Homogeneity and Inequality: School Discipline Inequality and the Role of Racial Composition

Linsey Edwards, *Princeton University*

Research consistently demonstrates that black students are disproportionately subject to behavioral sanctions, yet little is known about contextual variation. This paper explores the relationship between school racial composition and racial inequality in discipline. Prior work suggests that demographic composition predicts harsh punishment of minorities. Accordingly, a threat framework suggests that increases in black student enrollment correspond to increases in punitive school policies. Results from this paper find some support for this hypothesis, finding that the percent of black students in a school is related to increased odds of suspension/expulsion, and differential effects of behavior partially mediate these relationships. However, I also find that a traditional threat narrative may be insufficient. Black students may be most likely to experience unequal sanctions on their behavior in racially homogeneous contexts—whether homogeneously black *or* white. These results suggest that more research is needed to understand how the social organization of schools contributes to discipline inequality.

Racial inequality in school discipline is well documented and persistent. During the 2011–12 school year, black students were three times more likely than white students to receive out-of-school suspensions (US Department of Education Office for Civil Rights 2014). These rates have steadily increased since the 1970s, when black students were about twice as likely to be suspended (Skiba et al. 2011). Furthermore, racial differences start surprisingly early in children's school experiences. Whereas black students represented just 18 percent of preschool students in 2011–2012, they accounted for 42 percent of single suspensions and 48 percent of multiple suspensions that year (US Department of Education Office for Civil Rights 2014). Even when comparing black and white students with similar behavioral problems, black students are more likely to be

The author would like to extend a thank-you to Sara McLanahan for generously helping with data access and providing feedback on an early draft of this paper. She would also like to thank Doug Massey, Paul DiMaggio, Tod Hamilton, and Kimberly Goyette for their close reading and valuable feedback at various stages. She acknowledges all the members of Princeton's Fall 2014 Center for the Study of Social Organization workshop for their very helpful comments on this work. Finally, she thanks the Social Forces *reviewers who gave helpful comments as well.* *Direct correspondence to Linsey Edwards, Department of Sociology, Princeton University, 129 Wallace Hall, Princeton, NJ 08542; e-mail: lnedward@princeton.edu.*

Social Forces 95(1) 55–75, September 2016
doi: 10.1093/sf/sow038
Advance Access publication on 6 June 2016

disciplined (Hirschfield 2009; Skiba et al. 2002). In a study of a large Midwestern school district, Skiba et al. (2002) found that among students referred to the office for bad behavior, black students were more likely to be suspended and received longer suspensions.

These differences are important because they represent inequality in school experiences and create conditions for further inequality in outcomes (Bowditch 1993). For instance, disciplinary sanctions lead to nontrivial time away from the classroom, causing students to fall behind, feel isolated from school, and become disconnected from the student role (Crowder and South 2003; Bernburg and Krohn 2003). Furthermore, these sanctions, in many cases, are part of a student's official or unofficial school record. Suspended or expelled students may become "marked" as "bad" students by school officials and teachers, thereby shaping self-perceptions and teacher expectations (Rios 2011). These factors suggest that frequent and long periods of suspension may exacerbate academic failure and create conditions for early dropout, thus contributing to racial achievement gaps (Morrison et al. 2001; CSOS 2007). Insofar as exclusionary sanctions erode opportunities for academic success, then, they may also provide pathways to future negative behavior (e.g., Hyman and Perone 1998; Hemphill et al. 2006).

The most consistently cited theoretical explanations for racial inequality in school discipline are at the interpersonal level. Among these explanations are the persistence of racial stereotypes and how these stereotypes shape teachers' perceptions of student behavior. In this work, it is suggested that teachers who hold stereotypes about blacks may react more quickly and harshly to their misbehavior (Skiba et al. 2002; Ferguson 2000). Ferguson (2000), for example, found an "adultification" of black elementary school boys, such that teachers viewed them as dangerous and deserving of adult-like punishment. In addition, some researchers have pointed to a cultural discontinuity between white middle-class teachers and black cultural styles (e.g., Morris 2005). For instance, when examining suspension data in a large urban high school, Ogbu (2003) found white teachers' cultural misunderstanding of jokes and the use of slang was one reason for the disproportionate behavioral sanctioning for black students.

By comparison, however, the literature is decidedly thin on school-level mechanisms. This is crucial because it represents a gap in knowledge about the ways in which school context systematically reproduces inequality in school discipline. A small number of scholars have seriously considered the role of school racial composition as one possible school-level mechanism (e.g., Eitle and Eitle 2004; Thornton and Trent 1998; Larkin 1979). In a study of North Carolina public schools, Kinsler (2011) found that black—white discipline gaps appear to be driven by variation in punishment across schools. He found that the proportion of black students in the school was significantly correlated with the probability and length of suspension. Similarly, Welch and Payne (2010) found that a larger proportion of black student enrollment was associated with a greater emphasis on punitive disciplinary policies at the school level. In an extension, they found that racial composition is specifically associated with the use of suspensions, in-school suspensions, and expulsions to deal with student misbehavior—which excludes students from the classroom and disrupts learning

(Welch and Payne 2012). While this prior work is convincing, it is limited by its reliance on aggregate data, one school district or state, and in other cases historical specificity (e.g., court-ordered racial desegregation of schools) (e.g., Kinsler 2011; Welch and Payne 2010; Larkin 1979; Eitle and Eitle 2004). As such, several questions remain unanswered regarding the role of racial composition for explaining inequality in school discipline.

In the present study, I seek to build on this prior work in several ways. First, I use nationally representative, individual-level data and rely on hierarchical methods to better assess the amount of school-level variation in school discipline. This is the first step in assessing the role of schools in creating discipline inequality. Should there be significant school-level effects when adjusting for individual behavior, this could provide convincing evidence of structural inequality. Second, I estimate the role of racial composition in accounting for this school-level variation and differentiate between two possible explanations why. On one hand, racial demographics of the school could certainly shape the character of formal disciplinary policies, potentially exposing students who attend majority black schools to harsher policies (e.g., Welch and Payne 2010). However, given the discretionary nature of these school sanctions, formal policies are likely insufficient to understanding processes of inequality. For this reason, I also consider differences in informal practices related to school discipline by school racial composition. That is, it could also be the case that, net of actual school disciplinary policy, schools with majority black students treat and perceive poor behavior differently.

Third, I ask, does individual race interact with school racial composition to affect punishment? This question seeks to extend our understanding of how compositional differences and institutional practices matter for explaining variation in punishment both between *and* within groups, something that is obscured when relying only on aggregate school-level outcomes (see Welch and Payne 2010, 2012). Finally, I estimate the degree to which these school-level differences explain racial inequality in school discipline. Should it be the case that attending a school where the majority of students enrolled are black unequally exposes those students to harsh discipline, this provides further evidence of the detrimental effects of school segregation.

