have dropped out of school when possible.

Students with repeated and/or serious infractions at school might be transferred to "alternative" schools which are schools designed for students who have a difficult time succeeding in regular

schools. These schools must employ measures to ensure that LGBTQ youth are safe and welcome, including inclusive anti-bullying and anti-discrimination policies, LGBT-inclusive curriculum, support for student clubs such as Gay-Straight Alliances, and visible staff support for LGBTQ students. These measures are recommended for all school settings, but given that LGBTQ students enrolled in alternative schools often ended up there as a result of a damaging and hostile climate in their previous school, it is even more important that these supportive measures are in place in alternative-type schools.

Lastly, for LGBTQ youth who do end up in juvenile justice facilities, it is essential that they have the opportunity to receive a quality education. These institutions should provide opportunities to complete high school, as well as options to receive a GED. Yet there is mounting evidence that juvenile correctional facilities can be hostile places for LGBTQ youth—LGBTQ youth tend to be treated more harshly by authorities,[162] experience disproportionate rates of abuse from other inmates,[163–164] and often lack supportive resources.[165] In order to ensure that incarcerated LGBTQ youth are able to access educational courses and resources, juvenile facilities must implement practices and policies that create safe and equitable environments. For example, the Juvenile Justice Project of the Correctional Association of NY provided research-based and youth-informed recommendations through its LGBTQ Working Group that resulted in policy changes such as requiring staff to refer to transgender youth by their preferred name and pronoun.[166]

SUPPORT A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONWIDE AGENDA

As advocates and schools increasingly address push out, drop out, and the school-to-prison pipeline among their students, there is also a need for a coordinated, systematic approach to transform educational environments across the country. Federal efforts are necessary, but as the responsibility of educating our youth rests predominately with the states, it is important to engage in efforts at the state-level as well.

Advocate for Federal Policy Addressing LGBTQ Youth

Several types of policy and legislative changes could be instrumental in improving the academic environment for LGBTQ youth and protecting them from dropping out or being removed from school. The Student Nondiscrimination Act, or SNDA, would prohibit discrimination in schools on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity/expression, in addition to protections that currently exist for students, such as race, religion, and disability.[167] Additionally, the Safe School Improvement Act, or SSIA, would require states to pass anti-bullying policies that prohibit harassment on the basis of sexual orientation and gender identity/expression and help ensure that schools have appropriate mechanisms for dealing with such harassment.[168] Several organizations have called on Congress to include protections for LGBTQ youth as it considers reauthorization of the Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act (JJDPA), which has been due for reauthorization since 2007.[169] These legislative approaches would help encourage schools to implement more inclusive policies and would also provide necessary guidance to ensure that their policies and practices contribute minimally to push out, drop out, and the STPP.

Support and Enforce Title IX Provisions

Federal education law protects students from sex discrimination under Title IX.[170] This law has been increasingly applied to experiences of bullying, harassment, and discrimination based upon students' sexual orientation. And in 2016, the U.S. Departments of Justice and Education jointly released specific guidance to schools and districts clearly stating that discrimination based on transgender status is in violation of Title IX and detailing school's specific responsibilities to ensure transgender students' rights are protected.[171] As such, schools should be aware that discrimination of LGBTQ youth, such as differential treatment for public displays of affection or preventing transgender students from using facilities that match their gender (i.e., school bathrooms), would violate Title IX and risk schools losing federal funding. They should ensure that school policies and educator practices are in compliance with the law and provide notification to school personnel, students, and families about students' rights

under Title IX. As a resource, GLSEN provides model policies on bullying/harassment and transgender students that conform to Title IX and can be adopted by local schools and districts.[172] Furthermore, schools should provide notification to students and families about their rights and the mechanisms for filing complaints if students' rights are violated.[173] Advocates should continue to raise awareness about the Title IX obligations and to support full implementation of its guidelines in schools and local districts.

Advocate for State Policy That Addresses Limiting Exclusionary Discipline in Education
Recognizing the need to reform disciplinary procedures and keep students in school, California, Colorado, Maryland, and New York have recently passed policies and legislation that severely curtail use of suspension and expulsion for minor infractions such as defiance or disruption.[174] Advocates in these states should ensure these policies are effectively implemented at the district level and those in other states should work to enact similar statewide policies.

Improve Data Collection to Understand LGBTQ Youth and School-to-Prison Pipeline
There is a continued need to collect data on sexual orientation, gender identity, and gender expression in federal research and other nationally representative studies, as well as collect data on the disciplinary experiences of students in surveys that do already assess sexual orientation and/or gender identity/expression. The current presidential administration has taken strides to collect better data on the educational experiences of LGBTQ youth, but these efforts are largely limited to anti-LGBT bullying.[175] Whereas the federal and state Youth Risk Behavior Survey (YRBS) collect information on sexual orientation, they do not include survey items about school discipline. One of the few studies to examine both the school-to-prison pipeline (STPP) and LGBQ-related disparities relied on nationally representative data gathered from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent to Adult Health conducted by the federal government.[176] However, this data permitted analysis only with regard to sexual orientation/identity but not gender identity or gender expression. Furthermore, to our knowledge, no studies to date have evaluated the utility of specific approaches in helping reduce

the use of discipline specifically among LGBTQ students. Thus, there remain large gaps in our understanding of push out, drop out, and the STPP among LGBTQ youth. Collecting such data will permit a more complete understanding of the general youth population, including youth who identify as LGBTQ, as well as comparisons between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ youth.

