

ABSTRACT

THOMSEN, ERIN MICHELLE. Learning While Black: The Educational Experiences of Black Males and Exclusionary School Discipline. (Under the direction of Dr. Stacy De Coster).

The purpose of this paper is to assess the effects of race, school misbehavior, and the interaction between race and behavior in exclusionary school discipline and consider more covert explanations for well-documented racial disparities in disciplinary treatments.

Expanding upon theories that emphasize individual's social class socialization in the context of middle-class schools, ethnographic research is discussed to include race-based experiences in schools that tend to value white students over black students. Explanations for racial disparities in school discipline considered include reactive withdrawal from school commitment and values and hegemonic cultivation. A sample of black and white 10th grade males from the base year data of the Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002) and linear regression are used to assess the above relations. Consistent with previous research, findings show that black males are more likely than white males to be the objects of exclusionary discipline. A significant race penalty exists for black boys in that their indiscretions, even when comparable to white boys' behaviors, are punished more harshly. These effects are not explained by measures of reactive withdrawal from school or hegemonic cultivation, which means institutional and interactional biases within schools that are not directly tested here should be considered further in future research.

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Learning While Black: The Educational Experiences of Black Males and Exclusionary
School Discipline

by
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INTRODUCTION

Research on school discipline consistently finds that black and low-income students are disproportionately represented in suspension, expulsion, law enforcement referral, and school-related arrest records (e.g. Curtis 2014; Ferguson 2001; Gregory and Weinstein 2008; Horner et al. 2010). Recent research shows that race is the primary predictor of exclusionary discipline with black students being the main targets of such discipline (Horner et al. 2010). The widespread adoption of zero-tolerance policies that mandate minimum penalties for school infractions simultaneously has increased the punishment for minor school infractions and exacerbated the problem of racial inequality in school discipline (Ferguson 2001; Skiba, Chung, Trachok, Baker, Sheya, and Hughes 2014; Wald 2003). The race gap in school discipline emerges as early as preschool where black children comprise 18 percent of the American preschool population but represent 42 percent of those receiving their first out-of-school suspensions and 48 percent of those who have been suspended multiple times (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights 2014).

This race differential follows students to primary and secondary settings, where disciplinary measures for misconduct increasingly involve local law enforcement agencies. During the 2011-12 school year, black students constituted 16 percent of the U.S. student population but 27 percent of students receiving school referrals to law enforcement and 31 percent of school based arrests (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Right 2014). The resulting school-to-prison pipeline that funnels students, predominantly African American, out of public schools and into the criminal justice system has been identified by scholars and public officials alike as a primary shortcoming of schooling in contemporary American society.

Recognition of this shortcoming, while important, does little by way of explicating the everyday institutional and interactional processes that produce racial disparities in school punishment and promote and reproduce hierarchies of racial privilege and disadvantage in society. Theories in criminology and sociology focused primarily on social class offer a general framework for understanding race differentials in school punishment. The expansion of these class-based theories to understandings of race differentials in punishment is supported by ethnographic studies that highlight processes through which institutional and interactional racism within school settings produce race disparities in school discipline practices.

To remain consistent with much of this work, and in effort to avoid complex issues of gender that influence patterns of misbehavior and discipline within and across race groups, the present analysis is limited to the experiences of males. I draw on this work to assess the extent to which hegemonic cultivation emphasizes how white, middle-class socialization and parental embeddedness in children's education helps explain race differentials in exclusionary school discipline. In doing so, I emphasize that schools are white institutions that devalue the experiences, history, and culture black students carry with them to school in favor of the products of hegemonic socialization that white, middle-class students embody. I consider white, middle-class socialization to be hegemonic because families and students of all racial and class backgrounds are held accountable to its products. In this vein, I assess the extent to which reactive withdrawal among black students of commitments to intuitional goals, respect for institutional actors, and sentiments of institutional legitimacy help explain why black males are more likely to be targets of exclusionary discipline than their white peers who also misbehave in school. Likewise, hegemonic socialization -- comprising

measures of specific parent-child interactions, time use, appearance and relationship norms, and educational and aspirational values -- is measured. I test the extent to which reactive withdrawal and hegemonic socialization variables explain differential school punishment using data from the Educational Longitudinal Study (ELS:2002). The findings show that race influences exclusionary school discipline treatments with black students reporting more school punishment than their white peers. The race differential in punishment holds up even when considering student misbehavior. Perhaps more telling is that misbehavior by black students is more likely to be punished than misbehavior by white students. However, this differential treatment of black and white students' misbehavior is not explained through processes consistent with those emphasizing the value of hegemonic cultivation in schools.

The paper proceeds as follows: I begin with a brief discussion of structural exclusion and racial disparities in American schools that privilege white students and disadvantage black students. Next, I consider theories in criminology and sociology that explain institutional and interactional processes in schools that favor middle-class socialization. The next section considers findings from ethnographic studies focusing on the experience of race in American schools to develop a model of hegemonic cultivation in the family-school nexus. In the following sections, I derive hypotheses and discuss the data and measures used to test these hypotheses. I, then, discuss main findings and conclude with a broad discussion of these findings for understanding race differentials in school discipline and the school-to-prison pipeline that disproportionately shapes the lives of black males.

THE AMERICAN SCHOOL AS A WHITE INSTITUTION

The institution of education has long served as a site for the reproduction of the economic, political, and social inequalities across race (Duncan 2010). Prior to Civil Rights,

this was accomplished through the exclusion of black students from more advantaged white schools where educational resources and opportunities were disproportionately funneled. Despite the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision to end legal segregation in public schools, de facto segregation of schools remains today and the contribution of schools to the reproduction of racial inequality remains intact (Tyson 2011). As Martin Luther King, Jr. predicted in his warning that integration without equal political power would not lead to racial equality in schools (Duncan 2010), the American school system continues to underserve and exclude black students from an equal educational experience equivalent to those of their white peers.

Multiple explanations for continued racial segregation trends in schools have been considered. Residential segregation and suburbanization impact the racial composition of schools and districts (Diem, Frankenberg, Cleary, & Ali 2014). Tracking within racially diverse schools disproportionately filters low-income black students into lower tracks with fewer resources and “watered-down” curricula (Oakes 1985; Roscigno and Ainsworth-Darnell 1998; Tyson 2011). Lewis (2003) and Lewis-McCoy (2014) highlight the injuries of colorblind policies and discourses in suburban schools, and Kozol’s (1991) *Savage Inequalities* depicts the dire conditions under which black, low-income students attend school, including dilapidated buildings, inexperienced teachers, overcrowded classrooms, and outdated resources, while white students within the same district benefit from the best resources, teachers, and facilities available.

Additionally, the 1990s saw a series of U.S. Supreme Court decisions, such as *Board of Education of Oklahoma City v. Dowell* (1991) and *Missouri v. Jenkins* (1995), which excused school districts from desegregation guidelines. As a result, black students were more

segregated in the American education system at the end of the twentieth century than they had been in the decades immediately following desegregation (Frankenberg, Lee, & Orfield 2003). In general, institutions of education continue to be directed by a white majority that implements policies that disproportionately benefit white students and their families.

