Discipline, School Community, and Racial Dynamics: Understanding How Authority Relations

Affect Student Experiences of School and Citizenship Outcomes

By

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ABSTRACT

Beginning with the first proponents of common schools in the United States, schools have been seen as a site for the creation of citizens. Although political socialization was one of the key motivations for schools, the empirical study of this process has focused on specific aspects of the schooling experience. This dissertation examines how applying insights from the policy feedback effects and social institutions literature to the study of political socialization in schools leads to new questions and findings that inform our understanding of how citizenship is constructed within schools. Specifically, I examine how specific personal experiences of school and school organizational features are related to later citizenship outcomes.

In the first empirical chapter, I focus on how experiences of specific authority relations and community dynamics in school settings affect later citizen participation and attitudes toward government. Although there are a number of pathways through which education and schooling affect citizenship, this chapter explored four of these: potentially marginalizing experiences of school, potentially socially integrating experiences of school, basic skills acquisition for participation, and educational attainment. I find evidence suggesting that all four of these channels are associated with later citizenship outcomes. The findings from this chapter highlight that the political learning that occurs with the personal experiences that students have in schools can lead to positive as well as negative citizenship outcomes. Together these findings highlight that school-based experiences in a young person's formative years shape later citizenship.

In the second empirical chapter, I examine three ways that schools could affect citizenship: (1) by affecting the likelihood of having particular experiences of school that are associated with citizenship outcomes; (2) by affecting citizenship outcomes directly; and (3) by

conditioning the associations between particular experiences and citizenship. To examine each of the possible ways that schools may affect citizenship, I focus on the authority relations, community features, and racial dynamics in the school. I find that there is some evidence that schools play an indirect role in fostering citizenship by affecting the likelihood that students have experiences in school that are associated with later political outcomes, but there is little evidence that schools affect citizenship by affecting citizenship outcomes directly. I also find some support for schools acting as a moderating force for individual student characteristics.

In the third empirical chapter, I explore whether students of different racial or socioeconomic status backgrounds are more likely to experience the disciplinary environments that may be better or worse for citizenship outcomes. I also examine how the authority relations and racial dynamics of schools are related and how they are distributed across schools focusing in particular on three dimensions of racial dynamics: racial group presence, the average socioeconomic position of racial groups, and racial conflict in school. I find that students with different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds on average attend schools that organize their discipline in more punitive and restrictive ways. I also find that all three of the racial dynamics are related to discipline policies. The weakest relationship is between racial presence and the discipline policies, while the strongest is between racial conflict and the discipline policies of schools. The strength of these associations suggest that one way schools deal with or manage racial conflict is by implementing more restrictive rules and harsher discipline policies.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Civic engagement and political participation are key pillars of a democratic society. However in the United States there is a great deal of inequality in the extent of engagement and participation in politics and civic activities (Jacobs and Skocpol 2005; Soss and Jacobs 2009). There are also systematic differences in how people relate to and perceive their government (Hetherington 1998; Levi and Stoker 2000). Inequalities in these aspects of citizenship are not consistent with our democratic ideals and principles of equality and democratic responsiveness.

Given the extent and problematic nature of this inequality, the key question is how these differences are generated. The dominant paradigmatic understanding of engagement and participation focuses on resources, in particular individuals' resources such as time, money, and skills (Brady, Verba and Schlozman 1995). From this work we know that many individual level characteristics are associated with participation (education, money, parent background etc.), but that the most important factor predicting participation is education.

Education is typically thought of as an attribute of people that reflects specific skills or knowledge that have been learned. However, even with education being the most studied and most important factor in the prevailing model of understanding why some people participate, an open question remains regarding the mechanisms driving this association (Campbell 2006). The observed differences in civic outcomes by education levels could be due to the learning of specific skills (Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995), the learning of specific political knowledge (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik 1996), or a spurious correlation due to selection (Sondheimer and Green

2010; Mayer 2011). However, another paradigm – the political learning perspective – could also be used to examine potential channels through which education affects citizenship outcomes by drawing attention to how personal experiences within school settings may affect citizenship outcomes (Svallfors 2007; Mettler and Soss 2004).

I argue that in addition to thinking about schools as sites of explicit political socialization, we need to examine how the implicit political learning of students is shaped by organizational features of schools. I use a political learning perspective to understand the ways that experiences within schools shape individuals' beliefs about themselves, the social groups they belong to, and their government (Mettler and Soss 2004). I focus on how the organizational features of schools affect political learning, participation, and engagement.

Focusing on the experience of schooling and how this affects one's participation is consistent with classic works on schooling in a democratic society (Dewey 1900, 1916). Although political socialization was one of the key motivations for schools, the empirical study of this process has focused on specific aspects of the schooling experience. The experience of school that have been examined most extensively is civics education (Gainous and Martens 2012; Callahan et al. 2010; Kahne and Middaugh 2008). However, schools as social institutions are more broadly important for adolescent's civic development. In addition to teaching specific skills and knowledge, schools socialize students by providing institutional messages that may impact their later citizenship.

I focus in particular on how schools are experienced in terms of their authority relations. Experiences of authority relations in other social institutions have been shown to affect a number

of civic and political outcomes (Soss 2000; Svallfors 2007; Bruch, Ferree, Soss 2010; Weaver and Lerman 2010). Given the recent shifts in authority relations in schools toward the use of more restrictive and punitive discipline policies, an examination of the potential democratic consequences of this shift is of critical importance.

The organizing focus of the dissertation is how schools as organizations structure experiences of school through discipline policies, school community features, and racial dynamics, and how experiencing these school environment features affects later citizenship.

Schools as Organizations

The study of schools as organizations has a long history in sociology of education. Many scholars have examined within school processes and structures that affect student outcomes. A major concern of many scholars has been the socialization of students and how this general process is shaped by the organization of the school (Dreeben 1968; Bidwell 1965; Coleman 1961). Understanding that schools structure socialization processes and organize social relations continues to motivate scholarship focused on schools as social organizations and primary sites for social learning (Hedges and Schneider 2005). Schools organize authority relations through discipline policies and creating community within the school. I examine the associations between these organizational practices and student experiences of school, their educational attainment, and citizenship outcomes.

Authority Relations in Schools

In examining authority relations in schools, I draw from the extensive theoretical and empirical work on how authority and order are maintained in schools. Much of this work has

focused on how authority and order are part of the production of achievement and other forms of student behavior, and the various ways in which schools motivate positive behavior and prevent bad behavior. Work in this area has theorized alternative conceptions of authority as well as a number of alternative ways to maintain order in schools.

Definitions of authority relations can be traced back to classic social theorists. The definitions of Weber and Durkheim are typically highlighted as two important understandings of authority. For Weber, his focus was on legitimacy, and so he defined authority as gaining voluntary obedience (1925). Whereas for Durkheim, the focus was on moral authority/order, therefore his definition emphasized the moral power to influence behavior (1912). These classic definitions motivated a number of classic works within sociology of education examining how authority relations were structured and how order was maintained in schools.

Early work on authority and order in schools focused on the relationships between teachers and students (Waller 1932 [1961]). Waller examines how concrete situations in classrooms create conflicts between students and teachers as they negotiate the balance between teaching and learning on the one hand, and control and authority on the other. Waller saw the basic structure of authority relations in the school are hierarchical where power is highest at the top (super) and radiates down to the teacher. The teacher-student relationship was one in which the teacher is dominant and uses this dominant position to further the process of teaching and learning (8). But Waller highlights the uncertainty and constancy of challenges to teacher authority, arguing that teachers must assert their dominance continually because there is a difference between theoretical, actual, and ultimate control. Theoretical control is the control that the school board and board of trustees have over schools. Actual control is the control of school

affairs by principals and teachers. But ultimate control, Waller argues is with students because governing rests on the consent of the governed (12). This situation of shared power and control is emphasized in Waller's description of a school as "a despotism in a state of perilous equilibrium" (10).

Another classic work is Metz's (1978) examination of two desegregated schools in which she argued that authority relations were used to justify and serve a particular moral order that is specific to each school. Similar to Waller, Metz highlights how authority is subject to constant negotiation between teachers and students, and but she defines methods of obtaining control as more broad than just the use of authority on the part of the teacher. Using this broad definition, Metz distinguishes between three types of resources that teachers use to maintain order: coercion/threat, incentives, and influence/relationships. Metz concludes that schools are faced with a fundamental paradox because there is an inherent tension in the two main goals they pursue, "They exist to educate children, but they must also keep order (243)". She notes that this is a paradox unless the students in the school are already dedicated to both.

Swidler's study of schools without authority examined an attempt by two schools to create more egalitarian relations between teachers and students while still maintaining order and the educational goals of the community (1979). In these schools, Swidler found that teachers used three ways to negotiate relations with students: personal influence, status equalization, and collective controls or sentiments such as feelings of solidarity. Swidler argued that these collective controls were the most primary replacement for authority and that their power was derived from the fact that collective sentiments are a powerful motive in social life (83). However, Swidler found that the ability of teachers to make students engage in academic

activities was limited by their inability to utilize more formal authority. Furthermore, she notes that although the schools spent a lot of time and energy creating and maintaining collective ties and group cohesion, they were not able to use these as a resource for the achievement of academic goals.

Another line of work within sociology of education that examines authority relations in schools argues that how these relations are structured corresponds to how relations of worker and owner are organized in the workplace (Bowles and Gintis 1976), or more broadly to how social relations are organized outside of the school (Bourdieu 1973; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977, 1990). Work in this vein highlights the informal socialization processes students are exposed to which are structured by how schools organize their authority relations.

Two of James Coleman's classic works made significant contributions to our understanding of authority relations in schools. Coleman's work on private and Catholic schools investigated the Catholic school advantage (e.g. higher achievement for minority or low income students). Coleman and Hoffer (1987) posited that the Catholic school advantage was due to these schools being functional communities that had both intergenerational closure and value consistency. Coleman posited that other types of schools were not functional communities – other private schools only have value consistency but not the intergenerational closure aspect of community. In this work, Coleman posited that the increased disorder and misbehavior and low achievement in schools were due to the fact that these two elements are missing.

Coleman's emphasis on shared norms as one of the key features of maintaining order and producing positive student outcomes in schools. In other words, Coleman's way of maintaining

order in schools was by building community, which included shared norms as well as social relationships that reinforce the shared beliefs. "The fundamental change which must occur is to shift the focus: to mold social communities as communities, so that the norms of the communities themselves reinforce educational goals rather than inhibit them, as is at present the case" (Coleman 1960: 337).

The type of authority relations and how authority and order are negotiated have changed over time and reflect the current concerns of the day (Arum 2003; Hurn 1985). Much of the work examining authority relations in schools was done in the 1970s and 1980s when concerns about declining achievement and increases in student misbehavior and school disorder were prominent social issues. Coleman's work on adolescent society within schools made a significant contribution to the debate concerning the role of authority relations in relation to these trends (1974). Coleman argued that students did not lack motivation or have lower achievement because of a decline in strict or authoritarian discipline in schools, but on the contrary, that these downward trends were related to the persistence of traditionally structured authority. Coleman based this argument on his findings that adolescents were more adult-like in the social relationships and psychological reasoning than previously thought and therefore structuring authority relations in ways that were considered arbitrary and authoritarian by them was counter-productive.

This argument however contrasts with another classic in the study of discipline in schools (Arum 2003). In his work, Arum argues that one of the primary reasons that schools are less effective at managing student behavior is the changing nature of authority relations in schools. In

particular, he argues that moral authority is the basis on which authority relations must operate to be effective.

Arum draws on Durkheim's articulation of discipline and authority in schools to understand how authority operates through legitimacy. Arum argues that the two key pieces of authority are: having a moral standard (do people internalize the messages regarding the regulation of their behavior), and legitimacy (are the conditions of authority seen as fair). He notes that discipline is not simply a matter of how strict or authoritative it is, but also about the internalization of respect for authority and understanding the importance of abiding by rules. "Implementing extensive rules and harsher punishments without simultaneously addressing the issue of moral authority may be ineffective at best and counterproductive at worst" (161).

The vast majority of the work within sociology of education uses an understanding of authority relations that focuses on legitimacy, consent, and moral order. This understanding differs from an understanding based on coercion, control, and deterrence. The deterrence approach to maintaining order in schools articulates how compliance is achieved through the instrumental reasoning of students (Pratt et al. 2006; Stinchcomb et al. 2006; Casella 2003). So whereas the understanding of authority relations based on legitimacy, consent, and moral order focuses on the internalization of norms about appropriate behavior, the deterrence approach argues that students engage in positive behavior and do not engage in negative behavior because bad behavior is punished so harshly that it is viewed as not worth it.

The study of concrete, actual discipline policies, as opposed to perceptions of discipline or authority, or measures of the social and normative environment, is a line of work that is

typically separate from the work within sociology of education on authority relations and the maintenance of order in schools (see Way 2011 and Gottfredson and DiPietro 2011 for exceptions). This is partly due to the different understandings of how authority operates as well as the fact that this second body of work is typically done by criminologists or sociologists who study criminology and deviance (Kupchik 2010; Hirschfield 2008; Lyons and Drew 2006).

This work is dominated by examinations of recent changes in how discipline is organized and enforced in schools (Hirschfield 2008, 2011; Simon 2009; Kupchik and Ellis 2008; Lyons and Drew 2006), and the effects these changes have had on student outcomes (Dinkes et al. 2009; Skibia and Peterson 2000).

Since the mid-1990s there has been a marked shift in discipline policies with more restrictive and harsh security procedures as well as increases in the use of exclusionary punishments especially with the implementation of zero-tolerance mandates. The fact that these policy changes have affected the ways that schools organize authority relations is not debated. The discussion focuses instead on how schools organize discipline. In addition to empirical studies that examine the prevalence or use of specific discipline or security policies, a number of scholars have articulated conceptual frameworks for understanding these changes in policies.

The dominant conceptual framework articulated to explain these changes in school discipline is as a shift to a crime control paradigm (Hirschman 2008; Simon 2007; Lyons and Drew 2006), meaning that schools treat students as criminals and react to student misbehavior as crime. In one articulation of this argument, Hirschfield (2008) identifies three practices that signify the changes in how schools are organized: (1) a shift from a model where teachers have

discretion to a more formalized system for discipline where there are specific personnel in schools whose job it is to monitor student behavior and enforce disciplinary and security policies; (2) increases in harsh and exclusionary sanctions; and (3) an increase in the use of criminal justice technologies like police and security guards in schools, metal detectors and other surveillance techniques. An example of empirical work that corroborates this general argument is a recent examination of security practices by Kupchik and Ellis (2008) in which they found that schools have increased their use of surveillance, the utilization of police officers in schools, and harsher punishments.

One of the most complete articulations of how to understand the current regime of discipline and authority relations in schools is found in the work of Aaron Kupchik (2009, 2010). Kupchik observed the discipline and security arrangements in four high schools over a period of several years in order to understand how authority relations are operationalized by school actors and experienced by students. Kupchik concludes that the best way to understand authority relations in schools is from a cultural reproduction perspective. Kupchik argues that the reproduction of inequality in schools occurs by socializing different groups of students into different roles through discipline and security practice. "By teaching students what to expect and how to respond to these social control mechanisms (e.g. learning to take drug tests without complaint), schools socialize youth into future roles and responsibilities" (2010: 36).

The approach I take draws on the work of scholars within sociology of education as well as the criminology-based literature on discipline policies in order to understand the multiple ways that authority relations can be structured in schools. The conceptualization of authority relations I use is a broad understanding which incorporates the social relational, normative, and

social control aspects of authority (Way 2011; Osher et al. 2010; Pace and Hemmings 2006). As articulated above, each of these understandings of how authority is organized in schools are typically examined in separate literatures, however, I examine them together in order to understand how both positive and negative aspects of authority relations affect the experiences students have in school.

Racial Dynamics in Schools

In the U.S., race remains one of the primary sources of conflict in education in large part because schools have been viewed as the lever through which to reduce racial stratification (Downey 2008; Jencks and Phillips 1998). Since the U.S. Supreme Court's declaration more than 50 years ago in Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka (1954) that racially segregated schools are inherently unequal, and the Coleman Report (1966) finding that racial isolation was negatively associated with achievement, the question of how to structure schools in an equitable way has been a persistent focus of policy and education research. Recent evidence that race achievement gaps grow larger as children age and move through the school system suggests that educational opportunities remain tied to race (Condon 2009; Fryer and Levitt 2006; Neal 2006).

Given the continuing importance of race within education, examinations of how school organization affects citizenship outcomes must include attention to the dynamics of race. I examine several aspects of racial dynamics. I explore how the racial identity of individual students is associated with their experiences of school and citizenship outcomes. I also investigate how several contextual aspects of racial relations are associated with experiences of school, discipline policies, as well as citizenship outcomes.