In the pages that follow, I start by briefly summarizing some of the literature's most prominent explanations related to race and punishment. In addition to outlining interpersonal mechanisms, I also describe the institutional perspective here, as it provides a link to the main argument of this paper. I then add a discussion about why relative group size is an important, often overlooked, predictor of this inequality. Specifically, a large body of research exists on racial threat, demonstrating how racial composition is related to a host of attitudes and perceptions about a space/location that could lead to differential application of punishments and social control (e.g., Mosher 2001). In the next section, I describe the data, measures, and analytic approach. In the third section, I present the results, organizing them by research question. I end with a discussion of the results' implications. Ultimately, the aim is to better understand how the interplay between institutional practices and the social organization of schools constitutes an important contextual clue about the conditions under which

inequalities in discipline are most likely to occur, and help us better understand the role of school in reproducing racial inequality.

Race and Punishment

The overrepresentation of blacks in nearly every form of punishment—for example, incarceration (Carson 2015), juvenile arrests (Engen, Steen, and Bridges 2002), and school discipline (Raffaele et al. 2002; Skiba et al. 2002)—is undeniable. As institutions of social control (Foucault 1977), schools are interesting sites to investigate this issue because of the comparatively recent formalization of their role in regulating student behavior. That is, in a trend that mirrors increasing punitiveness in the criminal justice system, schools have intensified their role of social control over the past few decades by creating rules to standardize which behaviors are targeted for sanctioning and what the consequences of rule violations should be. Since the introduction of zero-tolerance policies in the 1980s, for example, schools now hand out more disciplinary sanctions than ever before. In the 2009–2010 academic year, about 3 million students in grades K–12 were suspended, representing a steady increase since the 1970s, when the suspension rate was half that level (US Department of Education Office for Civil Rights 2014). This increased focus on discipline in schools, however, may have affected black students disproportionally (Skiba 2000).

One prominent explanation for inequality in discipline is that differential treatment of black students stems from tacit stereotypes and racialized perceptions of criminality. Several studies in both sociology and social psychology have demonstrated that, whether explicitly or implicitly, blacks are generally stereotyped as hostile and dangerous (Eberhardt et al. 2004; Quillian 2008). For example, using experimental methods, Eberhardt et al. (2004) found that when a black face was primed, it was more often associated with crime objects than when white faces were primed. Further demonstrating the strength of the association between race and crime, they found that this stereotypic relationship was also bidirectional. When participants were shown crime objects first, they were more likely to associate them with the black face than the white face. They conclude that the stereotypical association between crime and race influences visual processing and affects the perceived relevance of particular stimuli.

Other work corroborates this conclusion by demonstrating the implications of stereotypes for perceptions of threat and decisions to punish. Correll et al. (2007) used first-person-shooter tasks to examine the effect of racial cues on decisions to shoot a gun at individual targets. They found that target race signaled threat such that participants were more likely to shoot black, unarmed prompts than white, armed prompts. Similarly, Bridges and Steen (1998) found that probation officers attributed black youth delinquency to cultural deficiencies and personality traits. These stereotypes and perceptions were powerful predictors of treatment and sentencing recommendations.

Research in schools finds that teachers who hold similar racial stereotypes about blacks react more quickly and harshly to misbehavior by blacks and focus more seriously on behavior modification (Ferguson 2000). Morris, for example, found

that teachers in one middle school perceived black girls as loud and challenging of authority, and thus ultimately not "ladylike." He found frequent instances of "discipline intended to re-form the femininity of African American girls" (551).

Another explanation for inequality in discipline comes from the institutionalist perspective (e.g., Feagin and Feagin 1978; Carmichael and Hamilton 1967), which argues that racism can be transmitted into institutional practice and policies that (intentionally or unintentionally) produce or reproduce differential outcomes for racial minority groups by structuring access to economic or social rewards. In this approach, inequality cannot be reduced to the behavior of individuals. Instead, the precondition for racial inequality is the existence of racial institutions, or racialized social systems (see Bonilla-Silva 1997), which represent the taken-for-granted understandings of race inherited by social actors and influence their behavior and interactions with others.

School discipline, as the set of institutional policies and practices that consistently penalize black students, should be viewed from the institutional perspective for several reasons. Most relevant to my argument here is the fact that decisions are made at the institutional and organizational level (e.g., school districts) that determine: a) what behavior falls within formal definitions of punishable deviance, and b) the range of disciplinary responses to be applied (Bowditch 1993). Local actors with formal authority arrive at these decisions through a negotiation process with other stakeholders (Bowditch 1993), relying, among other things, on institutionalized scripts, mechanisms of institutional isomorphism,[1] and understandings of race. School racial composition is likely among the important factors influencing (consciously or not) considerations around formal disciplinary policies and the particular scripts and references most relevant for these decisions. This is evidenced by the fact that we observe systematic differences in the punitive nature of disciplinary policies in schools with a majority black student enrollment versus a majority white student enrollment (e.g., Welch and Payne 2010). The implication, then, is that the same behavior could (or could not) lead to some form of disciplinary sanction partially as a function of what school a student attends.

Racial Composition and Discipline Inequality

Given the persistence of inequality in school punishment, we therefore need to carefully consider how the social organization of schools (e.g., racial homogeneity that results from processes of segregation) contributes to differences in schooling experiences and discipline inequality in the aggregate. Relative group size, or racial composition, is a macrosocial factor of inequality that could be useful in explaining black—white differences in punishment for at least two distinct, but interrelated reasons: a) its relation to unequal exposure to discipline within schools, and b) its possible effect on variation in the association between race and punishment between schools. To better understand these points and situate them theoretically in the literature, I draw on the racial threat hypothesis—a framework that explicitly models the effect of relative group size on racial inequality.

Unequal Exposure to Harsh Discipline

A racial threat framework posits that each unit increase in the proportion of blacks in a population is associated with a similar increase in whites' perception of blacks as a threat (Blalock 1967; Taylor 1998). According to Blalock's (1967) typology, these perceived threats could be at the level of the political, economic, or symbolic. At the symbolic level, which is most relevant here, blacks are stereotypically perceived to be linked to crime essentially linked to crime, and this predicts support for state control or the application of harsh punishments (e.g., Baumer et al. 2003; Mosher 2001). For example, a large body of research in work on crime has accumulated, demonstrating how the racial composition of neighborhoods is associated with variation in rates of arrest (Mosher 2001); size and funding of law enforcement institutions (Chamlin 1989; Kent and Jacobs 2004); rates of incarceration (Jacobs and Kleban 2003); and perceptions of crime rates (Quillian and Pager 2001). In Quillian and Pager's (2010) study, white study participants used cues about a neighborhood's racial composition to assess safety and ignored other cues that are actually more predictive of actual crime rates, such as economic conditions. This perceived threat could stem from a variety of sources, such as self-interest or prejudice (see Bobo and Hutchings 1996), but central to this paper is the idea that minority group size heightens the application of more punitive forms of punishment, such as mandatory incarceration or the death penalty (Mosher 2001; King and Wheelock 2007). Thus, considering the relationship between racial composition and punishment is independent of the effect of individual race discussed in the previous section because it goes beyond interpersonal characteristics to consider the effects of race at a higher, institutional level.