Similarly the day-to-day school environment is dominated by white actors. Eighty-three percent of the nation's school teachers in 2007-8 were white, a figure that does not match the diversity of the student body, which is nearly 55.5% White, 21.3% Hispanic, 15.5% Black, and 4.1% Asian (U.S. Department of Education 2011). One consequence of these ratios is that teachers develop curriculum that emphasize white culture and experiences. When the experiences, cultures, and histories of minorities are considered in the classroom, they are treated as a "side dish" to the white "entrée" (Hooks 1992). Given these facts it is hardly surprising that black, male students often develop perceptions of schools as illegitimate and subsequently withdraw commitment from the institution that, by virtue of devaluing their culture and socialization, ultimately devalues them as individuals and students. Despite the above facts, some of the most compelling theories of unequal educational experiences among students prioritize social class over race; in particular, Cohen's (1955) status-frustration and Lareau's (2003) concerted cultivation theories emphasize class-based differences in socialization that disadvantage lower-class students in the middle-class institution of school.

LOWER-CLASS SOCIALIZATION AND MIDDLE-CLASS SCHOOLS

Cohen's (1955) status-frustration theory frames schools as middle-class institutions with standards and expectations that better align with the socialization of middle-class youth. In other words, schools measure success and interpret the behaviors of students through a

lens that lauds middle-class values. Thus, working-class boys enter an institution in which they are systematically set up to fail or fall among the lower strata of the social hierarchy.

The theory further notes that socialization takes place first in the family. Through parental supervision of children and children's astute observations of their parents' interactions with others outside the family, children learn the social class status of their family, and thus their own social class membership. In this process, children internalize the values and norms associated with their social class, and their interactions within and outside the family are subsequently shaped by these values and norms (Cohen 1955).

Cohen (1955) lists several lauded values and norms of middle-class culture. First, middle-class families value ambition, individual responsibility, and self-reliance, and encourage their children to be achievement-oriented. They also emphasize the postponement of gratification in favor of long-term goals and rewards, all of which lead to a high value placed on conventional education and a commitment to schooling in American society. Middle-class families, according to Cohen (1955), also value rationality, reason, and forethought, which are passed onto to children by talking about, setting goals, and planning for their futures. There is also a greater emphasis placed on developing secondary networks and using leisure time in a productive manner that further develops tangible skills. Thus, Cohen (1955) suggests that children of middle-class families are involved in more structured activities with other children their own age. Lastly, the middle-class values "respect for property;" namely respect for the effort put forth to acquire property as a symbol of success and status. Cohen (1955) maintains that these are the cultural standards that are embedded in middle-class institutions, such as schools, which measure academic potential and success in relation to these values and the behaviors reflecting them.

Within middle-class institutions, working-class boys tend to have a ceiling on how high they can rise in the status hierarchy, which requires skills honed through middle-class socialization. In contrast to middle-class families, working-class parents are less likely to model forethought or practice reasoning with children as a consequence of their struggles with making ends meet and greater concern for the immediate needs of the home. Due to limited economic resources, lower-class families also tend to be more dependent upon others, especially their extended family. Thus, they value reciprocity instead of self-reliance, which is more characteristic of the middle-class and valued in institutional settings. It follows that lower-class families ultimately develop strong ties within the family, rather than fostering secondary networks. As a result, working-class children are less likely to develop the interpersonal skills that are recognized and favored in the middle-class institutional setting (Cohen 1955).

For working-class youth, who are coming up in a society whose institutions are dominated by the middle-class, a common concern is the inability to measure up to the middle-class measuring stick. Cohen (1955) emphasizes the systematic devaluation of working-class values, which finds working-class boys, whose socialization does not meet the expectations of the institution, at the bottom of the social hierarchy of the school. Accordingly, feelings of inadequacy and failure within the middle-class school lead to status frustrations for working-class boys (Cohen 1955). In response, many working-class youth may conform to oppositional values that devalue educational success, consider teachers undeserving of their respect, and deem schools to be illegitimate institutions. That is, the boys reactively withdraw from the institution that devalues them. By doing so, young boys are able to contest the status frustration experienced in the middle-class institution with

feelings of personal respectability. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) propose the “oppositional culture hypothesis,” a parallel process among racial minority students who conform to oppositional values and attitudes against school in response to a history of systematic racial discrimination. Recent research has challenged this hypothesis (Ainsworth-Darnell and Downey 1998; Harris 2011; Tyson 2011), yet it remains a popular explanation of racial disparities in education (Lewis 2013).

The rejection of middle-class culture to preserve dignity sometimes manifests not only in disengagement from school, but also in antagonistic behaviors against the institution. This is akin to the laddish behavior identified in Willis’ (1977) research, which identifies a group of working-class boys who do not fit into the middle-class institution of school and thereby rebel by developing a counter-school attitude and demonstrating opposition to authority in the classroom (see also MacLeod 2009). In a similar vein, Morris (2012) introduces the concept of “contrived carelessness” to describe the withdrawal of effort among working-class and black boys in the classroom. He describes the boys’ withdrawal as an attempt to deal with not fitting in within an emasculating environment that values feminized schoolwork.

Similar to Cohen (1955), Lareau (2003) provides an analysis of class-based cultural development in a comparative study of middle-class and working-class families. From family observations, Lareau (2003) develops a theory of concerted cultivation versus natural growth that highlights class differences in language use, time use, disciplinary approaches, and resulting reasoning skills. She finds that middle-class families adopt a strategy of concerted cultivation with their children, which entails the structuring of activities for children, the use of reasoning and explanation in everyday conversations, and inductive

disciplinary strategies. As a result, middle-class youth develop extensive vocabularies, the capacity to reason in discussions, and the ability to advocate for themselves in institutional contexts, all of which are valued characteristics in the middle-class institution as described by Cohen (1955).

Working-class and poor families adopt a natural growth approach to socialization that focuses on meeting basic necessities, such as food and safety, with the belief that children develop naturally if their most basic needs are met (Lareau 2003). Children from these families have a great deal of unstructured time, interact with family more than with outside networks, and are exposed to more directive language than conversational dialogue. As a result, working-class children learn to be imaginative within their free time and develop close ties to those in their extended family. They learn to respect rather than challenge authority in the hierarchical family structure through the use of directives, but they do not develop the same vocabulary or ease of conversation with adults as their middle-class counterparts.

Lareau (2003) finds that the variation in cultural upbringing between middle-class and lower-class families works well within the context of their respective homes. Children from each background develop beneficial skills such as strong analytical skills among middle-class children and creativity among working-class children. However, the skills developed in the working-class context are not valued the same as the middle-class skills when performed in middle-class institutions such as schools. Consequently, the learned behaviors and perspectives of working-class and poor families do not translate as well or produce the same level of success when viewed through the middle-class cultural lens of the school, as emphasized also in Cohen's (1955) status-frustration theory.

Research shows that one way in which the differential socialization across social classes described by Cohen (1955) and Lareau (2003) serves as a resource for middle-class students and barrier for their lower-class counterparts is through teacher biases. Teachers and administrators are disproportionately middle-class and accordingly interact with a middle-class cultural “tool-kit” (Lareau 2003; MacLeod 2009; Swindler 1986). The middle-class cultural mindset biases interactions with lower-class students and families in ways that impress upon the students. Several lower-class “Hallway Hangers” in MacLeod’s (2009:111) study, for instance, express feeling misjudged after interacting with teachers, stating that “They don’t understand us; they don’t try to understand us.”

