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Teresa Apel April 12, 2020

Latinx Education During the Trump Era

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Abstract

Latinx Education During the Trump Era
By Teresa Apel

With the onset of the Trump administration, political discourse regarding Latinos in the U.S. has become increasingly hostile. This rhetoric has directly influenced immigration and education policy decisions such as the removal of DACA. This anti-immigrant phenomenon has led to me to research the relationship between the onset of the Trump administration and the educational attainment of Latinx High schoolers in Georgia. To observe this correlation, I used discipline rate data, Georgia Milestones Assessment results, and truancy percentage data from all Georgia high schools. Data was attained from the Governor's Office of Student achievement for Asian, white, Latinx, and black students from 2014-2018. I then conducted multiple linear regression to assess the association between student achievement, discipline rates, and truancy before and during the Trump administration for each demographic. I found that across all measures, discipline for white students decreased during Trump, while Latinx students experienced the highest increases amongst all subgroups. Trump was also correlated with an increase in the percentage of truant students for all demographics; however, this increase was higher for minority students than for white students. I discuss the potential limitations of this analysis and make recommendations for future research on this subject. Furthermore, I consider the implications of these findings since they suggest an augmentation of structural barriers for minority students. I conclude with policy recommendations for state and local officials to mitigate the effects of the current administration on vulnerable student populations. I also discuss preexisting legal statutes that must be upheld to ensure the educational rights, safety and privacy of students.

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ABSTRACT

With the onset of the Trump administration, political discourse regarding Latinos in the U.S. has become increasingly hostile. This rhetoric has directly influenced immigration and education policy decisions such as the removal of DACA. This anti-immigrant phenomenon has led to me to research the relationship between the onset of the Trump administration and the educational attainment of Latinx High schoolers in Georgia. To observe this correlation, I used discipline rate data, Georgia Milestones Assessment results, and truancy percentage data from all Georgia high schools. Data was attained from the Governor's Office of Student achievement for Asian, white, Latinx, and black students from 2014-2018. I then conducted multiple linear regression to assess the association between student achievement, discipline rates, and truancy before and during the Trump administration for each demographic. I found that across all measures, discipline for white students decreased during Trump, while Latinx students experienced the highest increases amongst all subgroups. Trump was also correlated with an increase in the percentage of truant students for all demographics; however, this increase was higher for minority students than for white students. I discuss the potential limitations of this analysis and make recommendations for future research on this subject. Furthermore, I consider the implications of these findings since they suggest an augmentation of structural barriers for minority students. I conclude with policy recommendations for state and local officials to mitigate the effects of the current administration on vulnerable student populations. I also discuss preexisting legal statutes that must be upheld to ensure the educational rights, safety and privacy of students.

INTRODUCTION

On the night of the 2016 Election, I held my best friend in our dorm hopelessly, trying to console her as she sobbed. Her mother was undocumented, and she was afraid of what would happen now that Trump was president. Outside we could hear a group of teenagers shouting through the streets, "Fuck yea Trump!" and laughing hysterically, it was 3 am. Just earlier that year, students all over Emory's campus had chalked TRUMP in large print strategically in areas where many students of color congregated. The election felt for many of us like an act of revenge, but what had we done? For those with privilege, equality feels like oppression; they wanted to remind us of our place. It was apparent that the election would have a detrimental impact on Latinx communities and people of color across the nation more broadly. After speaking to teachers at a predominately Latinx high school, it was clear that there has been a profound impact in schools. It was these experiences that motivated my research project. I felt compelled to demonstrate empirically that Trump's words and actions have consequences. One of the many victims of this resurgence in nationalism has been students.

This study will be observing differences between discipline, student achievement, and truancy of Latinx high school students with the onset of Trump of the Administration. I anticipate that the current administration has led to an increase in the percentage of disciplinary actions and truant students and a decrease in student achievement for Latinx high schoolers throughout Georgia. I assess this potential correlation by statically analyzing high school data from the Governor's Office of Student Achievement. I propose three causal mechanisms that could potentially explain this increase; anti-immigrant rhetoric, education policy, and immigration enforcement. Since Trump took office in 2016, there has been a significant rise in overt anti-immigrant and anti-Latinx rhetoric, which has politicized bullying in schools. Anti-

immigrant enforcement has shifted its focus from deporting those at the border to more internal removals. Education policies and decisions, such as the removal of DACA, also reflect the current political climate. In nationwide surveys of school climate after Trump, most educators stated that academic performance had declined and that this impact had been especially pronounced in the south. These polls also reveal increasing concern regarding immigration enforcement amongst minority students. This study attempts to address these claims and assess the extent to which this phenomenon is occurring.

ENTHNORACIALITY AND IMMIGRATION

ANTI-IMMIGRANT RHETORIC

In 2016 the SPLC's Teaching Tolerance Project identified a new form of politicized bullying spreading across the nation known as the "Trump effect." After Trump's election, they conducted an online survey of over 10,000 k-12 teachers, administrators, counselors, and other school personnel. Ninety percent of respondents believed that the election had negatively impacted school climate, and eight percent reported heightened anxiety and concern amongst marginalized students. The campaign had inflamed racial and ethnic tensions within the classroom, and many stated that students were "emboldened" by campaign rhetoric to use racial slurs and make inflammatory statements (SPLC 2016). Harassment of students whose nationalities had been politically targeted skyrocketed. More than 2,500 educators described specific incidents of bigotry that were a direct result of election rhetoric (SPLC 2016). These incidents included graffiti (swastikas), physical assaults, threats of violence, and property damage. In many cases, students used Trump's name or echoed his words to persecute their fellow peers. One Georgia high school teacher commented: “I’ve had a lot of students repeat the

phrase ‘Trump that bitch’ in my class, and make jokes about Hispanic students ‘going back to Mexico.” (SPLC 2016)

Findings indicated that as a result, students and immigrant students of color were experiencing trauma. Over two-thirds of educators mentioned that students were expressing several fears, which included worries of deportation, family separation, increased anxiety and hopelessness regarding the future, these fears were magnified amongst immigrants (SPLC 2016). These student's grades were also impacted since they had a harder time concentrating and keeping up with schoolwork (SPLC 2016). Discussions attempting to address civil discourse at times led to verbal hostility and even physical fighting. Heightened emotions and polarization have made teachers hesitant to engage in civic education. Several teachers have been prohibited by principals from discussing the election in any way (SPLC 2016).

By the end of 2016, FBI 2017 hate crime data (which notoriously underreports) revealed that there had been a 25% increase in K-12 and college hate crimes (FBI 2017). These shocking findings and increased media reports regarding racial discrimination in schools prompted the SPLC to conduct another questionnaire in 2018 to assess how the situation had evolved. In the fall of 2018 alone, educators reported 2,776 of hate and bias in the classroom, yet fewer than five percent of these incidents were being reported in the media (SPLC 2019). Anti-Latinx discrimination in schools was rarely reported by news media at an approximate rate of 4 percent, even though they made up 18 percent of reported incidents.

School administrators were also highly unlikely to investigate our address cases in which immigrants were targeted (SPLC 2019). At Middleton elementary school in Idaho, school staff went as far as dressing up for Halloween as Trump's border wall and caricatured stereotypical representations of Mexicans (SPLC 2019). According to the Migration Policy Institute, children

who experience bias by educators also are more likely to have “negative attitudes about school, lower academic motivation and performance and are at increased risk of dropping out of high school” (Brown 2015). Studies show that children who are targeted for their identity can display behavioral problems and depression, especially when this discrimination comes from school personal (SPLC 2019). This impact persisted even when controlling for the student's actual performance (SPLC 2019). Students who expressed more significant concern with increasing discrimination were also more likely to report symptoms of depression, ADHD, and use drugs, tobacco, or alcohol.

It appears that the percentage of students who were "very or extremely worried about hate and bias"(SPLC 2019) has continued to increase from 30 percent in 2016 to 35 percent in 2017. The Trump administration has had an undeniable impact on school environments throughout the Nation. I theorize that this impact is more profound in Georgia since studies have shown that middle school bullying in districts where voters favored Trump was 18 percent higher than those who had supported Democratic candidates (UVA 2019). Even though Atlanta voted mostly democratic, almost all counties in Georgia voted republican in the 2016 election.

EDUCATION POLICY

Under the current administration, scholars argue that education is being weaponized against Latinx youth and their families (López and Matos 2018). Implementation of federal-local programs and executive orders are subordinating Latinos/as in efforts to maintain the racial status quo (López and Matos 2018). In 2010 four students marched 1500 miles from Miami to Washington DC in order to pass the DREAM act a bill that would have granted immigrants who were brought to the US before the age of 15 legal status after six years of going to college or joining the army. The DREAM Act, unfortunately, failed to pass but inspired the passage of an

executive order enacting the Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals (DACA) in 2012. DACA offered eligible youth temporary relief from deportation and renewable work permits (Tatter 2018). However, Georgia was one of the three states in the US to prohibit undocumented students from paying in-state tuition rates (López and Matos 2018). Georgia also happens to be in the top 10 states with the highest DACA populations. Georgia had 24,135 DACA beneficiaries, and as of 2016, 73,000 would have been eligible for the program (Datar 2017). In September of 2017, Trump announced the removal of DACA, putting 800,000 of its recipients at risk. Before repealing, DACA Trump stipulated that there would be no DACA if there was no border wall. The use of undocumented students in order to achieve his political agenda is an intentional strategy that results in the marginalization of Latinos/as (López and Matos 2018). In this way, Trump has weaponized education policies in order to expand restrictive immigration reform by depicting immigrant teens as a threat to society (López and Matos 2018).