There's at least some evidence suggesting that the same process could be happening in schools as well, given the reality of racial segregation (e.g., Lafree and Arum 2006). As Massey and Denton (1998) point out, the combination of white flight from urban neighborhoods and structural constraints on residential mobility for blacks has created a situation whereby black and white youth attend different schools. Welch and Payne (2010) found that the percentage of black students in a school was significantly and positively related to three measures of disciplinary severity: extreme punitive disciplinary response, zero tolerance, and punitive disciplinary response, even when controlling for indicators of student behavior (page 36). These school policy categories pertain to harsher, more punitive policies such as calling the police for any offense or automatic school suspension for bringing tobacco, alcohol, or drugs to school. Interestingly, and in support of the threat hypothesis, while actual measures of student delinquency and drug use did not significantly predict punitive discipline, teacher victimization and perceived lack of safety did (but only predicted extreme punitive policies).

The limitation of this work, however, is that it does not tell us whether racial inequality in school punishment is partially explained by the fact that black students attend schools where they have greater odds of being punished. Furthermore, given the amount of teacher and administrator discretion regarding school discipline (Ferguson 2000; Bowditch 1993), formal school policy is likely insufficient to account for the effect of school racial composition on

punishment. In other words, formal disciplinary rules fail to fully capture the disciplinary environment within a school. This is because, while formal policies and rules organize activities within an organization, "informal, negotiated understandings determine the meaning and implementation" (Bowditch 1993, 495). For this reason, it is important to consider informal disciplinary practices when considering punishment inequality—something this paper seeks to do.

Variation in the Association between Race and Punishment Across School

The unique effects of individual race and racial composition suggest that the interaction could produce interesting variation in the association between race and punishment. It is unclear whether the association between race and punishment is uniform across schools—particularly given what we know about the impact of school racial composition. The problem is that no study to date, that I am aware of, has explicitly tested this possibility.

Given what we know from the racial threat hypothesis, it could be that the effect of race on punishment is greatest in schools where the majority of students are black. That is, not only does racial composition predict the character of formal disciplinary policies (Payne and Welch 2010), but it may also be associated with harsher informal practices for black students. It is in these contexts that black student behavior may be more likely to be viewed as "threatening" and thus punishable.

Alternatively, it could be the case that black students have greater odds of punishment in homogeneous white schools. In white settings, the group threat may be low but perceptions of the threat posed by individual black student behavior may be more negative. Education researchers have pointed to a cultural discontinuity between white middle-class climates and black cultural styles (e.g., Morris 2005). In examining one suburban school, Ogbu (2003) cites white teachers' cultural misunderstandings of jokes as one reason for the disproportionate behavioral sanctioning for black students. Thus, black students may be more at risk of suspension when they attend majority white schools since it is in these contexts that their behavior may be most misunderstood.

Data and Analytic Approach

My analysis relies on data from the first follow-up survey of the National Educational Longitudinal Survey (NELS:88) for the year 1990 (tenth grade). The NELS sample was drawn using a two-stage stratified probability sampling design to select a nationally representative sample of students and schools. In stage one, 1,734 schools were selected on several characteristics. In stage two, 26,435 students were sampled from these schools with an oversampling of racial minorities. A subsample of these base-year respondents was administered the first follow-up questionnaire in 1990. Teachers, parents, and school administrators of sample respondents were also surveyed to provide additional information. The analyses here draw on a sample of NELS black and white students (n = 8,328) nested in

745 schools. Schools with a sample of fewer than five students were excluded. The final sample of schools have a mode of 12 students in the sample.

Dependent Variable

The outcome, school disciplinary sanctions, is defined as an odds ratio and is measured by three variables: in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, and expulsion/transfer. In the NELS survey, study participants were asked how many times in the first half of the current school year that they were: a) put on in-school suspension, b) suspended or put on probation from school, and c) transferred to another school or permanently suspended for disciplinary reasons. Response options were ordinal, with choices of "never," "1–2 times," "3–6 times," "7–9 times," and "over 10 times." Official sanctions are relatively rare events, with only 14 percent of participants indicating that they experienced them. For this reason, these discipline variables were collapsed into one binary response with "0" if the respondent never experienced any sanction, and "1" if the respondent experienced at least one sanction and at least one time.

When constructing the outcome variable, I chose to focus on "official" school sanctions rather than a more general measure of experiences with school discipline because official sanctions are less likely to overestimate inequality. Whereas challenges with self-reported measures in general are well known, questions about official sanctions are less likely to be over-reported for at least three reasons. First, school suspension and expulsion is less pervasive than general school discipline like getting in trouble or being sent to the principal's office. As a result, it is likely that these events can be more accurately quantified because of their relative rarity, thus reducing unintentional misreporting. Second, school suspensions and expulsions are part of students' official school record. As such, there exists a known mechanism for checking accuracy, which can serve to reduce the likelihood of intentional over-reporting (and under-reporting, for that matter). Finally, while social desirability bias may introduce error, it is more likely that students under-report, rather than over-report, whether they experienced official sanctions, since these forms of school discipline carry more sigma. Nonetheless, even these "official" sanctions could be subject to nonresponse bias. For example, there could be racial differences in how students report in-school suspensions if schools differentially report these sanctions on official records. It is for this reason that I do not rely on a single measure of school discipline.

Key Explanatory Variables

Race is self-reported, and table 1 reports unadjusted racial differences in the proportion of students who experienced at least one sanction during the school year. It shows a statistically significant difference—with 13 percent of white students and 27 percent of black students saying they experienced a sanction during this period.

At the school level, the core independent variable of interest is the proportion of black students as a measure of school racial composition from the

administrator questionnaire, with responses naturally varying from 0 to 100.[2] Table 1 reveals considerable variation in racial concentration between schools in the NELS sample. Whereas white students ($n = 7{,}280$) on average attend schools where less than 7 percent of the student population is black, black students ($n = 988$) attend schools that are nearly 50 percent black, on average. In order to allow for the possibility of nonlinearities in the effect of racial composition, I transform the percentage black students into quartiles.

Figure 1 graphs school racial composition (i.e., the quartile measure) by race. We can think of schools with 25 percent or fewer black students as mostly nonblack schools, and those with more than 76 percent as mostly black. Schools in the middle two quartiles we can consider mixed schools. Here, we observe significant school segregation by race. Of the white students in the sample, 51 percent attend schools that are mostly nonblack and about 35 percent attend schools that could be considered mixed. Among black students, 81 percent attend schools that are composed of 76–100 percent black students.