In addition to feeling misunderstood, lower-class students often find themselves in the position of low performers as a result of unintentional biases favoring middle-class youth. Rist’s (1970) observation of elementary classrooms showed that one teacher divided her students into reading groups prior to administering any tests of intellectual ability. The students he deemed the “fast learners” were more likely to come from two-parent households with fewer siblings than those not in this category. Their parents tended to have higher levels of education than the parents of their counterparts. They dressed in new, clean clothes and had well-groomed hair and lighter skin. They were also the students who interacted with peers and their teacher more often and with greater ease. The same children demonstrated their extensive vocabularies and reasoning skills by frequently volunteering answers to questions in class.

Taken together, the rewarded cultural style and normative codes coalesce with Cohen’s (1955) and Lareau’s (2003) discussions of the devaluation of lower-class socialization and valorization of the outcomes of middle-class socialization in schools. That

is, the teacher's unstated middle-class bias led her to presume higher intellectual abilities among students who more closely resembled her own social class. Harvey and Slatin (1975) also find that students' perceived social class has a significant and positive relationship with teachers' expectations; though, the strongest predictor of teachers' expectation they found was race. Independent of social class, teachers consistently expressed higher expectations for white students than they expressed for black students (see also Downey and Pribesh 2004).

In his follow-up observations of teacher expectations, Rist (1970) identifies a self-fulfilling prophecy in which those identified early as fast learners continued to excel while others continued to struggle academically. In more recent studies of self-fulfilling prophecies in school, Becker (2013) finds that teachers' expectations are consequential for student success. Another study finds that students of lower socioeconomic statuses, defined by perceived material disadvantage, are 32% less likely to have positive relationships with teachers, and visibly ethnic minorities, including black students, are 50% less likely to have positive relationships with their teachers (Fitzpatrick, Côté-Lussier, Pagani, and Blair 2015). Additional research suggests the quality of student-teacher relationships is consequential for commitment to education and school performance (Allen 2010; Ferguson 2001; MacLeod 2009).

THE FAMILY-SCHOOL NEXUS

While the social-class-based experiences of youth in school are certainly important for understanding inequalities in education, there is also evidence that the ways in which parents interact with schools and school officials vary across social class. A common idea among working-class parents is that the home is their responsibility, and the classroom is the teacher's responsibility. This mindset leads to a hands-off approach to their children's

education (Lareau 1987). This cultural adaptation may be in response to the highly specialized structure of labor positions in which workers learn to yield to the designated authority in an area apart from their own. Further, in accordance with the natural growth approach to parenting, working-class parents allow their children to navigate the institutional setting for themselves (Lareau 2003). Thus, working-class parents concede to teachers in the area of education and trust that their children will naturally find their way.

Lareau's (1987) work discusses the middle-class cultural mindset of the institution through school expectations of parental involvement. She finds that most educators prefer parents who express regular interest in or concern for their child's academic performance. Those parents who are in regular attendance at school functions and parent-teacher conferences and volunteer in the classroom are assumed to have instilled a greater value in education in their children. In addition, teachers tend to develop better relationships with parents who are able to demonstrate their middle-class "tool-kit" and intragroup status with the teachers by speaking to them comfortably and from an equal standing. Parents who meet school expectations for parental involvement tend to be middle-class parents who adopt a concerted cultivation approach to parenting (Lareau 2003). Lewis-McCoy (2014) adds that teachers are more lenient in disciplinary decisions concerning students whose parents have an established relationship with them. However, Dumais, Kessinger, and Ghosh (2012) find that this relationship works in the opposite direction for college-educated black parents who advocate for their children in the institution. Teachers consistently rated these children lower than children from high-school-educated black families and white families of both educational levels on multiple measures of ability. These findings suggest that the

relationship between institutional expectations, parental involvement and academic outcomes are likely more complex than Lareau (1987) originally observed.

RACE IN SCHOOLS

Using themes from Cohen's (1955) status frustration and Lareau's (2003) concerted cultivation with a broadened consideration of race hierarchies, I employ the term *hegemonic cultivation* to emphasize that this is a type of cultivation to which members of all class and race groups are held accountable. I focus my attention moving forward on race accountability and how black males are disadvantaged in hegemonic institutions of education. Drawing on ethnographic research on the experiences of black boys in school, I make the case that hegemonic cultivation profoundly shapes experiences and outcomes for black boys, independent of social class.

School personnel, the decision-makers of the institution, are predominantly white. The U.S. Department of Education (2011) reports that 83% of all kindergarten through 12th grade public school teachers are white, while less than 9% are black. This can be juxtaposed with the student population, which is 55.5% white and 15.5% black. In measures of academic ability, effort, and classroom behavior, white teachers assess black students as "poor classroom citizens" more often than their white counterparts (Downey and Pribesh 2004). Thus, black students are not only deprived of equal representation of black role models in educational settings, but they are also more often misunderstood by teachers who may have little understanding of their cultural backgrounds.

Collins (2009) refers to damaging stereotypes of marginalized groups as "controlling images." Controlling images of black males depict them as unintelligent and uneducated, criminalized, hypersexualized, and adultified (Allen 2010; Ferguson 2001; Rios 2011; Sue,

Lin, Torino, Capodilupo, and Rivera 2009; Tyson 2011). These stereotypes feed implicit biases that influence institutional and social interactions, resulting in racial microaggressions in school settings (Allen 2010; Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, and Pollock 2014; Sue et al 2009). Microaggressions are “everyday exchanges, usually brief, that deliver demeaning messages or subtle reminders about racial stereotypes” (Carter et al. 2014:4).

Sue and colleagues (2007) specify three forms of racial microaggressions. Microassaults are verbal or nonverbal actions directed at a person or group of color, such as overt name calling that is discriminatory in nature. Microinsults are verbal insensitivities that carry underlying messages that diminish people of color, and microinvalidations exclude or undermine the experiences and feelings of marginalized people. Environmental microinvalidations are experienced by black students when they are not represented in classroom textbooks, posters and decorations, or assigned literature (Perez-Huber and Solorzano 2015; Sue, Capodilupo, Torino, Bucceri, Holder, Nadal, and Esquilin 2007). Independent of all interactions, the classroom environment can communicate to black students that their perspective is not as important as the white perspective, and thus, they are not as important or intelligent as their white counterparts (Sue et al. 2007).

A prevalent example of microinsults is when black students are treated as intellectually inferior in the classroom. Black students report regular experiences in which students and teachers assume they are of inferior intelligence (Sue et al. 2009). For instance, a black female described a scenario in which white classmates followed her statements with, “Well, what she means is...” implying she was not smart enough to articulate her own ideas (Sue et al. 2009:186). Consistent with these experiences, black students are twice as likely to be labeled by schools as “learning disabled” and are three to four time more likely to be

classified as “mentally retarded” than their white counterparts (Laura 2014). Given the pervasiveness such experiences, it is unsurprising that black youth often internalize the assumptions of black intellectual inferiority and apply it to peers.