In addition to state and federal data collection, local districts and schools should use the data already available to them to better understand their own disciplinary practices, including whether they are applied appropriately and equitably across student populations, and the outcomes of students who are referred to the courts and justice system for school-based incidents.[177] Administrators, educators, and even students could also collect their own data about students' experiences to better understand trends and disparities among students in their schools or communities. For example, schools could use GLSEN's *Local School Climate Survey* (LSCS),[178] a free, online tool for school staff or students to create and administer a customized school climate survey in their local school or district.

Train Current and Future School Personnel on Alternative Discipline Approaches
Although a number of classroom approaches have been demonstrated to reduce the use of discipline and help lessen discipline disparities, their use is not yet widespread, and many educators may require further professional development to implement them successfully. California's recent funding commitment to restorative justice and PBIS approaches acknowledges the importance of training in their success.[179] In addition, as schools continue to turn to school resource officers (SROs) to address school safety and security issues, districts and administrators need to ensure that SROs fully understand their schools' policies and apply them equally to all students. Additional and more comprehensive training for all school personnel will help equip them to address bullying and other incidents in ways that do not require exclusionary discipline—approaches that potentially require more time, skill, and attention, but ultimately may promote the best outcomes for the largest number of students.[180] Furthermore, currently very few educators receive any training on addressing LGBTQ student issues or on

anti-LGBTQ bullying.[181] Pre-service training should incorporate comprehensive approaches to ensure educators are capable of effectively responding to LGBTQ students' needs and combating anti-LGBTQ bias in their schools.

FUTURE DIRECTIONS FOR RESEARCH

This report fills an important gap in our knowledge of the experiences of LGBTQ youth. Although we provide a broad perspective of the experiences of LGBTQ students with respect to push out, drop out, and the school-to-prison pipeline, more can be learned about the factors that result in LGBTQ students' absence from the school context. One gap that remains involves disparities between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ youth. We presented some preliminary findings on comparisons in school discipline in this report, but very little research to date has collected information both on school discipline/justice system involvement and youths' sexual orientation and/or gender identity. Therefore, it is vital that researchers collect additional data among the general youth population to examine disparities between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ youth in drop out, push out, and STPP factors. To allow for more in-depth examination of this issue for all youth, national, population-based surveys, such as the CDC's Youth Risk Behavior Survey and surveys conducted by the Department of Education, should include both questions about disciplinary experiences and questions about sexual orientation and gender identity.[182]

There has been little longitudinal research on LGBTQ youth, and thus, we have a lack of understanding about pathways from school to numerous negative life outcomes, including drop out and involvement in the justice system. Undertaking longitudinal research on these topics would also help illuminate the factors at school, including a lack of safety and discrimination that may put LGBTQ youth at greater risk of these negative outcomes.

This report examined several demographic differences in push out, drop out, and justice involvement. Future research should examine differences with attention to additional factors, including intersections among sexual orientation, gender identity, and other characteristics of LGBTQ youth. For instance, we examined gender and racial differences separately and found that transgender youth and students of color were at particular risk for discipline, but future research should examine the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity as they relate to school discipline. In most cases, limited numbers of these specific subgroups did not permit this kind of analysis in this report.

Finally, it is important that future research examine interventions to reduce the use of discipline in schools with specific attention to LGBTQ youth. Overall, research on interventions to reduce the use of discipline and to diminish discipline gaps, such as restorative justice approaches, has only recently emerged, Scholars should assess whether these approaches are effective in reducing the discipline gaps between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ youth. Furthermore, research on interventions specifically designed to improve school climate and well-being for LGBTQ youth, such as LGBTQ-inclusive curricula and professional development for school staff, should examine whether their potential benefits extend to keeping LGBTQ youth in school and out of the criminal/juvenile justice system.

Together, these recommendations offer strategies from the local to the national level to reduce push out, drop out, and forces that push LGBTQ youth into the school-to-prison pipeline. They offer guidance to help educators more intentionally consider the use of discipline in their classrooms and work to reduce discipline gaps among different groups of students. Furthermore, they call for research to help understand the effectiveness of potential approaches to reduce the disparities for LGBTQ youth. Findings from this report demonstrate that the current educational environment for LGBTQ students is unacceptable and unsustainable if schools are to prepare the next generation of citizens to address the nation's diverse challenges. It is imperative that schools act to improve hostile climates and end harsh and unfair disciplinary practices. These recommendations will help to create more welcoming and supportive environments for LGBTQ students, and all students alike.

Notes and References

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29   They engaged in slightly more mild and moderate, but not violent transgressive behaviors. See Himmelstein & Brückner, 2011, below.

30   Defined by same-sex attraction, same-sex relationships, and/or LGB self-identification

31   Himmelstein, K. E., & Brückner, H. (2011). Criminal-justice and school sanctions against nonheterosexual youth: A national longitudinal study. *Pediatrics, 127*(1), 49–57.

32   Hunt, J., & Moodie-Mills, A. (2012). *The unfair criminalization of gay and transgender youth.* Washington: Center for American Progress.

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33   Kosciw, J. G., Greytak, E. A., Palmer, N. A., & Boesen, M. J. (2014). *The 2013 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth in our nation's schools.* New York: GLSEN.

34   Fabelo, T., Thompson, M. D., Plotkin, M., Carmichael, D., Marchbanks, M. P., & Booth, E. A. (2011). *Breaking schools' rules: A statewide study of how school discipline relates to students' success and juvenile justice involvement.* New York, NY: Justice Center & Council of State Governments.

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35   Cisgender" describes a person whose gender identity is aligned with the sex/gender they were assigned at birth.