While the most common way to examine race as an aggregate phenomena in schools is to use a measure of racial composition that captures the numerical presence within the school, I argue that more dimensions of racial dynamics need to be used to shed light on the processes and outcomes we care about. In other words, how race operates at an aggregate level is more complicated than just the number of group members in a setting. I examine racial composition (presence); socioeconomic position of racial groups (absolute and relative positions); racial conflict; racial inequality in sanctioning and fairness perceptions, and racial attitudes (student prejudice).

I argue that it is necessary to examine the multiple aspects of relations operating simultaneously in schools in order to capture the conditional nature of these relational attributes specified by theories of racial relations. There are several ways that racial dynamics may affect later citizenship outcomes: racial dynamics of schools may affect how students experience schools, they may moderate the influence of authority relations, and they may also be related to the types of authority relations present in various school environments.

Conclusion

My project examines the organization of authority relations, variation in the operation of authority relations across school contexts, and the consequences of these relations. I focus on middle and high schools because adolescents are more likely to challenge authority and so the organization of authority relations is more clearly elaborated. This is also a time period in which young people form strong social identities including their identities as citizens.

I use a broad understanding of authority relations in schools and apply insights from work on experiences of authority relations in other social institutions to motivate several empirically-testable hypotheses regarding the experiences and conditions under which citizenship outcomes may be affected. Applying these insights from the policy feedback and social institutions scholarship to an examination of the channels through which education and schools affect later citizenship outcomes is an innovative contribution. Examining how authority relations and racial dynamics in schools affect citizenship has not been explored previously. In the work that follows, I go beyond looking at the distribution of these features across schools and how they affect experiences of school to link these features and experiences with later citizenship.

CHAPTER 2

DATA AND ANALYSIS

Data

I use data from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health (Add Health). Add Health is a nationally representative longitudinal study of adolescents who were in grades 7 through 12 during the 1994-95 school year (Harris et al. 2009). Add Health used a multi-stage, stratified, school-based, cluster sampling design to select 80 high schools and their feeder schools from a sampling frame of all schools in the U.S. that had at least 30 students and included an 11th grade (N=26,666 students in 132 schools). An In-School survey was then administered to all students in each selected school. The core sample of 16,044 adolescents was selected to be representative of adolescents in grades 7-12 during the 1994-95 school year (Tourangeau and Shin 1999). An In-Home survey was administered to this sample in 1995 (Wave 1). Follow-up In-Home interviews were conducted approximately one (Wave 2) six (Wave 3), and 12 years later (Wave 4). The critical features that the Add Health data for the current analyses are the longitudinal design, the wealth of information on school-based experiences, the availability of contextual information about the schools including school discipline policies reported by school administrators, and the inclusion of civic and political outcomes at a later time point. The Add Health data also has the additional benefit of having more students per sampled school than other similar nationally representative surveys of students in schools such as High School and Beyond and the National Educational Longitudinal Survey.

Sample

The analytic sample for the current analyses is the core longitudinal sample using data from Waves 1 and 3 (N=14,320 students in 132 schools). This sample is identified using the core longitudinal weight appropriate for this sample. When weighted, this sample represents adolescents who were enrolled in U.S. schools during the 1994-95 academic year in grades 7-12 (Chantala 2006). I limited the student sample to include only self-identified white, African American, Asian, or Latino students due to the small size of the other racial group identities (i.e. American Indian, "other" race, and multiracial). This drops 728 observations.

For observations missing data, I utilized a commonly used and recommended multiple imputation procedure based on chained equations (White, Royston, and Wood 2011).[1] However, I do not impute the dependent variables (von Hippel 2007). This results in the loss of 3,291 observations.[2] This results in an analysis sample of 10,301. This analysis sample is located in 125 of the 132 Add Health schools. These schools did not participate in the In-School Survey from which the participation measures are derived.

For the analyses that examine the effects of school context on experiences of school and citizenship outcomes (Analysis 2), I also eliminate students who reported switching schools. If students were not in the school environment which is measured in the Add Health data, then including them would obscure the associations between school context and these outcomes. It is

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[1] I impute missing data using Stata's mi impute chained which is like the ice program (both are imputation using chained equations). I chose this method because it allows for imputing different types of variables (continuous, binary and categorical), and takes into account the complex survey and clustered nature of the Add Health data. Imputing missing values results in the retention of 2826 observations. Using listwise deletion, the resulting analytic sample size would be 9574 students in 99 schools.

[2] 212 observations are dropped due to missing the citizenship outcomes, 9 are dropped for missing education outcomes, and 3,070 are dropped for missing school experience outcomes (all of these are missing the extracurricular participation outcome).

common practice in most school effects literature, including the work specifically focused on

within school experiences such as disciplinary sanctioning, to drop these students. Some studies

also drop students who drop out of school. I have decided not to eliminate drop outs from the

sample because school context can affect whether students drop out or not. The aspects of the

school environment that are my primary interest - discipline policies, school community features,

and racial dynamics – all could be related to students not completing school. If I eliminated these

students from the sample, this would lead to more conservative estimates of the effects of school

context. An additional reason to not eliminate drop outs is that the identification of these students

is limited in the Add Health data.[3]

The identification of students who switch schools is done using a survey item in Wave 1

that asks the student whether they are attending the sample school or a different school. This is

an approximation of switching schools because it is only asked at Wave 1, so if students moved

after that, it is not captured. This measure therefore is an undercount of students switching

schools. The number of students this identifies as school switchers is 328. When the analyses are

restricted to non-school switchers, the analytic sample size is 13,038.

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[3] The only way to measure students dropping out of school is to utilize the information they report on their
completed schooling. Although students are asked if they are currently in school during Wave 1 (when they are in
7th-12th grades), many of these students report finishing high school by either reporting more than 12 years of
school or attaining a high school diploma. The measure I constructed is based on the Wave 3 student reports of
attained degrees and highest year of school. If the student reported less than 12 years of completed school, attaining
a GED and not a high school diploma (some reported both), or attaining no degrees, then they were coded as not
completing school through 12th grade. This measure is probably an under-estimate of dropouts since some students
drop out and then complete school in another school.

Measures

Citizenship Outcomes

The citizenship dependent measures used in Analyses 1 and 2 are taken from the Wave 3 In-Home Survey when the respondents were young adults between the ages of 18-26. Two of the outcomes represent the participatory aspect of citizenship, while the third represents the aspect of citizenship that is how one feels toward government and one's position within the polity.

The first dependent measure is a measure of civic participation. This measure is created from the survey item that asked respondents whether they performed any unpaid volunteer or community service work in the past 12 months. This measure is a dichotomous indicator where a value of 1 is given if the respondent performed volunteer or community service.[4]

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[4]Respondents who answered yes to this initial question were then asked to indicate the type of organization in which this work took place. They are given a list of choices and instructed to indicate all that apply. The choices are: youth organizations, service organizations, political clubs, solidarity or ethnic-support groups, church-related groups (but not including worship services), community centers/neighborhood improvement associations/social action groups, volunteer hospital/nursing home groups, educational organizations, conservation/environmental groups. I did not pursue examining civic participation in the different types of organizations separately for two reasons: (1) because of the small number of people who indicated participating in each type of organization; and (2) because I am interested in examining the overall association between civic participation of any kind and experiencing different school disciplinary environments. In my analytic sample 3,780 respondents indicated civic participation – 28% of the sample. The largest number of people (N=~1000 each) participated in youth organizations, church-related groups, community centers/neighborhood improvement associations, and educational organizations. The other types of participation each had 500 or fewer respondents indicating this type of participation. I also specified the measure of civic participation as 0-2 where 2 indicates 2 or more; and also a 0-3 scale where 3 indicates 3 or more. While 72% of the sample reports no civic participation, 17% reports participating in one organization, 7% in two, and 5% in 3 or more. Both of these measures capture not only whether the respondent participated, but also the magnitude or amount of their participation which may be influenced by different factors. To assess this possibility I estimated the final models with both of these measures as the dependent variables. The results do not change substantively and barely change in magnitude (on the order of a .01-.02 difference in the odds ratios). I decided to estimate the final models with the 0/1 indicator measure of civic participation because it is more comparable to the voting dependent measure. Similar work using these survey items: Weaver and Lerman (2010) create an additive index measure from these survey items. Callahan et al. (2010) use these volunteering and community service survey items as a measure of integration within the social context (social connection) and awareness of one's responsibility to larger community. Callahan et al. (2010) also utilized a survey item asking about retrospective volunteer and community service work during adolescence.

The second dependent measure captures one type of political participation – voting. Respondents are asked whether they voted in the most recent presidential election. Wave 3 interviews were conducted from April 2001 to May 2002 (73% of the interviews for my analytic sample were conducted in 2001), so this survey item is asking respondents about their voting behavior in the 2000 presidential election which was George W. Bush running against Al Gore). This measure is a dichotomous indicator where a value of 1 is given if the respondent reported voting.[5]

The third dependent measure captures the level of self-reported trust in government. The respondent is asked a series of three questions about how much they agree or disagree with the statements "I trust the federal [my state, my local] government." These three survey items are highly related (α=.93). The items use the five choice Likert response categories which consist of strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree. To take into account the ordinal nature of these categories and distinguish between agreeing and disagreeing with the questions, I created two indicator variables (0/1) which indicate agreement or disagreement with the trust in government statements using the two response categories that apply to agreement and disagreement. Because there are three survey items, I created the affirmative and negative indicators using the average of the respondent's three responses. In the

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[5] This question was only asked of respondents who were 18 as of November 7, 2000. This limiting criterion does not apply to anyone in the analytic sample used in these analyses. The question was not restricted to those who report being registered which is the survey question preceding the voting question. Respondents are also asked to report on other forms of political participation they have engaged in at some point in the past 12 months (contributed money, contacted a government official, ran for public office or non-public office, or attended political rally or march). I do not utilize these measures. In Wave 4 respondents are asked how often they vote. I did not assess the consistency of the results for this voting measure in part because it is an additional 6 years after their school experience measured here, and in part because the longitudinal sample for Waves 1-4 is smaller (although Add Health provides weights that help deal with attrition bias issues.)

analyses presented below I utilized the agreement indicator which captures respondents who affirm the trust in government statements.[6]

Educational Outcomes

In Analysis 1, I also predict three educational attainment outcomes. The measures are derived from the Wave 3 In-Home Survey, and are coded as dichotomous outcomes. The first is a measure of high school completion that is limited to those who have received a high school diploma. The second is a measure of high school completion that includes those who have received a high school diploma as well as those who have received a GED. The third educational attainment outcome is a measure of successfully making the transition to college. This measure is coded "1" if the respondent reports currently attending college, having completed a college degree, or indicates their highest level of attained education as more than 12th grade.

Personal Experiences at School

One way to examine the impact of school environments is to identify specific features of the school environment (i.e. policies, organizational structures, or student composition attributes) and estimate the associations between these contextual effects and student outcomes. However another method for exploring the impact of school environments is to focus on students' personal experiences within the school environment and their perceptions of it. This second strategy

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[6] Consistency across the three measures – only 15% not consistent in reporting trust all, and only 10% not consistent in reporting not trusting. Settle et al. (2010) use a dichotomously-coded measure of trust, but use only the trust in local government measure in their examination of the influence of social networks on political outcomes. Settle et al also utilize the same civic participation measure and voting measures that I use, as well as a measure of partisan identification.

recognizes that students within the same school may experience the environment very differently. I use both strategies to identify how schools affect citizenship.

I focus on four personal experiences of school: being punitively sanctioned, perceptions of fair treatment by teachers, feeling connected to the school community, and participating in the school community. The first two reflect experiences related to discipline and the treatment of students in the school, while the third and four capture the positive, integrating experiences of the school community. The experiences of school are utilized as the key predictors in the analyses of citizenship outcomes, and are themselves predicted as the outcomes of interest in one section of Analysis 2.

While all students are *exposed* to the disciplinary environment at their schools, some also come to have *personal experience* with the disciplinary regime of their school. One aspect of this personal experience is having been punitively sanctioned. Following school discipline literature conventions, I have defined punitive sanctioning as out-of-school suspension or expulsion. In addition to suspension and expulsion being considered a punitive or harsh sanction, these penalties are also exclusionary in that they remove students from the classroom or school either temporarily or permanently. Understanding this particular disciplinary experience is important because the removal of students from learning environments inhibits their academic progress and has potentially negative social psychological consequences. The punitive and exclusionary nature of this disciplinary experience signals to students that they are to be treated harshly and no longer belong in the school community. Examining these consequences is also increasingly important because a much larger proportion of students are experiencing it as more schools implement zero tolerance policies that stipulate harsh penalties for a wide range of offenses.

The measure of punitive sanctioning is self-reported and is taken from the Wave 1 and Wave 3 In-Home interviews. The student is first asked whether they have ever been suspended or expelled. If they answer affirmatively, then they are asked what grade they were in the last time this happened. From these questions, I create an indicator where 1 is defined as having been suspended or expelled in 7th-12th grade.[7]

The second measure of a student's personal experience with their school's disciplinary environment is their perception of the fairness of treatment. The measure of fairness perceptions is created from a Wave 1 survey item that asks the students to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the following statement: "The teachers at your school treat students fairly." Like the trust in government survey items, I create two indicator variables (0/1) from the Likert response categories which reflect agreement or disagreement with the statement that teachers treat students fairly. The agreement indicator is coded 1 if the respondent agreed or strongly agreed that teachers treat students fairly, and 0 otherwise. The disagreement indicator is coded 1 if the respondent disagreed or strongly disagreed. Respondents who do not agree or disagree with the survey statement are placed in the 0 category for both the agreement and disagreement indicators. An important thing to note about the survey item that these measures are based on is

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[7] This series of questions prohibit the calculation of the number of times a student was suspended or expelled. There is one difference in the question between Wave 1 and 3. In the Wave 3 question respondents are only asked to report expulsions, and not suspensions from school. If I only relied on reports from the Wave 1 survey, then the respondents would vary in how much of the relevant time period had already elapsed (7th-12th grade). So the major benefit to utilizing the Wave 3 information as well is that although it is retrospective about the prior 6 years, it makes it so that the final measure includes the entire 7th-12th grade period for everyone. However, the difference in the two measures is rather small. Including punitive sanctions reported in Wave 3 that are not already reported in Wave 1 adds 253 cases to the count of people punitively sanctioned in grades 7-12. This represents a change from 26 to 27% of the sample having been punitively sanctioned. A possible concern in using the Wave 3 report in addition to the Wave 1 report is that it is possible that a small number of students were expelled around the same time as the citizenship outcomes occur eliminating the temporal ordering. However in investigating this possibility, only 4 students aged 18 at the time of the Wave 3 interview are included in the additional cases of having experienced punitively sanctioning.

that it is not specific to the student himself or herself. The survey question asks about their

perception of what occurs in the school in general, although student answers may reflect both

their personal experiences and their observations of the school. The analyses presented below

utilize the disagree indicator, meaning that students perceive unfair treatment.[8]

There are two literatures that I draw from to understand perceptions of fair treatment. The

school discipline literature in sociology and criminology, and the procedural justice literature in

social and political psychology. The procedural justice literature is drawn on in particular by

policy feedback and social institutions scholars to understand how experiences with government

and social institutions comes to influence attitudes and beliefs about government and political

behavior (Linn and Tyler 1988; Kumlin 2004; Mettler and Soss 2004). In the school discipline

literature, fairness perceptions are used to capture student perceptions of moral authority (Arum

2003) along with other measures to capture multiple dimensions of students' subjective

assessment of discipline in the school, or highlighted as an important aspect of student

experience in school ethnographies (Hollingsworth et al. 1986; Metz 1978).[9]

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[8] This measure has also been used as a measure of perceived discrimination (Frank et al. 2008).

[9] For example in both NELS and HSB there are survey items to capture student perceptions of fairness and strictness. HSB asked students to rate the fairness of discipline and strictness of discipline at their school and NELS asked students whether they agreed/disagreed that discipline is fair at school and whether they agree or disagree that rules are strict. In a recent study on school discipline using NELS, Way (2011) uses four measures to capture how individual students view their school's system of discipline (student perceptions of the strictness of school rules, student perceptions of the fairness of discipline, student attitudes toward the legitimacy of school-based authority, and student perceptions of teacher–student relationships). Other data that is used more in the criminology literature such as the 2001 School Crime Supplement to the National Crime Victimization Survey, has a much wider range of fairness measures. Work using this data by Kupchik and Ellis (2008) is able to operationalize fairness in 3 ways with 4 measures used separately and also summed to create overall fairness scale (alpha = .70). The measures include: an overall perception that rules and rule enforcement are appropriate (the school rules are fair); the belief that rules are clearly communicated by schools (everyone knows what the school rules are and if a school rule is broken, students know what kind of punishment will follow), and the perception that rules are applied evenly across students (the punishment for breaking school rules is the same no matter who you are).