Even when black students perform well and have the advantage of a middle-class background, they continue to be subjected to racial stereotypes as intellectually inferior. Allen’s (2010) research in a middle-class school shows that despite their concerted cultivation socialization, black middle-class students were presumed less intelligent than their white counterparts. One such student received vocational training brochures from his guidance counselor despite his good grades and expressed interest in college. Taken together, the research paints a picture in which black youth enter schools in which implicit, as well as explicit, biases about race insinuate their intellectual inferiority, ultimately limiting academic success and reproducing subordination. Steele (2003) explains how black students, when aware of these stereotypes, experience anxiety or “stereotype threat,” which has negative consequences for their academic performances. Furthermore, controlling images influence institutional perceptions of black boys behavior in the school context and, in addition to consequences for academic achievement, have disciplinary penalties.

In a mixed race and class school, Ferguson (2001) finds that the behaviors of black boys are often adultified and hypersexualized in schools. Due to controlling images of black males as aggressive and dangerous, disruptive behavior and minor challenges to authority figures performed by black boys are perceived as more serious deviances than the same behaviors from their white counterparts. Morris (2012) observed “clowning” behaviors that black boys used to claim autonomy. Boys from Rios’ (2012:53) study talk about challenging institutional control by “acting stupid.” Although “clowning” or “acting stupid” are hardly

extreme forms of resistance among young boys in school, school personnel deny black boys the protection of the “boys will be boys” trope that assumes innocence and excuses poor behavior for white boys. Instead, the adultification and hypersexualization of black boys frames their behavior as intentional and threatening, especially when directed toward female teachers, who are overrepresented in the teaching profession (Ferguson 2001). For instance, one black boy learned not to get too close to white women or shake their hands out of respect. When Rios (2012) asked where he learned this, he said his white female teachers had asked him to keep his distance. Due to the adultification and hypersexualization of black boys, research observes harsher responses to their behavior. Rather, their “clowning” and “acting stupid” – minor forms of resistance in a setting that treats them as inferior – is taken to be insubordinate, disrespectful, and sometimes criminal.

In addition to their behavior being adultified and hypersexualized, the black boys themselves are treated as criminal or delinquent. Rios (2011) documents the heightened surveillance of marginalized communities in which black males are treated as delinquents regardless of whether or not they have a history of delinquency. Several boys in his study draw parallels between the treatment they receive from their probation officers and the treatment they receive from teachers and school administrators. That is, teachers treat them more as criminals to be controlled than as students attending school to learn. In the school context, Allen (2010) finds that style of dress associated with the hip-hop subculture triggers teachers’ implicit biases, which link such styles to deviance. Black students who dress in hip-hop styles are perceived as aggressive and defiant and treated as such. Allen (2010) also notes distrust between teachers and black students. Early in her observations, one school personnel identifies a ten-year old black boy walking by in the hallway wearing baggy pants

and a hoodie and says to Ferguson (2001:1), “That one has a jail cell with his name on it.” The implicit biases that criminalize black male bodies lead to racial microaggressions and harsh assumptions that a child walking down a school corridor is heading to a jail cell. These assumptions shape the interactions and opportunities of black boys in the school context. School personnel’s exaggerated reactions to black boys’ behaviors have harmful consequences for the trajectories of black youth. In the context of zero-tolerance policies, this has led to increased exclusion from the classroom and valuable instruction time. Overall, we see black boys at a greater risk for exclusionary disciplinary treatments in the school context, including detention, in- and out-of-school suspension, and expulsion (Ferguson 2001; Gregory and Weinstein 2008; Horner, Fireman, and Wang 2010; Rios 2011, 2012). In addition to racial microaggressions that degrade the worth of black boys in school, cultural differences present challenges for black youth in the American school system.

Similar to misinterpretations of working-class culture that Lareau (2003) observed in the middle-class school context, Lewis-McCoy (2014) discusses race and culture as resources in the classroom. Rios (2012:49) introduces the concept of “misrecognition” in which black youths’ attempts at “going legit” are not understood as such by those in positions of authority due to their lack of middle-class social and cultural capital. He frames this within Yosso’s (2006) “community cultural wealth,” which considers the different cultural signifiers such as style, attitudes, common sense, and skills, that different marginalized groups come to value. In the context of these cultures, wealth or capital is measured differently. Thus, symbols of capital among black communities, such as clean white tennis shoes that are valued in hip-hop culture, are not recognized in white American schools as symbols of wealth. Instead, they are associated with the controlling images that criminalize black youth and further subordinate

black students in the school hierarchy through racial microaggressions based on racial stereotypes. When attempts by black students to do and be good go unrecognized by school personnel, black boys feel rejected by the institution and reject the values of the institution in turn (Rios 2012). In accordance with Cohen's (1955) status frustration theory, they may react oppositionally in a way that enables them to save face, not feel like failures, and resist the control of the institution.

Lewis-McCoy (2014) also finds cultural challenges between schools and the families of black students. Similar to Lareau's (2003) finding that the school values parental involvement, he stresses the importance of the relationship between the school and parents in influencing the teacher's treatment of different children in the school context. For example, one teacher treated a child whose parent's she knew with more leniency than another child whose family life was unknown to her. Another teacher admits to less outreach and weaker relationships with the parents of her black students who lived in a poorer neighborhood of the suburban school district. She later identified the students from that neighborhood as her underperformers and related their underachievement to a lack of motivation within their family culture. Even more detrimental to the educational experience of the black students and their families is what Lewis-McCoy (2014) discusses as opportunity hoarding. The white parents in his study tend to follow a concerted cultivation model of parenting, and, as such, make it a point to intervene in their child's education and have a presence in the school district through parent-teacher associations and school board meetings (see also Lewis 2013). Parents of black students in this suburban setting, however, did not share this "squeaky wheel" cultural disposition that allowed white parents to hoard educational opportunities for their children without contest from the administration (Lewis-McCoy 2014:23).

Hegemonic cultivation as the standard by which American schools measure success reproduces a hierarchical structure that oppresses black and working-class students. Much of the subordination can be observed through implicit bias and microaggressions in everyday interactions in the classroom context. Misrecognition of cultural status symbols and toolkits in the hegemonic institution also contribute to the reproduction of inequality. MacLeod (2009:111) speaks of how several of the youth he observed express feeling misjudged after interacting with teachers. A parent of a black boy in Allen's (2010:132) study says, "If you don't believe in him, he doesn't do well." Furthermore, Ferguson (2001:97) privileges the knowledge and perspectives of her minor participants when noting that they are "sophisticated participant observers themselves, skilled interpreters and astute analysts of social interaction, cognizant of a variety of cues that signal teachers' expectations of children." This sentiment is reminiscent of Cohen's (1955) discussion of children learning to recognize group membership and locating themselves within the social class hierarchy according to symbols of class culture. Students are well aware of their status in the social hierarchy, and know when their sense of dignity is challenged and their worth is called into question. A sense of hostility towards school and oppositional attitudes in which black boys are able to reestablish self-respect in minor acts of resistance and withdrawal from school may develop (Cohen 1955; Rios 2011). The enactment of oppositional behaviors in the school context is interpreted through the implicit biases of the hegemonic culture of the institution. In the context of zero-tolerance discipline policies, which are disproportionately implemented and carried out in urban schools with greater proportions of black students (Skiba et al. 2014), black boys are more likely than their white counterparts to experience

exclusionary disciplinary treatment in American schools, even if their opposition is relatively minor.