36   Race/ethnicity was assessed with a multi-check question item (i.e., African American or Black; Asian; South Asian; Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander; Native American, American Indian, or Alaska Native; White or Caucasian; Hispanic or Latino/a; and Middle Eastern or Arab American) with an optional write-in item for races/ethnicities not listed. Participants who selected more than one category were coded as "Multiracial," with the exception of participants who selected "Hispanic or Latino" or "Middle Eastern or Arab American."

37   Gender was assessed with a multi-check question item (i.e., male, female, transgender, transgender male-to-female, transgender female-to-male, and genderqueer) with an optional write-in item for genders not listed in combination with an item that asked respondents their sex assigned at birth. Participants in the Transgender Female category selected "male-to-female" and/or selected "female," "transgender," and indicated that they were assigned male at birth; the category Transgender Male was calculated similarly. Participants

were categorized as having Another Transgender Identity if they selected only "transgender" and provided no other information about their gender identities, if they selected both "male-to-female" and "female-to-male" transgender options, or if they selected both "male" and "female" and also indicated "transgender," regardless of birth sex.

38   Sexual orientation was assessed with a multi-check question item (i.e., gay, lesbian, straight/heterosexual, bisexual, questioning, and queer) with an optional write-in item for sexual orientations not listed. Students in the categories Queer, Another Sexual Orientation, and Questioning or Unsure did not also indicate that they were gay/lesbian or bisexual.

39   "Bisexual" and "pansexual" both describe the sexual orientations of people who can experience attraction to people of multiple gender identities. Bisexual identity is commonly described as either experiencing attraction to some male-identified people and some female-identified people or as experiencing attraction to some people of the same gender and some people of different genders. Pansexual identity is commonly defined as experiencing attraction to some people, regardless of their gender identities.

40   Students were placed into region based on the state they were from – Northeast: Connecticut, Delaware, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, Washington, DC; South: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, West Virginia; Midwest: Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, South Dakota, Wisconsin; West: Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Hawaii, Idaho, Montana, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Utah, Washington, Wyoming.

41   School locale (urban, suburban, rural) was created by matching school district locale information from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) with the school district name and/or zip code provided by participants attending public schools.

42   Kang-Brown, J., Trone, J., Fratello, J., Daftary-Kapur, T. (2013). *Generation later: What we've learned about zero tolerance in schools.* New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice.

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43   Kang-Brown, J., Trone, J., Fratello, J., Daftary-Kapur, T. (2013). *Generation later: What we've learned about zero tolerance in schools.* New York, NY: Vera Institute of Justice.

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45   Christle, C. A., Jolivette, K., & Nelson, C. M. (2005). Breaking the school to prison pipeline: Identifying school risk and protective factors for youth delinquency. *Exceptionality, 13*(2), 69–88.

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47   Himmelstein, K. E., & Brückner, H. (2011). Criminal-justice and school sanctions against nonheterosexual youth: A national longitudinal study. *Pediatrics, 127*(1), 49–57.

48   Findings in this study came from online survey conducted by Harris Poll on behalf of GLSEN among 1,367 U.S. junior/senior high school students age 13–18. The national sample was drawn primarily from the Harris Poll Online (HPOL) opt-in panel and supplemented with a sample from trusted partner panels. The data from the online surveys were weighted to key demographic variables to align with the national student population.

49   To compare disciplinary experiences between LGBTQ and non-LGBTQ students, five chi-square tests were conducted. *Sent to Principal's Office:* χ^2 = 14.818, *df* = 1, *p* < .01, Cramer's V = .083; *Received detention:* χ^2 = 9.507, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .104; *Been suspended from school:* χ^2 = 13.020, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, *Been expelled from school:* χ^2 = 0.330, *df* = 1, *p* > .05, Cramer's V = .016; Cramer's V = .1098; *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* χ^2 = 300.075, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .197. All difference were significant except for being expelled from school.

50   *From Teasing to Torment 2016*: "Now we would like to ask you some questions about getting in trouble at school. Have you ever …? Please select all that apply." (response options included: Been referred to the principal's office; Received detention; Been suspended from school [in-school or out-of-school suspension]; Been expelled from school; I have not experienced any of these). *2013 National School Climate Survey:* "As a result of disciplinary action at school, have you ever …? Please check all that apply." (response options: Received detention; Been suspended from school [in-school or out-of-school suspension]:Been expelled from school; Been arrested; Appeared before a juvenile or criminal court; Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility). Note: responses indicating criminal or juvenile justice involvement (e.g., been arrested) are reported in the Justice Involvement section of this report.

51   Snapp, S. D., Hoenig, J. M., Fields, A., & Russell, S. T. (2014). Messy, butch, and queer: LGBTQ youth and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 30*, 57–82.

52   Kosciw, J. G., Greytak, E. A., Palmer, N. A., & Boesen, M. J. (2014). *The 2013 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth in our nation's schools.* New York: GLSEN.

53   High and low levels of victimization are indicated by a cutoff at the mean score of victimization: students above the mean were characterized as "Experiencing Higher Levels of Victimization."

54   To compare disciplinary experiences by severity of victimization based on sexual orientation, four chi-square tests were conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students had experienced higher than average victimization. *Received detention:* χ^2 = 248.521, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .179. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have received detention than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Been suspended from school:* χ^2 = 300.348, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .197. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have been suspended than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Been expelled from school:* χ^2 = 38.506, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .071. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have been expelled than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* χ^2 = 300.075, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .197. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization.