Under the current administration, Georgia has proposed educational policies that are detrimental to Latinx students. After the presidential election, students and faculty from more than 100 universities called upon administrators to declare themselves sanctuaries (Wickert 2017). In response, in July of 2017, Georgia passed an anti-sanctuary bill known as HB 37. The bill requires that private universities share personal information regarding students with ICE and other federal officials. The law also prohibits colleges from adopting pro-immigrant "sanctuary" policies and threatens the loss of federal and state funding if universities refuse to cooperate (Project South 2017:3). After Georgia's first anti-sanctuary bill, the percentage of ICE of rest involving people of darker skin tones increased from 89 percent in 2007 to 99 percent in 2013 (Project South 2017). During the time this bill arose, President Trump had promised to crack

down on illegal immigration and suggested that he would withdraw federal funding from sanctuary cities (Wickert 2017).

In January of 2019, Georgia proposed SB 15, also known as the "Keeping Georgia's School Safe Act." The irony is in the title since this bill would undermine the safety of thousands of students of color. SB15 would require "threat assessments, safety plan updates, and drills in public schools and would mandate and clarify coordination between state agencies and local authorities and schools" (Tagami 2019). SB15 requires that the Georgia Information Sharing and Analysis Center (GISAC) create a task force to share information with the state's homeland security agency, Georgia Emergency Management and Homeland Security (GEHMS). The GISAC task force would be responsible for creating individual student profiles to evaluate potential threats to public and private schools (Project South 2019). Individualized profiles will disproportionately impact students of color due to racial profiling further entrenching the school to prison pipeline. Furthermore, the bill requires that GEHMS train and assign "school safety coaches" to public and private schools (Project South 2019). All school safety coaches must be members or formers members of the US armed forces, law enforcement agency, or a fire department. The increased presence of law enforcement could lead to potential arrests and deportations of youth of color over minor disciplinary infractions. If signed by the Republican governor of Georgia, Brian Kemp, the effects of SB 15 will be irreparable. Such policies are representative of the current political climate and extremely discouraging for marginalized students.

IMMIGRATION ENFORCEMENT

Although under Obama, there were some of the highest deportation rates in history, the focus of immigration officials was primarily placed on criminals, recent border crossers, and those with fresh removal orders (Capps et al. 2018). Under Trump, however, every unauthorized immigrant is vulnerable to removal. Within the first week of his administration, Trump implemented an interior enforcement executive order which "restored Secure Communities, requested states and localities to honor detainers and hold removable noncitizens an extra 48 hours, and encouraged more jurisdictions to sign 287(g)" (Capps et al. 2018). Since then, the amount of interior removals has risen exponentially, and in states that fully support and cooperate with federal policies, this impact is especially noticeable.

According to NPR, metro Atlanta is one of the most challenging places in America to be undocumented and has some of the strictest immigration laws in the country (Rose 2018). Gwinnett County operates one of the largest 287(g) programs in the country, accounting for 20 percent of 287(g) encounters (Begnaud 2018). 287(g) is a federal program that allows local law enforcement to notify ICE when they have undocumented immigrants in their custody (Rose 2018). Under Obama, traffic based arrests were limited, but in 2017 there was a resurgence in these types of arrests (Capps et al. 2018). Gwinnett reported a 248 percent increase in detention from January 20th to May 4th of 2017 as compared to the same period in 2016 (Hughes 2018). In March of 2018, two more counties joined 287g a total of 6 counties have now passed the program: Bartow, Floyd, Cobb, Gwinnett, Hall, and Whitfield (Redmon 2018).

ICE officials report that under the Trump administration, priorities have shifted, allowing for officers to arrest any undocumented immigrant they encounter (Rose 2018). From 2016 to 2017, arrests of immigrants with no criminal record more than tripled in the Atlanta region from

1,050 to 4,440, the highest increase in the nation (Rose 2018). Before July of 2017, there were 42 287(g) agreements nationwide as of 2018; there are were 75 (Redmon 2018). Once detained, the prospects for immigrants are bleak. Georgia has one of the highest rates of deportations in the country, and deportations in the Atlanta region more than doubled during 2017. When immigrants attempt to apply for asylum, Judges in Georgia rule against them 90 percent of the time (Rose 2018). Deportation of a parent is traumatic for families and especially children. Poverty is strongly associated with academic performance, and the deportation of a parent decreases family income by 50 percent on average (American Immigration Council 2017).

ETHNORACIALITY AND EDUCATION

ACHIEVEMENT OUTCOMES

Another way in which the current administration influence Latinx students is in their ability to perform academically. Stress, fear, and anxiety induced by anti-immigrant rhetoric, fear of deportation, and detrimental immigration policies potentially inhibit school performance. In a 2017 survey of 5,438 school administrators and staff, researchers inquired on whether respondents had observed a decline in academic achievement in the face of current immigration concerns (Gándara and Ee 2018). 12.9 percent (1 in 8) of respondents reported a significant decline, and more than 60 percent indicated a moderate decline in academic performance. These effects were especially pronounced in the south, where two-thirds of those surveyed noticed a decline, and 16.4 percent stated that it had been a significant issue. Across all regions surveyed, more than 70 percent of school personnel had acknowledged, and academic decline and school counselors were the most likely (17.1 percent) to outline this as a major concern. Immigration issues are detrimental to school improvement generally since schools with large Latinx and

immigrant populations are being further challenged in their capability to raise test scores and close achievement gaps (Gándara and Ee 2018). Educators elaborated with stories detailing the ways in which they saw their Latinx students impacted. Many complained that it was unreasonable to expect students to focus on academics when they were always worried about the safety of their family members. One California teacher declared,

> “One student's father was deported after 24 years in the country. His children were born here in the U.S., but now their breadwinner is gone. Her grades plummeted after that happened. Students are anxious and worried about stories like this one happening to them.” (Gándara and Ee 2018)

Another teacher recounted a parent’s concern of their child whose grades were declining because he was so frightened of immigration enforcement he couldn’t sleep at night. This constant burden to students is best explained by a high school administrator in Tennessee who proclaimed:

> "They are not thinking about a college, or the test next week, or what is being taught in the classroom today. They are thinking about their family and whether they will still be a family, whether their family will remain intact."(Gándara and Ee 2018)

Even if a student has a legal status, many have family members who do not. Increased policing has affected the ability of parents to work. Employers afraid of immigration raids have been forced to let employees go. Employees have had to miss work due to the need to hide or fears of driving undocumented. When a parent is deported, a family could potentially be left without any source of income. This forces students to reduce their studying or abandon school entirely in order to support their families. In the south, one administrator commented that “some have expressed having to work because mom cannot afford to take care of them with her income

which is affecting their grades"(Gándara and Ee 2018). A teacher surveyed in the Northwest noted,

> "Many students are legal residents because they were born here, but their parents are still on immigrant status, so there have been several students having to get jobs or stay at home and take care of younger siblings. This has led to an increase in concern about keeping up with grades." (Gándara and Ee 2018)

Persistent fear that a parent may be deported has a material psychological impact on students, which is reflected in their grades and behavior. In a 2013 Human Impact Partners study, researchers found that 33 percent of undocumented parents stated that their child was withdrawn, compared to 24 percent of parents with legal status (Scown 2018). Educators have also observed that even young students with status mistakenly worry about deportation due to a lack of understanding of immigration policy (Scown 2018).

Increases in hostility towards immigrants have further contributed to school environments where students feel unsafe. Studies have shown that students who feel unsafe at school are more likely to be poor, Black, and/or Hispanic. In addition, the election of President Trump has been associated with an increase of persistent fear and anxiety, especially among nonwhite and low socio-economic status students (Mette and Bertolini 2018). Perceived school unsafety leads to increased absence, which thus results in declining student achievement. In a sample of 340,000 middle school students, 15 percent reported staying home from school because of feeling fearful and unsafe (Lacoe and Wagner 2012). Researchers suggest that these student sentiments may account for “between a quarter and a third of the gap in test scores between minority and white students." This is a pattern that can be observed in other parts of the world, as well. A 2017 study among Indian high school students found that anxiety, depression,

and stress were all “negatively correlated with academic achievement of the participants” (Sharma & Pandey, 2017).

Latinx students and other minorities who are experiencing discrimination in school exhibit increased levels of distress, anger, and anxiety (Rogers et al. 2017). It is widely accepted that when students feel highly anxious, depressed, or stressed, their academic success suffers (Mette and Bertolini 2018). Discrimination, therefore, leads students to withdraw from class participation and is associated with drops in attendance and academic performance. Politicized bullying has a devastating impact on the well-being of students “Youth who are targeted because of their race, religion, sexual orientation, gender, or disability are more likely to miss school, become disengaged from their studies, and receive lower grades” (Rogers et al. 2017). Studies show that low engagement levels and high feelings of hostility were directly correlated with test scores: "for every one-point increase in the average students' ratings of hostility in a school, the schools' reading achievement score dropped by 1.42 points" (Ripski and Gregory 2009).

Immigration policy under the Trump administration, such as an expansion of internal removals, has further worsened the circumstances of Latinx students. In 2018 on April 5th, ICE conducted the largest workplace raid in a decade at a meatpacking plant in Tennessee in which they arrested 97 workers. Hundred and sixty children had a parent arrested in the raid, and the following day, 550 children were absent from school in Hamblen County, which included 20 percent of the county’s Hispanic students (Scown 2018). Increased absence is correlated with declining academic achievements, but events such as these leave students with no choice. Trump programs such as 287(g), which have empowered state and local law enforcement to function as immigration officers have been expanded, are especially prevalent in the Atlanta metro area. Studies have been conducted to assess how these partnerships have impacted Latinx students.

Researchers found that between 2000 and 2011, those policies resulted in the displacement of about 320,000 Hispanic students, most of whom were elementary school age and likely born in the U.S (Dee and Murphy 2019). Furthermore, in areas where these partnerships were present, the number of Hispanic students dropped by 10% after just two years (Dee and Murphy 2019).

Previous literature has proven that when students transfer school because of "reactive moves" defined as moves to escape a bad situation, their academic performance suffers. The effects of these moves are expounded if students move several times are during the school year (Dee and Murphy 2019). Minority students, more so than white students, are impacted by this and have shown achievement losses, especially in math, after a reactive move (Dee and Murphy 2019). ICE partnerships encourage families to evacuate and discourage families from moving to those areas but had no effect on the non-Latinx enrollment (Dee and Murphy 2019).