SUMMARY AND HYPOTHESES

Previous research finds a clear discipline gap between white and black male students, with the latter being the target of differential disciplinary treatment in the school context (Ferguson 2001; Skiba et al. 2014; Wald 2003). Although considerable research emphasizes that it is difficult to tease apart the influence of race and social class on outcomes of interest to sociologists, the evidence is clear in indicating that implicit racial assumptions single out black males as dangerous and in need of harsh responses to even minor misbehaviors (Allen 2010; Ferguson 2001; Lewis-McCoy 2014; Rios 2011). As such, I begin with the following hypothesis: *H₁: Black males are more likely than white males to be the objects of school discipline, even when controlling the effects of family structure, parental education, and family income.*

Perhaps the most obvious explanation for the race gap in school discipline is that black males are more likely than white males to misbehave in school (Ferguson 2001). Indeed, some research indicates black males are not passive victims of mistreatment and microaggressions in school settings (Ferguson 2001; Morris 2012). One way in which they resist unfair depictions of themselves and attempt to redirect the flow of power in school settings is through school misbehavior, often minor in the form of “clowning” or “acting stupid” (Morris 2012; Rios 2011). As such, I test the hypothesis that race matters for school discipline, even when taking actual misbehavior into account, I articulate the hypothesis as follows: *H₂: Black males are more likely than white males to be the objects of school*

discipline, even when controlling for misbehavior, family structure, parental education, and family income.

Of particular interest in this study is the fact that even minor misbehaviors among black students are met with a heavy hand by schools due to stereotypes of black males as dangerous, aggressive, and criminal. These stereotypes make it such that their clowning behaviors are treated differently than the clowning of their white peers (Allen 2010; Ferguson 2001; Rios 2011). Statistically speaking, misbehavior and race interact in the prediction of school discipline. I derive the following hypothesis: *H₃: School misbehavior has a larger effect on school discipline among black males than it does among white males.*

Research suggests that differential treatment of black and white students for misbehavior does not result necessarily or solely from overt racist practices in school. Instead, the more covert, environmental and cultural practices of schools that favor hegemonic socialization and devalue the cultural resources of black students come into play (Allen 2010; Ferguson 2001; Rios 2011; Sue et al. 2010). Consistent with oppositional culture hypothesis, these covert forms of devaluing black students contribute to their withdrawal of support for institutional goals, respect for institutional actors, and sentiments of institutional legitimacy. This withdrawal, itself – though not necessarily delinquent or punishable – becomes an “add on” and rationalization for harsh discipline (Ferguson 2001; Rios 2011). As such, I assess the extent to which withdrawal from institutionalized education explains race differentials in school punishment. This is articulated in the following hypothesis: *H₄: Exclusionary discipline that disproportionately impacts black males is partially facilitated by black males’ withdrawal from the school context.*

When school practices and the institutional culture use social cues of a middle-class, white family background to measure student potential and academic success, hegemonic socialization is an educational resource (Allen 2010; Ferguson 2001; Lewis-McCoy 2014; Rios 2011). Middle-class, white social cues are indexes for hegemonic styles of parent-child communication, time use, appearance and relationship norms, and educational and aspirational values (Cohen 1955; Lareau 2003). Black males, whose upbringings likely differ from those of middle-class, white students, lack the cultural resource of hegemonic cultivation by which institutional actors implicit biases base student expectations (Allen 2010; Downey and Pribesh 2004; Ferguson 2001; Harvey and Slatin 1975; Lewis-McCoy 2014; Rios 2011; Rist 1970; Tyson 2011). Teachers' lower expectations of black boys act in a self-fulfilling prophecy that reinforces stereotypes of inferior intelligence among black students (Becker 2013; Fitzpatrick et al. 2015; Rist 1970; Steele 2003). Consequently, black boys are treated as deviants whose behavior must be managed, rather than students as deserving of an education as their white counterparts (Ferguson 2001; Rios 2011). Thus, I derive the following hypothesis: *H₅: The relationship between race and disproportionate school discipline can be explained by differential hegemonic cultivation in the family-school nexus.*

DATA AND MEASURES

The hypotheses are summarized in Figure 1, which offers that the hypothesized total effect of the interaction between misbehavior and black racial status – i.e., the race penalty articulated in hypothesis 3 – can be understood, at least partially, when taking into consideration reactive withdrawal from schools and hegemonic cultivation (hypotheses 4 and 5). Assessing the hypotheses requires data containing information on school discipline,

hegemonic cultivation, and school misbehavior across race. The Educational Longitudinal Study of 2002 (ELS:2002) meets these requirements. The ELS:2002 is a nationally-representative longitudinal study of 10th graders funded by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) of the U.S. Department of Education. Using a stratified sample design in which 750 schools were sampled first and then more than 15,000 10th grade students were randomly sampled within those schools, questionnaires were administered to students, parents, teachers, school administrators, and librarians. I use data from the 2002 base-year parent and student surveys. Sample weights are used to account for the stratified nature of the sample and for the oversampling of private schools and Asian students.

The stereotypes associated with punitiveness found in previous research are shaped intricately by intersections of race and gender. To avoid confounding issues of gender that shape patterns of misbehavior and punishment within and across race groups, I focus in this study on the experiences of black males in comparison to white males. That is, I select a sample of black and white 10th graders from the total sample 16,197 cases. 4,542 students of races other than black or white are excluded from the analyses. There was missing data on an additional 4,462 students, whom I dropped from the analysis sample. Due to the fact that some schools were left with a single sampling unit or no remaining boys following the above sample selection, both of which prevented the analysis from running, the sample was reduced further to include only schools with at least two sampling units and male representation. Thus, 233 additional cases were excluded from the analysis. The final analyses are conducted on a total of 6960 students with a subpopulation of 3263 males. Of the sampled boys, 87.4% are white, and 12.6% are black. 65.8% live with both biological parents, while 34.2% are living in a household with alternative parental arrangements, including a stepparent, a single

mother, a single father, or legal guardian(s). The majority (98.6%) of the students' parents have at least a high school diploma, and nearly half of all parents (47.4%) have at least a four-year college degree.

School Discipline

The dependent variable for the study is school discipline. I focus explicitly on exclusionary disciplinary treatments in which the student was removed from the primary learning environment, the classroom, as punishment for perceived misbehavior. The exclusionary forms of school discipline available in the ELS-2002 include in-school suspension and out-of-school suspension. Students responded to items in the survey, indicating how many in-school and out-of-school suspensions they received. Responses included "never," "once or twice," or "more than twice." School discipline is, thus, a composite measure of the mean response to these two items ($\alpha = .60$).