To compare disciplinary experiences by severity of victimization based on gender expression, four chi-square tests were conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students had experienced higher than average victimization. *Received detention:* χ^2 = 177.509, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .153. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have received detention than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Been suspended from school:* χ^2 = 174.800, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .152. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have been suspended than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Been expelled from school:* χ^2 = 20.550, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .052. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have been expelled than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* χ^2 = 189.314, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .158. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization.

55   To compare disciplinary experiences by missing school due to safety reasons, four chi-square tests were conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students had missed school at least once due to feeling unsafe or uncomfortable. *Received detention:* χ^2 = 253.641, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .181. Students who had missed school were more likely to have received detention than students who had not missed school.

Been suspended from school: χ^2 = 215.703, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .167. Students who had missed school were more likely to have been suspended than students who had not missed school. *Been expelled from school:* χ^2 = 43.443, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .075. Students who had missed school were more likely to have been expelled than students who had not missed school. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* χ^2 = 261.865, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .184. Students who had missed school reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than students who had not missed school.

56   Kosciw, J. G., Greytak, E. A., Bartkiewicz, M. J., Boesen, M. J., & Palmer, N. A. (2012). *The 2011 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth in our nation's schools.* New York: GLSEN.

57   To compare experiences of discrimination by gender identity, three chi-square tests were conducted. *Prevented from using preferred name:* χ^2 = 1081.560, *df* = 3, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .383. Transgender students were most likely to experience this form of discrimination, followed by genderqueer and other gender students, followed by cisgender females, followed by cisgender males. *Required to use bathroom/locker room of legal sex:* χ^2 = 1096.869, *df* = 3, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .385. Transgender students were most likely to experience this form of discrimination, followed by genderqueer and other gender students, followed by cisgender females, followed by cisgender males. *Prevented from wearing clothes of another gender (dress code violation):* χ^2 = 164.255, *df* = 3, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .149. Transgender, other gender, and genderqueer students were more likely to experience this form of discrimination than cisgender males and females, who were not different from one another. Transgender students were also more likely to experience this form of discrimination than genderqueer students. Other gender students were not different from transgender and genderqueer students in experiencing this form of discrimination.

58   To compare disciplinary experiences by experiences of discrimination at school, four chi-square tests were conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students had experienced discriminatory policies or procedures described in the section Experiences of Discrimination at School, not including being punished for PDA or for identifying as LGBT. *Received detention:* χ^2 = 181.867, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .153. Students who had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school were more likely to have received detention than students who had not experienced these policies or practices. *Been suspended from school:* χ^2 = 132.932, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .131. Students who had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school were more likely to have been suspended than students who had not experienced these policies or practices. *Been expelled from school:* χ^2 = 21.492, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .053. Students who had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school were more likely to have been expelled than students who had not experienced these policies or practices. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* χ^2 =

206.412, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .163. Students who had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than students who had not experienced these policies or practices. Note further analyses demonstrated that these relationships between discriminatory practices and school discipline held even after controlling for peer victimization.

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60   ACLU. (n.d.) GSA federal court victories. Retrieved from https://www.aclu.org/files/pdfs/gsa_cases_handout_2012_final.pdf

61   Greytak, E. A. (2016). Bullying, legal protections against. In Goldberg. A (Ed). SAGE Encyclopedia of LGBTQ Studies, p 160–161. SAGE. Thousand Oaks, CA.

62   Weiss, J. T. (2013). Protecting transgender students: Application of Title IX to gender identity or expression and the constitutional right to gender autonomy. *Wisconsin Journal of Law, Gender, & Society, 28*(3), 331–347.

63   "State maps." (2014). GLSEN. Retrieved from http://glsen.org/article/state-maps

64   "District ordered to pay transgender student $75K." (2014, December 2). *Associated Press.* Retrieved from http://bigstory.ap.org/article/b8ef5a4f6ceb45cf9eb77bedf7529114/district-ordered-pay-transgender-student-75k

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65   Rumberger, R. (2011). *Dropping out. Why students drop out of high school and what can be done about it.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

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68   High and low levels of victimization are indicated by a cutoff at the mean score of victimization: students above the mean were characterized as "Experiencing Higher Levels of Victimization."

69   To test differences in dropping out by severity of victimization, two chi-square tests were conducted. *Severity of victimization based on sexual orientation:* $\chi^2 = 100.153$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .114. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization based on sexual orientation were less likely to say they planned to graduate from high school. *Severity of victimization based on gender expression:* $\chi^2 = 102.046$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .116. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization based on gender expression were less likely to say they planned to graduate from high school.

70   Allensworth, E. M., & Easton, J. Q. (2007). What matters for staying on track and graduating in Chicago Public High Schools. *Chicago, IL*: Consortium on Chicago School Research. *Retrieved from https://consortium.uchicago.edu/sites/default/files/publications/07%20What%20Matters%20Final.pdf*

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71   The relationship between missing school and severity of victimization was examined through Pearson correlations. *Victimization based on sexual orientation:* r = .531, *p < .001; Victimization based on gender expression:* r = .401, *p < .001.* Percentages are shown for illustrative purposes.

72   To test differences in missing school by experiencing discriminatory policies and practices at school, an analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted, with missing school as the dependent variable, and experiencing discrimination as the independent variable. The main effect for experiencing discrimination was significant: $F(1, 7050) = 663.883$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta_p^2 = .086$. Percentages are shown for illustrative purposes. Note further analyses demonstrated that these relationships between discriminatory practices and missing school held even after controlling for peer victimization.