Although fairness perceptions are not direct measures of perceptions of moral authority, seeing authority relations as fair is required for these relations to be seen as legitimate and based on moral authority. Drawing on the theoretical work of Durkheim on the importance of legitimacy and moral authority for the effectiveness of school discipline, Arum notes that not only do legitimacy and moral authority exist at the level of student perceptions, but "Student perceptions are critical, because ultimately it is their perception of school discipline that affects their behavior" (152). Although I draw on these two literatures to motivate the use of this measure, there is similar work on racial justice perceptions in schools and the effects of these perceptions on later social and academic outcomes (Hagan et al. 2005; Brooks 2006; Tyson 2005). All of these related ideas focus on an assessment of whether experience meets normative expectations of what is considered fair and/or just.

These two uses of fairness perceptions - the "moral authority of discipline" use in school discipline work and the legitimacy of treatment argument of policy and institutions scholars – both argue that fairness is related to legitimacy and justice.[10] Most importantly for my purpose, both literatures argue for the importance of people's subjective assessments of their experiences, and in particular, their assessment of fairness, in influencing their later behaviors and beliefs. I use both of these literatures to motivate my use of fairness perceptions. Each literature also has unique strengths that I build on. The policy and institutions use of fairness perceptions has shown

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[10] Fairness perceptions are only one aspect of legitimacy. To motivate his reliance on fairness, Arum (2003) states that fairness "is an important indicator of the legitimacy of school authority. If school discipline was perceived as unfair, it lacked the moral authority to curtail disruptive behavior effectively" (Arum 2003: 153). To accurately capture legitimacy, I would need a measure of justice perceptions as well. One important distinction in the legitimacy literature that I use with the school-wide average of fairness perceptions is that there are collective sources of legitimacy and individual sources of legitimacy. The procedural justice understanding of fairness perceptions is one of the individual sources of legitimacy. Although it is not discussed this way in the school discipline literature, the fairness perceptions that are used in this work would fit here as well.

impacts of these perceptions on the same type of outcomes I am looking at (e.g. civic and political participation and belief about government), whereas the school discipline use of fairness perceptions uses these as outcomes to bolster the argument about the lack of moral authority in schools. The conceptual distinctions between various understandings of what fairness is are less important for the current project, and given that there is only one measure, I am not able to distinguish between different understandings of fairness.

It could be argued that a limitation of this measure is that it asks students to report on teacher treatment as opposed to school discipline, this can also be seen as a strength. In many schools teachers have moved away from being the principle disciplinarian as schools and districts have outsourced this responsibility to specialized personal or at least have certain individuals within the school that are in charge of discipline. So to the extent that this is the case, the measure of teacher treatment does not capture discipline fairness but instead a more generic treatment assessment. However, because of the importance of teachers as general authority figures in the school, this measure could also be argued to be a better measure of fairness perceptions. For example, in Waller's seminal text on teacher authority, he that not only is the classroom the site where authority is constituted, it is the site of struggle between students and teachers for control, and is where students and teachers come to an agreement as to what is fair and appropriate (1961).

The measure of fairness perceptions is a subjective indicator or fairness as opposed to an objective measure of fairness. A large number of scholars include both objective measures of school discipline and subjective assessments of school discipline from students as well as teachers, and nationally representative surveys have tended to include both types of items as well

(e.g. High School and Beyond, National Educational Longitudinal Study). Objective measures used in previous work have included: punishment outcomes, school rules, and discipline policies such as sanctioning policies. While I use the measures of school rules and discipline policies as measures of the disciplinary environment, I also use measures that could be considered objective measures of fairness.[11] The measures I use are: the rate of punitive sanctioning in the school and racial disparities in the rate of sanctioning. These measures are described below in the school disciplinary environment and racial dynamics sections.

The third measure of personal experiences with school environments captures the student's sense of connection to the school community. The measure I use is derived from a survey item that asks students how much they agree or disagree that they feel part of their school. I coded this Likert scale the same way that I coded the other two Likert items (fair treatment and trust in government), creating indicators capturing agreement and disagreement. In the analytic models I have used the positive indicator which is 1 if the student agrees or strongly agrees that they feel part of their school. I conceptualize this agreement of feeling part of school as a measure of connectedness to or integration with the school community. Although integration is a more complex conception than is captured in this one measure, feeling connected or belonging to the school community is one aspect of integration.[12]

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[11] I do not emphasize these measures as capturing objective levels of fairness because of the ambiguity in interpreting differences in these outcomes as unfair. Even if I estimated rates of sanctioning holding constant the measures of behavior that are available in the data, this type of adjusted measure of disproportionality in sanctioning would rely on interpreting difference as discrimination or unfair treatment. My hesitance to use this type of measure is parallel to the critiques of the discrimination literature that relies on residual differences as a measure of discrimination (Blank et al. 2004).

[12] Several people using Add Health data have used a measure of social belonging or attachment to school which includes feeling part of school as one of three items. The measure is the mean of three items (0 to 4 points; $\alpha = .78$) assessing the extent to which the adolescent feels happy to be at the school, close with people at the school, and part of the school (Johnson, Crosnoe and Elder 2001; Perreira et al. 2006; South et al 2007). I have used the one item that

The fourth focal experience of school measure captures another dimension of integration with the school community – participation. The measure is derived from a series of questions asking the respondents to indicate the activities they participate in at the school. They are instructed to choose all of the activities that they participate in. There are 33 choices that include several types of school-based activities such as sport teams, academic clubs, student government, and hobby clubs. Students who participate in no activities in the school community are asked to indicate this by selecting an option that specifies this.

Young Adult Characteristics

The Add Health respondent surveys follow the Office of Management and Budget standards for collecting race data issued in 1997. The key features of this methodology of collecting race data are: 1) the data are self-identification items; 2) Hispanic/Latino origin is considered to be an ethnic identity as opposed to a racial identity and so is queried in a separate question; 3) individuals are allowed to choose more than one racial category; 4) there are four pre-selected categories from which to choose with a fifth remaining catch-all "Other" category.

I think is most closely aligned with the idea that when people feel socially connected or part of a community, this affects their citizenship outcomes. One of the other measures in the scale could also capture this – the closeness students feel to others at school. (but the substantive conceptual objection could be that the part of close to others that is unrelated to feeling part of school could be membership in cliques or gangs) I examined whether including this measure instead of or in addition to the feeling part of school measure changed the results. In the voting and trust in government models, it is a significant predictor and has similar estimates to the feeling part of the school measure. In models where both measures are in the model, feeling close to people at school remains a significant predictor in the trust in government model, whereas feeling close to people at school is significant in all three. Because the measures are highly correlated (r=0.58), I decided to keep only one for the main model specifications. I examined using a survey item taken from a different part of the survey that asks the students whether they feel socially accepted at their school (Crosnoe 2009). The survey item is a Likert scale and I coded agree or strongly agree as 1 and all other responses as 0 so that the measure indicates feeling socially accepted at school. This measure is also related to the feeling part of school, although the correlation among these measures is moderate (r=0.34). I have omitted this measure as well because I think it also captures the basic idea that students feel socially connected to their school which is also captured by the measure I have included – feeling part of school. The feeling part of school measure was utilized by Callahan and colleagues. (2008, 2010) at both the individual student and aggregated to the school level. Settle and colleagues (2010) also utilized this measure at the individual student level as well as the average of this measure in the student's peer social network.

In addition, the Add Health respondent surveys include self-identification items that allow for multiple responses as well as asking for a forced choice answer as a separate question for those respondents that choose more than one category.

I make two explicit decisions in the operationalization of race. First, I collapsed all respondents who identified with a Hispanic ethnicity into a Latino category. Because respondents were asked about their race and whether they were of Hispanic/Latino heritage in separate items, the decision to treat Latinos as a racial group means that this category trumps all other racial identifications and that the remaining categories are conditioned on not identifying as Latino. I treat "Latino" as being a race, rather than an ethnicity, given prior research suggesting that the general public does not distinguish race and ethnicity as being separate concepts (Cobas, Duany, and Feagin 2009; Hirschman, Alba, and Farley 2000). However, I acknowledge that this treatment of Latino is problematic because it is not strictly a parallel category due to the two question format. Second, I collapse all respondents who chose more than one category into a "multiracial" group. The decision of how to code respondents who identify with more than one racial category is a topic of considerable debate (see Liebeler and Halpern-Manners 2008). These decisions result in students being assigned to one of seven racial categories: Latino, African American, White, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian, Other Race, and Multiracial. However, as noted in the analytic sample section, the analyses presented in this chapter are restricted to white, African American, Asian or Pacific Islander, and Hispanic/Latino young adults.

Gender of the respondent is measured from the self-report in the Wave 1 survey. The choice categories provided to respondents are: male or female. An indicator for female is

included in the models. Also taken from the Wave 1 survey is the measure of parental education.

Parental education is reported by the respondent and captures the highest level of education

attained by the respondents' residential parents.[13] The measure is coded "1" if the adolescent

reported having at least one resident parent who attained a four year college degree or a higher

level of education, and "0" otherwise.

In addition to the basic demographic and background characteristics of the students, I

also create measures of behaviors and attitudes that may confound the associations of primary

interest, and help to address the issue of unobserved heterogeneity. The primary student

behaviors that may confound the focal associations and are available in the data are delinquent or

deviant behavior, grades, academic ability, and engagement in school.

Because experiences in school may be related to the respondent's behavior, I have

created a measure of delinquent or deviant behavior to include in the analytic models. In the

analytic models I use one of two possible measures of delinquent behavior. The measures are

reported at different times and ask about some overlapping but some different behaviors. I use

the measure that is reported on the In-School Survey which is administered prior to the reports of

student experiences of school. This measure of delinquency is the average reported frequency of

eight delinquent behaviors in the past 12 months. The frequency options are: 0, 1-2 times (1),

once a month or less (2), 2-3 days a month (3), once or twice a week (4), 3-5 days a week (5), or

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[13] Respondents are asked to report on the level of education of residential parents as well as biological parents. I utilize the level of education from the residential parents. To identify the residential mother and father respondents are asked to complete a household roster with follow-up questions asking who in the household acts as a mother and father to the respondent. Later when the level of education of the residential parents are collected, respondents are asked to report on the woman [man] who functions as a mother [father] in their household, noting that she [he] could be their biological mother, stepmother, foster mother, or adoptive mother, or perhaps a grandmother or aunt. I chose to use residential parent education to capture the educational level in the household context the respondent is exposed to on a daily basis which arguably best represents many of the mechanisms linking parental education to adolescent outcomes (e.g. role modeling, level of resources in the home).

nearly everyday (6). The seven behaviors are: smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, get drunk, race

on a bike, skateboard or roller blades or in a boat or car, do something dangerous because you

were dared to, lie to your parents, skip school without an excuse, and got into physical fight. The

response categories for getting into a physical fights are: never, 1-2 times (1), 3-5 times (2), 6-7

times (3), and more than 7 times (4). Higher scores on this measure indicated higher levels of

delinquent behavior.[14]

I create a measure of average grades to use in several of the analyses. This measure is

created from self-reported grades in the In-School Survey for English, math, history, and science.

The responses are coded to be equivalent to a 0-4 grade point scale where a 1.0 is a D, 2.0 is a C,

3.0 is a B, and a 4.0 is an A. The four grades reported (or as many were reported) are averaged

to create an average grades measure.[15]

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[14] The second measure of delinquent behavior is reported at the same time as the school experiences (at Wave 1). The measure I created is an average of 15 self-report items from the Add Health Delinquency Scale that asked about a broad range of antisocial behaviors within the past 12 months, from minor acts such as shoplifting and lying to parents about whereabouts, to more serious offenses such as being in a serious fight and selling drugs (α=0.84). Responses ranged from 0 to 3, representing never, one or two times, three or four times, and five or more times. Participants entered their responses to these items while listening to an audio cassette recording of the questions to help reduce under-reporting bias. The 15 survey items are: (1) In the past 12 months, how often did you paint graffiti or signs on someone else's property or in a public place? (2) In the past 12 months, how often did you deliberately damage property that didn't belong to you? (3) In the past 12 months, how often did you lie to your parents or guardians about where you had been or whom you were with? (4) How often did you take something from a store without paying for it? (5) How often did you get into a serious physical fight? (6) How often did you hurt someone badly enough to need bandages or care from a doctor or nurse? (7) How often did you run away from home? (8) How often did you drive a car without its owner's permission? (9) In the past 12 months, how often did you steal something worth more than $50? (10) How often did you go into a house or building to steal something? (11) How often did you use or threaten to use a weapon to get something from someone? (12) How often did you sell marijuana or other drugs? (13) How often did you steal something worth less than $50? (14) In the past 12 months, how often did you take part in a fight where a group of your friends was against another group? (15) How often were you loud, rowdy, or unruly in a public place?

[15] Although transcript grades are available from the Adolescent Health and Academic Achievement (AHAA) supplemental data, using this measure for grades would substantially decrease the sample size for the analyses due to the fact that not everyone has transcript data and most importantly, the transcripts are only for high school, so for the students in grades 7 and 8 at Wave 1, I would be using grades that occur after the outcome measures (experiences of school at Wave 1).

I also include a measure of vocabulary ability as an additional control for potentially unobserved characteristics of the student. This measure is the only test score measure available in the Add Health data. The measure is the score on a modified Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test.

The last measure of behavior in school I create is a measure of engagement with school. To create this measure I average responses to two items taken from the In-School Survey that ask students whether they have trouble with homework, and whether they have trouble paying attention in school. These are two of the items commonly used by researchers who analyze the Add Health data to capture engagement in school (Johnson et al. 2001). This use of the term "engagement" is meant to capture the behavioral part of school connection which is conceptually distinct from the affective aspect of belonging to school which is typically discussed as "attachment" to school.

In addition to including measures of student behavior, I also include several measures of student attitudes and beliefs. I include measures that capture attitudes and beliefs that may be related to underlying dispositions that could affect the primary associations of interest. The two types of underlying dispositions I capture to the extent possible are: that the student perceives all relations in the school negatively; or that the student does not accept any of the social norms, obligations, and values about school and the political realm. The first type of disposition or attitude is measured with an item that captures the student's perception of relations in the school between students, and asks whether the student perceives other students in the school to be prejudiced. This measure is coded in the same way as the fair treatment measure. The correlation

between these measures at the student level is small (r=0.14), however this could reflect that only a small subset of students perceive all relations in the school negatively.

The second type of underlying disposition or belief is captured using two measures. The first is a measure of whether the student reports trying hard in school. The measure is derived from a survey item on the In-School Survey that asks: "In general, how hard do you try to do your school work well?" The response categories are: I try very hard to do my best; I try hard enough, but not as hard as I could; I don't try very hard at all; and I never try at all. The item is coded so that higher values indicate more effort/trying harder. This measure is used to capture a level of investment and belief in school which relies on the assumption that if the student does not care about school or believe that school is a valuable thing to do, they would probably not report trying hard. The second measure is taken from an In-School Survey item asking students: "When you get what you want, it's usually because you worked hard for it." The response categories are a five category Likert scale which I have coded so that higher values are agreement with this belief. This measure is used to capture a general belief in the hard work myth in American culture.

In the analyses predicting citizenship outcomes, I also include measures of several characteristics and experiences of students that occur after their experiences of school. These characteristics and experiences are measured at the time the citizenship outcomes are reported (Wave 3), which is six years after the experiences of school and other characteristics are reported.