Truly Exogenous Variables

As indicated in Figure 1, the truly exogenous variables in the study include race, family structure, parent education, family income, student misbehavior, and the interaction between race and misbehavior. *Race* is measured as a dummy variable designating white students as the reference category. Student's family structure, parental education, and family income – adopted to capture processes related to social class – are included in all models as controls. *Family structure* is measured using information provided by the parent about the composition of the family household. The variable comprises five categories: households with one biological and one stepparent, single mother households, single father households, and those living with legal guardian(s). The reference category for all analyses is homes with two biological parents. *Parental education* captures eight levels of education ranging from

less than high school degree to PhD, MD or equivalent degree. This information is taken from the parent questionnaire, unless the information was missing, in which case it is pulled from the student questionnaire. The measure for parental education is a composite of the highest level of education obtained by either parent. *Family income* is an ordinal variable created from parent reports of annual family income up to \$200,001 or more.

I capture *student misbehavior* with a composite measure of students' self-reported rule infractions including physical fights, skipping class, and general troublemaking. The relatively low alpha reliability of .53 on this scale is indicative of the fact that scales of misbehavior are best conceptualized as behavioral inventories for which an internal consistency approach to assessing reliability is not necessarily relevant (Thornberry and Krohn 2000). That is, the fact that someone skips classes is no reason to expect that he also engages in physical fights. The influence of student misbehavior is assessed both independently and interactively with student race. The interaction term is constructed as the product of student misbehavior and race.

Reactive Withdrawal from the Institution

Discussions of students' reactive withdrawal from the conventional institution emphasize withdrawing support for the core values of schooling, affectional ties to actors in the school, and sentiments of legitimacy for the institution (Cohen 1955; MacLeod 2009; Morris 2012; Willis 1977). As such, my measures of withdrawal include reactive abandonment of the following: conventional educational goals, respect for educators, and sentiments of institutional legitimacy (see Figure 1). *Commitment to conventional educational goals* is a mean composite of students' reports of how much they value good grades and how much they value a good education ($\alpha = .64$). The *withdrawal of respect for*

teachers combines student's perceived closeness to his teachers and the perceived quality of teachers at his school ($\alpha = .70$). *Illegitimacy of the school* is a mean composite measure of respondent's knowledge of school rules, perceived fairness of school rules, perceived strictness of rule enforcement, and whether or not corresponding punishments are well known ($\alpha = .60$).

Hegemonic Cultivation

Hegemonic cultivation also may help explain the race penalty for misbehavior in that black youths are punished for not meeting the white, middle-class expectations of self-presentation and parental involvement in their education. That is, it may be that failure to carry the products and signals of hegemonic cultivation to school explains why black boys are more harshly punished than their white peers for misbehavior. To assess this possibility, articulated in the fifth hypothesis, I consider six measures of hegemonic cultivation (see Figure 1). First, *family capital* combines student reports that there is a daily newspaper, magazines, a computer, the internet, and books available in the home ($\alpha = .60$). Second, *parental cultivation* takes into account student reported frequencies, ranging from never to more than four times, of parents helping with homework and discussing classes, academic programs, grades, standardized test preparation, higher education goals, and current events ($\alpha = .80$). The third measure of hegemonic cultivation, involvement in *sports* captures the student's self-reports of participation in baseball, basketball, football, soccer, and individual sports such as tennis and running ($\alpha = .68$). Involvement in *clubs* is a fourth measure of hegemonic cultivation that combines participation in band or chorus, theater, student government, honor society, yearbook, as well as other service, academic, and hobby based clubs. The internal reliability of this mean scale is .56. A fifth measure of hegemonic

cultivation is *parental communication with the school*, which is measured using a mean composite of parents' reports of communication with teachers and school administrators regarding academic programs, post high school plans, course selection, good behavior, and volunteer opportunities ($\alpha = .72$). Lastly, *parental involvement with school* is a mean composite of parents' reports that they are members of a parent-teacher association (PTA), attend PTA meetings, are actively involved with the PTA, volunteer at school, and participate in other school related organizations ($\alpha = .72$).

ANALYSIS

Given the ordinal nature of the dependent variable – exclusionary school discipline – I use linear regression. In addition, I account for the stratified sampling design of the ELS-2002 data by using techniques available in STATA that take into account clustered data and sample weights to obtain unbiased estimates. Specifically, I estimate five linear regression models. The first model simply establishes that race impacts school discipline when taking into consideration family characteristics often associated with social class (hypothesis 1). The second model includes student reports of misbehavior to assess the second hypothesis, suggesting that the race effect remains significant after considering actual behaviors. In the third model, I assess the third hypothesis, articulating a race penalty for misbehavior, by including the interaction term between race and misbehavior. The fourth model incorporates the reactive withdrawal variables, central to the fourth hypothesis, to test whether or not the race penalty is reduced when considering student withdrawal from the institution of education. Finally, the hegemonic cultivation variables are added in the fifth model to assess hypothesis 5.

RESULTS

Means

Table 1 presents the key variables across race. Black males are more likely than white males to reside with one biological and one stepparent, a single mother, or legal guardian(s). Parental education levels, on average, are significantly lower for black boys than they are for white boys. Similarly, black boys come from families who earn significantly less income than those of white families. Black males report more school misbehavior than their white counterparts. On average, black boys are more likely to report lower levels of respect for teachers and less commitment to conventional educational goals, which is consistent with a perspective emphasizing that they may reactively withdraw from an institution that does not value their individual and collective histories, culture, and cultivation. Lastly, white males report more family capital and more parental involvement, on average, than their black counterparts, suggesting that arguments about social-class and concerted cultivation may be linked intricately not only to class but also to race.

Multivariate Analyses

The linear regression results are presented in Table 2. Model 1 in Table 2 shows that black students are more likely to receive exclusionary school punishments than their white peers. It is notable that this finding holds even when taking into consideration any differences in family socioeconomic status, family structure, and parental education. In short, *hypothesis 1* is supported. Family structure, parental education, and family income also significantly impact the likelihood of exclusionary school discipline. Compared to those living with two biological parents, boys from homes with one biological and one stepparent, a single mother, or a single father are more likely to be punished in the school context. However, boys living

with legal guardian(s) are not more likely than boys from two-parent, biological homes to be punished in school. Students whose parents have low levels of education and whose family income is low are also more likely to receive exclusionary punishments relative to their more advantaged peers. When reports of misbehavior are taken into consideration in Model 2, race continues to influence receipt of exclusionary school discipline. That is, behavioral differences do not explain why black boys are more likely to be punished in schools than are white boys. This is consistent with the *second hypothesis*. The income, parent education, and step-parent effects remain significant also, suggesting that youths experiencing various forms of disadvantage at home are more likely to be punished at school than their more advantaged peers even when accounting for differences in their behaviors. The impact on school punishment of single mother and single father homes relative to two-parent, biological family homes are explained by differences in student behavior.

Model 3 assesses a key hypothesis for the study, namely the third hypothesis articulating a race penalty for misbehavior. As seen in Table 2, the product term between race and misbehavior significantly influences exclusionary punishment in schools (row 9, column 3). That is, consistent with *hypothesis 3*, black and white boys who report comparable transgressions are treated differently by schools with black boys more likely to be on the receiving end of punishments that remove them from the learning environment of the school. Family disadvantage – low levels of parental education, low income, and stepparent homes – continue to influence exclusionary discipline in this model (rows 6, 7, and 2; column 3).