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74   Klein, A., & Golub, S. A. (2016). Family rejection as a predictor of suicide attempts and substance misuse among transgender and gender nonconforming adults. *LGBT Health.*

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76   To examine whether mental health was related to plans to drop out, a binary logistic regression was conducted with the two mental health variables (depression—assessed by CES-D scale) and self-esteem assessed through the Rosenberg Self-Esteem Scale (see Kosciw et al., 2013 for more information) as predictors and the dichotomous variable of planning to drop out (or not sure if would drop out) as the outcome. The model was significant: $\chi^2 = 201.984$, df = 2, $p < .001$. The coefficients for both predictor variables were significant: depression: β = 0.721, p < .001; self-esteem: β = - 1.094, p < .001.

77   Kosciw, J. G., Palmer, N. A., & Kull, R. M. (2014). Reflecting resiliency: Openness about sexual orientation and/or gender identity and its relationship to well-being and educational outcomes for LGBT students. *American Journal of Community Psychology.*

78   Fabelo, T., Thompson, M. D., Plotkin, M., Carmichael, D., Marchbanks, M. P., & Booth, E. A. (2011). *Breaking schools' rules: A statewide study of how school discipline relates to students' success and juvenile justice involvement.* New York, NY: The Council of State Governments Justice Center.

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79   To test differences in educational aspirations by experiences of school discipline, a chi-square test was conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students did not plan to graduate from high school: $\chi^2 = 15.726$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .045. Students who had been disciplined at school were less likely to plan to graduate from high school compared to students who had not been disciplined at school.

80   Christle, C. A., Jolivette, K., & Nelson, C. M. (2005). Breaking the school to prison pipeline: Identifying school risk and protective factors for youth delinquency. *Exceptionality, 13*(2), 69–88.

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81   Aizer, A., & Doyle Jr, J. J. (2013). Juvenile incarceration, human capital and future crime: Evidence from randomly-assigned judges (No. w19102). National Bureau of Economic Research.

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82   Aizer, A., & Doyle Jr, J. J. (2013). Juvenile incarceration, human capital and future crime: Evidence from randomly-assigned judges (No. w19102). National Bureau of Economic Research.

83   Bishop, D. M., Frazier, C. E., Lanza-Kaduce, L., & Winner, L. (1996). The transfer of juveniles to criminal court: Does it make a difference? *Crime & Delinquency, 42*(2), 171–191.

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88   Fabelo, T., Thompson, M. D., Plotkin, M., Carmichael, D., Marchbanks, M. P., & Booth, E. A. (2011). *Breaking schools' rules: A statewide study of how school discipline relates to students' success and juvenile justice involvement.* New York, NY: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

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89   High and low levels of victimization are indicated by a cutoff at the mean score of victimization: students above the mean were characterized as "Experiencing Higher Levels of Victimization."

90   To compare involvement in the justice system due to school discipline by severity of victimization based on sexual orientation, four chi-square tests were conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students had experienced higher than average victimization. *Appeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* $\chi^2 = 61.957$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .090. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have appeared before a court than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Been arrested:* $\chi^2 = 45.853$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .077. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have been arrested than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* $\chi^2 = 25.455$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .057. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have served time in a detention facility than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Experienced any of these*

forms of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system: $\chi^2 = 84.752$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .105. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization reported higher rates of involvement with the justice system than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization.

To compare involvement in the justice system due to school discipline by severity of victimization based on gender expression, four chi-square tests were conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students had experienced higher than average victimization. A*ppeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* $\chi^2 = 23.672$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .056. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have appeared before a court than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Been arrested:* $\chi^2 = 18.436$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .049. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have been arrested than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* $\chi^2 = 7.326$, *df* = 1, *p* < .01, Cramer's V = .031. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization were more likely to have served time in a detention facility than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization. E*xperienced any of these forms of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system:* $\chi^2 = 34.572$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .068. Students who had experienced higher levels of victimization reported higher rates of involvement with the justice system than students who had experienced lower levels of victimization.

91 Snapp, S. D., Hoenig, J. M., Fields, A., & Russell, S. T. (2014). Messy, butch, and queer: LGBTQ youth and the school-to-prison pipeline. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 30,* 57–82.

92 To compare involvement in the justice system due to school discipline by missing school due to safety reasons, four chi-square tests were conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students had missed school at least once due to feeling unsafe or uncomfortable. *Appeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* $\chi^2 = 38.175$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .070. Students who had missed school were more likely to have appeared before a court than students who had not missed school. *Been arrested:* $\chi^2 = 27.254$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .059. Students who had missed school were more likely to have been arrested than students who had not missed school. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* $\chi^2 = 30.660$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .063. Students who had missed school were more likely to have served time in a detention facility than students who had not missed school. *Experienced any of these forms of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system:* $\chi^2 = 52.990$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .083. Students who had missed school reported higher rates of involvement with the justice system than students who had not missed school.

93 To compare disciplinary experiences by experiences of discrimination at school, four chi-square tests were conducted. *Appeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* $\chi^2 = 21.144$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .052.

Students who had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school were more likely to have appeared before a juvenile or criminal court than students who had not experienced these policies or practices. *Been arrested:* $\chi^2 = 27.237$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .059. Students who had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school were more likely to have been arrested than students who had not experienced these policies or practices. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* $\chi^2 = 22.418$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .054. Students who had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school were more likely to have served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility than students who had not experienced these policies or practices. *Experienced any of these types of disciplinary action:* $\chi^2 = 37.477$, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .070. Students who had experienced discriminatory policies or practices at school were more likely to have experienced any of these types of disciplinary action than students who had not experienced these policies or practices. Note further analyses demonstrated that these relationships between discriminatory practices and justice involvement held even after controlling for peer victimization.