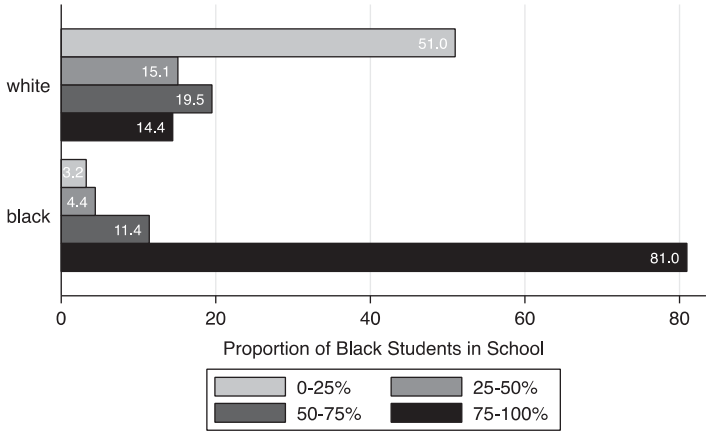
Figure 2 plots the unadjusted odds ratios of black students being sanctioned by school racial composition to provide preliminary evidence that the effect of race may in fact be nonlinear with respect to school racial composition.

Table 1. Descriptive Racial Differences in Number of Sanctions and Predictors of Number of Sanctions, Tenth Grade

	White students ($n = 7{,}447$)	Black students ($n = 881$)
Student-level variables		
Suspended/Expelled in tenth grade %[a]	12.99***	26.92
Got into one or more fights in school %	15.14***	19.71
Skipped class one or more times %	34.75	34.03
In trouble for behavior one or more times %	43.83	43.83
Mean math and reading skills	52.70 (0.11)***	45.42 (0.28)
Single-parent household %	14.08***	36.04
Two-parent household %	84.49***	56.91
Living with other adult %	1.43***	7.05
Lowest SES quartile %	18.92***	39.11
Highest SES quartile %	29.51***	14.18
School-level variables		
Mean % black students in school	6.95 (0.15)***	46.08 (0.99)
Mean % students on free/reduced-price lunch	15.15 (0.20)***	31.87 (0.77)
School sector is public %	85.01***	92.10

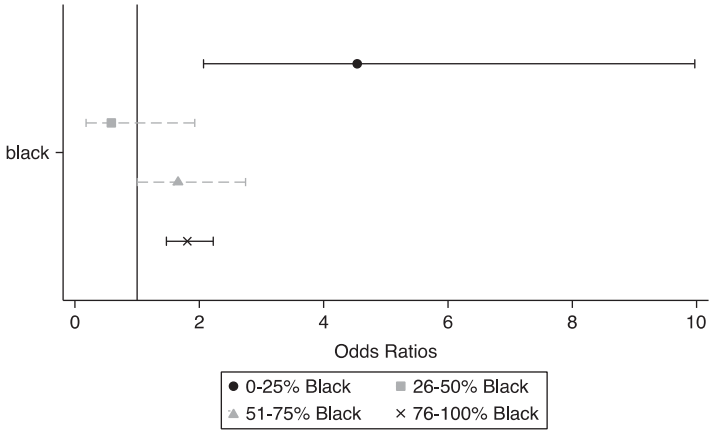
[a]Mean number of school sanctions (the outcome variable) is not known because it is less than zero for each group; however, differences are significant.
*** indicates differences that are significant ($p < 0.001$); other differences are not significant.

Figure 1. Distribution of school racial composition by student race



Source: National Education Longitudinal Study.

Figure 2. Unadjusted odds ratios of sanction by school racial composition



Source: National Education Longitudinal Study.

Considering the levels only, it appears that black students may be least likely to be sanctioned in racially mixed schools (i.e., those in the middle two quartiles) compared to schools that are more homogeneous. In comparison to whites, blacks are significantly more likely to be sanctioned than whites in mostly non-black and mostly black schools, whereas there is no difference in the likelihood of sanctioning in mixed schools.

Other Factors Affecting Odds of Disciplinary Sanctions

To assess the degree of racial inequality in punishment, I adjust the analyses to account for additional factors that tend to increase the odds of experiencing school discipline (see table 1). To control for racial differences in disruptive

behavior, I use three self-reported measures taken from the student questionnaire. In the tenth-grade survey, participants were asked how many times they skipped class, got into a fight with another student, and generally got into trouble for their behavior. Ordinal response choices include "never," "1–2 times," "3–6 times," "7–9 times," and "10 or more times." I combine these measures of behavior into a single behavior index using principal component analysis (see appendix A).[3]

Because I have imperfect measures of behavior due to data limitations, I also adjust the analyses for factors that are known to be correlated with disruptive behaviors and that vary significantly by race. Previous work has shown that cognitive skills are strongly associated with behaviors such as disruption in the classroom and getting in trouble (Harris and Robinson 2007). I use the NELS cognitive test battery in English and math as a measure of such skills. In terms of family characteristics, evidence suggests that family structure may also be associated with child behavioral issues (Osborne and McLanahan 2007; Wu and Thomson 2001) and education outcomes/transitions into adulthood (Ginther and Pollak 2004). In this study, I include indicators for different family arrangements measured at the baseline year: two-parent household, single-parent household, or living with another adult.

I additionally control for school disciplinary policy, given convincing evidence that policies are significantly more punitive in schools with proportionally more black students (Welch and Payne 2010). In the NELS, school administrators were asked about the school's punishment policy for 13 different behavioral infractions: "In your school what happens to a student the first time he/she is caught doing the following…" Responses were ordered by intensity from 0 (no action/warning) to 3 (expulsion). To create a measure of school discipline, I sum the ratings to each of the 13 items to obtain a total score.[4] Higher totals thus correspond to more punitive policies.

Modeling

I used multilevel logistic regression to account for the correlated structure of school-nested data by introducing variance at a higher level of aggregation.[5] Model 0, the baseline or "unconditional model," is a two-level model with school as the grouping factor and no other predictors. Model 0 estimates the baseline variance at each level and calculates the intraclass correlation coefficient (ICC). Model 1 adds specification of the fixed portion to include main effects for behavior, skills, and family composition. Estimates from this model allow an evaluation of racial disparities in school discipline and differences in odds of school discipline across schools. I specify this model (and all subsequent models) assuming level-2 residuals to have a bivariate normal distribution with unstructured variance-covariance matrix such that the intercept and slope can be correlated.

Model 2 builds on model 1 by expanding the level-2 model to include a school-level predictor—racial composition, z_j. In this way, I attempt to estimate the role of differences in racial composition in explaining between-group racial

differences in school discipline and the direction and shape of the relationship (e.g., linear or nonlinear). Model 3 adds a fixed cross-level interaction effect between race and racial composition variables. Here, I ascertain the degree to which the effect of being black for school discipline varies by school racial composition. Finally, model 4 focuses on a different explanation for differences in punishment—that behaviors have different consequences by school racial composition. To estimate this, model 4 includes cross-level interactions between different measures of behavior and school racial composition variables.