The fourth model assesses the extent to which the race penalty can be explained by boys' withdrawal of institutional support through low levels of commitment to institutional

goals, low respect for school personnel, and low sentiments of institutional legitimacy.

Hypothesis 4 is not supported in that the race penalty remains strong even when taking into consideration reactive withdrawal from school (rows 10, 11, and 12; column 4). Indeed, none of the reactive withdrawal items significantly influences exclusionary punishments at school, contrary to expectations.

The fifth and final model considers measures of hegemonic cultivation, including family capital, parental cultivation, involvement in organized sports and clubs, and parental communication and involvement with school, to assess whether concerted cultivation helps explain the race penalty in exclusionary discipline. Inconsistent with expectations, the race penalty remains significant, indicating very little mediation by hegemonic cultivation variables. Thus, *hypothesis 5* is not supported. Of the hegemonic cultivation variables considered, parental communication with school and parental involvement with school are statistically significant predictors of school discipline (rows 17 and 18; column 5). Students' whose parents are not involved in school activities and organizations are more likely to be the objects of exclusionary punishments than those whose parents are involved at the school, which provides empirical support for Lewis-McCoy's (2014) observations in a middle-class school. Conversely, parental communication with the school works in the opposite direction than expected. Students' whose parents talk to the school about such topics as academic programs and course selection, post high school plans, volunteer opportunities at the school, and students' good behavior are more likely to be punished in the school context than those whose parents' do not have these conversations with the school. This may be because these parents are called into the school to address problems.

CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The significance of race is undeniable in relation to exclusionary school discipline. Black boys are more likely than white boys to be the objects of school punishment, even when taking misbehavior into account. Perhaps most noteworthy is that misbehavior, even when minor, committed by black boys is punished more harshly than comparable misbehavior by white boys.

In the present study, withdrawn commitment to conventional educational goals, respect for school personnel, and acceptance of the legitimacy of the institution are considered as factors in institutional actors' disciplinary discretion, yet race remains significant. As such, student reactive withdrawal does not explain why black boys are punished more often and more harshly than their white counterparts. It is worth noting that the variables capturing student withdrawal are taken from the student survey, and do not capture teacher perceptions of student withdrawal. It may be the case that incorporating direct measures of institutional actors' perceptions of student withdrawal would produce different results, as it is their perceptions of student withdrawal that influence their discretion in punishment.

Hegemonic cultivation as a measuring stick for success in schools, and thus, a cultural resource for students whose socialization provides the desired toolkit, is also considered in an attempt to explain the significance of race in school discipline. While parental communication and involvement with the school, variables in the family-school nexus of socialization, are significant predictors of exclusionary school discipline, they do not account for the disparities in school discipline between black males and white males.

Speaking of the family-school nexus of hegemonic socialization in relation to exclusionary discipline, the findings for parental communication with school are not as expected, and thus, elicit further discussion. Parental involvement at school is negatively associated with punishment, as predicted, but parental communication with school has the opposite effect. Boys whose parents talk to the school often are more likely to be the objects of exclusionary punishment than boys whose parents talk to the school less often. It is possible that this measure is capturing concerns regarding a student's academic underachievement expressed by the adolescent's teacher with a call for a conference or meeting with the parent. In this sense, this measure is likely capturing parent-school communication regarding the very students who are likely to experience disciplinary treatment, thus boys whose parents talk to the school are more likely to be the objects of school discipline.

It also is possible that parent-school communication is initiated by parents seeking out school personnel as the experts in their child's education. Hegemonic approaches to parenting suggest that the parent and child regularly talk about schoolwork and long-term educational goals (Cohen 1955; Lareau 2003). Additionally, middle-class white parents tend to have higher levels of education, which is supported in Table 1, meaning that they have experience-based knowledge about school programs and higher education options. Thus, they are less dependent upon the school for guidance. Conversely, lower-class and black parents may communicate with the school to learn about programmatic and higher education options for their child. If this is the case, the communication between parents and teachers is not capturing the active involvement of white, middle-class parents but instead guidance by

parents who may lack the skills to navigate the middle-class, white institution for their children.

Generally, this research makes valuable contributions to the standing work on racial disparities in exclusionary school discipline by providing strong empirical support for the significance of race in school discipline, even when accounting for social class measures. Additionally, the race penalty for misbehavior – captured with the interaction between race and school misbehavior – in determining school punishment, which has been described in multiple analytic ethnographies (Ferguson 2001; Lewis-McCoy 2014; Rios 2011), receives support among a nationally representative sample. In short, this research provides empirical evidence of racial discrimination in the disciplinary practices of schools. Despite the failure of school withdrawal and hegemonic cultivation to account for the racial discrepancies in school punishment, it is my hope that these results may advance the discussion about the educational experiences of black boys, which may contribute to unequal treatment in the institutional setting, and inform future research questions. The present findings certainly suggest that there is much more to consider.

In the climate of zero-tolerance discipline policies, which swept the United States throughout the 1990s, mandated minimum punishments for a range of school violations, and increased surveillance in schools (Curtis 2014; Price 2009), school personnel may feel as though their hands are tied when making disciplinary decisions. While this may explain a general increase in exclusionary discipline, it does little by the way of explaining why black males are the targets of exclusionary discipline more than their white counterparts, even for comparable indiscretions. This issue demands attention. If we strive to understand the experiences of black students in the American education system, we may begin to understand

the covert (and overt) processes of discrimination at play in classrooms and principals' offices across the country. Future research should seek a better understanding of how the hegemonic stereotypes of black males penetrate our school walls and how personal biases, as a product of being socialized among these hegemonic images, shape and misguide interactions. Understanding how these processes play out in the school environment may shed a light on how schools have become the front end of the school-to-prison pipeline through which black students are disproportionately funneled into the juvenile and criminal justice systems by way of school disciplinary actions. If we are to prepare all students for academic success, we must first realize what is standing in our way; we must discover and dismantle the subtle interactional processes that reproduce the racial disparities on a daily basis.

Future research in this vein will benefit from incorporating explicit measures of implicit biases among teachers and racial microaggressions, which were not available in the data used for this research. Teachers' perceptions of students' behavior and withdrawal from school values and commitment, as well as teacher expectations of student educability, are also important variables to be considered moving forward. It also would be beneficial to consider specific behaviors at school and the punishments associated with the particular behaviors, as opposed to utilizing measures of misbehavior generally and exclusionary discipline that are not mapped onto one another directly. Finally, an important question to consider is the extent to which the systematic reduction in the sample that was necessary for the desired comparative analysis between black and white boys had potential consequences for the representativeness of the sample. This concern should be addressed in future research

that considers racial discrimination in school disciplinary practices an important process to uncover.