DISCIPLINE

School punishment policies have increasingly become more punitive and centralized, leading to increases in referrals, detentions, suspension, and expulsion (Welch and Payne 2018). Recent school shootings have led to concerns regarding school safety and, thus, further investment in surveillance and security measures. Minority students have been disproportionately impacted by these policies because of discriminatory disciplining practices. Evidence of this impact can be seen in studies that show higher levels of punishment in schools with larger minority student populations (Welch and Payne 2018). For example, researchers have found that "schools characterized by larger minority student populations are not only more likely to suspend and expel students but also less likely to utilize less-restrictive sanctions, such as referrals to the school guidance counselor to resolve problem behavior" (Payne and Welch

2010). Even after controlling for racial and ethnic differences in misconduct, these patterns persisted.

In addition, teachers also tend to display more prejudiced attitudes towards minority students (Payne and Welch 2010). Increased rhetoric that criminalizes Latinx populations as a minority threat has further contributed to the racial gap in school discipline. A 2018 study of 3,500 public schools intended to examine how minority threat manifests itself in schools found that schools with larger percentages of Latino/a student's "were more likely to favor certain punitive responses and less likely to favor certain mild responses, as predicted by minority threat. The percentage of Latino/a students is also related to greater use of certain disciplinary responses in schools with less crime (Welch and Payne 2018)". Other findings have revealed that ideologies surrounding white innocence and Latino male criminality led to increased surveillance of Latino male students. More frequent surveillance resulted in Latino male students being overrepresented in the referral process and other disciplinary consequences such as suspension and removal, along with increased contact with law enforcement (Gray 2018).

TRUANCY

Recent survey data of schools personal reported that 70 percent of educators from the south saw an observable impact of immigration enforcement on their schools. The schools chosen were predominately low-income, and this value was much high than any other region of the US (Gándara and Ee 2018). One of the most material ways this impact was observed was in rates of absenteeism. Two-thirds of respondents from the south reported that concern regarding immigration enforcement had increased absences from school. Nationwide 57.4 percent of educators surveyed indicated that absences had risen. One administrator from New Jersey stated

"The kids are scared, and sometimes they hide for days when there are immigration raids in the area. Some of the students have no food or place to live because the parents do not have a job, and they go day by day."

The above quote demonstrates the detrimental impact of deportation on students. Furthermore, school maybe appealing to some students because it is the only place where they have regular access to food. As such, missing school could mean that these students are foregoing meals. Studies have also shown that victims of bullying are at an increased risk for frequent absence, behavioral problems, and disciplinary transfers (Gastic 2008). Therefore, the rise of politicized bullying associated with the current administration could also influence the truancy rates of students. Educational policies may also contribute to truancy by discouraging Latinx student retention. For undocumented students, DACA presented one of the only ways to attain postsecondary education. The removal of this program impacts the educational aspirations of Latinx students nationwide by implying that they are unwanted. Georgia's attempts at additional policing of students of color and their prohibition of safety campuses further discourages Latinx education. These legal barriers to educational attainment may also dissuade Latinx students from attending schools.

DATA AND METHODS

DATA

All data collected for this analysis came from The Governor's Office of Student Achievement (GOSA 2019). GOSA provides downloadable data for stakeholders to conduct education statistics. Data is offered at the school and district level for all schools in Georgia from 2010 to the present day. GOSA collects data on all levels of education, from kindergarten to higher education institutions (GOSA 2019). The Georgia Department of Education (GaDOE)

provides K-12 data from its Student Record Data Collection. Data are aggregated at the school level. Schools that have fewer than ten students with disciplinary incidents were excluded. If a student attends multiple schools in a school year, they will be counted once for each school. The percent of disciplinary incident occurrences reflects the percentage of those disciplined by subgroup. The percent of the disciplinary population represents the percentage of each demographic within the disciplined population. The discipline type displays the number of students by subgroup that received a particular disciplinary action. There are seven discipline actions: corporal punishment, in-school suspension, out of school suspension, expulsion, suspension from bus, alternative school, and other.

Student achievement data was assessed using the Georgia Milestones Assessment System. The Georgia Milestones measures the extent to which students have learned the state-adopted content standards in language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. High school students take an end of course assessment for each of the ten courses. The course exams are as follows: Ninth Grade Literature & Composition, American Literature & Composition, Mathematics, Algebra I, Geometry, Coordinate Algebra, Analytic Geometry, Biology, Physical Science, United States History, and Economics/Business Free Enterprise. This measure is used as the final exam for the course and contributes to 20 percent of the student's final course grade. Georgia educators use four achievement levels in order to define a student's mastery of content. Beginner learners are considered to not demonstrate proficiency, developing learners are partially proficient, proficient learners are proficient and considered ready for the next grade level, and distinguished learners demonstrate advanced proficiency.

To examine truancy, I used data for attendance and enrollment by subgroup programs from the school years of 2014-2018. Enrollment by subgroup is also known as full-time

equivalency (FTE) counts and measures the number of students enrolled in school systems and schools, disaggregated by subgroups and demographics (GOSA 2019). The Georgia Department of Education collects FTE counts from school systems periodically throughout the year. The enrollment figures presented are those from Fall enrollment and are based on the October FTE count. Attendance is collected from student records and is provided by school districts to the Georgia Department of Education. Attendance is measured by the percentage of students absent 0 to 5, 6-15, and more than 15 days. Attendance for all students is also disaggregated by subgroups and demographics. More than 15 days of absence is considered an unacceptable rate of absence. I used this data to assess truancy and extrapolated percentages of Asian, Latinx, Black, and White students absent more than 15 days from each school.

MEASURES

Key questions that I attempted to address were if the Trump administration had increased Latinx student discipline rate and decreased end of course exam pass rate in comparison to other subgroups. I also sought to determine if the Trump administration had increased Latinx student truancy, and if so, how increased Latinx student truancy was associated with the truancy of other students. I classified my independent variable as the onset of the Trump administration. For discipline, my dependent variables were the percentage of disciplinary incidents, disciplinary consequences, and disciplinary types. For student achievement, my dependent variables were the percentage of students that passed vs. failed each course exam type. I created the past vs. failed variable by categorizing beginner and developing learners as failed and proficient and distinguished learners as passed. I did this because students who are less than proficient learners are considered to not have sufficiently mastered the course content and are not prepared for the next grade. For truancy, I classified my independent variables as percentage of Latinx students

within a school and the onset of the Trump administration. My dependent variable was the percentage of students with unacceptable absences.

I used both Asian and white students as my controls. I chose to use Asians because they are also a migrant group and an ethnic minority; thus, using them as control would provide more accurate results. I also chose to use whites as a control because I theorize that they would be the least impacted of any group by the current administration and because Asians were underrepresented in my sample. I decided to include black students in my sample to observe whether the correlation with Trump were exclusive to Latinos or had also impacted other racialized minorities. For this study, I used high school discipline, Georgia milestones, and attendance data by subgroup from the school years of 2014-2018 for all public schools in Georgia. I observed a total of 493 high schools; however, during analysis, clustering and incomplete data reduced the number of schools.

Analytical Methods

I used multiple linear regression in STATA in order to assess correlations between my variables. When running my regressions, I chose to cluster my data by school ID. I did this in order to isolate the impact of Trump within each school across time. To identify patterns of interest, I used white students as my reference category. For my discipline types, I decided to focus on those for which I had the most data. I used this same strategy to decide which end of course exams to analyze. I coded the variable Trump as a 0-1 dummy variable, which classified years before 2016 as pre-Trump. I decided to do this instead of controlling for the progression of time since my time period of analysis was limited (four years). I will focus on the discipline types of out of school and in-school suspension. For student achievement, I chose to concentrate

on Biology, US History, and American Literature and Composition exams because they represent 40.86 percent of all tests.

When assessing truancy data, I calculated the race effect, which was the correlation between race and truancy. I ran a regression with these two variables and compared it to the value of student truancy amongst white, black, and Asian students combined (also labeled as non-Latinx). The Trump effect was calculated by running a regression of the percentage of absences during Trump (years 2016-2018) across all schools.

RESULTS

DISCIPLINE

Student Population

Figure 1 demonstrates ethnoracial differences among the disciplined student population. Results were similar to those of disciplinary incidents. The overall disciplinary population decreased from 29.7 percent to 29.5 percent. The disciplinary population of all minority groups increased; the most substantial increase was 1 percent for Latinx students. The disciplinary population for white students was on average 39.9 percent before Trump and 37.7 during Trump, a 2.2 percent reduction. The *p*-values for the differences observed were all significant. Yet, the magnitudes of these associations indicate substantively little change in the representation of ethnoracial status groups in the population across time.

Incidents

When assessing ethnoracial differences in incidents, I found that Trump had a negative association on the overall discipline rate of approximately two percent (Figure 2). Signifying that during Trump, the discipline rate decreased. This decline, however, is being driven exclusively by white students, as depicted in Figure 2. Before Trump, the disciplinary incident percentage for

whites was approximately 37.7 percent, whereas, during Trump, it was 35.7 percent. For Black and Asian students, the disciplinary incident percentage stayed relatively the same with minor increases of less than one percent. For Latinx students, there was a larger increase from 9.6 percent before Trump and 10.5 percent during Trump. This increase, as well as the other differences observed, were statistically significant. However, the degree of these associations reflects minor material changes to subgroups across time

Disciplinary Type

Figure 3 depicts out of school suspension for all students by demographic using count data. The overall out of school suspension decreased by 1.5 after Trump. This decrease, however, is due to white students. Out of school suspension for white students went from a margin of 36.8 to 35.3 after Trump. In contrast, Latinx students increased from 9.8 to 10.6. For black students out of school, suspension stayed consistent, and for Asians, there was a slight increase of one. Although these associations were statistically significant, they represent little substantive changes for demographics across time.