Findings

Racial Inequality in School Punishment

Model 0 in table 2 presents the level-2 variance component for the unconditional model. The calculated total variance in outcome within schools that can be explained by level 1 is 3.29, and the total explainable variation at level 2 is 0.65. This corresponds to an ICC of 0.16, indicating that 16 percent of the variation in sanction odds can be attributed to schools. Model 1 builds on this unconditional model by adding level-1 covariates. The results for the fixed portion of the model—the effects across schools—can be found in the top portion of table 2. All behavioral controls are statistically significant, as expected ($p < .0001$). As one would suspect, greater frequencies of poor behavior significantly predict the odds of punishment. However, even after controlling for behavior and its correlates, I find racial differences in discipline. Compared to a white student, a black student exhibiting similar behavior has 2.04 ($p < .0001$) greater log odds of being disciplined. These results are suggestive and consistent with previous findings of a racial discipline gap.

In the random portion of the model, we see that there is considerable variation in intercepts at the school level with a variance of 0.87 on the logit scale.[6] Furthermore, comparing the fit of the random intercept model to that of OLS yields $LR = 89.11$ with a p-value of 0.0000. Thus, I can reject the null hypothesis that intercepts are the same across schools. The computed intra-class correlation is 0.21, indicating that the correlation between students in the same school is sizable. In other words, 21 percent of the variance in students' propensity to be sanctioned for their behavior can be attributed to school-level factors, rather than individual-level differences in covariates like behavior.

The Role of School Racial Composition

Model 2 attempts to account for the variation in intercept at the school level by adding measures for racial composition as well as other school-level covariates (as controls). A racial threat perspective would predict a linear, monotonically increasing relationship between school racial composition and odds of suspension/expulsion, contending that as the proportion of black students increases so does the likelihood of punitive school discipline at the school level. Yet, as discussed in the hypotheses above, it may be more appropriate to think of the effect

Table 2. Multilevel Mixed Effects Logit Models Analyzing School Variation in Probability of Sanctioning Disparities by Race (OR, 95% CI)

	Model 0	Model 1	*p*	Model 2	*p*	Model 3	*p*	Model 4	*p*
Fixed coefficients									
Black		2.04 (1.54–2.70)	0.00	1.52 (1.09–2.11)	0.01	1.58 (1.07–2.35)	0.02	1.59 (1.06–2.40)	0.03
Behavior		2.71 (2.52–2.92)	0.00	2.81 (2.59–3.05)	0.00	2.82 (2.60–3.05)	0.00	2.57 (2.31–2.86)	0.00
Racial comp(quartile 1)				ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Racial comp(quartile 2)				1.09 (0.74–1.61)	0.66	1.19 (0.80–1.75)	0.39	1.17 (0.77–1.79)	0.46
Racial comp(quartile 3)				1.16 (0.83–1.64)	0.38	1.17 (0.82–1.66)	0.38	0.95 (0.63–1.42)	0.80
Racial comp(quartile 4)				1.75 (1.23–2.49)	0.00	1.74 (1.20–2.52)	0.00	1.52 (1.11–2.27)	0.04
Cross-level interactions									
Black x quartile 1						2.16 (0.56–8.29)	0.26	2.07 (0.54–7.86)	0.29
Black x quartile 2						0.12 (0.02–0.98)	0.05	0.13 (0.02–0.94)	0.04
Black x quartile 3						1.00 (0.43–2.36)	0.99	1.00 (0.41–2.43)	0.98
Black x quartile 4						ref	ref	ref	ref
Behavior x quartile 1								ref	ref
Behavior x quartile 2								1.03 (0.83–1.27)	0.80
Behavior x quartile 3								1.32 (1.07–1.63)	0.01
Behavior x quartile 4								1.28 (1.05–1.55)	0.01
Random coefficients									
Constant (σ^2_{v0})	0.65 (0.09)	0.87 (0.15)		0.82 (0.15)		0.83 (0.15)		0.86 (0.16)	
n cases	7,692	7,140		6,430		6,430		6,430	

Notes: No weights. Models 1–4 control for skills, family comp. Models 2–5 additionally control for school poverty, official disciplinary policy, and whether the school is public.

of racial composition as nonlinear in order to capture the possibility that homogeneity in general (i.e., either homogeneously white or black schools) may have similar effects for different reasons.

With the newly added racial composition quartiles, we do in fact observe results consistent with a threat narrative. Attending a school with the highest proportion of black students (75–100 percent) appears to significantly increase the odds of experiencing a suspension or expulsion, by about 75 percent, compared to a school with only 0–25 percent black students. Interestingly, however, despite findings from previous research focusing exclusively on official school policies, these policies do not appear to be significantly related to suspension/expulsion odds. Comparing school-level variance components in models 1 and 2, we observe that introduction of level-2 covariates reduces the variance from 0.87 to 0.82. This suggests that the inclusion of these variables explains about 5 percent of the variance in odds of suspension at the school level. However, the overall variance remains significant, indicating that a large portion remains unexplained.

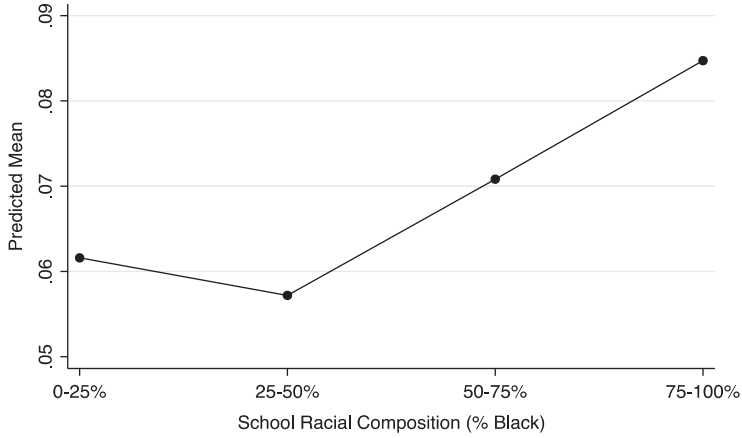
Model 2 also attempts to explain racial differences in school discipline at the individual level. Although the coefficient for race remains significant with the inclusion of school-level variables ($p < .01$), it is reduced significantly, from a 92 percent greater odds for black students to a 52 percent greater odds. This suggests that at least some of the school discipline inequality that black students experience is explained by differences in the schools they attend, with racial composition being a significant factor.

Explaining the Role of Racial Composition: Differential Effect of Race or of Behavior?