I measure the young adult's age from the self-report at Wave 3. I also created indicators

for life experiences the young adult may have experienced in the intervening six years. I have

chosen life experiences that capture positive social integration as well as negative and potentially

marginalizing experiences. The three measures that capture positive social integration as a young

adult are indicators for whether the respondent is currently married, whether they are currently

employed, and their attained level of education. The measure of being currently married is

created from survey items asking the respondent the number of times they have been married,

and the follow-up question for each reported marriage asking if they are still married. The vast

majority of respondents reporting ever having been married indicate that they have only been

married once.[16] The measure of being currently employed is created from a survey item asking

the respondent whether they currently work for pay at least 10 hours a week. The measure of a

respondent's own education is a measure of the highest grade or year of regular school the

respondent reports completing. The range observed for this measure is 6th grade (6) to five or

more years of graduate school (22).[17]

To capture the later negative and potentially marginalizing experiences, I created

indicators for experiences with social welfare receipt and criminal justice contact. Utilizing these

experiences allows for comparison of the personal experience with school environments to other

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[16] Alternatively, I could use a measure of ever married. The difference between the ever married and still married is 252 people in my sample.
[17] This measure of education is utilized in part because of the age of the sample. At the time of the Wave 3 interview, respondents are 18-26 years of age which means that many respondents have not completed their education. The measure of highest grade or year of school is also utilized because of the limitations in how Add Health captures college experience. At Wave 3 respondents are asked about completed degrees (e.g. GED, diploma, Associate of Arts/Science, Bachelors) as well as whether they are currently attending college. What these survey items do not capture is when respondents attended college at some time during the 6 year interval between Wave 2 and 3, but did not complete a degree. In other words, Add Health does not allow respondents to report having "some college" other than the measure of highest year or grade completed.

institutional experiences that may have marginalizing effects on the civic and political outcomes. The measure of receiving social welfare is a dichotomous indicator for having received food stamps or cash assistance welfare (AFDC/TANF) in the past 12 months, currently receiving either of these, or having received either of these in any year from 1995-2001.[18] The measure of criminal justice involvement is taken from a series of questions asking the respondent about a number of ways that they could have involvement with the police and/or criminal justice institutions. I created a measure of progressive contact following Weaver and Lerman (2010). The measure indicates whether the respondent has ever been stopped by the police not including minor traffic violations (1), having been arrested as an adult (2), having been convicted or pled guilty to a crime as an adult (3), and having been sentenced to probation or serving time in a correctional facility as an adult (4).[19] The measure therefore ranges from no experiences (0) to the most extensive experience of having served time in a correctional facility (4). Because there is no measure in the Add Health data asking respondents whether they are eligible to vote, this

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[18] Respondents are asked to identify if they received income in the previous 12 months from a variety of sources. Food stamps and cash welfare are two of the choices. The second series of questions this measure relies on asks if the respondent is currently receiving assistance from a variety of sources and welfare and food stamps are two choices. The last series of questions this measure is created from is a repeated question that is asked separately for each year from 1995 to 2001 asking whether the respondent received any public assistance or welfare payment from a state or local welfare office other than food stamps even for one month. I did not include receiving housing assistance or unemployment insurance or workers compensation in this measure of social welfare receipt because of previous findings that indicate the effect programs varies by program design (Bruch et al. 2010; Soss 2001).
[19] The measure that I use is based on the measure used by Weaver and Lerman (2010). The difference is that they break serving time into categories – serving time and imprisoned which is defined as serving over a year. I explored two codings of experience with criminal justice – one that includes both juvenile and adult experiences, and another that is only adult experiences except for the first type of contact which does not distinguish juvenile versus adult occurrences. I did this because on the one hand a more inclusive measure is better at parsing out the other deviant behavior type explanations for the disciplinary environment effects, but on the other hand, having the adult only measure is better for using as a later mediator of the school disciplinary effects. Using the measure that includes juvenile experiences has a mean of .44 whereas using the adult only measure has a mean of .40. Using the adult-only measure the findings are all the same for the school-based experiences and also for the criminal justice measure itself, except for one association crossing the threshold to become statistically significant - the adult-only measure is a positive and significant predictor of civic participation.

criminal justice involvement measure captures both the potential interpretive feedback effects of these experiences as well as possible legal disenfranchisement.

School Environment

I include a number of school characteristics that are correlated with the focal school environment measures and/or potentially associated with the outcomes of interest. The basic school characteristics I measure are: academic achievement, proportion of college-going students, average parental education, and indicators for the region, the type of school, urbanicity, and size. The measures of size, school type, urbanicity, and region are obtained from the Basic School Information provided with the Add Health data. The academic achievement of the school is measured using the percent of students at or above grade level as reported by the school administrator in the School Administrator Survey. The average level of academic attainment of the student body is also taken from the School Administrator Survey. The administrator is asked what proportion of the student body of their school attends college after finishing high school.

An indicator for the south region of the United States is included in order to capture the possibility that the discipline measures are regionally specific. The South in particular has historically had harsher punishments and stricter discipline in schools than other areas of the country (Arum 2003). An indicator for urban is also included because in the school discipline literature some have found differences in disciplinary strategies in urban versus suburban or rural schools (Kupchik 2010; Hirschfield 2008; Simon 2007; Kupchik and Monahan 2006; Casella 2003). An indicator variable distinguishing private versus public schools is included because early work on school discipline focused on the difference in discipline strategies utilized in

private and/or Catholic schools (Coleman and Hoffer 1987; Coleman 1981; DiPrete et al. 1981; Bryk et al. 1993). Also the distinction between public and private, and specifically Catholic schools is central to Coleman's idea of the functional community which I use to motivate several measures of the school environment. Finally, an indicator for a school having a large number of students (over 1000 students) is included because school climates and disciplinary strategies may differ in schools that have more expansive campuses or a higher density of students (i.e. more formal rules or surveillance), and social processes related to feelings of marginality and belonging may operate differently in large environments (i.e. more subcultures within the school or more variation).

The only measure of socioeconomic status that is available for all students in the school is the level of parent education. While students in the longitudinal sample have parent reports of their own income, the longitudinal sample is selectively sampled from the schools. I use the parent education measure reported by the adolescent in the In-School Survey which was given to every student in the school except students who were absent the day of survey administration. I take the highest parent education level if the adolescent reports the education level of two parents. Although the student reports the parent's level of education in six categories, I dichotomize the parent education into an indicator for whether the parent has attained a college degree or higher. The school average parental education is created by aggregating these student reports to the school level.

Following Mueller et al. (2010), appropriate weights are applied to all measures aggregated to the school level from the In-School survey or Wave 1 In-Home survey to ensure that the school-level measure is representative of the students in that school.

In Analysis 3 I also include three additional school measures as predictors of the school disciplinary policies: the level of problems perceived by the school administrator, an aggregate measure of student delinquency, and an aggregate measure of student safety perceptions.

The measure of school problems used in Analysis 3 is taken from several items in the Administrator Survey. The administrator is asked the following: "Now, I'm going to read a short list of problems that confront some adolescents today. Please tell me whether you think each is a big problem, a small problem, or no problem at all for your school community." The problems are: smoking, drug use, alcohol use, gang violence, sexual harassment, teen pregnancy, eating disorders or stress/pressure, vandalism, and racial conflict. To create the measure of school problems I use only the problems that may elicit some type of disciplinary response, therefore I do not use the teen pregnancy, eating disorders or stress/pressure problems. I also do not include the racial conflict measure in the general measure of school problems because I create a separate measure of racial conflict (see below in racial dynamics section). The administrator could report that the problem was a big problem or a small problem. Problems that were reported as big add a value of 2 to the perception of problems measure, and problems that were reported as small add a value of 1 to the measure. The level of school problems measure is created by adding the values for all the problems reported.

School average delinquency is captured by averaging the reported frequency for eight delinquent behaviors in the past 12 months. The frequency options are: 0, 1-2 times (1) , once a month or less (2) , 2-3 days a month (3), once or twice a week (4), 3-5 days a week (5), or nearly everyday (6). The seven behaviors are: smoke cigarettes, drink alcohol, get drunk, race on a bike, skateboard or roller blades or in a boat or car, do something dangerous because you were

dared to, lie to your parents, skip school without an excuse, and got into physical fight. The response categories for getting into a physical fights are: never, 1-2 times (1), 3-5 times (2), 6-7 times (3), and more than 7 times (4). This measure of school delinquency is a huge improvement on the majority of other measures using other data sources. For example, DiPrete et al. (1981) use High School and Beyond and rely on a single item: the proportion of sophomore students indicating they cut class.

The measure of aggregate perceptions of student safety is derived from an In-School Survey item that asks students the degree to which they agree or disagree with the following statement: "I feel safe at my school." I have coded responses so that positive values are feelings of safety. The measure is aggregated to the school level to provide an overall average level of safety perceptions.

The primary focus of the dissertation is on three aspects of school organizations: authority relations as measured by discipline, school community features, and racial dynamics.

School Community Measures

The measures of shared norms are measured at the school level because the concept of shared norms it is not about whether an individual has the norm but whether a collective group share the norm. So while having the norm may be positive for an individual, the concept focused on here is on the collective property of sharing the norm.

There are two aspects of shared norms: agreement and consistency. High agreement with beliefs is captured by a high average. A high degree of consistency or consensus is not about the average level but instead about the homogeneity in beliefs. Low consistency then is defined by

its level of heterogeneity or variation. Therefore, for the shared norms measures I create two types of measures – an aggregate school mean and an aggregate school variance.

I follow Harding's method of operationalizing heterogeneity or low consistency, and use the variance as the measure of heterogeneity (2007, 2009).[20] Although I measure variation, this is the compliment to Coleman's idea of consensus of norms. I also follow the practice recommended by Harding (2007) to control for the central tendency of the measures when you are estimating the effects of heterogeneity.

The measure I use to capture shared norms is taken from an In-School Survey item asking the student about their educational aspirations. The argument here is that if their aspirations are high, it is reflective of their internalization of the belief in the value of education or internalization of the norm of college attendance. At the least, this measure can be conceptualized at the level of the school as a measure of shared norms about educational aspirations.

There are two related articulations for understanding shared norms: Durkheim/Arum and Coleman. These two articulations of shared norms differ in their language for describing the concept, but I belief are describing the same thing and agree in the basic argument that shared norms/moral resources is a feature of school organizations that affects student outcomes/shapes student behavior. The discipline literature that builds on the theoretical work of Durkheim uses the language of moral resources to describe the phenomena of sharing general, mainstream or

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[20] Harding (2007, 2009) articulates a concept of cultural heterogeneity in neighborhoods as an explanation for adolescent beliefs and behaviors regarding romantic relationships and educational attainment. Harding defines cultural heterogeneity in a neighborhood as having "a wide array of competing and conflicting cultural models" (2007: 341).

normative beliefs regarding the missing of the school and education. This is what is called, "belief in the moral order" or the level of moral resources available in a school. With this understanding, the level of moral resources is a critical piece of authority relations in school. Students must share a belief in the moral order to view the authority of teachers and the school as legitimate and is required for students to obey/comply.

The second way of discussing shared norms is derived from Coleman's work on private and Catholic schools. Shared norms here are described not explicitly as a measure of believing in the legitimacy of the school (and its authority), but as a measure of uniformity/homogeneity in the holding of the beliefs that enhance the functioning of the social organization. For Coleman, the functional community is the key feature differentiating Catholic, private, and public schools, and is the way to understand how positive outcomes are obtained in certain schools.

Another aspect of Coleman's functional community concept is affective bonds and relations. I capture this aspect of Coleman's concept with two measures: an aggregate sense of community or belonging measure, and a measure of student or peer relations. The focus here is again on the school environment, not the individual report of whether they have these things and the effect of having them, but the school community having them.

The sense of community measure is an aggregate measure of three survey items taken from the In-School Survey given to all students in the schools. The measure is coded as the mean of three items (0 to 4 points; $\alpha = .78$) assessing the extent to which the adolescent feels happy to be at the school, close with people at the school, and part of the school (Johnson, Crosnoe and Elder 2001; Perreira et al. 2006; South et al 2007).

The use of a measure of student-to-student relations is motivated by the work of DiPrete and Coleman and his colleagues (1982, 1987) which highlights the importance of peer relations as part of the social environment in which students learn. For student-student relationships, I utilize a measure of getting along with other students.[21] To obtain this measure, I use a survey item that asks students to report on how often they have trouble getting along with other students. I reverse code the measure so that positive values are getting along with other students in the school.

The last measure of the school as community that I use is a measure of the participatory climate of the school. This measure is obtained by averaging the number of extracurricular activities the students in the school report participating in. See the description of the individual participation measure for more details.

School Disciplinary Environment

There are several ways that people conceptualize and measure school disciplinary environments. While much of the work on school discipline in sociology has focused on a particular aspect of the disciplinary environment - the extent of moral authority (Arum 2003), the majority of work on school discipline in the criminology literature focuses on the social control aspects of discipline (Kupchik 2010; Simon 2007; Lyons and Drew 2006; Noguera 2003). For example, Arum and colleagues articulate a broad conceptualization that is used to organized a recent edited collection of work that provides a cross-national examination of disciplinary

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[21] I used this measure because while there are several other measure of student relations, each had a limitation. For the measure of feeling close to students, I decided that this is too close to the feeling part/belonging that I use as a measure of school experience. There are also measures of feeling socially accepted which seems too much like peer popularity, and a measure of being happy in school which is too vague and is not specific to relationships with other students.

environments: "A school's disciplinary climate thus can be conceptualized as a product of the actions of teachers and administrators, the cultural beliefs and behaviors of students, and the interactions between students and educators that shape the school's organizational culture" (2: 2012). This conceptualization includes not only the disciplinary policies such as rules, regulations, or sanctioning policies, but also social dynamics and in particular the peer relations with teachers and other students. The operationalization of this conceptualization relies on both objective measures as well as subjective assessments from the principals, teachers, and students. From the principal they have a measure of disciplinary disengagement which measures how often kids at their school do things like arrive late, skip etc., from teachers a measure of frequency of classroom disruption (due to disruptive students), and from students a student victimization index. Whether due to data limitations or a conceptualization that focuses on climate as opposed to policies, it is noteworthy that there are no measures of disciplinary policies.

The conceptualization of school disciplinary environment utilized in the analyses is comprised of four organizational dimensions of the disciplinary environment: the harshness of the punishment or sanctioning policies, the extent of surveillance/monitoring, the extent of behavioral regulation through the use of rules, and student perceptions of fair treatment.

My conceptualization of the disciplinary environment is shaped by my focus on authority relations and disciplinary policies as being good measures of how authority relations are organized in the school. I also focus on disciplinary policies because I am interested in identifying concrete aspects of school environments that are policy-relevant and malleable to policy interventions. Reflecting my use of the policy-to-polity perspective, in Analysis 2 I use

these policies as predictors of citizenship outcomes while in Analysis 3 I focus on predicting these policies. It is also worth noting that I do not include the social climate aspect of Arum et al.'s (2012) conceptualization, instead I have chosen to conceptualize these aspects of the school environment using Coleman's idea of a functional community.

The first dimension of the disciplinary environment focuses on the punishment or sanctioning aspect of discipline. In the majority of schools there is a tiered system whereby there are multiple levels or steps of severity that determines the appropriate punishment for student offenses of varying levels of severity. However, more recently many schools have moved in the direction of "zero tolerance" policies for disciplinary sanctioning which escalates the severity of the punishment for offenses that range from the most serious to even some of the more minor. This move toward more harsh or severe punishments is consistent with the direction of many other types of punishment regimes from criminal justice to social welfare (Soss et al. 2011; Wacquant 2010; Simon 2007). This move to more punitive or paternalistic policy designs that use harsh or severe punishments and sanctions is what motivates my focus on the punishment dimension of discipline.

To capture the sanctioning dimension of school disciplinary environments I created a measure of the disciplinary infraction consequences, and a measure of the extent to which severe or harsh sanctioning is utilized by schools. The measure of the disciplinary infraction consequences was created from several questions asked of the school administrator regarding the severity of sanctioning/punishment for students committing 12 different types of infractions for

the first time (i.e. cheating, smoking, injuring another student, carrying a weapon, etc.).[22] The

disciplinary consequences are: verbal warning, minor action, in-school suspension, out-of-school

suspension, and expulsion.[23] The three more severe punishments are all generally referred to in

the school discipline literature as "punitive" in that they represent severe punishments. Therefore

I use the language of punitive to refer to the degree of severity or harshness in punishment. This

differs from strictness as is usually conceptualized in the school discipline literature in which

strictness is about enforcement and regulation of behavior. Strictness is not typically used to

describe the sanctioning or punishment aspect of discipline.

In order to utilize the full range of variation in the administrator responses, I created an

overall punitive policy index by averaging the punishment severity of the first offense for each of

the 12 infractions (McNeely et al. 2002).[24] This measure has a limited range of variation with

values starting at 4.4 and up to 6.5 - meaning that schools with the lowest level of punishment

across these 12 infractions still report an average punishment of "minor action," whereas schools

with the highest level of punishment report an average punishment of "expulsion." The mean and

median are both 5.8 indicating an average punishment close to out-of-school suspension across

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[22] The 12 infractions are: cheating, fighting with another student, injuring another student, possessing alcohol, possessing an illegal drug, possessing a weapon, drinking alcohol at school, using an illegal drug at school, smoking at school, verbally abusing a teacher, physically injuring a teacher, and stealing school property.

[23] The value ranges are 1-7 where 1 is "no policy", 2 is undefined, 3 is verbal warning, 4 is minor action, 5 is in-school suspension, 6 is out-of-school suspension, and 7 is expulsion.