Figure 4 shows the in-school suspension and reflects a similar trend. Overall in school, suspension decreased by a margin of approximately 2.2. This relation can be observed in the margins for white students, which decreased from 39.7 to 37.4. Latinx students in school suspension increased by one percent. Margins for black students remained consistent, and those for Asian students increased by 0.7. Although significant, these fluctuations indicate minimal material changes for subgroups across time.

ACHIEVEMENT OUTCOMES

Biology

Biology exams compromise 13.64, percent of all test scores. Figure 5 displays the pass rate for all students by demographic for Biology end of course exams. When I clustered by school ID standard error adjusted for 470 high schools. I did not observe a differential or significant impact when analyzing this data set. After Trump there was approximately a four percent increase in the pass rate of biology exams. This increase was consistent and present amongst all subgroups. However as previously indicated these associations are significant but minimally substantive for all demographics

History

History exams made up 13.35 percent of all test scores. Figure 6 shows the pass rate for US history end of course exams. Upon clustering for school ID standard error adjusted for 454 high schools. Similar to the end of course biology exams, Trump did not appear to influence the academic performance of Latinx students. After Trump, the pass rate for history exams overall increased from 35 to 37 percent. This two percent increase is consistent for all demographics, reflecting an upward trend in test scores. Although significant this upward trend reflects minimal substantive changes for student subgroups.

American Literature and Composition

American Literature and Composition exams compromised 13.87 percent of all test scores and paralleled the pattern of the two previous exams. There was an approximately 6 percent increase, which is depicted in Figure 7. This upward trend does not present substantive changes for the student's groups.

TRUANCY

Ethnoracial Associations

Figure 8 demonstrates the association between race and unacceptable absences within all the years. 16.35 percent of Latinos missed more than 15 days of school on average. For all other demographics, the combined percentage of truancy was 12.79 on average. White students had the highest percentage of truancy, which was 17.5 percent. Blacks students had an average truancy percentage of 15.7, and for Asian students, it was 5.2. Across all demographics, the relationship between race and student truancy was statistically significant at the 0.01 level. Student truancy between whites and Latinos/as is comparable, whereas Asians have the lowest truancy of both groups. This difference could be because of the underrepresentation of Asian students in schools.

Trump Election: Before and After Variation

Figure 9 examines the overall correlation between the onset of the Trump administration and student truancy for all demographics. The data shows that prior to Trump, student truancy for all demographics was 13.21 percent, but after Trump student truancy for these four combined subgroups was 14.15 percent. Trump is linked to a 0.94 percent increase in average student truancy for all demographics for the school years of 2016-2018. The the correlation of Trump on overall student truancy was statistically significant at the 0.01 level. However, this significance only became apparent when I clustered my data based on school ID. When comparing student truancy of the same demographic to other schools, there was not a significant association with Trump. Clustering allowed me to observe the effect of Trump on student truancy within each school across time.

Ethnoracial Disproportionality Before and After Truancy Election

Figure 10 examines the differential vulnerability of each group to the onset of the Trump administration. For Latinos, the onset of the Trump administration is associated with a 1.26 percent increase in Latinx student truancy. This difference was statistically significant at the 0.01 level. Student truancy during Trump increased by 0.97 for white students, 0.26 for Asian students, and 1.27 for black students. These values were statistically significant level. The results of this analysis demonstrate that the Trump effect is disproportionately impacting minority groups. Although student truancy has increased for all students after Trump, the increase was lower for white students in comparison to other demographics. Important to note is that white students have the highest average truancy percentage reaching almost 18 percent during Trump. However, the gap between the truancy of white students and other subgroups is decreasing

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study suggest that the Trump administration has had both a substantive and significant impact on discipline and truancy amongst Latinx students. When the Trump effect is assessed on students, generally, it would appear as if student discipline rates have increased for all students. However, when examining the Trump effect within student demographics, it becomes clear that Latinx students are predominately targeted. Although these correlations are present, it does not prove a causal relationship between Trump and the rise in Latinx student discipline and truancy rates. However, this correlation is indicative of the theoretical mechanisms discussed previously. The Trump administration has disproportionately targeted Latinx students and communities through anti-immigrant rhetoric, immigration enforcement, and education policies. The impact of the Trump administration has been especially pronounced in the south since these states proliferate already restrictive federal regulations. The

state of Georgia and the Metro Atlanta area have been especially punitive in regard to these policies in comparison to other parts of the nation. This increasing punitiveness is reflected in the percentage of disciplinary incidents, population, and types. Minority students generally have been impacted by these policies; however, Latinx students show higher increases in comparison to other demographics.

Another noteworthy finding is that white students appear to be the only subgroup whose discipline rates are decreasing. Across all measures of discipline, whites were declining, and the gap between them and black students was widening. These results demonstrate how the racialization of students can have material impacts that further entrench the school to prison pipeline. Furthermore, this outcome reveals that Trump has inflamed existing biases leading to increased punishment of minorities while privileging whites. Whiteness protects these students from receiving disciplinary consequences. Further marginalization of minorities appears to benefit white students since they are even less likely to be reprimanded compared to the pre-Trump era.

A finding which surprised me was the rise of end of course of exam scores. I found this particularly shocking since survey data of faculty across the nation reported that many administrators had noted a decline in academic performance. This decline was especially notable in the south, where two-thirds of educators surveyed reported a drop in academic performance due to immigration concerns. My analysis reveals that scores in US history, American Literature, and Composition and Biology have all increased after Trump. Furthermore, this trend does not appear to affect student subgroups differentially. A potential explanation for this finding may be the unit of analysis. It is possible that since Trump has been in office for a short period, his impact on testing scores may be minimal.

As for truancy, my results reflect that all groups experienced a rise in chronic absenteeism during the Trump administration. However, this rise was much higher for black and Latinx students than for white students. Furthermore, Asian students had the lowest increase in the average percentage of truant students. This is significant because Asians are also an immigrant group but have been characterized by the model minority myth while Latinos/as have been labeled as perpetual foreigners and stigmatized as "criminals" and "rapists." If current policies were truly attempting to counteract immigration, then one would anticipate a Trump effect on Asian student truancy, the fact that Asian student truancy was minimally impacted by the Trump administration corroborates my previous contention that immigration reform is racially targeted. Immigration rhetoric and reform has predominately focused on the illusory threat of Latinx populations. Racially biased rhetoric has politicized educational policies and informed public sentiment. Current immigration reforms are aimed at addressing perceived grievances by marginalizing Latinx communities. This finding further proves that the current administration is more anti-Latinx than anti-immigrant. White students were far less effected than black and Latinx students; this result was anticipated since they are the least likely of any subgroup to be impacted by current policy changes.

Discussion

The strengths of this study were that many of the variables observed were correlated, and this correlation was both substantive and significant. This study has shown a strong relationship between the onset of the Trump administration and an increase in Latinx student discipline and truancy rates. Furthermore, it has demonstrated that Latinx populations have been predominately impacted by recent events implying that initiatives under Trump have purposefully targeted Latinx communities.

One weakness of this study was that I did not have access to other data sets to assess student achievement. I believe that with comparative data, a stronger relationship between these variables would have been apparent. Furthermore, I decided to compile the various levels of end of course exam evaluation into two categorical variables of either pass or fail. Because I did this, I believe that I missed nuances in my analysis. Another weakness of this study was the use of count data in order to assess fluctuation in discipline type. Count data fails to include the overall population of each demographic. Thus, correlations may be due to variations in the number of students. In future analysis percent, data should be used in order to attain more accurate and reliable results. Furthermore, I was limited to two time periods, pre and post-Trump. Within these time periods I only had data for four years, more time points would have been useful to supplement my analysis.

Further research should examine how other components of Latinx education have been impacted by the Trump administration, such as access to higher education. In order to test the causal mechanisms proposed, a series of case studies with Latinx high school students should be conducted. This would determine the cause of increased absence and discipline by asking students themselves. Further research should also include non-English speakers and migrants in order to assess the extent to which each group has been impacted by the current administration. Another variable that was not considered within the causal framework was Georgia's policies on ESL programs and learning. These language programs are pivotal in the academic outcomes of students and have been neglected in recent years. This study should be conducted in other regions of the US to assess if this phenomenon is a nationwide issue or only evident in the south.

Rising discipline and absences rates amongst Latinx students have many future social implications since they affect students' grades, aspirations, and/or attainment of higher education.

Latinos historically have had the highest dropout rates and lowest graduation rates in comparison to other demographics. In recent years, excessive pressure has been placed on public schools to address this achievement gap (Gándara and Ee 2018). The current administration has placed immense and outrageous burdens on schools and Latinx students. Latinx students are expected to succeed despite restrictive educational policies, the increasing presence of immigration enforcement, and discrimination within schools. In homes where a parent has been deported, Latinx children must go to school while working to sustain their families. These structural barriers have severely restricted the potential of Latinx students. It is unreasonable to expect students who must constantly be hyper-aware of ICE or who must pay out of state tuition to go to college to succeed academically. Furthermore, the criminalization of minorities nationwide has led to hypervigilance and increased suspicion of minority students. They are being treated like criminals in an environment that is supposed to encourage intellectual development and growth. Discipline records severely limit opportunities and social mobility while also serving to confirm the bias that minorities are a threat.