The addition of racial composition as a level-2 covariate clearly helps explain aggregate racial differences in school discipline and variation in odds of discipline by school, yet it does not tell us *why*. What it is about school racial composition that creates conditions of inequality? It could be that the effect of black differs by school context. Alternatively, based on a threat hypothesis, it could be that certain racial contexts are more punitive and thus behavior is more likely to be sanctioned. Model 3 tests the hypothesis that the effect of race differs by school racial composition using cross-level interactions. The results suggest that, compared to more homogeneous schools, black students who attend racially mixed schools where black students comprise 25–50 percent of the student body are significantly less likely to experience inequality in school sanctions. In fact, compared to black students who attend majority black schools, these students are 88 percent less likely to be sanctioned for their behavior.

Model 4 tests the hypothesis that the effect of behavior varies by school racial composition, and figure 3 demonstrates this graphically. It adds cross-level interactions between school racial composition quartiles and behavior.[7] I find that the effect of behavior on odds of being sanctioned varies significantly by school racial composition. In schools where black students comprise more than 50 percent of the student body, behavior is significantly more likely to lead to an

Figure 3. Marginal effect of behavior by school racial composition



Note: NELS:88, figured based on the fixed position of Model 4.

official school sanction such as suspension ($p < .01$). In addition, with the inclusion of behavior/racial composition in the model, the main effect for racial composition quartile 4 (see models 2 and 3) is significantly reduced in both significance ($p < .05$) and magnitude (decreased by 22 percent). This is important because it suggests that part of the reason why attending a majority black school differentially leads to greater odds of suspension is because behavior in those schools is more harshly punished. In other words, blacks are more severely punished for their behavior as the percentage of blacks in the school rises.

Sensitivity Analysis

While not directly related to behavior in school, socioeconomic status may be related to perceptions of behavior and school discipline. Prior work suggests (e.g., Lareau 2003; Farkas et al. 1990) that social advantages accrue to middle-class children, whose cultural repertoires align with the values and expectations of the educational system. It could be that disciplinary sanctions are primarily distributed based on these differences and that race—since black students are disproportionately in lower-SES groups (see table 1)—is a proxy for socioeconomic status. To consider this possibility, I use a SES variable constructed in the base-year survey, defined as a factor scale of parents' log income, occupational prestige, and level of education. I repeat the analyses from table 2, models 1–4, with this variable (see appendix A). None of the results change significantly, and the same qualitative interpretations remain.

Discussion

Considering relative group size at the school level is clearly important for understanding group disparities in outcome, and findings from this paper suggest that a racial threat perspective may be useful for understanding these

differences in schools. In analysis of over 7,000 black and white tenth graders, I found that differences in the racial composition of schools have important consequences for aggregate differences in rates of school suspension/expulsion. On average, black students in the NELS attend schools that are 46 percent black, while white students attend schools that are 7 percent black (table 1). Multilevel analyses find that the percent black at the school level is significantly and positively related to the odds of being suspended/expelled, net of actual behavior. In other words, and consistent with a threat hypothesis, attending schools that are more black increases one's chances of being disciplined for behavior. This relationship between the proportion of black student enrollment and odds of school sanctions is partially explained by the differential effect of behavior in these schools.

However, the results from this paper also suggest that a racial threat narrative may be insufficient to explain inequality in school sanctions. Specifically, I found that black students are least likely to be sanctioned for their behavior in schools that are racially mixed. This is important because it suggests that racial homogeneity (whether mostly black *or* mostly white) may create conditions for inequality for a variety of reasons.

To be sure, this study is not without its limitations, and more work is needed in this area to replicate findings. For one, while the NELS provides a rich set of variables that is better than many other data sets, newer data would help determine whether these relationships hold for more recent periods. Furthermore, better measures of behavior are needed. It is certainly possible that residual racial differences in school discipline are related to missing variables related to behavior. For example, I do not have information on the reasons students were suspended/expelled, nor do I have individual-level measures of more serious behavioral problems (e.g., threatening teachers, bringing a weapon to school). Thus, I cannot rule out the possibility that differences in why students are disciplined and/or the severity of behavioral problems explain differences in outcomes. Additionally, future work should consider longitudinal analyses, both to improve causal inference and to observe differences in developments and changes in groups over the course of several school years. Finally, the analysis is limited by the fact that there is a scarcity of cases with which to accurately estimate the likelihood of white punishment in black schools. This is a function of the NELS sample but overall reflects the reality of school racial segregation, since there are very few white students in such schools. For this reason, all regression models comparing white and black students across neighborhoods and schools are limited in this way, since whites rarely are in schools and neighborhoods with blacks, especially those that are most disadvantaged. Notwithstanding these limitations, however, the results from this paper are highly suggestive and point to a need for research in school and punishment to consider school-level variation.

Most extant explanations of racial inequality in discipline focus on interpersonal factors—for example, teacher perceptions and the effect of racial bias for decision-making—leaving us little knowledge of the institutional-level factors that create conditions for unequal outcomes. The institutional approach to

school discipline taken in this paper provides clear implications for theory and policy. Theoretically, at least in terms of school punishment, it suggests that aggregate levels of racial inequality are partially the result of contextual differences in the effect of individual race. Previous qualitative work has convincingly demonstrated that black students are more likely to be seen as deviant in school (e.g., Morris 2007; Ferguson 2000), and this study finds suggestive evidence that this is most likely in schools that are racially homogeneous (either homogeneously white or black). I also find that average levels of discipline inequality in this sample are the result of differences in institutional exposure. That is, racial composition—specifically percent black—creates a context whereby behavior is more likely to be punished.

Finally, the results from this paper add to the existing literature highlighting racial concentration and racial segregation as an important policy issue (e.g., Massey and Denton 1998; Moody 2001; Card and Rothstein 2007). Previous work suggests that levels of school racial segregation in the United States appear to have increased over the past decade. In 2010, black and white students were less likely to be in the same classroom than they were in 1993; this is due to uneven distribution of students between school districts and decreasing efforts to desegregate within districts (Fiel 2013). Given these high rates of racial segregation of schools, the implication of the current study is that a larger proportion of black students overall are exposed to harsh disciplinary practices (Clotfelter 2004; Lafree and Arum 2006; Noguera 2003). This creates conditions of unequal risk. Findings from this study thus suggest that in order to seriously address racial inequality in school punishment, more attention should be paid to institutional-level differences that create these conditions of inequality.

Notes

1. These mechanisms include political influence and legitimacy, disciplinary policies of other schools within the same organizational field, and professionalization. For a more detailed discussion of organizational isomorphism, see DiMaggio and Powell (1983).
2. While this approach has its limitations, it is by far the most common proxy for racial threat (e.g., Welch and Payne 2010, 2012; Mosher 2001; King and Wheelock 2007).
3. Regression models include one component from this analysis. The criterion for inclusion was based on Kaiser's rule, retraining components with eigenvalues over 1.0.
4. The reliability coefficient, alpha, for this scale is .82.
5. These multilevel logistic regressions used the default method of adaptive Gaussian quadrature (AGQ) with seven quadrature points per level.
6. The level-2 variance significantly increases from model 0 to model 1 with the addition of predictors. This is not surprising, given the correlation between individual-level covariates and group-level error. In this case, schools where Black students attend tend to have higher school-level coefficients. See Gelman and Hill (2007) for more on this issue.
7. Results from the likelihood ratio test on the fit of model 4 compared to model 3 indicate that model 4 is a significantly better fit for the data ($p < .001$).