[24] I also created a measure using the disciplinary consequences for both the first and second offense of each infraction. The correlation between these two measures is high (r=.87). Babcock (2008) uses all 24 indicators to create a Discipline Policy Index.

these 12 infractions. These statistics highlight that all schools in the sample are relatively

punitive or harsh in their sanctioning for these infractions.[25]

In addition to having a measure of the punitiveness of the sanctioning policies of the

school, I have also created measures that reflect the use of this disciplinary strategy. These

measures of the policy as implemented can be contrasted with the policy-on-the-books. The first

of these measures captures how extensively the school uses punitive sanctioning as a disciplinary

strategy. To create this measure, I begin with the student measure reporting their personal

experience with being punitively sanctioned (described above). I aggregate the student reports to

the school level to obtain a count of the number of students who report being punitively

sanctioned. I then divide this number by the number of students in the school to obtain the

proportion of students in the school who have been punitively sanctioned. Higher values indicate

that the school punitively sanctions a larger proportion of the student body.[26]

The second dimension of the disciplinary environment I use is the extent of

surveillance/monitoring. The administrator is asked to indicate whether their school utilizes a

security guard, a metal detector when entering the school, or other special safety procedure. If

the administrator indicates that their school uses a special security procedure, they are asked to

indicate that they use any of the following: random checks with metal detector, campus monitors,

require student identity cards, video surveillance, or security bars. I create a measure of the

extent to which these surveillance and monitoring security procedures are used at the school by

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[25] Using the NELS data, Barton et al. (1998) measure the severity of punishment which is very similar to the measure I use here. Barton et al.'s measure uses the modal punishment per offense and are able to calculate the percent of students that invoke this response.
[26] A similar attempt to get a measure of the use of punishment is Arum's (2003) use of OCR data to capture "authoritative discipline," which uses the number of white and black students who experienced corporal punishment divided by the number of white or black students in the school.

adding each of the security features identified by the school administrator. The range for this measure is 0-2, where a value of 0 indicates that the school has none of the security procedures and a value of 2 indicates that they use 2 of them. Approximately 47% of the respondents attend schools that do not use any of these security procedures, 29% attend schools using one, and the remaining 24% attend schools that utilize two. The most common security procedure utilized by the Add Health schools is a security guard.

The third dimension of the disciplinary environment is the regulation of student behavior through the use of school rules. Student behavior in schools has always been highly regulated with rules as well as teacher mandates on all aspects of movement, speech and demeanor (Hurns 1985; Silberman 1969). The school administrator is asked whether their school has rules regarding student dress or attire, the use of hall passes, whether students are allowed to leave the school building, and whether they can smoke on school grounds. Administrators report whether they have these rules and whether they apply to different grades. If an administrator indicates that the rule applies to 7-12 graders, I code this as 1 for each of the four rules. Therefore, the range for this measure is 0-4 indicating how many of these rules are applicable to the students in their school. This measure is taken as a measure of the overall regulation of student behavior through the use of school behavior rules. Schools are generally highly regulated environments and this is seen in the level of regulation captured by this measure which is highly skewed. Only 6 schools have 0, 1 or 2 of these rules, 31 have 3 of them, and the remaining 95 have all 4 of them.[27]

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[27] Arum (2003) articulates a similar conception of school rules but also uses student and teacher reports of rules. The measures available in Add Health are similar to those available in HSB and NELS which include a similar series of

The fourth dimension of the disciplinary environment is the students' perception of fair treatment. This dimension is captured by one question that asks all students in the school whether they think that teachers in the school treat students fairly. There are a couple of difference between the individual level measure and the measure described here: first, this school level measure is taken from the In-School survey (not the In-Home Wave 1 survey), and second, this measure uses the full Likert scale (not dichotomized into agree or disagree). The fact that the survey item this measure is derived from is not specific to the respondent's interactions with teachers, but rather is measuring their perception of what occurs in the school in general is an additional benefit. This measure is normally distributed (unlike the other disciplinary measures included in the discipline scale), with a mean of 0.20, indicating that on average 20% of students in school do not think that teachers treat students fairly. The range is from a low of 3% to a high of 39%, so in no school do the majority of students think that teachers treat students unfairly.

In earlier versions of some analyses, I have combined each of the four dimensions into an additive or mean composite scale. In Analysis 3, I examine the correlation among the discipline measures. For the most part the correlations are relative low which motivates not putting them together as a scale. Instead I have chosen to selectively intersect school features to create configurations of schools that capture theoretically motivated hypotheses regarding how particular contextual features may interact to create unique environmental consequences.[28]

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whether there are rules regulating school grounds, hall passes, smoking, and dress. DiPrete et al. (1981) also use NELS and use administrative reports of rules and rule enforcement and student perceptions of rule enforcement.

[28] In this footnote I describe how I created the scale. The scale is an additive index that adds the four dimensions of the disciplinary environment. Below I describe the four measures that comprise this index. The index is created by first categorizing each of the four measures of the disciplinary environment into high and low categories defined by their mean value, and then adding a value of 1 to the index for each dimension that is above their respective mean value. The resulting scale indicates that 9 schools do not have "high" values on any of the four dimensions of the

Racial Dynamics Measures

A substantial focus of this dissertation is on racial dynamics. The racial dynamics

measures I use are: racial composition (presence); relative socioeconomic position (position);

racial conflict; racial inequality in sanctioning and fairness perceptions, and racial attitudes

(student prejudice). The first two measures are compositional attributes of racial relations – the

numerical presence of racial groups and the socioeconomic position of racial groups in the

school. These two compositional measures operationalize how racial groups are relationally

positioned when they enter the school.

Motivated by the classic theories of intergroup contact and group threat (Allport 1954;

Blalock 1967) as well as by the macrostructural theory of relations (Blau 1977), I use the

numerical presence of groups in schools to capture the frequency and relative frequency of

groups and level of diversity in schools. The racial composition of the school is created from

aggregating student self-reported race from the school-wide In-School Survey. This results in

estimates of the proportion of the student body that is white, African American, Latino, Asian,

American Indian, other race, and multiracial. Due to the small sample of American Indian, other

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disciplinary environment, 38 are high on 1 dimension, 33 are high on 2, 40 on 3, and the remaining 12 schools are high on all 4 dimensions. High values were also defined using 1 SD and ½ SD from mean. If high values are defined by 1 SD above the mean, then for the use of punitive punishment 22 schools are defined as high, 49 schools for security procedures, 95 schools for regulation of student behavior through rules, and 23 schools are high for perceptions of fair treatment. If high values are defined as ½ SD above the mean, then 38 schools are defined as high for the use of punitive punishment, 49 schools for security procedures, 95 schools for the regulation of student behavior through rules, and 36 schools are high for perceptions of fair treatment. The measures for the second and third dimensions of the disciplinary environment (security procedures and rules) are ordinal scales. In the case of security procedures adding ½ or 1 SD to the mean results in a value over 1 for both (mean=0.71 and sd=0.78), so for both these definitions of "high" this really just indicates a value of 2. In the case of regulatory rules, adding 1 sd to the mean value results in a nonplausible value (more than 4), so for each of the definitions of "high" a value of 4 is taken as high (mean = 3.63 and sd=0 .71). If "high" is defined as 1 SD, then the scale indicates 24 with 0 high values, 69 with 1 high value, 25 with 2, 13 with 3 and only 1 with all 4 being high. If "high" is defined as ½ SD, then the scale indicates 18 with no high values, 63 with 1, 27 with 2, 22 with 3 and 2 with all 4 high.

race and multiracial students in the majority of schools, these categories are combined into an

"all other" race category when descriptive statistics are presented (i.e. to make the proportions

add up to 100%). In the main model specification I utilize the proportion of the study body that is

African American, however I also estimated models using the proportion of the study body that

is white and an overall diversity index to assess any differences.

In addition to the presence-based measures, I create position-based measures to capture

the relative socioeconomic position of racial groups within the school. The motivation for these

measures is derived from the idea that it is not just about the relative size or presence of the

group, but also how the group is structurally positioned relative to other groups in a specific

context (Soss and Bruch 2008; Weber 1968; Blumer 1958; Bonilla-Silva 1997; Bourdieu 1985,

1990). The measures I create use the student reports of parent education in the In-School Survey.

I take the highest parent education level if the adolescent reports the education level of two

parents. Unlike the school average level of parent education in which I dichotomize the parent

education into an indicator for whether the parent has attained a college degree or higher, here I

use the full distribution of variation that is available. Therefore, the measure has six categories

that range from less than a high school graduate or GED to a professional degree. The school

average parental education is aggregated by the racial identification of the student. These

racially-specific average education levels are then used to create ratios of relative socioeconomic

position by dividing one racial group's average parent education by another racial group's

average parent education (i.e. African American school average parent education / white school

average parent education). I create these measures for African American-to-white relative

position, and for Latino-to-white relative position. I eliminate schools that do not have at least

five students from each group to calculate the average racially-specific level of parent education. This criteria eliminates 47 of the 132 schools, leaving a sample of 85 schools with these measures. In Analysis 3 I break these measures into three groups: racial minority advantage (African American or Latino), relative parity, and white advantage. Parity is defined as within 0.10 of exact parity which is a measure of 1.

The measure of racial conflict is taken from the Administrator Survey from a survey item that asks the administrator to report on whether several different issues are problems at their school described above in the measure of school problems. The particular wording for this choice is "racial conflict". The response categories are: no problem, small problem, and big problem. I have coded this measure to be a dichotomous indicator of having a problem with racial conflict, but not distinguishing between small and big.

The first racial inequality measure I use is a measure of racial disproportionality in sanctioning. These measures capture the under- and over-representation of racial groups in being punitively sanctioned. Racial inequality within the discipline structure is measured from student self-reports of their experience with punitive disciplinary sanctions: out-of-school suspension and expulsion. The racial composition of the students sanctioned with these practices is aggregated to the level of the school (i.e. the proportion of suspended or expelled students who are white, African American, or Latino). The punitive sanctioning discipline composition proportions are then compared to the overall school racial composition to create a measure of over- and under-representation in punitive disciplinary sanctioning.[29]

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[29] See Gregory, Skiba, and Noguera 2010 for discussion of measuring disproportionality using a composition-based index like I have done versus using a risk index or risk ratio approach. The approach I have taken compares the

A positive number on this measure represents over-representation in punitive disciplinary sanctioning, whereas a negative number represents under-representation. The mean levels of representation for African Americans and Latinos are positive (.034 and .021 respectively), whereas for whites the mean level of representation is negative (-.020). Just as with the racial inequality in tracking measure, I also create indicators for under- and over-representation of at least 5% to signify positive or negative racial disproportionality in punitive disciplinary sanctioning for whites, African Americans and Latinos in each school. Using the 5% cutoff results in 22 schools being identified as having African Americans over-represented in punitive disciplinary sanctioning, 27 for whites, and 20 for Latinos. In terms of under-representation in punitive disciplinary sanctioning, 7 schools are identified as having African American under-representation, 27 for whites, and 14 for Latinos. Note that schools can have under- or over-representation for more than one group i.e. a situation where two of the three groups are over-represented.

The second racial inequality measure that I use is a measure of racial difference in fairness perceptions. The same survey items used to create the measure of school average fairness perceptions which are used as a measure of the disciplinary environment, are used here to create race-specific fairness perceptions. I code the fairness perceptions of the white and African American students and aggregate them separately to the school level. I then subtract the difference between the average white and African American fairness perceptions to create the

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population of a group sanctioned with the proportion of that group in the population. I have chosen this approach because of the intuitiveness of the measure. However Gregory and colleagues note that there are problems of interpretation and scaling that have led many to use the risk index or risk ratio approach. Another issue in the field is what constitutes disproportionality. In other words, what is the appropriate cutpoint beyond which is considered disproportionality.

measure of racial inequality in fairness perceptions. A higher value indicates a larger racial difference in perceptions of fairness.

A measure of student prejudice is used as a proxy for racial attitudes. This is an aggregate to the school level of the measure used at the individual level described above. This measure captures the average level of student prejudice reported by student peers.

Neighborhood Context

An additional context that young adults are exposed to and may affect their civic and political participation is their neighborhood. The neighborhood context may also affect the school environment. The neighborhood context is captured using three measures, one that captures the structural conditions of the neighborhood, a measure of racial diversity, and a measure that captures the level of crime in the neighborhood.

The first measure is a neighborhood socioeconomic disadvantage scale. The measure is a composite created by averaging six tract level characteristics taken from 1990 Census data that is appended to the student level Add Health data by Add Health staff. The six tract level measures are: the family poverty rate, the proportion of single mother families, the unemployment rate, the proportion of college graduates in the population older than 25, the percent of workers in managerial or professional occupations, and the percent of affluent households (defined as incomes at $75,000 or higher). The first three items are reversed such that a higher score indicates a more advantaged neighborhood ($\alpha = 0.86$). This measured is based on the measure of neighborhood disadvantage used by Harding (2007) in his work on neighborhood heterogeneity.

The neighborhood racial diversity is calculated at the tract level using a Simpson Diversity Index (the same index used to create measure of racial diversity of the school racial composition). The measure of neighborhood crime is the total crime rate per 100,000 population in the county.

Analysis Plan

The organizing focus of the dissertation is how schools as organizations structure relations through discipline/authority relations, school community-related features like norms and relationships, and racial climate – and how experiencing these relations in a formative social institutional context affects experiences of school and later citizenship.

Analysis 1: Experiences of School and Citizenship Outcomes

In this chapter, I examine how experiences of school are associated with later citizenship outcomes. In particular, I focus on the experience of being singled out for punitive sanctions, the experience of student-teacher relations that one perceives as unfair, the experience of feeling connected to the school community, and the experience of participating in school extracurricular activities.

I begin by exploring two important questions: who has the three focal experiences of school? And are these experiences typically encountered together or are they in large part independent experiences? To answer the primary research questions for this chapter, I estimate multivariate logistic regression models predicting civic and political participation and trust in government. In addition to these experiences of school, I also examine two additional channels through which education has been found to affect citizenship outcomes: participation-relevant

skills and educational attainment. To explore these additional channels, I first explore whether the potentially marginalizing and socially integrating experiences of school, and the participation-relevant skills predict educational attainment. I then examine whether educational attainment remains a robust predictor of citizenship outcomes with the inclusion of measures for the three other pathways through which schooling may affect citizenship.

In addition to the independent linear associations of the experiences of school, I also examine whether there are compounding effects of being punitively sanctioned and perceiving unfair treatment, or of being punitively sanctioned and feeling marginalized from the school community. And finally, I examine whether the effects of personal experiences in school differ for students who are positioned differently within their schools (i.e. race, gender, SES, and achievement).

Analysis 2: School Environments and Citizenship Outcomes

Although citizenship outcomes are generally thought of as being driven by individual characteristics, the multitude of ways that social contexts and in particular, social institutions and policies shape individual behaviors and attitudes are increasingly being highlighted as of critical importance. Social institutions, and in particular schools, are a key context that people experience at a formative period of their lives. Schools have also historically been charged with the political socialization of young people. However we know surprisingly little about how student experiences of school environments affect their political learning, or how contextual features of schools shape future citizenship.

In this chapter I examine three ways that schools could affect citizenship: (1) by affecting the likelihood of having particular experiences of school that are associated with citizenship outcomes; (2) by affecting citizenship outcomes directly; and (3) by conditioning the associations between particular experiences and citizenship. To examine these possibilities, I focus on how schools organize relations of authority and community, and the dynamics of race in the school. The school features examined include the disciplinary environment, school community features, and racial dynamics. I estimate a series of models exploring the role of these features for each of the possible ways that schools could affect citizenship.

Analysis 3: Discipline Policies and the Dynamics of Race in Schools

This final chapter examines the how the disciplinary policies and racial dynamics of schools are related and how they are distributed across schools. The chapter focuses in particular on the relationship between the disciplinary environments of schools and three dimensions of racial dynamics: racial group presence, socioeconomic positions of racial groups, and racial conflict in the school. I focus on the four elements of the disciplinary environment: the punitive sanctioning policy index, the proportion of students punitively sanctioned (policy as implemented), the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior, and the utilization of surveillance and monitoring security practices. I estimate multivariate school-level regression models to predict the four school discipline policy measures using an additive modeling strategy.

CHAPTER 3

EXPERIENCES OF SCHOOL AND CITIZENSHIP OUTCOMES

Introduction

Beginning with the first proponents of common schools in the United States, schools have been seen as a site for the creation of citizens. One of the original aims of schools in the United States was citizen development which meant preparing students for active participation as citizens and teaching them civic norms and values (Dewey 1900; 1916). Although political socialization was one of the key motivations for schools, the empirical study of this process has focused on specific aspects of the schooling experience. The experience of school that have been examined most extensively is civics education (Gainous and Martens 2012; Callahan et al. 2010; Kahne and Middaugh 2008). The focus on what happens in the classroom reflects the fact that the dominant paradigm for understanding political participation emphasizes individual resources and in particular an individual's time, money, and skills (Brady, Verba, and Schlozman 1995). This emphasis has translated to a focus on skill development and the transfer of political and civic knowledge that can inform electoral participation, and on the measurement of civic learning opportunities (Condon 2012). Recent work in this vein has accumulated supportive evidence that the "civic opportunity gap" is one avenue through which inequality in citizenship is created (Kahne and Sporte 2008; Kahne and Middaugh 2006; Kahne and Westheimer 2004).