94 Rates of suspension and expulsion for this sample of LGBTQ youth were slightly lower than the general youth population. For example, 15.1% of the LGBTQ sample said they had ever been suspended, compared to 21.6% of the NCES sample; 1.3% of the LGBTQ sample had been expelled, compared to 3.2% of the NCES sample. However, this sample of LGBTQ youth included only those who were in school in the past school year, whereas values on the general youth population come from a query of parents, and thus report on all youth, and a different viewpoint. Thus, this sample of LGBTQ youth likely underestimates rates of disciplinary experiences, including suspension and expulsion, for LGBT youth, as many such youth may no longer be in school.

95 Kosciw, J. G., Greytak, E. A., Palmer, N. A., & Boesen, M. J. (2014). *The 2013 National School Climate Survey: The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth in our nation's schools.* New York: GLSEN.

96 Anyon, Y., Jenson, J. M., Altschul, I., Farrar, J., McQueen, J., Greer, E., Downing, B., & Simmons, J. (2014). The persistent effect of race and the promise of alternatives to suspension in school discipline outcomes. *Children and Youth Services Review, 44,* 379–386.

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97   Fabelo, T., Thompson, M. D., Plotkin, M., Carmichael, D., Marchbanks, M. P., & Booth, E. A. (2011). *Breaking schools' rules: A statewide study of how school discipline relates to students' success and juvenile justice involvement.* New York, NY: Justice Center & Council of State Governments.

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98   Anyon, Y., Jenson, J. M., Altschul, I., Farrar, J., McQueen, J., Greer, E., Downing, B., & Simmons, J. (2014). The persistent effect of race and the promise of alternatives to suspension in school discipline outcomes. *Children and Youth Services Review, 44*, 379–386.

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99   Poe-Yamagata, E. (2009). *And justice for some: Differential treatment of minority youth in the justice system.* DIANE Publishing.

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101   Hoffman, S. (2014). Zero benefit estimating the effect of zero tolerance discipline policies on racial disparities in school discipline. *Educational Policy, 28*(1), 69–95.

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104   Burdge, H., Licona, A. C., Hyemingway, Z. T. (2014). *LGBTQ youth of color: Discipline disparities, school push-out, and the school-to-prison pipeline*. San Francisco, CA: Gay-Straight Alliance Network and Tucson, AZ: Crossroads Collaborative at the University of Arizona.

105   Given the relatively small sample sizes of Middle Eastern/Arab American and Native American/American Indian LGBT students and LGBT students with "other" races/ethnicities, we did not include these three groups in the comparisons of school experiences by race or ethnicity.

106   Anyon, Y., Jenson, J. M., Altschul, I., Farrar, J., McQueen, J., Greer, E., Downing, B., & Simmons, J. (2014). The persistent effect of race and the promise of alternatives to suspension in school discipline outcomes. *Children and Youth Services Review, 44*, 379–386.

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107   Tajalli, H., & Garba, H. A. (2014). Discipline or prejudice? Overrepresentation of minority students in disciplinary alternative education programs. *The Urban Review, 46*(4), 620–631.

108   To compare disciplinary experiences by race/ethnicity, four chi-square tests were conducted. R*eceived detention:* $\chi^2 = 43.717$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .078. Hispanic/Latino and Multiracial students were more likely to have received detention than White/European American students and Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander students. Black/African American students were also more likely to have received detention than White/European American students, but were not different from Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander students. *Been suspended from school:* $\chi^2 = 46.821$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .081. Black/African American and Multiracial students were more likely to have been suspended than Hispanic/Latino, White/European American, and Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander students. *Been expelled from school:* $\chi^2 = 16.200$, $df = 4$, $p < .01$, Cramer's V = .047. Multiracial students were more likely to have been expelled than Hispanic/Latino and White/European American students. Black/African American and Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander students were not different from Multiracial, Hispanic/Latino, or White/European American students. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* $\chi^2 = 53.359$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .086. Hispanic/Latino, Black/African American, and Multiracial students reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than White/European American and Asian/South Asian/Pacific Islander students. Note further analyses demonstrated that these differences remained even after controlling for school characteristics, such as locale (urban, rural, suburban), type (public, religious, private non-religion) and region (Northeast, South, Midwest, West).

109   To compare disciplinary experiences by school racial composition, four chi-square tests were conducted. *Received detention:* $\chi^2 = 49.929$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .084. Youth of color in schools predominantly of students of color of a different race were more likely to have received detention, followed by youth of color in predominantly White schools. White students in predominantly White schools and White students in schools predominantly of students of color were least likely to have received detention. *Been suspended from school:* $\chi^2 = 37.310$, $df = 5$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .072. White students in predominantly White schools were less likely to have been suspended than all other students, who were not different from one another. *Been expelled from school:* $\chi^2 = 17.504$, $df = 5$, $p < .01$, Cramer's V = .050. Youth of color in predominantly White schools, youth of color in schools

predominantly of students of color of their race/ethnicity, and White students in schools predominantly of students of color were more likely to have been expelled than White students in predominantly White schools. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* χ^2 = 58.534, *df* = 5, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .091. Youth of color in schools predominantly of their race/ethnicity and youth of color in predominantly White schools reported the highest rates of school disciplinary action, followed by youth of color in schools predominantly of students of color of a different race and White students in schools predominantly of students of color. White students in predominantly White schools reported the lowest rates of school disciplinary action.