Appendix A. Sensitivity Analysis Adjusting for SES

Table 3. Multilevel Mixed Effects Logit Models Analyzing School Variation in Probability of Sanctioning Disparities by Race (OR, 95% CI)

	Model 0	Model 1	*p*	Model 2	*p*	Model 3	*p*	Model 4	*p*
Fixed coefficients									
Black		1.94 (1.46–2.57)	0.00	1.45 (1.04–2.03)	0.03	1.51 (1.02–2.24)	0.04	1.59 (1.06–2.40)	0.03
Behavior		2.73 (2.53–2.95)	0.00	2.83 (2.61–3.07)	0.00	2.83 (2.61–3.07)	0.00	2.57 (2.31–2.86)	0.00
SES		0.82 (0.75–0.90)	0.00	0.84 (0.76–0.93)	0.00	0.84 (0.76–0.93)		0.84 (0.76–0.93)	0.00
Racial comp(quartile 1)				ref	ref	ref	ref	ref	ref
Racial comp(quartile 2)				1.11 (0.75–1.63)	0.61	1.20 (0.81–1.78)	0.36	1.17 (0.77–1.79)	0.46
Racial comp(quartile 3)				1.20 (0.85–1.69)	0.31	1.20 (0.84–1.71)	0.31	0.95 (0.63–1.42)	0.80
Racial comp(quartile 4)				1.82 (1.28–2609)	0.00	1.82 (1.25–2.63)	0.00	1.52 (1.02–2.27)	0.04
Cross-level interactions									
Black x quartile 1						2.25 (0.58–8.71)	0.24	2.07 (0.54–7.86)	0.29
Black x quartile 2						0.13 (0.02–0.99)	0.05	0.13 (0.02–0.94)	0.04
Black x quartile 3						1.02 (0.43–2.41)	0.97	1.00 (0.40–2.43)	0.98
Black x quartile 4						ref	ref	ref	ref
Behavior x quartile 1								ref	ref
Behavior x quartile 2								1.03 (0.83–1.27)	0.80
Behavior x quartile 3								1.32 (1.07–1.63)	0.01
Behavior x quartile 4								1.28 (1.05–1.56)	0.01
Random coefficients									
Constant ($\sigma^2_{\upsilon 0}$)	0.65 (0.09)	0.87 (0.15)		0.83 (0.15)		0.83 (0.15)		0.86 (0.16)	
n cases	7,692	7,140		6,430		6,430		6,430	

Notes: No weights. Models 1–4 control for skills, family comp. Models 2–5 additionally control for school poverty, official disciplinary policy, and whether the school is public.

About the Author

Linsey Edwards is a PhD candidate in the sociology department at Princeton University. Her research investigates issues of social inequality in neighborhoods and schools.

Supplementary Material

Supplementary material is available at *Social Forces* online, http://sf.oxfordjournals.org/.

References

Baumer, Eric, Steven Messner, and Richard Rosenfeld. 2003. "Explaining Spatial Variation in Support for Capital Punishment: A Multilevel Analysis." *American Journal of Sociology* 108(4):844–75.

Bernburg, Jon, and Marvin Krohn. 2003. "Labeling Life Chances and Adult Crime: The Direct and Indirect Influence of Official Intervention in Adolescent Crime in Early Adulthood." *Criminology* 41: 1297–318.

Blalock, H. M. 1967. *Toward A Theory of Minority-Group Relations*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Bobo, Lawrence, and Vincent Hutchings. 1996. "Perceptions of Racial Group Competition: Extending Blumer's Theory of Group Position to a Multiracial Social Context." *American Sociological Review* 61:951–72.

Bonilla-Silva, Eduardo. 1997. "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation." *American Sociological Review* 62(3):465–80.

Bowditch, Christine. 1993. "Getting Rid of Troublemakers: High School Disciplinary Procedures and the Production of Dropouts." *Social Problems* 40(4):493–509.

Bridges, George, and Sara Steen. 1998. "Racial Disparities in Official Assessments of Juvenile Offenders: Attributional Stereotypes as Mediating Mechanisms." *American Sociological Review* 63(4):554–70.

Card, David, and Jesse Rothstein. 2007. "Racial Segregation and the Black–White Test Score Gap." *Journal of Public Economics* 91:2158–84.

Carmichael, Stokely, and Charles Hamilton. 1967. *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*. New York: Vintage Books.

Carson. 2015. Prisoners in 2014. *Bureau of Justice Statistics Bulletin*. NCJ 248955. Washington, DC: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

Center for Social Organization of Schools (CSOS). 2007. *Falling Off the Path to Graduation: Middle Grade Indicators in Indianapolis*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University.

Chamlin, Mitchell B. 1989. "A Macro Social Analysis of Change in Police Force Size, 1972–1982: Controlling for Static and Dynamic Influences." *Sociological Quarterly* 30:615–24.

Clotfelter, C. T. 2004. *After Brown: The Rise and Retreat of School Desegregation*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Correll, Joshua, Bernadette Park, Charles M. Judd, and Bernard Wittenbrink. 2007. "The Influence of Stereotypes on Decisions to Shoot." *European Journal of Social Psychology* 37:1102–17.

Crowder, Kyle, and Scott J. South. 2003. "Neighborhood Distress and School Dropout: The Variable Significance of Community Context." *Social Science Research* 32:659–98.

DiMaggio, Paul J., and Walter W. Powell. 1983. "The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields." *American Sociological Review* 48(2):147–60.

Eberhardt, Jennifer L., Philip Atiba Goff, Valerie J. Purdie, and Paul G. Davies. 2004. "Seeing Black: Race, Crime, and Visual Processes." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 87(6):876–93.

Eitle, Tamela McNulty, and David James Eitle. 2004. "Inequality, Segregation, and the Overrepresentation of African Americans in School Suspensions." *Sociological Perspectives* 47(3):269–87.

Engen, Rodney, Sara Steen, and George Bridges. 2002. "Racial Disparities in Punishment of Youth: A Theoretical and Empirical Assessment of the Literature." *Social Problems* 49(2):194–220.

Farkas, George, Robert Grobe, Daniel Sheehan, and Yuan Shuan. 1990. "Cultural Resources and School Success: Gender, Ethnicity, and Poverty Groups within an Urban School District." *American Sociological Review* 55(1):127–42.

Feagin, Joe R., and Clairece Booher Feagin. 1978. *Discrimination American Style: Institutional Racism and Sexism*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Fiel, Jeremy. 2013. "Decomposing School Resegregation: Social Closure, Racial Imbalance, and Racial Isolation." *American Sociological Review* 78(5):828–48.