Latinos are already the largest minority in the US and are expected to comprise 30 percent of the nation by 2060 (CNN 2019). The number of Latinx students in public elementary and secondary schools has increased from 19 to 24 percent from 2004-2017 (Bauman 2017). Failure to address the needs of the expanding Latinx population could have detrimental economic and social impacts on the nation as a whole. Furthermore, this study demonstrates the political power leaders have in shaping the narrative and outcomes of entire demographics of the population. By overtly exacerbating racial tensions and further stigmatizing Latinx populations, Trump has irreparably impacted the future of Latinos in the US.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Although it may seem that circumstances may only worsen, there are ways in which states, political figures, and legal advocates can mitigate the effect of the Trump administration. In 18 states, policymakers have passed their own form of the Dream Act that gives immigrants access to in-state tuition, and some allow undocumented students to apply for financial aid (Scown 2018). Passage of the Dream act in more states would reduce the instability and everyday fear undocumented students experience. States can also pass legislation that increases access to insurance coverage and driver's licenses. California has taken the initiative in this regard and is now the first state in the country to offer government-subsidized health care to undocumented immigrants (Allyn 2019). States furthermore have the power to supplement federal laws with privacy laws that would protect student data. The Family Education Rights and Privacy Act is a federal law that protects the privacy of student's educational records. The law applies to schools that receive funds from the US Department of Education and only allows a school to disclose data when presented with a subpoena, court order or warrant (US Department of Education 2018). The Los Angeles Unified School District has vowed that if the Trump administration attempts to access student information to use it against children and their families, they will resist (Stokes 2016). This public promise to families and communities is impactful because it facilitates trust between educators and students. Passing this form of legislation would allow immigrant students to provide information to schools without fear of deportation.

Some states have gone as far as challenging programs such as 287(g) by passing sanctuary policies that limit state and local law enforcement from sharing information with ICE (Scown 2018). In 2017, California passed a serious of laws that prevented jails, prisons, employers, and detainment centers from cooperating with ICE officers without a warrant,

protecting 2.3 million undocumented immigrants living within the state (Scown 2018). Only four other states in the US have passed laws like these. The Trump administration has provided endless resources for training local law enforcement to serve as immigration officers. Legal advocates and nonprofit organizations have challenged this legislation through social impact litigation, which takes on lawsuits in an attempt to create societal change. In 2017 the ACLU filed a lawsuit against the government for arresting students for uncorroborated claims of gang violence and then detaining the students because of their immigration status before processing the original gang violence claim (Scown 2018). Limiting entanglement between ICE officials and law enforcement is pivotal in challenging the Trump Administration. At the school level, school resources officers can provide student information to ICE, facilitating detainment and deportation. States can pass laws that control school officers' access to student data and prohibit them from imposing immigration law (Scown 2018).

Legislation currently exists that protects the educational rights of undocumented students. *Plyer vs. Doe* was a supreme court case that held that it was unconstitutional to deny students free public education regardless of their immigration status (American Immigration Council 2017). Despite this, many states and districts have either indirectly or openly violated this ruling. In 2011, Alabama passed a law which required school administrators to determine the immigration status of enrolling students, this law was followed by a sharp decline in attendance of Latinx students (American Immigration Council 2017). In 1994 California enacted a proposition prohibiting schools from accepting students who were undocumented and requiring schools to notify immigration authorities. And again, in 2006, a school district in Illinois denied enrollment to any student that had overstayed their visa (American Immigration Council 2017). It should be the duty of the US Department of Education to ensure that all schools are informed

about *Plyer vs. Doe* to avoid cases such as these that directly stem from anti-immigrant sentiment.

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FIGURES

FIGURE 1. ETHNORACIAL DISPROPORTIONALITY IN STUDENT POPULATION

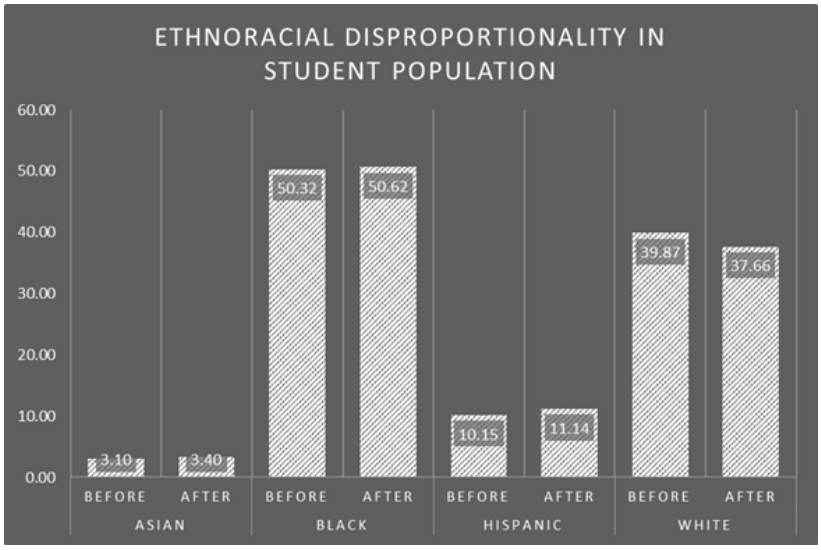


Figure 2. Ethnoracial Disproportionality in Incidents.

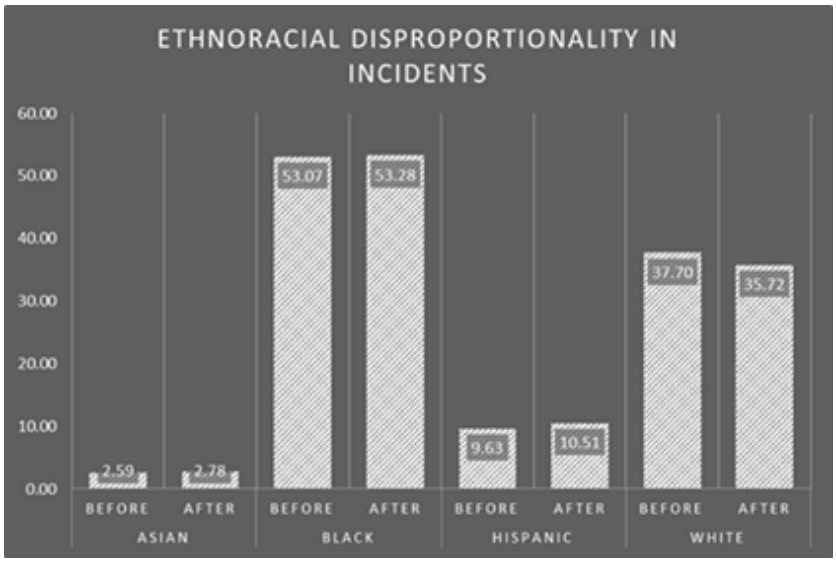


FIGURE 3. ETHNORACIAL DISPROPORTIONALITY IN IN SCHOOL SUSPENSION.

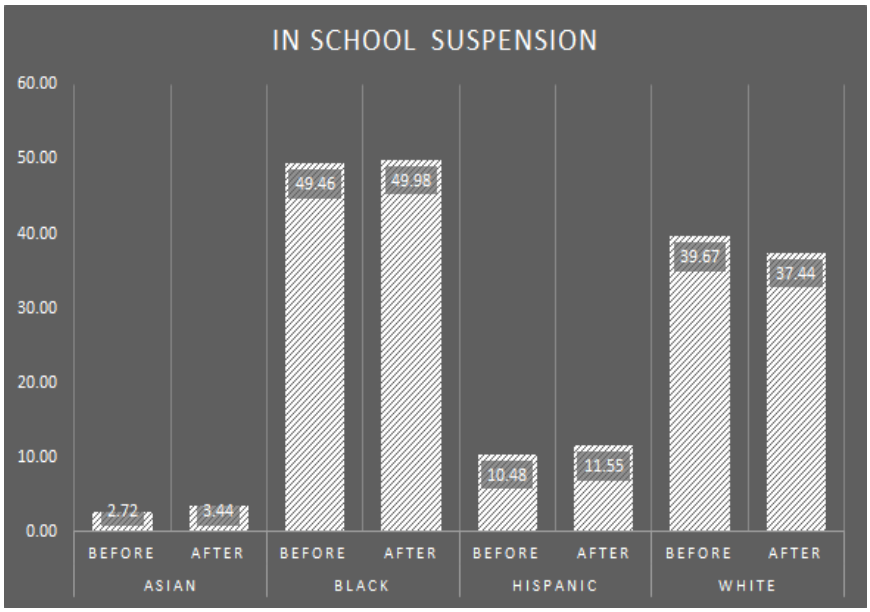


Figure 4. Ethnoracial Disproportionality in Out of School Suspension.

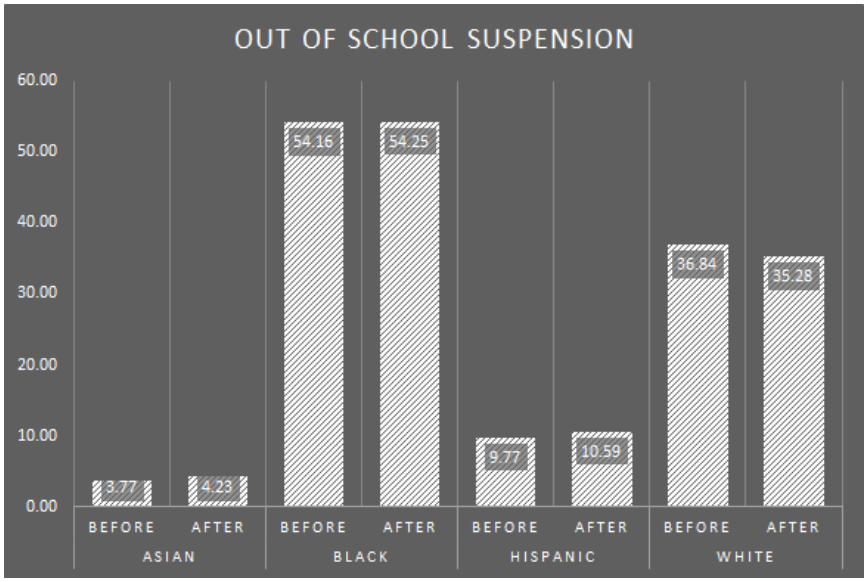


FIGURE 5. ETHNORACIAL DISPROPORTIONALITY IN BIOLOGY EXAMS.