110   To test differences in dropping out by race/ethnicity, a chi-square test was conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students did not plan to graduate from high school or were not sure: χ^2 = 10.785, *df* = 4, *p* < .05, Cramer's V = .039. Multiracial students were marginally significant different from Black/African-American students, and were significantly different from all other students. There were no differences between other racial/ethnic groups. Note further analyses demonstrated that these differences remained even after controlling for school characteristics, such as locale (urban, rural, suburban), type (public, religious, private non-religion) and region (Northeast, South, Midwest, West).

111   To compare disciplinary experiences in justice involvement resulting from school discipline by race/ethnicity, four chi-square tests were conducted. A*ppeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* χ^2 = 2.198, *df* = 4, *p* > .10, Cramer's V = .017. Students did not differ from one another by race/ethnicity in their rates of having appeared before a court. *Been arrested:* χ^2 = 4.295, *df* = 4, *p* > .10, Cramer's V = .024. Students did not differ from one another by race/ethnicity in their rates of having been arrested. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* χ^2 = 2.135, *df* = 4, *p* > .10, Cramer's V = .017. Students did not differ from one another by race/ethnicity in their rates of having served time in a detention facility. *Experienced any of these forms of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system:* χ^2 = 3.083, *df* = 4, *p* > .10, Cramer's V = .021. Students did not differ from one another by race/ethnicity in their overall contact with the justice system. Note further analyses demonstrated that there were no differences in justice involvement as result of school discipline, even after controlling for school characteristics, such as locale (urban, rural, suburban), type (public, religious, private non-religion) and region (Northeast, South, Midwest, West).

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114   Burdge, H., Hyemingway, Z. T., Licona, A. C. (2014). *Gender nonconforming youth: Discipline disparities, school push-out, and the school-to-prison pipeline.* San Francisco, CA: Gay-Straight Alliance Network and Tucson, AZ: Crossroads Collaborative at the University of Arizona.

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115   To compare disciplinary experiences by gender identity, four chi-square tests were conducted. *Received detention:* χ^2 = 26.474, *df* = 4, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .060. Transgender and other gender students were more likely to have received detention than genderqueer, cisgender male, and cisgender female students. *Been suspended from school:* χ^2 = 21.352, *df* = 4, *p* < .05, Cramer's V = .054. Transgender and other gender students were more likely to have been suspended than genderqueer, cisgender male, and cisgender female students. *Been expelled from school:* χ^2 = 9.684, *df* = 4, *p* < .05, Cramer's V = .036. Other gender students were more likely to have been expelled than genderqueer, cisgender male, and cisgender female students; transgender students were not different from other students. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* χ^2 = 27.914, *df* = 4, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .061. Transgender and other gender students reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than genderqueer, cisgender male, and cisgender female students.

To test differences in disciplinary experiences among transgender youth, a chi-square test was conducted with the composite measure of experiencing any form of school discipline with additional transgender categories: χ^2 = 32.720, *df* = 6, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .066. Transgender females reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than transgender males, but were not different from other transgender students or students

with "another" gender identity. Transgender females were not different from transgender youth with "another" transgender identity, or from genderqueer youth or youth with "another" gender identity.

116 To test differences in dropping out by gender identity, a chi-square test was conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students did not plan to graduate from high school or were not sure: $\chi^2 = 85.146$, $df = 4$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .107. Cisgender students (both male and female) were less likely than other three groups (transgender, genderqueer, and students with another gender identity) to plan not to graduate high school. There were no differences between male and female cisgender students, and there were no differences among the non-cisgender students.

To test differences in plans to complete high school among transgender youth, a chi-square test was conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students did not plan to graduate from high school or were not sure: $\chi^2 = 1.447$, $df = 2$, $p < .05$, Cramer's V = .045. Transgender males, transgender females, and non-binary transgender students did not significant differ from one another.

117 To compare justice involvement due to school discipline by gender identity, four chi-square tests were conducted. *Appeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* $\chi^2 = 5.699$, $df = 4$, $p < .10$, Cramer's V = .028. Transgender students were more likely than genderqueer students to have appeared before a court. Other gender, cisgender male, and cisgender female students did not differ from one another or from transgender and other gender students in their rates of having appeared before a court. *Been arrested:* $\chi^2 = 5.144$, $df = 4$, $p < .10$, Cramer's V = .026. Students did not differ from one another by gender identity in their rates of having been arrested. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* $\chi^2 = 2.135$, $df = 4$, $p < .10$, Cramer's V = .017. Students did not differ from one another by gender identity in their rates of having served time in a detention facility. E*xperienced any of these forms of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system:* $\chi^2 = 15.944$, $df = 4$, $p < .01$, Cramer's V = .046. Transgender and other gender students reported higher rates of justice system contact than cisgender males and genderqueer students, who were not different from one another. Cisgender females reported higher rates of justice system contact compared to cisgender males, but were not different from transgender, genderqueer, or other gender students.

To test differences in justice involvement due to school among transgender youth, a chi-square test was conducted with the composite measure of experiencing any form of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system was performed with additional transgender categories. $\chi^2 = 17.799$, $df = 6$, $p < .01$, Cramer's V = .049. Transgender youth were not different from one another in their overall rates of justice system contact.

118 Kosciw, J. G., Greytak, E. A., Palmer, N. A., & Boesen, M. J. (2014). The 2013 National School Climate Survey: *The experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender youth in our nation's schools.* New York: GLSEN.