Ferguson, Ann. 2000. *Bad Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Foucault, Michel. 1977. *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. New York: Pantheon.

Gelman, Andrew, and Jennifer Hill. 2007. *Data Analysis Using Regression and Multilevel/Hierarchical Models*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ginther, D. K., and R. A. Pollak. 2004. "Family Structure and Children's Educational Outcome: Blended Families, Stylized Facts, and Descriptive Regression." *Demography* 41(4):671–96.

Harris, Angel, and Keith Robinson. 2007. "Schooling Behaviors or Prior Skills? A Cautionary Tale of Omitted Variable Bias Within Oppositional Culture Theory." *Sociology of Education* 80:139–57.

Hemphill, Sheryl, John Toumbourou, Todd Herrenkohl, Barbara McMorris, and Richard Catalano. 2006. "The Effect of School Suspensions and Arrests on Subsequent Adolescent Antisocial Behavior in Australia and the United States." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 39:736–44.

Hirschfield, Paul. 2009. "Another Way Out: The Impact of Juvenile Arrests on High School Dropout." *Sociology of Education* 82(4):368–93.

Hyman, I. A., and D. C. Perone. 1998. "The Other Side of School Violence: Educator Policies and Practices That May Contribute to Student Misbehavior." *Journal of School Psychology* 36(1):7–27.

Jacobs, David, and Richard Kleban. 2003. "Political Institutions, Minorities, and Punishment: A Pooled Cross-National Analysis of Imprisonment Rates." *Social Forces* 82(2):725–55.

Kent, Stephanie L., and David Jacobs. 2004. "Social Divisions and Coercive Control in Advanced Societies: Law Enforcement Strength in Eleven Nations from 1975 to 1994." *Social Problems* 51 (3):343–61.

King, Ryan, and Darren Wheelock. 2007. "Group Threat and Social Control: Race, Perceptions of Minorities, and the Desire to Punish." *Social Forces* 85(3):1255–80.

Kinsler, Josh. 2011. "Understanding the Black–White School Discipline Gap." *Economics of Education Review* 30:1370–83.

Lafree, Gary, and Richard Arum. 2006. "The Impact of Racially Inclusive Schooling on Adult Incarceration Rates among US Cohorts of African Americans and Whites since 1930." *Criminology* 44(1):73–103.

Lareau, Annette. 2003. *Unequal Childhoods: Class, Race, and Family Life*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Larkin, Joe. 1979. "School Desegregation and Student Suspension: A Look at One School System." *Education and Urban Society* 11:485–95.

Massey, Douglas, and Nancy Denton. 1998. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Moody, James. 2001. "Race, School Integration and Friendship Segregation in American." *American Journal of Sociology* 107(3):679–716.

Morris, Edward W. 2005. "Tuck in That Shirt! Race, Class Gender, and Discipline in an Urban School." *Sociological Perspectives* 48(1):25–48.

_____. 2007. "Ladies or Loudies? Perceptions and Experiences of Black Girls in Classrooms." *Youth and Society* 38:490–515.

Morrison, Gale M., Suzanne Anthony, Meri Storino, and Cynthia Dillon. 2001. "An Examination of the Disciplinary Histories and the Individual and Educational Characteristics of Students Who Participate in an In-School Suspension Program." *Treatment of Children* 24:276–93.

Mosher, Clayton. 2001. "Predicting Drug Arrest Rates: Conflict and Social Disorganization Perspectives." *Crime & Delinquency* 47(1):84–104.

Noguera, Pedro A. 2003. "The Trouble with Black Boys: The Role and Influence of Environmental and Cultural Factors on the Academic Performance of African American Males." *Urban Education* 38(4):317–459.

Nolan, Kathleen. 2011. *Police in the Hallways: Discipline in an Urban High School*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ogbu, John. 2003. *Black Americans in an Affluent Suburb*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Osborne, Cynthia, and Sara McLanahan. 2007. "Partnership Instability and Child Well-Being." *Journal of Marriage & Family* 69:1345–66.

Payne, Allison, and Kelly Welch. 2010. "Modeling the Effects of Racial Threat on Punitive and Restorative School Discipline Practice." *Criminology* 48(4):1019–62.

Quillian, Lincoln. 2008. "Does Unconscious Racism Exist?" *Social Psychological Quarterly* 71(1):6–11.

Quillian, Lincoln, and Devah Pager. 2001. "Black Neighbors, Higher Crime? The Role of Racial Stereotypes in Evaluations of Neighborhood Crime." *American Journal of Sociology* 107(3):717–67.

_____. 2010. "Estimating Risk: Stereotype Amplification and the Perceived Risk of Criminal Victimization." *Social Psychology Quarterly* 73(1):79–104.

Raffaele Mendez, Linda M., Howard M. Knoff, and John M. Ferron. 2002. "School Demographic Variables and Out-of-School Suspension Rates: A Quantitative and Qualitative Analysis of a Large, Ethnically Diverse School District." *Psychology in Schools* 39(3):259–77.

Rios, Victor. 2011. *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*. New York: New York University Press.

Skiba, Russel J. 2000. *Zero Tolerance, Zero Evidence: An Analysis of School Disciplinary Practice*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana Education Policy Center. Policy Research Report #SRS2.

Skiba, Russel J., Robert H. Horner, Choong-Geun Chung, M. Karega Rausch, Seth L. May, and Tary Tobin. 2011. "Race Is Not Neutral: A National Investigation of African American and Latino Disproportionality in School Discipline." *School Psychology Review* 40(1):85–107.

Skiba, R. J., R. S. Michael, A. C. Nardo, and R. Peterson. 2002. "The Color of Discipline: Sources of Racial and Gender Disproportionality in School Punishment." *Urban Review* 34:317–42.

Taylor, Marylee. 1998. "How White Attitudes Vary with the Racial Composition of Local Populations: Number Count." *American Sociological Review* 63:512–35.

Thornton, Clarence H., and William T. Trent. 1998. "School Desegregation and Suspension in East Baton Rouge Parish: A Preliminary Report." *Journal of Negro Education* 57:482–501.

US Department of Education Office for Civil Rights. 2014. *Civil Rights Data Collection. Data Snap Shot: School Discipline.* Brief No. 1. www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/crdc-discipline-snapshot.pdf.

Welch, Kelly, and Allison Payne. 2010. "Racial Threat and Punitive School Discipline." *Social Problems* 57(1):25–48.

_____. 2012. "Exclusionary School Punishment: The Effect of Racial Threat on Expulsion and Suspension." *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice* 10(2):155–71.

Wu, Lawrence, and Elizabeth Thomson. 2001. "Race Differences in Family Experience and Early Sexual Initiation: Dynamic Models of Family Structure and Family Change." *Journal of Marriage & Family* 63:682–96.