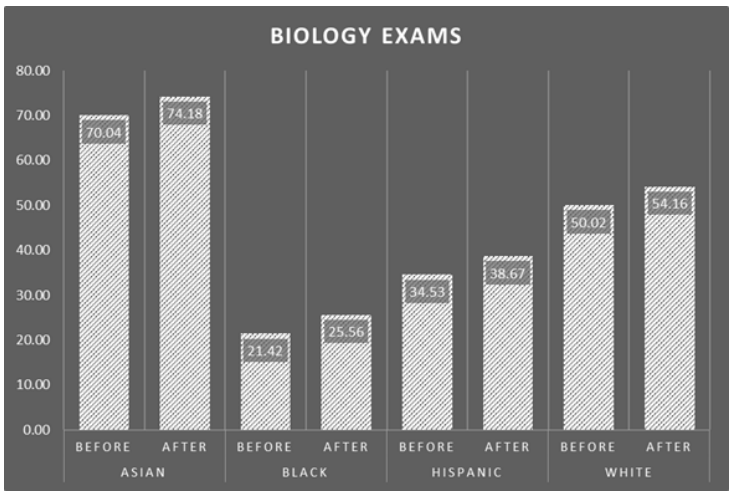


FIGURE 6. ETHNORACIAL DISPROPORTIONALITY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE AND COMPOSITION EXAMS

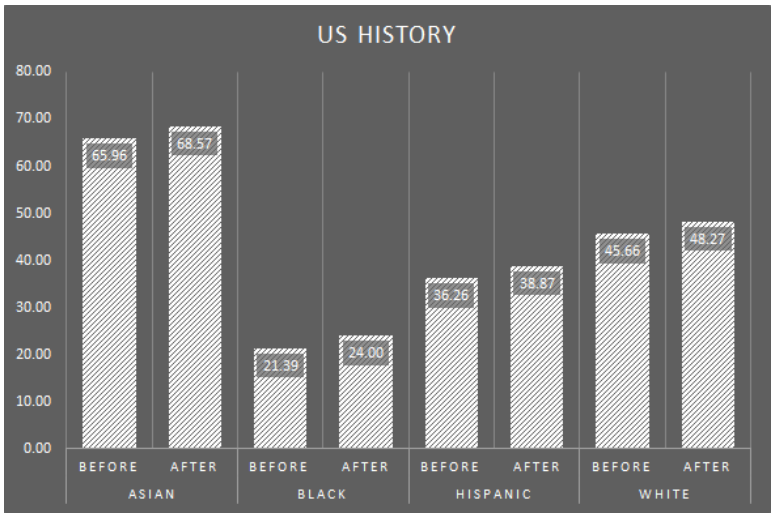


FIGURE 7. ETHNORACIAL DISPROPORTIONALITY IN U.S. HISTORY EXAMS

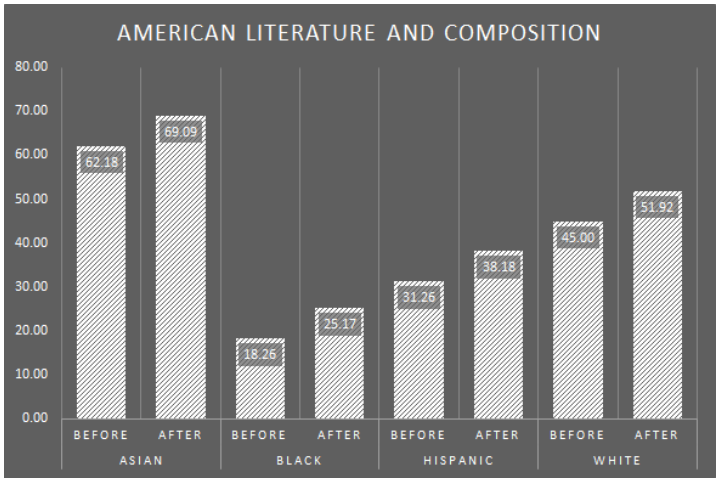


FIGURE 8. ETHNORACIAL VARIATION IN TRUANCY

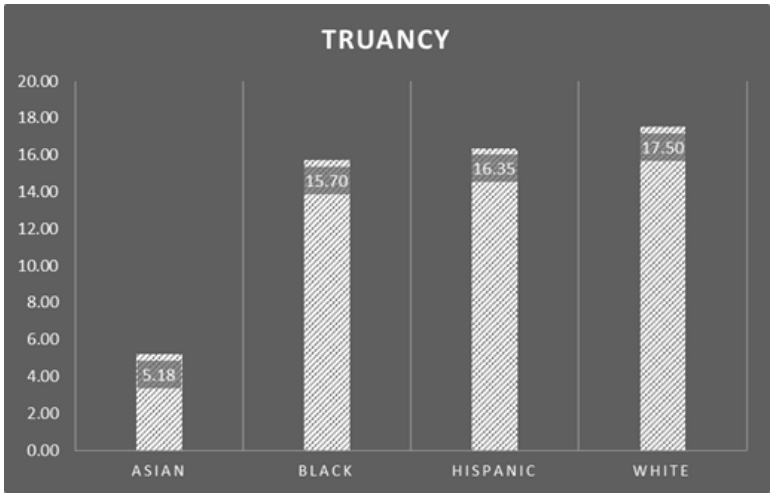


FIGURE 9. TRUANCY LEVELS BEFORE AND .AFTER THE ELECTION OF TRUMP

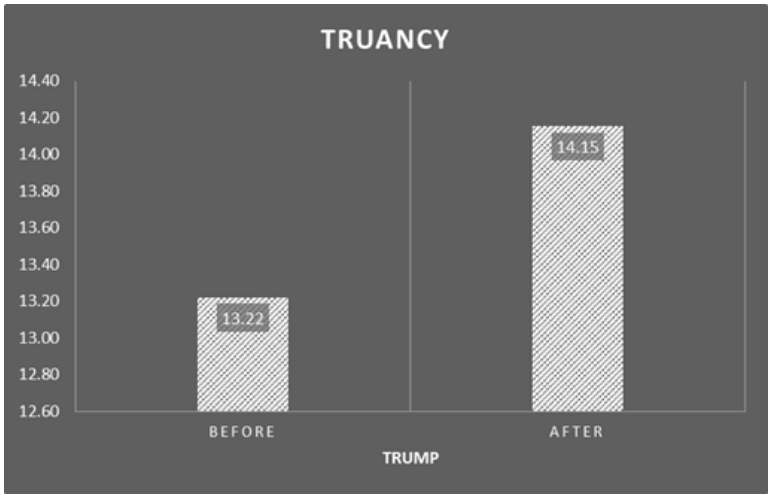
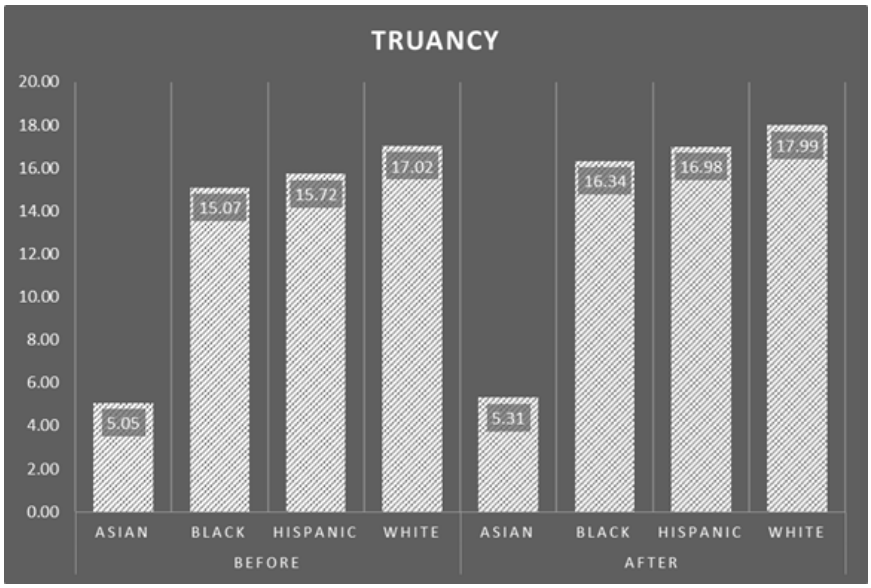


FIGURE 10. ETHNORACIAL DISPROPORTIONALITY IN TRUANCY BEFORE AND AFTER TRUMP ELECTION



APPENDIX A

Ethnoracial Disproportionality in Incidents (Figure 1)

```
. regress disc_inc ib4.RACECODE##i.trump count_records if n_sch_sub_year == 1, cluster(schid)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,715
                                                F(8, 364)         =     943.21
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.4308
                                                Root MSE          =     22.915

                                                (Std. Err. adjusted for 365 clusters in schid)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
     disc_inc |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE |
      Asian |  -35.11639   1.483036   -23.68   0.000    -38.03278      -32.2
Black or African American |   15.36814    2.89482     5.31   0.000     9.675473    21.06082
   Hispanic |  -28.07142   1.689798   -16.61   0.000    -31.39441   -24.74843

    1.trump |  -1.980265   .3972967    -4.98   0.000    -2.76155    -1.19898

RACECODE#trump |
      Asian#1 |   2.174714   .4214624     5.16   0.000     1.345907    3.003521
Black or African American#1 |    2.19496   .6370674     3.45   0.001     .9421648    3.447754
   Hispanic#1 |   2.858156   .4881934     5.85   0.000     1.898122    3.818189

  count_records |  -.549701   .1228561    -4.47   0.000    -.7912979   -.3081042
          _cons |   45.85135   2.456894    18.66   0.000     41.01986    50.68284
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
. margins RACECODE##trump

Predictive margins                              Number of obs     =      4,715
Model VCE    : Robust

Expression   : Linear prediction, predict()
```