While scholars have recognized that civic education courses and opportunities to participate in student government affect later citizenship, I believe that a much wider range of social institutional experiences may impact later citizenship. As a number of studies have

shown, state institutions and policies shape citizenship, political participation, and civic

engagement (Weaver and Lerman 2010; Bruch et al. 2010; Mettler 2007; Soss 1999). This body

of work focuses on how policies structure environments within social institutions in ways that

shape these citizenship outcomes (Svallfors 2007; Mettler and Soss 2004; Kumlin 2002;

Schneider and Ingram 1997). While this work identifies four ways that policy or institutional

designs can affect citizenship, one of these is particularly important for the way that I am

thinking about how schools may affect citizenship: "policies convey cues to groups about their

status in the polity, the importance of their problems, and the ways that government is likely to

respond to them" (110: Soss and Jacobs 2009).[30] So just as sociology of education scholars have

focused on the socialization processes of schooling, how these social messages are shaped by the

organization of school, and how these affect student's educational outcomes, I focus on the

institutional messages that students may be receiving in schools, how they are shaped by the

authority relations and discipline, school community features, and racial dynamics, and how

these may impact their experiences of school and their later citizenship. This way of thinking

about the experience of school is consistent with the political learning perspective which focuses

on the messages citizens receive in their interactions with government and how these interactions

are interpreted as important factors determining people's views of government, their role in

relation to government, and their participation (Mettler and Soss 2004; Soss 1999, 2005).

In particular, I focus on how experiences of specific authority relations and community

dynamics in school settings affect later citizen participation and attitudes toward government. I

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[30] The other three ways that policy designs may affect politics are by distributing resources, positioning groups in
relations to institutions, and supporting and protecting citizens in ways that make it more or less obvious how
government is helping them and in so doing making it more or less likely that people will recognize their shared
interests (Soss and Jacobs 2009).

focus on two experiences that may be potentially marginalizing to students: being singled out for punitive sanctions, and perceiving student-teacher relations as unfair. I also examine two experiences of school that may be socially integrating for students: feeling connected to others in the school community, and participating in extracurricular activities at the school.

In addition to these experiences of school, I also examine two additional channels through which education has been found to affect citizenship outcomes: participation-relevant skills and educational attainment. To capture participation-relevant skills, I use two proxy measures. The first proxy measure is the self-reported grades of high school students in their core academic classes, while the second is a vocabulary test score measure. To explore these additional channels, I first explore whether the potentially marginalizing and socially integrating experiences of school, and the participation-relevant skills predict educational attainment. I then examine whether educational attainment remains a robust predictor of citizenship outcomes with the inclusion of measures for the three other pathways through which schooling may affect citizenship.

The citizenship outcomes I focus on capture two aspects of citizenship: participation and engagement in the polity, and political orientations (i.e. beliefs and attitudes). To capture the participatory aspect of citizenship, I look at civic participation and a particularly important form of political participation: voting. I examine one political orientation - trust in government - which assesses the level of confidence in government and reflects citizen experiences as a member of the polity.

My focus on experiences of authority relations in schools builds on previous work that has examined how experiencing punitively organized authority relations in a number of different social institutional settings is negatively associated with later citizenship (Weaver and Lerman 2010; Bruch, Ferree, and Soss 2010; Soss 2000). As Weaver and Lerman (2010) argue, "punitive encounters with the state foster mistrust of political institutions and a weakened attachment to the political process" (818). In line with this work, I focus on the experiences of being punitively sanctioned because I expect it to function similarly to other experiences with punitive institutional authority in affecting citizenship. The experience of being punitively sanctioned is expected to affect citizenship through the interpretive messages that the student receives. The interpretive messages of students are the student's subjective perceptions of their context and interactions. My focus on these interpretive effects of school experiences is drawn from the distinction common in policy feedback scholarship between resource and interpretive effects as two ways that experiences with policies can shape political and civic outcomes. Interpretive messages could be things like the school conveying messages about the status of social groups within the school, or about how receptive the school is to feedback from students. The interpretive messages associated with experiencing authority relations that are characterized by harsh treatment and/or operate to exclude one from a social institutional environment are discouragement and feelings of marginalization. A similar intuition has been expressed by a number of scholars who focus on the increasingly restrictive types of school disciplinary policies and posit that these harsh, punitive disciplinary environments may result in passive, unquestioning young people (Kupchik 2009; Simon 2007; Lyons and Drew 2006).

I focus on subjective perceptions of fair treatment because one of the fundamental insights from the policy feedback perspective is that not only objective experiences in social institutions produce effects on citizenship outcomes, but that these effects depend on how people perceive their experiences (Lawless and Fox 2001; Mettler and Soss 2004). In related work, scholars have shown that perceptions of procedural fairness affect orientations toward government (Linn and Tyler 1988; Kumlin 2004). As Kumin (2004) explains, the procedural justice perspective "assumes that citizens attach an independent value to procedural fairness in their dealings with the public sector" (42). This subjective assessment of fair treatment captures a different dimension than the objective measure of punitive outcomes. For example, Tyler and colleagues (1989) found that perceptions of fair treatment predicted attitudes toward government controlling for actual treatment (severity of punishment) and previous attitudes about government.

The focus on fairness perceptions is not limited to work examining political outcomes. In work on disciplinary environments of schools and student behavior and academic outcomes, fairness perceptions are also used to assess whether authority is seen as legitimate. Just as Arum (2003) emphasizes the importance of legitimacy and moral authority for student compliance, the procedural justice literature used in political work emphasizes the importance of legitimacy and fairness perceptions to understand why people obey the law or vote (Tyler 1990).

Finally, I focus on perceptions of belonging at school because feeling that one is part of a larger social group or institution is an important way to foster those same types of feeling in relation to the wider society, which is an important part of citizenship (Callahan et al. 2008, 2010). A big piece of political marginalization is feeling that one is not part of the polity or that

one is not a valued member of the polity. Among both adolescents and adults, scholars have found that when people do not feel part of or connected to their community, they are less likely to be engaged and participate (Smith 1999; Putnam 2000). From a policy feedback effect perspective, specific policy designs can "facilitate the incorporation of a group on full and equal terms or place the group in a subordinate and marginal position vis-à-vis state officials and other important social actors" (Soss and Jacobs 2009: 110). In applying this insight to schools, I expect that a number of school organizational features can facilitate the incorporation of students.

Looking briefly at the existing literature that examines outcomes associated with each of these school experiences, there are a couple of important conclusions. The most notable conclusion is that there is relatively limited work that explores how these school experiences affect later outcomes. Most surprisingly, there is relatively little work that examines the possible effects of these punitive sanctioning experiences, especially in regard to connecting the racial disproportionality of sanctioning to the racial achievement gap (Gregory, Skiba, and Noguera 2010). The work that does examine consequences of punitive sanctioning finds that this experience is associated with negative academic outcomes such as a higher likelihood of dropping out of school (Raffaele Mendez 2003; Skiba and Peterson 1999; Bowditch 1993). There are positive outcomes associated with student fairness perceptions. Barton et al. (1998) note that one of the early findings connecting fairness perceptions to student outcomes was from the Safe School Study of 1978 in which students reported less victimization in schools where discipline policies are perceived as more fair. In more recent work, Arum (2003) uses NELS and HSB to examine the associations between student perceptions of the disciplinary environment and student attitudes, behavior, and academic achievement. Arum found that, "students who

perceived school discipline as fair, however, were consistently better behaved, more committed to school, less likely to countenance disobeying rules, and had higher tests scores and grades than those who perceived school discipline as unfair" (187).

There is also surprisingly limited work connecting feelings of connection or marginalization from the school community and citizenship outcomes (Niemi and Junn 1998). A recent, notable exception is the work of Callahan and colleagues which have found positive associations between feeling socially connected to the school community and later political participation (Callahan et al. 2008, 2010). The more common way to measure a related type of connection but that captures a more participatory understanding of connection or engagement finds that engagement or participation in school or civic activities such as service learning opportunities is generally positively associated with later civic and political participation (Quinn 2011; McFarland and Thomas 2006; Schmidt et al. 2007; Niemi et al. 2000). Given the limited previous work examining the potential relationships between these experiences of school and citizenship outcomes, the current analyses are poised to make a clear empirical contribution.

This chapter examines support for four primary hypotheses:

1. Experiencing punitive sanctioning is expected to be negatively associated with later civic and political participation.

2. Perceiving unfair treatment is expected to be negatively associated with trust in government.

3. Feeling connected to the school community is expected to increase participation and trust.

4. Participating in the school community is expected to increase participation and trust.

I also examine whether there are compounding effects of experiencing punitive sanctioning and each of the other three experiences of school. Examining whether the associations of being punitively sanctioned are similar for students who do and do not report feeling connected to and participating in the school community will provide some evidence as to whether the effect of being sanctioned is magnified by experiencing both objective and subjective integration. Examining whether the association between punitive sanctioning experience and the citizenship outcomes is modified by perceptions of unfair treatment will shed light on whether the dampening effect of being excluded is even worse if the student also perceives injustice in the social institutional setting.[31]

This chapter also examines whether the effects of personal experiences in school differ for students who are positioned differently within their schools. To investigate this possibility, I explore interactions with membership in salient social groups (i.e. race, gender, SES, and achievement). On the one hand, it may be that the effects of being punitively sanctioned are stronger for students who have categorical membership in socially marginal groups (i.e. racial minorities, low SES, or low achieving students) because the experience reinforces the socially marginal position that the student already occupies. On the other hand, it may be that the effect of being punitively sanctioned is stronger for students who are not already marginalized in some way, because it is more discrepant with their self-image.

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[31] This would be a stronger test of the procedural fairness theory if the fairness perceptions were specific to the sanctioning experience. Therefore a lack of modifying effect is not a negation of the theory. I will examine support for this theory with the independent association of fairness perceptions.

Analysis Strategy

I begin the analysis for this chapter by describing the sample used in the analyses. Before moving on to multivariate models predicting the citizenship outcomes, I explore two important questions: who has the four focal experiences of school? And are these experiences typically encountered together or are they in large part independent experiences?

To answer the primary research questions for this chapter, I estimate multivariate logistic regression models predicting civic and political participation and trust in government. I begin with a baseline model that estimates how citizenship outcomes are related to the four school experiences: being punitively sanctioned, perceiving lack of fairness in teacher-student relations, feeling connected to the school community, and participating in extracurricular activities in school. The baseline model also includes the student's demographic and background characteristics (gender, race, parent education, and age).

To account for the non-independence of the observations and estimate correct standard errors, I estimate models with specifications indicating the complex survey structure of the Add Health data. I follow the recommendations found in the Add Health data documentation and perform design-based analyses which specify the clustered nature of the data and the stratification used in the sampling (Chantala and Tabor 1999).[32] To estimate unbiased point

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[32] Using a design-based approach is one of two methods to analyze data collected using complex sampling methods. The other method is model-based (e.g. HLM or multilevel modeling). Chantala and Tabor (1999) recommend using the design-based approach for the Add Health data. Both approaches are able to take into account the unequal probability of selection (by specifying individual level weights), as well as the multi-stage clustering of the Add Health design (by specifying the measures of stratification and the primary sampling unit). As illustrated in one of the Add Health user guides, the choice of which approach to use does not change substantive results (Chantala 2006). For more on the similarities and differences in these two methods see Primo et al. (2007) or Bruch et al. (2010 analytic supplement) which present and compare analyses using both approaches. I have chosen the design-based approach principally because in Stata the multilevel modeling commands (xtmixed) are not able to incorporate

estimates (e.g. means and regression coefficients), I use the weights provided with the Add

Health data which take into account the unequal probability of selection into the sample and

attrition within the sample over time (Chantala et al. "non-response in Wave III of the Add

Health Study").

Two primary concerns when using an observational analytic strategy are unobserved

heterogeneity (one of the main forms of selection bias) and causal direction. Much of the work

examining associations between school experiences and student outcomes relies on cross-

sectional data. This design is problematic because reverse causality or simply a lack of causation

one direction or the other cannot be determined. To deal with this concern, I take advantage of

the longitudinal nature of the Add Health data and leverage the temporal ordering of school

experiences being reported and occurring prior to the student outcomes of interest. In addition to

the focal school experiences occurring prior to the outcomes of interest, I also control for other

relevant characteristics of students. This makes the current work less vulnerable than much of the

existing literature that examines similar associations. However, leveraging the longitudinal

nature of the Add Health data does not address the concerns about unobserved heterogeneity.

Although I articulate the theoretical basis for the expectations in the hypotheses above, a

major concern remains that exogenous selection processes result in differences between young

adults that are not captured by the measures included in the models (Heckman 1979). Students

who are punitively sanctioned may be different than those who are not such that whatever it is

that makes them different led them to be sanctioned and also makes them not participate or trust

all of the complexities in the Add Health sample along with adjustments for multiply imputing the data. I utilize the
svy commands in Stata for these analyses.

government. So the lower rates of voting, civic participation and trust in government may reflect some unmeasured characteristic that is also associated with their being punitively sanctioned and/or being in schools with different types of disciplinary environments (see Mead 2001 for a similar argument regarding social welfare program experiences).

To address concerns about unobserved heterogeneity, I use two types of pre-treatment controls: student behavior and student attitudes and beliefs. The primary student behaviors that may confound the association between the focal school experiences and later outcomes and that are available in the data are delinquent or deviant behavior, grades, and engagement in school. While these are not perfect measures, they do capture a number of the ways students behave in schools. Holding these factors constant adds confidence that the associations between being punitively sanctioned, perceiving unfair treatment, and feeling marginalized from the school community, and the political outcomes are not due to unobserved behavioral differences between students.

In robustness checks I also include measures of student attitudes and beliefs to address concerns that an underlying disposition could be driving the associations between being punitively sanctioned, fairness perceptions, feelings of marginalization in the school community and the citizenship outcomes. I include measures that capture attitudes and beliefs that are likely to be related to the type of underlying dispositions that could be of primary concern. The two types of underlying dispositions I capture to the extent possible are: that the student perceives all relations in the school negatively; or that the student does not accept any of the social norms, obligations, and values about school and the political realm. The first type of disposition or attitude is measured with an item that captures the student's perception of relations in the school

between students, and asks whether the student perceives other students in the school to be prejudiced. If the student perceives all relations in the school negatively, then the inclusion of this other measure would dampen the association for the fairness perceptions. The second type of underlying disposition or belief is captured using two measures. The first is a measure of whether the student reports trying hard in school. This measure captures a level of investment and belief in school because if the student does not care about school or believe that school is a valuable thing to do, they would probably not report trying hard. The second measure is taken from a survey item asking students the degree to which they agree that hard work is rewarded. This captures a general belief in the hard work myth in American culture. If the primary results are due to unmeasured beliefs similar to these, then controlling for these beliefs and perceptions would dampen or negate the focal associations.

Unfortunately the timing of the focal school experiences and pre-treatment controls is complicated by the fact that the majority of these measures are all reported within a time period of approximately one year. So although technically the majority of the pre-treatment controls are reported at an earlier time period than the focal experiences of school, in most cases they are being reported within the same school year. This is due to the fact that the pre-treatment controls are taken from the In-School Survey which was administered from Sept 1994 to April 1995, and the focal school experiences are taken from the Wave 1 Survey which was administered from April to December 1995. To assess whether there is a difference when school experiences are only used if they occurred after the pre-treatment controls are measured, I estimated models using only the subset of cases where the experiences of school are reported to have occurred after

the pre-treatment controls to ensure that the causal ordering is in the right direction.[33] This

robustness check results in no substantive changes to the primary associations of interest.

The model results presented and discussed in this chapter include all school experiences,

not only the subset that is more likely to have occurred after the pre-treatment controls.

Therefore, the pre-treatment controls are more accurately thought of as controls for possible

confounding factors that occurred and are measured at approximately the same time. Controlling

for these theoretically plausible confounds helps reduce the likelihood that other student

behaviors or attitudes are driving the associations with the citizenship outcomes.