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APPENDICES

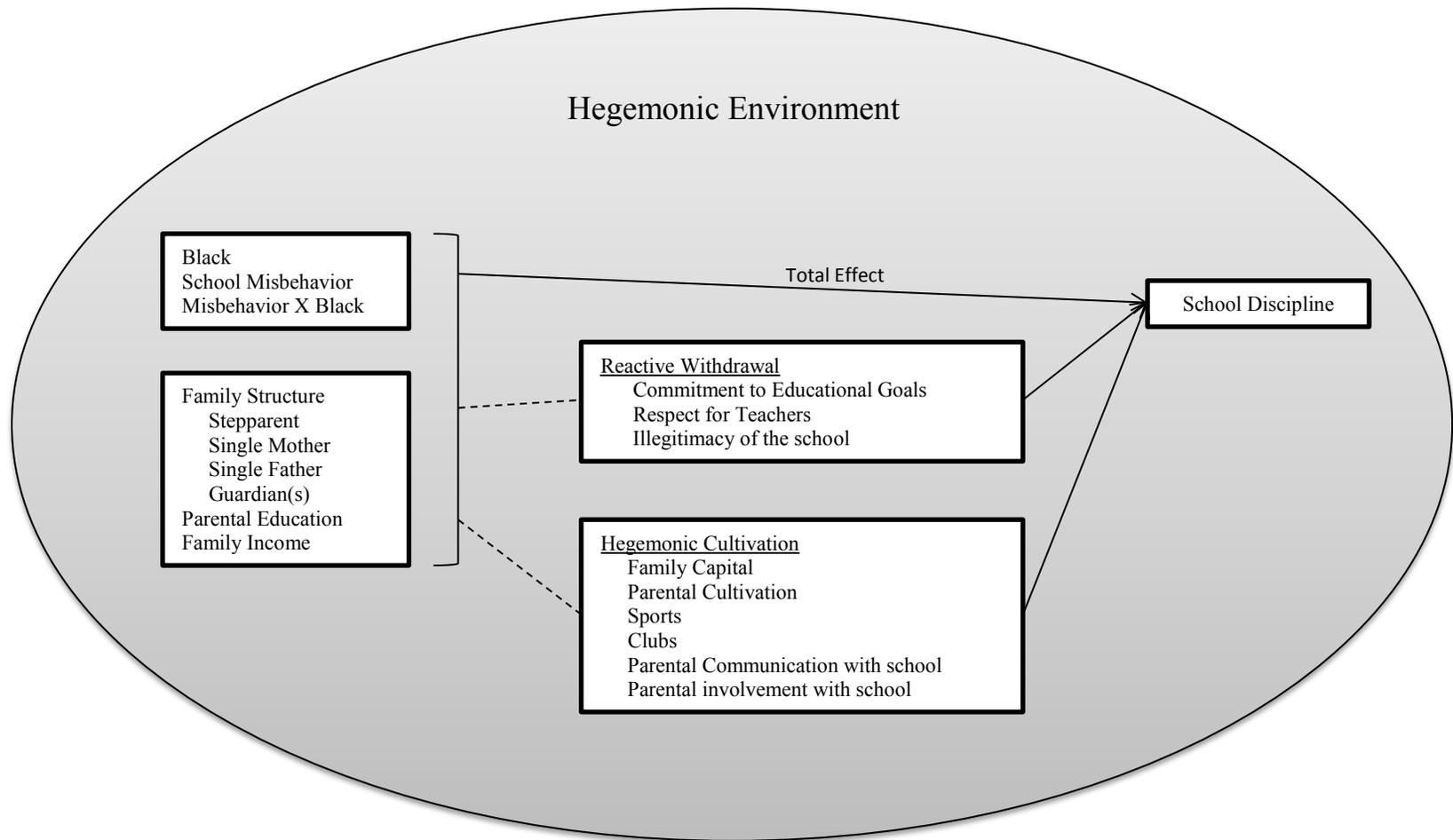


Figure 1. Hypothesized Total Effects of Race and Misbehavior and the Explanatory Properties of Reactive Withdrawal and Hegemonic Cultivation in Exclusionary School Discipline

Table 1. Mean Difference by Race

Variables	White Males	Black Males
Family Structure		
Step Parent	0.128	0.170*
Single Mother	0.124	0.359***
Single Father	0.032	0.039
Guardian(s)	0.014	0.080***
Parental Education	4.908	4.483***
Family Income	9.895	8.131***
School Misbehavior	1.395	1.470**
Reactive Withdrawal		
Commitment to Educational Goals	2.764	2.882***
Respect for Teachers	2.097	2.178**
Illegitimacy of the School	2.320	2.301
Hegemonic Cultivation		
Family Capital	0.858	0.733***
Parental Cultivation	2.151	2.168
Sports	0.232	0.249
Clubs	0.098	0.093
Parent Talks with School	1.369	1.377
Parental Involvement with School	0.354	0.312*

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$ significantly different between groups.

Table 2. OLS Regression Predicting Exclusionary School Discipline by Race

Variables	1. Model 1	2. Model 2	3. Model 3	4. Model 4	5. Model 5
1. Black	0.0640* (0.0256)	0.0522* (0.0209)	-0.171 (0.0947)	-0.173 (0.0943)	-0.180 (0.0943)
<u>Family Structure</u>					
2. Stepparent	0.0812* (0.0218)	0.0550* (0.0177)	0.0569* (0.0178)	0.0561* (0.0177)	0.0499* (0.0179)
3. Single Mother	0.0606* (0.0240)	0.0225 (0.0195)	0.0228 (0.0194)	0.0222 (0.0195)	0.0201 (0.0192)
4. Single Father	0.0982* (0.0429)	0.0273 (0.0339)	0.0342 (0.0343)	0.0325 (0.0345)	0.0242 (0.0348)
5. Legal Guardian(s)	0.0943 (0.0497)	0.0543 (0.0430)	0.0422 (0.0428)	0.0443 (0.0429)	0.0407 (0.0442)
6. Parental Education	-0.0150* (0.00375)	-0.0106* (0.00330)	-0.0112* (0.00325)	-0.0107* (0.00326)	-0.00957* (0.00337)
7. Family Income	-0.0121* (0.00465)	-0.00884* (0.00357)	-0.00863* (0.00360)	-0.00882* (0.00356)	-0.00754* (0.00365)
8. School Misbehavior		0.365* (0.0240)	0.344* (0.0250)	0.336* (0.0256)	0.333* (0.0254)
9. Black X School Misbehavior			0.152* (0.0722)	0.152* (0.0719)	0.158* (0.0711)
<u>Reactive Withdrawal</u>					
10. Commitment to Educational Goals				-0.000535 (0.0209)	0.00462 (0.0209)
11. Respect for Teachers				0.0261 (0.0140)	0.0254 (0.0139)
12. Illegitimacy of School				-0.00486 (0.0139)	-0.0112 (0.0139)
<u>Hegemonic Cultivation</u>					
13. Family Capital					0.00541 (0.0319)
14. Parental Cultivation					-0.0139 (0.0124)
15. Sports					-0.0355 (0.0224)
16. Clubs					-0.0122 (0.0305)
17. Parental Communication with School					0.0508* (0.0178)
18. Parental Involvement with School					-0.0618* (0.0205)
Constant	1.275* (0.0440)	0.723* (0.0436)	0.754* (0.0448)	0.721* (0.0969)	0.695* (0.101)
N	6960	6960	6960	6960	6960
R ²	0.049	0.302	0.307	0.309	0.315
F	16.58	37.79	34.73	26.54	18.83

Standard errors in parentheses; * p < .05 significance level.