	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
RACECODE						
Asian	2.683321	.3322821	8.08	0.000	2.029887	3.336754
Black or African American	53.17801	1.553979	34.22	0.000	50.12211	56.23392
Hispanic	10.07124	.6861744	14.68	0.000	8.72188	11.42061
White	36.70843	1.457856	25.18	0.000	33.84155	39.57531
trump						
0	29.7105	.2260295	131.45	0.000	29.26601	30.15499
1	29.46715	.2177446	135.33	0.000	29.03896	29.89535
RACECODE#trump						
Asian#0	2.585745	.3137083	8.24	0.000	1.968837	3.202654
Asian#1	2.780195	.3617114	7.69	0.000	2.068888	3.491501
Black or African American#0	53.07028	1.566285	33.88	0.000	49.99018	56.15038
Black or African American#1	53.28497	1.559818	34.16	0.000	50.21759	56.35236
Hispanic#0	9.630716	.6649649	14.48	0.000	8.323061	10.93837
Hispanic#1	10.50861	.7232849	14.53	0.000	9.086265	11.93095
White#0	37.70213	1.483479	25.41	0.000	34.78487	40.6194
White#1	35.72187	1.459165	24.48	0.000	32.85242	38.59132

Ethnoracial Disproportionality in Student Population (Figure 2)

```
. regress disc_pop ib4.RACECODE##i.trump count_records if n_sch_sub_year == 1, cluster(schid)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,715
                                                F(8, 364)         =     888.24
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.4115
                                                Root MSE          =     22.738

                                                (Std. Err. adjusted for 365 clusters in schid)
```

disc_pop	Coef.	Robust Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
RACECODE						
Asian	-36.77246	1.481974	-24.81	0.000	-39.68677	-33.85816
Black or African American	10.4475	2.858642	3.65	0.000	4.825973	16.06903
Hispanic	-29.72548	1.683831	-17.65	0.000	-33.03674	-26.41422
1.trump	-2.214483	.3577415	-6.19	0.000	-2.917983	-1.510984
RACECODE#trump						
Asian#1	2.50823	.411369	6.10	0.000	1.699272	3.317188
Black or African American#1	2.516898	.5263104	4.78	0.000	1.481907	3.551888
Hispanic#1	3.209541	.4366873	7.35	0.000	2.350795	4.068288
count_records	-.5657745	.124595	-4.54	0.000	-.8107909	-.3207581
_cons	48.26189	2.446798	19.72	0.000	43.45025	53.07353

```
. margins RACECODE##trump

Predictive margins                              Number of obs     =      4,715
Model VCE    : Robust

Expression   : Linear prediction, predict()
```

	Margin	Delta-method Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
RACECODE						
Asian	3.249327	.39289	8.27	0.000	2.476707	4.021946
Black or African American	50.47364	1.545767	32.65	0.000	47.43388	53.51339
Hispanic	10.64823	.6876192	15.49	0.000	9.296024	12.00043
White	38.76315	1.448965	26.75	0.000	35.91376	41.61255
trump						
0	29.74188	.2270595	130.99	0.000	29.29536	30.18839
1	29.50229	.2184071	135.08	0.000	29.07279	29.93179
RACECODE#trump						
Asian#0	3.101924	.3480569	8.91	0.000	2.417469	3.786378
Asian#1	3.39567	.4507664	7.53	0.000	2.509237	4.282104
Black or African American#0	50.32189	1.550971	32.45	0.000	47.2719	53.37188
Black or African American#1	50.6243	1.55306	32.60	0.000	47.5702	53.6784
Hispanic#0	10.14891	.6588176	15.40	0.000	8.85334	11.44447
Hispanic#1	11.14396	.7289967	15.29	0.000	9.71039	12.57754
White#0	39.87439	1.466518	27.19	0.000	36.99048	42.7583
White#1	37.6599	1.453427	25.91	0.000	34.80174	40.51807

Out of School Suspension (Figure 3)

```
. regress Ndisc_oss ib4.RACECODE##i.trump count_records_type if disc_oss == 1 , cluster(schid)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,458
                                                F(8, 364)         =     817.40
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.4194
                                                Root MSE          =     23.274

                                                (Std. Err. adjusted for 365 clusters in schid)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
   Ndisc_oss |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |  -33.06791   1.471049   -22.48   0.000    -35.96073   -30.17509
Black or Afr |   17.32023   2.861086     6.05   0.000     11.69389    22.94656
    Hispanic |  -27.06815   1.629257   -16.61   0.000    -30.27209   -23.86422
             |
      1.trump |  -1.554386   .5176002    -3.00   0.003    -2.572248   -.5365234
             |
RACECODE#tru |
       Asian#1 |   2.013388   .5585664     3.60   0.000     .9149661    3.111811
Black or Afr#1 |   1.647593   .8164508     2.02   0.044     .0420407    3.253146
    Hispanic#1 |   2.374932   .5994199     3.96   0.000     1.196171    3.553692
             |
count_record |  -.7498615   .1399774    -5.36   0.000    -1.025127   -.4745955
       _cons |   46.82219   2.456613    19.06   0.000     41.99125    51.65312
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
. margins RACECODE##trump

Predictive margins                              Number of obs     =      4,458
Model VCE    : Robust

Expression   : Linear prediction, predict()
```

	Delta-method Margin	Std. Err.	t	P>|t|	[95% Conf.	Interval]
RACECODE						
Asian	3.997875	.3825298	10.45	0.000	3.245629	4.750121
Black or African American	54.20434	1.502972	36.06	0.000	51.24874	57.15994
Hispanic	10.17718	.684964	14.86	0.000	8.830199	11.52417
White	36.06586	1.419925	25.40	0.000	33.27358	38.85815
trump						
0	31.3396	.2249367	139.33	0.000	30.89726	31.78194
1	31.15851	.2061789	151.12	0.000	30.75306	31.56396
RACECODE#trump						
Asian#0	3.769918	.3913901	9.63	0.000	3.000248	4.539587
Asian#1	4.228921	.4096392	10.32	0.000	3.423364	5.034477
Black or African American#0	54.15805	1.531415	35.36	0.000	51.14652	57.16958
Black or African American#1	54.25126	1.51454	35.82	0.000	51.27291	57.22961
Hispanic#0	9.76967	.6707488	14.57	0.000	8.450641	11.0887
Hispanic#1	10.59022	.7227046	14.65	0.000	9.169016	12.01142
White#0	36.83783	1.460641	25.22	0.000	33.96547	39.71018
White#1	35.28344	1.425543	24.75	0.000	32.48011	38.08677

In School Suspension (Figure 4)

```
. regress Ndisc_iss ib4.RACECODE##i.trump count_records_type if disc_iss == 1 , cluster(schid)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      4,677
                                                F(8, 362)         =    1143.47
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.4038
                                                Root MSE          =     23.021

                                                (Std. Err. adjusted for 363 clusters in schid)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
   Ndisc_iss |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |  -36.94863   1.493865   -24.73   0.000    -39.88637   -34.01089
Black or Afr |   9.796547   2.946714     3.32   0.001     4.001719    15.59138
    Hispanic |  -29.18952   1.705663   -17.11   0.000    -32.54377   -25.83527
             |
     1.trump |  -2.222217   .4666295    -4.76   0.000    -3.139862   -1.304572
             |
RACECODE#tru |
       Asian#1 |   2.947107   .5974701     4.93   0.000     1.772159    4.122055
Black or Afr#1 |   2.740583   .7025916     3.90   0.000      1.35891    4.122257
    Hispanic#1 |   3.293999   .5874809     5.61   0.000     2.138695    4.449303
             |
count_records_type |  -.6810088   .1346883    -5.06   0.000    -.9458785   -.4161391
             _cons |   49.37307   2.442681    20.21   0.000     44.56944    54.1767
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
. margins RACECODE##trump

Predictive margins                              Number of obs     =      4,677
Model VCE    : Robust

Expression   : Linear prediction, predict()

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |            Delta-method
             |     Margin   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |   3.079071   .3665678     8.40   0.000     2.358201    3.799941
Black or Afr |   49.72123   1.561503    31.84   0.000     46.65047    52.79199
    Hispanic |   11.01122   .7210827    15.27   0.000     9.593184    12.42926
       White |   38.55761   1.455191    26.50   0.000     35.69592     41.4193
             |
       trump |
           0 |   29.10995   .1913459   152.13   0.000     28.73366    29.48623
           1 |   29.02939    .190779   152.16   0.000     28.65421    29.40456
             |
RACECODE#tru |
       Asian#0 |   2.717478   .2998832     9.06   0.000     2.127746     3.30721
       Asian#1 |   3.442369     .48494     7.10   0.000     2.488715    4.396022
Black or Afr#0 |   49.46266   1.581742    31.27   0.000      46.3521    52.57321
Black or Afr#1 |   49.98102   1.570371    31.83   0.000     46.89283    53.06922
    Hispanic#0 |   10.47659   .7056348    14.85   0.000     9.088932    11.86425
    Hispanic#1 |   11.54837   .7730882    14.94   0.000     10.02806    13.06868
       White#0 |   39.66611   1.479086    26.82   0.000     36.75743    42.57479
       White#1 |   37.44389   1.468423    25.50   0.000     34.55618     40.3316
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Biology (Figure 5)

```
. regress pctPASS ib4.RACECODE i.trump if (TESTCODE==5), cluster(SCH_ID)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      6,593
                                                F(4, 469)         =     430.10
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.3345
                                                Root MSE          =     21.147

                                              (Std. Err. adjusted for 470 clusters in SCH_ID)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
     pctPASS |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |   20.01696   1.902934    10.52   0.000     16.27763    23.75629
Black or Afr |  -28.59941   .8337506   -34.30   0.000    -30.23776   -26.96107
    Hispanic |  -15.49208    1.08394   -14.29   0.000    -17.62206   -13.3621
             |
     1.trump |   4.142903    .444432     9.32   0.000     3.269578    5.016227
       _cons |   50.02072   .9094925    55.00   0.000     48.23353    51.8079
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
. margins RACECODE##trump

Predictive margins                              Number of obs     =      6,593
Model VCE    : Robust

Expression   : Linear prediction, predict()