The next set of analyses examine whether there are compounding effects of being

punitively sanctioned and perceiving unfair treatment, of being punitively sanctioned and feeling

connected to the school community, or of being punitively sanctioned and having low or high

levels of participation in the school community. To assess this possibility I create indicators for

each of the four categories: punitively sanctioned and fair treatment, punitively sanctioned and

unfair treatment, not punitively sanctioned and fair treatment, and not punitively sanctioned and

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[33] This restriction is really just for the measure of punitive sanctioning. While all three experiences of school are reported at the Wave 1 interview, for the punitive sanctioning students can report sanctioning experiences that occurred several years ago. The measure of punitive sanctioning experience is also derived from the Wave 3 interview which asks about sanctioning that occurred in the last several years. For the more restrictive analyses I use only the subset of the punitive sanctioning experiences that are reported to have occurred after the In-School survey which is when the pre-treatment measures are reported. This is messier than you might expect because the students report which grade they were last suspended or expelled, not the date. I have coded sanctioning experiences as occurring after the In-School Survey if they occurred during or after the grade they were when the In-School Survey was administered because for most schools the In-School Survey occurred in the beginning of the year. This results in less than 50% of the sanctioning experiences being counted. If I was more restrictive and only counted those that occur in a later grade, then only about 10% of the sanctioning experiences are counted. So basically about 50% of the sanctioning experiences that students report are retrospective accounts of prior experiences, 40% occur in the year or so that the main surveys are given, and another 10% are retrospectively reported at Wave 3. The results of these more restrictive analyses are not substantively different from those using all school experiences. For example, in models including all of the student background and demographics, and all the pre-treatment controls, the estimated odds ratio for being punitively sanctioned on civic participation is .72, on voting is .69, and on trust is .79.

unfair treatment. I do the same for feeling connected to and participating in the school community. These indicators for the other school experiences are also included in the models.

Next I examine whether there are differences in the political outcomes for students defined not only by their race, gender, level of parental education, and level of their academic achievement separately, but intersectionally. To do this I create indicators for intersectional identities: race * gender, race * parent education, and race * achievement. This allows me to explore whether the main effects observed in the previously model were masking differences within racial, gender, parent education, or achievement groups.

In addition to differences in the likelihood of having each of the school experiences, and differences in the likelihood of participating and trusting government, the effects of the school experiences may differ for students in different social locations. To explore this possibility, I examine whether the associations for each school experience are different for students by racial identity as well as for student defined by intersectional racial categories (race * gender, race * parent education, and race * achievement). I begin with the model that includes student background characteristics and the student behaviors and attitude measures, and add interactions between the school experiences and each identity category. This is the direct estimation of the difference in the effect of the school experiences. The coefficient on the interaction is the test of whether or not the effect of the school experience is different for the identity category than it is for the rest of the sample.[34]

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[34] I do not estimate separate group models because using this specification makes it so that the coefficient for each experience is compared only to students within the same group. Separate group models tests what the effect of being punitively sanctioned is for each group relative to other students in the same group. Separate group models do not test for whether the effect of a particular experience differs for one group versus how it matters for everyone else.

Next I explore whether the four focal experiences of school predict educational attainment. Examining the association between the experiences of school and educational attainment sheds light on the degree to which this is an additional channel through which schooling affects citizenship. I use the same base models used to predict the citizenship outcomes to predict the educational attainment outcomes. This allows me to estimate the associations for each of the four focal experiences of school as well as the associations for the participation-relevant skill proxy measures.

In the last section of results, I explore whether the associations between the experiences of school and later citizenship outcomes are mediated by later social institution experiences. To do so, both positive, socially integrating and negative, potentially marginalizing experiences are added to the baseline models that include student demographics and background characteristics. Included in the positive, integrating social institutional experiences is a measure of attained education. Including this measure allows me to examine whether the experiences of school and participation-relevant skills remain significant predictors of the citizenship outcomes controlling for the level of education the young adult has completed.

Results

Before moving to multivariate model results, this first section of results provides a descriptive picture of the students and schools in the analytic sample for the analyses that follow. The analytic sample closely parallels the Add Health core longitudinal sample, so these descriptive statistics are representative of 7th-12th graders in 1994-95. The main restriction on the analytic sample is that it is limited to the white, African American, Asian, and

Hispanic/Latino students. Table 1 displays the weighted means of all measures included in the analyses. The sample is approximately equally split in terms of gender composition. The average age at the time of the citizenship outcomes is 22 years old. Thirty-five percent of the sample has a college educated parent, while their own level of education averages 13 years of school.[35]

< Table 1 >

Which Students Tend to Have Each of the School Experiences?

There are four focal experiences of school used in the analyses. In this sample, 25% of students report having been suspended or expelled during 7th to 12th grade, 20% report that students in their school are not treated fairly, 75% report feeling connected to their school community, and on average students participate in two extracurricular activities through their school. These averages are in the same range as similar outcomes derived from other nationally representative data. For example, in the High School and Beyond data, 39-44% of students report fair discipline, and in the National Education Longitudinal Study, 68-73% of students report fair discipline (Arum 2003).

However, there are large group differences in who reports these experiences. Just as is seen in other national data on disciplinary sanctioning, there are wide racial disparities in the likelihood of being sanctioned [see Figure 1]. On the one hand 43% of African Americans report having experienced punitive sanctioning, while on the other only 15% of Asians have had this experience. These large racial disparities are consistent with other data. For example, using a nationally representative sample of 10th graders, Wallace et al. (2008) found that almost 50% of

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[35] The observed range of values for students' own reported level of schooling is 6-22. Although the Add Health sampling frame was 7th-12th graders, 5 students in the analytic sample report not have completed 7th grade and report 6 as their highest level of completed education.

African American students reported being punitively sanctioned compared to about 20% of white students. There are also substantial differences in the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned by gender, parent education level, and achievement [see Figure 1]. The proportion of students experiencing sanctioning is twice as high for male students as it is for female students (33% versus 17%). Students whose parents do not have a college degree are more than twice as likely to be sanctioned than students whose parents have a college degree (31% versus 14%). The largest difference in the proportion of students sanctioned is between students with below average grades and students with above average grades (37% versus 14%).

< Figure 1 >

The differences in the proportion of students perceiving unfair treatment and feeling connected to the school community are much less dramatic across students with these different social locations [see Figures 2 and 3]. However, although the range of variation is less, the pattern of differences remains quite similar to those observed for punitive sanctioning.

< Figure 2 >

< Figure 3 >

There are substantial differences in the positive, integrating experience of participating in extracurricular activities at school [see Figure 4]. On average females, Asian, and white students participate in more activities than other students. Students with more highly educated parents and who are higher achieving themselves also participate on average in a higher number of extracurricular activities.

< Figure 4 >

However, examining the differences in the likelihood of having each of the experiences of school separately by these social locations may mask the way that different social identities and locations intersect. The fact that experiences at the intersections of these social locations differs from that of others defined only by one of these axes has been well documented in the case of punitive sanctioning differences for African American males and females (Blake et al. 2011; Raffaele Mendez et al. 2003; Ferguson 2000). I examine several intersectional social locations by exploring the race * gender, race * parent education, and race * achievement intersections for each of the four focal experiences of school [see Tables 2-4]. While Figure 1 shows that there is a large gender disparity in the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned whereby males are more likely to be sanctioned, Table 2 highlights how this gender disparity is relatively consistent across all of the racial groups. For example, for whites, 29% of males are sanctioned versus 13% of females. For African Americans the rates are much higher, but there is a substantial gender gap as well (52% for males and 36% for females). Similar intra-racial differences have been found in other work on punitive sanctioning. For example, Wallace et al. (2008) found that for whites 27% of males and 12% of females had experienced sanctioning, while for African Americans 56% of males and 43% of females had this experience.

< Table 2 >

As before there are more limited differences between groups for perceptions of fairness or feeling connected to the school community. Interestingly, for whites, African Americans, and Latinos, females perceive more unfair treatment than their same race male counterparts, while

the opposite is true for Asian students. For feelings of connection to the school community, there are gender differences within each of the racial groups except for whites. For African Americans and Latinos, males feel more connected to the school community whereas for Asian students, female students report feeling more connected. For extracurricular participation, the same patterns of racial differences observed in Figure 4 are seen among male and female students. Among both male and female students, Asians and whites have much higher levels of social integration as captured by the number of extracurricular activities done at school.

Some of the largest differences are found between students who identify with different racial groups and have different levels of parent education and achievement [see Table 3 and 4]. The levels of punitive sanctioning experienced by African Americans that have low parental education or who have low achievement themselves are astoundingly high (48% and 49% respectively). Whereas for African Americans that have high parental education or have high achievement themselves are much less likely to have experienced punitive sanctioning (30% and 32% respectively). These levels are still much higher than observed for any of the other racial groups. For comparison, these levels are similar to those for whites who are in the less advantaged categories for parent education and own achievement (27% and 33% respectively).

< Table 3 >

< Table 4 >

Are the Experiences of School Largely Independent Experiences?

Given that I am focused on four experiences that students have in school, it is important to examine how these experiences are related. In other words, do students experience these as

largely independent experiences or do they tend to experience certain configurations of these experiences together? To explore the relations between the four focal experiences, I examine their correlations, the crosstabs that highlight the proportion of students that have each type of possible overlap between two of the experiences, and the mean differences in perceptions of unfair treatment, feelings of connectedness with the school community, and the level of extracurricular participation for students who are and are not punitively sanctioned.

Beginning with a look at the pairwise correlation shows that perceiving unfair treatment by teachers in general has only a relatively small positive association with being punitively sanctioned oneself (r= 0.13). The statistically significant difference in perceiving unfair treatment between those young adults who have or have not experienced punitive sanctioning is not trivial however: those who have experienced sanctioning are more likely to perceive unfair treatment (30% versus 17%). However, among those who have experienced punitive sanctioning, 73% also believe that teachers treat students fairly or selected 'neither agree nor disagree', whereas 27% believe that teachers do not treat students fairly. Among the students who were not punitively sanctioned, 84% believe that teachers treat students fairly or did not have an opinion either way, and 16% do not [see Table 5].

< Table 5 >

These descriptive patterns show that there is a great deal of independence in these two measures. This does not say whether the fairness perception is in part a result of the punitive sanctioning experience or vice versa, or alternatively, whether some other characteristic is driving both. But examining the difference in positive and negative fairness perceptions between

those who have experienced punitive sanctioning versus those who have not has provided some traction on this issue. Even among those who have experienced punitive sanctioning, less than one third perceive unfair treatment by teachers in the school. If a third factor is driving both, this factor applies to a relatively small proportion of the overall sample – only 7% of the sample both experienced punitive sanctioning and perceives unfair treatment by teachers. Each of these ways of examining the relationship between punitive sanctioning and perceiving fair treatment highlight two important points: (1) that the majority of punitively sanctioned students do not perceive unfair treatment; and (2) that the majority of students who perceive unfair treatment have not experienced punitive sanctioning.

A similar look at the relation between feeling connected to the school community and being punitively sanctioned finds that the strength of the relationship is moderate (r= -0.12). There is a significant difference in feelings of connection between students who have experienced punitive sanctioning and those who have not. On average 75% of students report feeling connected the school community [see Table 1]. However, among sanctioned students, the rate of connectedness is 65%, whereas among non-sanctioned students it is 78%. This rather high proportion of students who have been punitively sanctioned reporting also feeling part of their school highlights that the majority of students being sanctioned does not mean that they also feel disconnected.

There is a negative, moderate relationship between being punitively sanctioned and participating in extracurricular activities (r= -0.15). Fewer of those who are punitively sanctioned participate in three or more extracurricular activities, than do so when they have not experienced punitive sanctioning (26% versus 40%).

The associations between each of the other possible pairings of school experience are also moderate. The association between perceptions of unfairness and feelings of marginalization shows that these two experiences is positive (r= -0.19), and 58% of those who perceive unfair treatment also report feeling part of their school. Participation in extracurricular activities is negatively associated with both feelings of marginalization (r= -0.13), and perceiving unfair treatment (r= -0.05). Given the moderate correlations and relative independence of these experiences of school, I have chosen to model the experiences together in the same model. After examining their independent associations with the political outcomes, I also explore whether the effects of these experiences compound one another.

Citizenship Outcomes

A descriptive analysis of the citizenship outcomes utilized in the analyses show that overall 29% of the sample reports participating civically, 44% reports voting in the 2000 presidential election, and 53% reports trusting the government [see Table 1]. However, there are dramatic, statistically significant differences in the reporting of these positive citizenship outcomes for young adults who had different experiences of school. Those who have been punitively sanctioned are only about half as likely to civically participate (18% vs 33%), are 10 percentage points less likely to report voting (38% vs 48%), and only 43% report trusting government (vs. 57% who have not been punitively sanctioned [see Figure 5]. Similarly young adults who perceive fair treatment in, feel socially connected with their school community, or participate in more extracurricular actvities at school have better citizenship outcomes as well [see Figures 6-8].

< Figure 5-8 >

What are the Effects of School-Based Experiences on Later Citizenship?

The descriptive mean differences highlighted above are suggestive, however I now turn to multivariate models to assess the robustness of these differences. In other words, are these differences accounted for by other characteristics of young adults? I begin with the baseline model which examines the associations between the four school experiences and the citizenship outcomes taking into account the demographic and background characteristics of students.

Looking first at how school experiences are related to citizen participation, I find that all four school experiences are associated with the two participatory citizenship outcomes [see Table 6 for full model results]. Being punitively sanctioned is associated with a 40% lower odds of civic participation, and a 30% lower odds of voting. Perceiving that teachers do not treat students fairly is also negatively associated with civic participation and voting (an 18% and 25% lower odds respectively). And as expected, students feeling connected to the school community is positively associated with civic participation (31% higher odds), and voting (28% higher odds). [36] Participating in extracurricular activities at school is associated with a 20% higher odds of civic participation and a smaller, but still significant 8% higher odds of voting.

< Table 6 >

Having a parent with a college education is positively associated with civic participation and voting whereas a student's age is negatively associated with civic participation but positively

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[36] The substantive results remain if the measures for perceptions of unfair treatment and feeling connected to school are used as Likert scales.

associated with voting. There are substantial racial differences in the odds of civic participation and voting. Asian respondents are much less likely to report voting than whites, whereas African American respondents are much more likely to report voting. In fact, African American respondents are almost twice as likely to report voting (OR=1.81).

For the last several presidential elections African Americans, Asians, and Latinos have lower voting rates than whites (File and Crissy 2010). In the 2000 presidential election in particular, overall 60% of voting-age citizens reported voting. Looking at the rate of voting by racial group indicates that 62% of whites report voting, 57% of African Americans, 45% of Hispanics (of any race), and 43% of Asians (Jamieson, Shin, and Day 2002; File and Crissy 2010). However, holding constant other characteristics such as age, residence, gender, and socioeconomic status, African Americans are found to vote at higher rates than whites (File and Crissy 2010). African Americans are also more likely to over-report voting (Abramson and Claggett 1992; Deufel and Kedar 2010).[37]

Turning to the relation between experiences of school and trust in government, I examine the whether there is evidence to support the hypothesis that perceiving unfair treatment is negatively associated with later trust in government. This hypothesis is derived from work on experiences of social institutions in which perceptions of fair treatment and procedural justice are found to affect later attitudes towards government (Tyler 1988; Lawless and Fox 2001; Kumlin 2002). As expected, perceiving unfair treatment is negatively associated with trusting

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[37] Deufel and Kedar (2010) demonstrate the extent of over-reporting using the ANES using years where self-reported voting data has been validated. They argue that the two reasons why African Americans are more likely to over-report voting are the increased social desirability for African Americans given the importance of race in American politics, and the lower socioeconomic status of African Americans that provides more opportunity to over-report voting (because lower socioeconomic status individuals vote less often).

government. The association of perceiving unfair treatment estimates that a young person is 22% less likely to trust government when they perceived unfair treatment in their school. This effect is of a similar magnitude to that of having a parent with a college education, which increases the odds of trusting government by 16%.

All three of the other experiences of school are also associated with trusting government. Having been punitively sanctioned is associated with a 28% lower odds of trusting government. Feeling connected to the school community is associated with a substantial increase in the odds of trusting government (OR=1.72), and participating in the school community is associated with a much smaller increase in the odds of trusting government (OR=1.06).[38]

Identifying as an African American is associated with a 34% decline in the odds of trusting government. This is consistent with previous work on political trust among African Americans that typically finds that African Americans have lower levels of trust in government (Nunnally 2012).

The findings thus far indicate that the four of the focal school experiences are associated with all three of the citizenship outcomes. While the negative and potentially marginalizing experiences of being punitively sanctioned and perceiving unfair treatment are negatively associated with later citizenship outcomes, the positive and potentially integrating experiences of feeling connected and participating in the school community are positively associated with the later citizenship outcomes.

Intersectional Differences in Citizenship Outcomes

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[38] The substantive results remain if the trust in government measure is used as a Likert scale.