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120 To compare disciplinary experiences by gender conformity, four chi-square tests were conducted among cisgender students. *Received detention:* $\chi^2 = 22.577$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .064. Gender nonconforming students were more likely to have received detention than gender conforming students. *Been suspended from school:* $\chi^2 = 27.830$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$, Cramer's V = .071. Gender nonconforming students were more likely to have been suspended than genderqueer, cisgender male, and cisgender female students. *Been expelled from school:* $\chi^2 = 3.277$, $df = 1$, $p > .05$, Cramer's V = .024. Cisgender students did not differ from one another by gender expression in their rates of expulsion. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* $\chi^2 = 34.236$, $df = 1$, $p < .001$, Cramer's V = .079. Gender nonconforming students reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than gender conforming students.

121 To test differences in dropping out by gender nonconformity, a chi-square test was conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students did not plan to graduate from high school or were not sure among cisgender LGBQ students: $\chi^2 = 5.445$, $df = 1$, $p < .05$, Cramer's V = .031

122 To compare justice involvement experiences by gender conformity, four chi-square tests were conducted among cisgender students. *Appeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* $\chi^2 = 1.676$, $df = 1$, $p > .10$, Cramer's V = .017. Cisgender students did not differ from one another by gender expression in their rates of having appeared before a court. *Been arrested:* $\chi^2 = .014$, $df = 1$, $p > .10$, Cramer's V = .002. Cisgender students did not differ from one another by gender expression in their rates of having been arrested. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* $\chi^2 = .002$, $df = 1$, $p > .10$, Cramer's V = .001. Cisgender students did not differ from one another by gender expression in their rates of having served time in a detention facility. *Experienced any of these forms of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system:* $\chi^2 = 1.302$, $df = 1$, $p < .01$, Cramer's V = .015. Cisgender students did not differ from one another by gender expression in their rates of overall justice system contact.

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128   To compare disciplinary experiences by housing status, four chi-square tests were conducted. *Received detention:* $\chi^2 = 13.141$, *df* = 2, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .042. Homeless students and students who were living with relatives were more likely to have received detention than students who were living at home with their parents. *Been suspended from school:* $\chi^2 = 23.717$, *df* = 2, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .057. Homeless students were more likely to have been suspended than students who were living with relatives and students who were living at home with their parents. *Been expelled from school:* $\chi^2 = 1.539$, *df* = 2, *p* > .05, Cramer's V = .014. Students did not differ from one another by housing status in their rates of expulsion. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* $\chi^2 = 16.151$, *df* = 2, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .047. Homeless students and students who were living

with relatives reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than students who were living at home with their parents.

129   Based upon the definition of youth homelessness from Subtitle B of Title VII of the McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act (42 U.S.C. 11431 et seq.), students were considered homeless if they were living with friends — accompanied by parent/guardian or not; living in a group home; waiting for transitional placement; or living in any of the following: hotel/motel, streets, couch, car or van, park, campground, or abandoned building

130   To test differences in dropping out by housing status, a chi-square test was conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students did not plan to graduate from high school: $\chi^2 = 14.136$, *df* = 2, *p* < .01, Cramer's V = .044. Homeless students and students living with relatives were less likely to plan to graduate from high school compared to students who were living at home with their parents.

131   To compare justice involvement due to school discipline by housing status, four chi-square tests were conducted. *Received detention:* $\chi^2 = 13.141$, *df* = 2, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .042. Homeless students and students who were living with relatives were more likely to have received detention than students who were living at home with their parents. *Appeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* $\chi^2 = 16.102$, *df* = 2, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .047. Homeless students and students who were living with relatives were more likely to have appeared before a court than students who were living at home with their parents. *Been arrested:* $\chi^2 = 26.634$, *df* = 2, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .060. Homeless students and students who were living with relatives were more likely to have been arrested than students who were living at home with their parents. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* $\chi^2 = 25.163$, *df* = 2, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .059. Homeless students were more likely to have served time in a detention facility than students who were living with relatives and students who were living at home with their parents. *Experienced any of these forms of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system:* $\chi^2 = 37.037$, *df* = 2, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .071. Homeless students and students who were living with relatives reported higher rates of overall justice system contact than students who were living at home with their parents.

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135 To compare disciplinary experiences by disability status, four chi-square tests were conducted. *Received detention:* χ^2 = 41.785, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .077. Students with a disability were more likely to have received detention than students without a disability. *Been suspended from school:* χ^2 = 25.008, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .060. Students with a disability were more likely to have been suspended than students without a disability. *Been expelled from school:* χ^2 = 6.862, *df* = 1, *p* < .01, Cramer's V = .031. Students with a disability were more likely to have been expelled than students without a disability. *Experienced any of these forms of school discipline:* χ^2 = 40.990, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .077. Students with a disability reported higher rates of school disciplinary action than students without a disability.

136 To test differences in dropping out by disability status, a chi-square test was conducted using a dichotomized variable indicating that students did not plan to graduate from high school: χ^2 = 29.056, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .065. Students with a disability were less likely to plan to graduate from high school compared to students without a disability.

137 To compare justice involvement due to school discipline by disability status, four chi-square tests were conducted. *Appeared before a juvenile or criminal court:* χ^2 = 27.076, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .062. Students with a disability were more likely to have appeared before a court than students without a disability. *Been arrested:* χ^2 = 26.506, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .062. Students with a disability were more likely to have been arrested than students without a disability. *Served time in a juvenile or adult detention facility:* χ^2 = 9.186, *df* = 1, *p* < .01, Cramer's V = .036. Students with a disability were more likely to have served time in a detention facility than students without a disability. E*xperienced any of these forms of contact with the juvenile or criminal justice system:* χ^2 = 30.753, *df* = 1, *p* < .001, Cramer's V = .066. Students with a disability reported higher rates of overall contact with the justice system than students without a disability.

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