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |            Delta-method
             |     Margin   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |    72.1572   1.880868    38.36   0.000     68.46123    75.85317
Black or Afr |   23.54082   .7102992    33.14   0.000     22.14506    24.93659
    Hispanic |   36.64816   .9883051    37.08   0.000     34.70611    38.59022
       White |   52.14024   .8776432    59.41   0.000     50.41564    53.86484
             |
       trump |
           0 |   36.37402   .7016951    51.84   0.000     34.99516    37.75287
           1 |   40.51692   .6953926    58.26   0.000     39.15045    41.88339
             |
RACECODE#trump |
  Asian#0    |   70.03768   1.896629    36.93   0.000     66.31074    73.76462
  Asian#1    |   74.18058   1.891374    39.22   0.000     70.46396     77.8972
Black or Afr |    21.4213   .7568915    28.30   0.000     19.93398    22.90862
Black or Afr |    25.5642   .7319385    34.93   0.000     24.12592    27.00249
  Hispanic#0 |   34.52864   .9979691    34.60   0.000      32.5676    36.48968
  Hispanic#1 |   38.67154   1.027079    37.65   0.000      36.6533    40.68979
     White#0 |   50.02072   .9094925    55.00   0.000     48.23353     51.8079
     White#1 |   54.16362   .9013258    60.09   0.000     52.39248    55.93476
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

US History (Figure 6)

```
. regress pctPASS ib4.RACECODE i.trump if (TESTCODE==10), cluster(SCH_ID)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      6,451
                                                F(4, 453)         =     317.13
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.3009
                                                Root MSE          =     20.176

                                   (Std. Err. adjusted for 454 clusters in SCH_ID)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
     pctPASS |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |   20.29953   1.755006    11.57   0.000     16.85056    23.74849
Black or Afr~ |  -24.27086   .8379001   -28.97   0.000    -25.91751   -22.6242
    Hispanic |  -9.399334   1.111479    -8.46   0.000    -11.58363   -7.215039
             |
     1.trump |   2.610365   .4284896     6.09   0.000     1.768291    3.452439
       _cons |   45.65848   .9171366    49.78   0.000     43.85611    47.46085
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

```
. margins RACECODE##trump

Predictive margins                              Number of obs     =      6,451
Model VCE    : Robust

Expression   : Linear prediction, predict()

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |            Delta-method
             |     Margin   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |   67.26947   1.825276    36.85   0.000     63.68241    70.85652
Black or Afr~ |   22.69908   .7245404    31.33   0.000     21.27521    24.12296
    Hispanic |    37.5706   1.050511    35.76   0.000     35.50612    39.63508
       White |   46.96994   .8919607    52.66   0.000     45.21704    48.72283
             |
       trump |
           0 |   35.01039   .7066979    49.54   0.000     33.62158    36.39921
           1 |   37.62076   .7331306    51.32   0.000        36.18    39.06152
             |
RACECODE#trump |
       Asian#0 |   65.95801   1.835168    35.94   0.000     62.35151    69.56451
       Asian#1 |   68.56838   1.840416    37.26   0.000     64.95156    72.18519
Black or Afr~#0 |   21.38763   .7342147    29.13   0.000     19.94474    22.83052
Black or Afr~#1 |   23.99799   .7761069    30.92   0.000     22.47278    25.52321
    Hispanic#0 |   36.25915   1.059631    34.22   0.000     34.17675    38.34155
    Hispanic#1 |   38.86952   1.084378    35.84   0.000     36.73848    41.00055
       White#0 |   45.65848   .9171366    49.78   0.000     43.85611    47.46085
       White#1 |   48.26885   .9175209    52.61   0.000     46.46572    50.07197
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

American Literature and Composition (Figure 7)

```
. regress pctPASS ib4.RACECODE i.trump if (TESTCODE==3), cluster(SCH_ID)

Linear regression                               Number of obs     =      6,701
                                                F(4, 452)         =     466.52
                                                Prob > F          =     0.0000
                                                R-squared         =     0.3201
                                                Root MSE          =     20.567

                                   (Std. Err. adjusted for 453 clusters in SCH_ID)
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |               Robust
     pctPASS |      Coef.   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |   17.17183   1.951514     8.80   0.000     13.33666    21.00699
Black or Afr |  -26.74785   .8271954   -32.34   0.000    -28.37348   -25.12223
    Hispanic |  -13.74016   1.106306   -12.42   0.000    -15.9143   -11.56602
             |
     1.trump |   6.912789   .4198378    16.47   0.000     6.087713    7.737866
       _cons |   45.00438   .8561042    52.57   0.000     43.32195    46.68682
------------------------------------------------------------------------------

. margins RACECODE##trump

Predictive margins                              Number of obs     =      6,701
Model VCE    : Robust

Expression   : Linear prediction, predict()

------------------------------------------------------------------------------
             |            Delta-method
             |     Margin   Std. Err.      t    P>|t|     [95% Conf. Interval]
-------------+----------------------------------------------------------------
   RACECODE  |
       Asian |   65.73731    1.88541    34.87   0.000     62.03205    69.44257
Black or Afr |   21.81763   .6752927    32.31   0.000     20.49053    23.14474
    Hispanic |   34.82533   .9551311    36.46   0.000     32.94828    36.70238
       White |   48.56549   .8358129    58.11   0.000     46.92293    50.20805
             |
       trump |
           0 |   32.40129   .6225681    52.04   0.000     31.17781    33.62478
           1 |   39.31408   .6702684    58.65   0.000     37.99685    40.63131
             |
RACECODE#trump |
  Asian#0    |   62.17621   1.893123    32.84   0.000     58.45579    65.89662
  Asian#1    |     69.089   1.900738    36.35   0.000     65.35362    72.82438
Black or Afr |   18.25653   .6791083    26.88   0.000     16.92193    19.59113
Black or Afr |   25.16932   .7325424    34.36   0.000     23.72971    26.60893
  Hispanic#0 |   31.26423   .9467688    33.02   0.000     29.40361    33.12484
  Hispanic#1 |   38.17701   1.006333    37.94   0.000     36.19934    40.15469
     White#0 |   45.00438   .8561042    52.57   0.000     43.32195    46.68682
     White#1 |   51.91717   .8670253    59.88   0.000     50.21327    53.62107
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
```

Race Effect (Figure 8)

By Demographic:

Robust linear Model Regression Results

Dep. Variable:	y	No. Observations:	753
Model:	RLM	Df Residuals:	749
Method:	IRLS	Df Model:	3
Norm:	HuberT		
Scale Est.:	mad		
Cov Type:	H1		
Date:	Tue, 31 Mar 2020		
Time:	16:42:12		
No. Iterations:	35		

	coef	std err	z	P>|z|	[0.025	0.975]
LATINX_QTY	0.0047	5.47e-05	85.085	0.000	0.005	0.005
BLACK_QTY	0.0002	2.49e-05	6.460	0.000	0.000	0.000
ASIAN_QTY	-0.0012	0.000	-9.926	0.000	-0.001	-0.001
WHITE_QTY	-5.32e-05	2.37e-05	-2.241	0.025	-9.97e-05	-6.67e-06

Latinx vs. Non-Latinx

Robust linear Model Regression Results

Dep. Variable:	OVER_15_PERCENT	No. Observations:	6056
Model:	RLM	Df Residuals:	6054
Method:	IRLS	Df Model:	1
Norm:	HuberT		
Scale Est.:	mad		
Cov Type:	H1		
Date:	Mon, 30 Mar 2020		
Time:	13:03:18		
No. Iterations:	16		

	coef	std err	z	P>|z|	[0.025	0.975]
LATINX	15.3649	0.264	58.096	0.000	14.846	15.883
NON LATINX	11.6449	0.153	76.263	0.000	11.346	11.944

Trump Effect (Figure 9)

Robust linear Model Regression Results

Dep. Variable:	OVER_15_PERCENT	No. Observations:	6056
Model:	RLM	Df Residuals:	6054
Method:	IRLS	Df Model:	1
Norm:	HuberT		
Scale Est.:	mad		
Cov Type:	H1		
Date:	Mon, 30 Mar 2020		
Time:	13:00:24		
No. Iterations:	13		

	coef	std err	z	P>|z|	[0.025	0.975]
0	12.1567	0.185	65.756	0.000	11.794	12.519
1	12.9716	0.185	70.164	0.000	12.609	13.334

Ethnoracial Disproportionality in Truancy (Figure 10)

```
TRUMP VALUE = 0
                    Robust linear Model Regression Results
==============================================================================
Dep. Variable:        OVER_15_PERCENT   No. Observations:                 3028
Model:                            RLM   Df Residuals:                     3024
Method:                          IRLS   Df Model:                           3
Norm:                          HuberT
Scale Est.:                       mad
Cov Type:                          H1
Date:                Mon, 30 Mar 2020
Time:                        12:58:26
No. Iterations:                    16
==============================================================================
                 coef    std err          z      P>|z|      [0.025      0.975]
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
ASIAN          3.8055      0.299     12.724      0.000       3.219       4.392
BLACK         13.5436      0.299     45.286      0.000      12.957      14.130
HISPANIC      14.7167      0.299     49.208      0.000      14.131      15.303
WHITE         16.1989      0.299     54.164      0.000      15.613      16.785
==============================================================================

If the model instance has been used for another fit with different fit parameter


TRUMP VALUE = 1
                    Robust linear Model Regression Results
==============================================================================
Dep. Variable:        OVER_15_PERCENT   No. Observations:                 3028
Model:                            RLM   Df Residuals:                     3024
Method:                          IRLS   Df Model:                           3
Norm:                          HuberT
Scale Est.:                       mad
Cov Type:                          H1
Date:                Mon, 30 Mar 2020
Time:                        12:58:26
No. Iterations:                    19
==============================================================================
                 coef    std err          z      P>|z|      [0.025      0.975]
------------------------------------------------------------------------------
ASIAN          4.2248      0.328     12.870      0.000       3.581       4.868
BLACK         14.9822      0.328     45.639      0.000      14.339      15.626
HISPANIC      15.8925      0.328     48.412      0.000      15.249      16.536
WHITE         16.9287      0.328     51.568      0.000      16.285      17.572
==============================================================================
```