Before moving on to models that include measures of the additional student behaviors and attitudes that may confound the associations between racial identity, gender, or parent education, I examine whether the main effects of race, gender, and parent education mask within racial group differences in the likelihood of participating civically or politically. To explore this possibility I examine the associations between indicators for race * gender, race * parent education, and race * immigrant status categories. While gender is pretty equally distributed across the racial groups in the sample, there are large racial differences in the level of parent education and immigrant status. In terms of immigrant status, 86% of the Asian sample and 66% of the Latino sample is a first or second generation immigrant, whereas only 5% of the white and African American samples are immigrants.

There are a number of differences that are revealed by looking at these intersectional racial identities. While overall African Americans report voting at almost twice the rate of whites (OR=1.81 in Table 6), there are substantial differences when intersectional identities are used to explore within group heterogeneity. Although both male and female African Americans are more likely than white males to vote, African American females report voting at even higher rates than African American males (OR=1.95 versus OR=1.33). The importance of parent education is clearly seen within each of the racial groups with lower rates of participation for those without a college educated parent. For African Americans, having a college educated parent or being a non-immigrant are both associated with positive and significant differences in voting, whereas the young adults without a non-college educated parent or who are immigrants are not any more likely to vote than whites. Examining the differences revealed by exploring the associations

between the intersectional identities and the citizenship outcomes highlights an additional way that social location affects participation.

< Table 7 >

Unobserved Heterogeneity and Citizen Participation

In the model results provided thus far, a limited set of controls were used to examine the associations between experiences of school and citizen participation. To help bolster the confidence that these associations are not due to more broad student behavior or attitude differences, I include measures of student behavior in school (grades, vocabulary test score, delinquent behavior, and engagement), and student attitudes related to their view of relationship within the school and their attitudes toward school and work [see Table 6]. Overall the associations between the focal experiences of school and citizen participation remain with the inclusion of these additional measures.

While the measure of student perceptions of unfair treatment on the part of teachers is used to capture perceptions of authority relations in the school, it is possible that students have an underlying disposition to negatively assess all relations in the school. To assess the evidence that the association captured by the perception of unfair treatment is in fact confounded by this type of unobserved tendency, I examine whether perceptions of student prejudice have similar associations with participation. The report of student prejudice and the lack of fairness of teacher treatment are similarly negative assessments of beliefs and actions of students and teachers in the school environment. This is a particularly good test of the hypothesis regarding perceptions of unfair treatment because there is not a theoretical expectation from the procedural justice

literature that perceptions of fellow student prejudice would affect later citizenship outcomes. Including the perception of student prejudice, and the other additional controls, reduces the association between perceptions of unfair treatment and the citizenship outcomes. However, the substantive finding of a negative and significant association between perceptions of unfair treatment and voting and trust in government remain. Also, perceptions of student prejudice are not associated with any of the citizenship outcomes.

The second type of underlying disposition I assess is a rejection of the ideals and norms of American society in general. This type of disposition is captured using two measures of student attitudes regarding trying hard in school and believing that hard work is rewarded. Although including these measures as predictors, along with the other student behavior and attitude measures, reduces the magnitude of the associations between experiences of school and the citizenship outcomes, the substantive findings remain. Including these additional student attitude measures bolsters the interpretation of the perceptions of unfair treatment as not being due to these types of underlying dispositions but instead as reflecting a specific type of experience with authority relations in school.[39]

The two most consistent predictors of the citizenship outcomes are two of the measures of student behavior in school: delinquent behavior and average grades. Students with higher grades are predicted to have higher levels of participation as well as be more likely to trust

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[39] One possible interpretation of the positive and significant association for belief in hard work is that holding mainstream beliefs and norms makes it more likely that you will participate. This expectation is derived from the work of Campbell (2005) who argues that there are two reasons or motivations for why people participate: interest-driven and duty-driven engagement. Campbell finds that people who hold mainstream beliefs are also more likely to feel a sense of duty that compels them to participate. Another way to interpret this association is using Coleman's idea of the way social capital operates in a functional community as norms of reciprocity that generate obligations and expectations for behavior and shared beliefs about normative behavior (1988).

government, whereas students with higher delinquent behavior are predicted to have lower levels of participation and less likely to trust government. In addition to their individual effects, an important finding regarding these measures is that their inclusion does not substantially change the associations for each of the focal experiences of school. The robustness of the main findings to the inclusion of a host of student behaviors and attitudes highlights the strength of their associations with the later citizenship outcomes.

To give a sense of the magnitude of the associations between the experiences of school and the citizenship outcomes, the associations for feeling connected to the school community and perceiving unfair treatment are similar to the association of average grades. This indicates that feeling connected is similar to moving from a C average to a B average, whereas perceiving unfair treatment is similar to moving from a B to a C average. The association for being punitively sanctioned is also of a similar magnitude for civic participation, but is smaller for voting. The associations for each of these experiences of school are also about 1/3 of the size of the effect of having a college educated parent (OR = 1.77 for civic participation and 1.81 for voting). The associations between participating in extracurricular activities at school and later participation in civic and political life are of a smaller magnitude.

Do the Effects of Experiences of School Compound One Another?

Above I demonstrated the relative independence of each of the three experiences of school by examining the correlations among the measures and the mean differences of perceptions and feelings for those who have and have not been punitively sanctioned, and exploring the extent of overlap in being punitively sanctioned and perceiving unfair treatment,

feeling connected to school, and participating in extracurricular activities. However, this does not tell us whether the effects of having these experiences of school operate largely as independent factors and/or whether they also have compounding effects that magnify or reduce the association of each other. To explore these possibilities, I estimate models that include indicators that cross being punitively sanctioned with perceptions of unfair treatment, feeling connected, and participating in school activities. Each of the models also includes the other two experiences of school as additional controls.

Looking first at the interactions between being punitively sanctioned and fairness perceptions, the main take away is that all three of the indicators are associated with a dampening of political participation and reduced likelihood of trusting government. The reference category for these interactions is not having been punitively sanctioned and perceiving fair treatment so each of the other combinations of punitive sanctioning and perceptions of fair treatment are associated with lower odds of participating and trusting government. All three of the negative associations with these joint experiences are of similar magnitude, predicting reduced odds of voting and trusting government by 18-26%.

< Table 8 >

The conditional associations for punitive sanctioning and feeling connected or marginalized from the school community also show consistent dampening effects of these experiences. The reference category for these interactions is not being punitively sanctioned and feeling socially connected at school. For voting and trusting government being punitively sanctioned and feeling marginalized from the school community has the largest negative

association (OR=0.65 to 0.57). This provides suggestive evidence that when these two experiences occur together, the effects compound each other with the result being even more detrimental for later citizenship outcomes.

The last set of conditional associations for being punitively sanctioned examines the differences by levels of positive integration in the school community through participation in extracurricular school activities. For students who participate at both low and high levels and who have also experienced punitive sanctioning, they are less likely to vote or trust government. This suggests that even among the active participants in the school, experiencing punitive sanctioning negatively affects their later political participation and attitudes about government.

Are There Differences in the Effects of Personal Experience with School?

Next I turn to examine whether there are differential effects for these experiences of school for students that identify with different racial groups. Above I demonstrated that the likelihood of having each of the school experiences differ for students in different social locations. I also showed the differences in the likelihood of participating and trusting government across these groups. Here I am examining a third way that social location could come to play a role – by conditioning the effects of the school experiences. While there are large mean differences in these experiences of school and citizenship outcomes, the question here is whether the effects of the school experiences differ by students' racial identity. In other words, it could be that there is an unequal distribution in who has these school experiences, but the effect of having them is the same regardless of racial group membership.

Overall there are few racial differences in the effects of the experiences of school on citizenship outcomes. This suggests that the primary avenues through which racial identity affects the citizenship outcomes is by increasing the likelihood that they will have particular experiences of school but not by conditioning the effects of these experiences.

Are Experiences of School Related to Education Attainment Outcomes?

Because educational attainment is one of the most robust and substantial predictors of participation, an additional channel through which schools play a role in affecting citizenship outcomes is by affecting the likelihood that students will complete educational degrees. Being punitively sanctioned has been shown to affect dropping out of high school (Raffaele Mendez 2003; Skiba and Peterson 1999; Bowditch 1993), however whether perceptions of unfair treatment on the part of teachers affects educational attainment is an open question. Both the positive experiences of school (feeling connected to and participating in the school community) have been found to increase the likelihood of graduating from high school and therefore are expected to increase the likelihood of high school completion. To assess the associations between the experiences of school and educational attainment, I estimate the same model as used in the prediction of the citizenship outcomes. I predict three attainment outcomes: receipt of a high school diploma, completion of high school either through receipt of a diploma or GED, and successfully transitioning to college.

As expected, punitive sanctioning is strongly related to educational attainment. Students who have experienced this type of sanctioning are 59% less likely to complete high school, and 48% less likely to successfully transition to college. Perceiving unfair treatment is not associated

with completing high school, however it does dampen the likelihood that a student will successfully transition to college (OR=0.84). The positive, integrating experiences of school do have positive associations with the attainment outcomes. Feeling connected to the school community is associated with a 23% higher odds of receiving a high school diploma, and participating in activities at school is associated with a 12% higher odds of completing high school, and a 21% higher odds of successfully transitioning to college. An important thing to note about these results is that these associations are net of a number of other factors that predict educational attainment including achievement as measured by grades and ability as measured by a vocabulary test score.

< Table 9 >

To examine whether these experiences of school have different effects for students depending on their racial identity, I estimated models separately for white, African American, and Latino students. The association for being punitively sanctioned is a strong, negative predictor of not completing high school for white and African American students. Interestingly, the two positive experiences of school have stronger associations for white students than they do for African American students, suggesting that feeling connected to and participating in the school community assist white students in completing high school to a greater extent than is the case for African American students.

Are Experiences of School Similar to Experiences of Other Social Institutions?

The last set of models compares the associations of experiences of schools and later socially integrating and potentially marginalizing experiences on citizenship outcomes. I

examine both the relative size of all these experiences and also assess whether these later experiences mediate the associations of the earlier experiences of school. I add measures capturing positive social integration (i.e. being employed, married, and own educational attainment), as well as measures capturing social marginalization (i.e. social welfare receipt and criminal justice experience). The choice of these measures of social marginalization reflect my focus on connecting what is known within policy feedback scholarship on how experiences with social institutions affect citizenship. Therefore, these measures can also be seen as indicators of later policy experiences that have been shown to influence civic and political outcomes.

As noted in the previous section, educational attainment is a strong predictor of citizenship outcomes, therefore in this section I have included a measure of attained education. Given that many of the experiences of school predicted educational attainment, the inclusion of this measure is expected to mediate or attenuate the associations between the experiences of school and the citizenship outcomes. As in the previous models, I also include several other indicators of education-related behaviors and skills. For example, I have included measures of grades in high school and a vocabulary test score which can be conceptualized as proxies for basic skills that are important for civic and political participation (Condon 2012).

As expected, a young person's level of attained education is associated with a 20-21% increase in the odds of civic and political participation. Vocabulary ability is also positively associated with civic and political participation, and high school grades is associated with a higher odds of voting. These results suggest that attainment and participation-related skills are important channels through which education affects participation. The two other socially

integrating experiences – being married and employed – are not significant predictors of the citizenship outcomes.

< Table 10 >

Looking at the potentially marginalizing experiences of social welfare receipt and criminal justice involvement, there is strong evidence that both these experiences dampen citizenship outcomes for young adults. Receiving social welfare is associated with a 23% lower odds of civic participation and an 21% lower odds of trusting government. Similarly criminal justice involvement is associated with an 8% lower odds of voting and a 12% lower odds of trusting government. It is important to note that these associations of social welfare receipt and criminal justice involvement are found controlling for delinquent behavior, being employed, and attitudes about hard work – all factors that some have suggested differentiate people with these experiences and account for findings differential rates of participation (Mead 2001).

In an examination of the evidence for whether or not these later experiences mediate the associations of the earlier school-based experiences, it is clear that they do not for perceptions of unfair treatment. The associations between these perceptions and the later citizenship outcomes remain virtually unchanged from the previous models not including the later experiences. Similarly, for feelings of connectedness to the school community, only one of the three associations is attenuated by the inclusion of these later experiences. The positive associations between feeling connected and voting and trusting government remain positive and significant predictors of these outcomes. However two of the associations between being punitively sanctioned and the citizenship outcomes are reduced with the inclusion of these later

experiences. The associations between being punitively sanctioned and civic participation and voting are both reduced in terms of magnitude and are no longer statistically significant. However, experiencing punitive sanctioning in school continues to predict a reduction in the odds that a young person will report trusting government. These findings suggest that not only do the earlier school-based experiences stay with the young adult, but they continue to have substantial effects on citizen participation and beliefs about government.

Discussion and Conclusion

The results in this chapter suggest that there are a number of pathways through which education and schooling affect citizenship. In this chapter I have explored four potential channels through which education operates to affect participation: potentially marginalizing experiences of school, potentially socially integrating experiences of school, basic skills required for participation, and educational attainment. I find evidence suggesting that all four of these channels are associated with later citizenship outcomes. Even controlling for many of the experiences that students have within schools, educational attainment remains a significant predictor of citizenship outcomes. This is not unsurprising given that it remains an open area of scholarship to identify all of the many pathways through which education affects participation.

Although schools have been seen as representing an important institutional environment for political learning that may shape later citizenship, the emphasis has been on understanding how individuals learn politically-relevant skills or obtain politically-relevant knowledge. This focus is consistent with our understanding of education in general as a site for the accumulation of human capital defined as skills and knowledge. However, I argue that a much wider range of

experiences of school are politically relevant because schooling can also be thought of as reflecting how people have experienced educational institutions. Therefore in this chapter, I have explored the extent to which how students experiences of school affects later citizenship outcomes. I applied the basic insight that social institutions and policies shape citizenship from policy feedback scholarship (Pierson 1993; Mettler and Soss 2004; Svallfors 2007) and applied it to an examination of how this process may work in schools.

The findings from this chapter highlight that schools represent important sites for political socialization. The political learning that occurs with the personal experiences that students have in schools can lead to positive as well as negative citizenship outcomes. Experiencing punitive sanctioning in school has a consistent, negative effect on later citizen participation. Similarly, perceiving unfair treatment in school is associated with lower rates of participation and lower levels of trust in government. However, school can also be sites for positive citizenship development. Feeling part of school and participating in school activities have consistently positive effects on citizen participation and trust in government. Together these findings highlight that school-based experiences in a young person's formative years shape later citizenship in important ways.

Although the empirical analyses are limited in that they cannot demonstrate that the findings are not due to some unmeasured dispositional factor, the key findings are robust to the inclusion of some measures of student dispositions as well as related behaviors such as grades, vocabulary ability, and academic engagement in school. The interpretation of the empirical findings are grounded in the previous work that finds that experiences within social institutions

do affect perceptions of fairness and connection and that these subjective experiences affect later citizenship outcomes.

The findings of this chapter also shed light on how citizenship may be produced differently across groups of students defined by their social positions. One clear way this is seen is in the descriptive results which point to the fact that different groups of students are more or less likely to have experiences in school that affect later citizenship outcomes. These findings suggest that there are greater disparities in negative school-based experiences across social groups than in positive school-based experiences; whereas differences in who feels part of school are small, disparities in who experiences punitive sanctioning and perceiving unfair treatment are wide. Students who have parents without a college degree, African Americans, males, and those who are lower achieving in terms of grades are all much more likely to experience punitive sanctioning. Students with lower educated parents and who are lower achieving themselves are also much more likely to perceive unfair treatment in their school. These disparities in who has these negative experiences in school are troublesome because of the implications they have for later citizenship inequality. Because being punitively sanctioned and perceiving unfair treatment are negatively associated with later citizenship, the unequal distribution of experiencing these in school leads to inequality in citizenship outcomes. In other words, the extent to which some groups are over-represented in negative school-based experiences, inequality in later citizenship is produced.

The findings from this chapter are a good start in uncovering how experiences of school may affect citizenship. However, a limitation of these analyses is that they are not able to completely rule out the possibility that unobserved heterogeneity is influencing the results. In

other words, it could be that there is a disaffected population of young people that are more likely to have these experiences of school regardless of how the school is organized or structured. This is similar to the selection bias critique of similar work on how experiences of social welfare programs affect citizenship whereby unobserved differences of the recipients of various programs are argued to be the cause of lower citizenship outcomes (Mead 2001). Unfortunately, I am unable to leverage exogenous variation such as state policy differences that impact how schools are structured in the same way that I was able to in my previous work (Bruch et al. 2010). Therefore, while I cannot make a strong claim that if we did not suspend or expel students in middle and high school, then they would vote more. I agree with the conclusion that sociologists David Kirk and Robert Sampson articulate, "Moreover, there may be unintended negative repercussions from the use of suspension and expulsion as a tool for promoting school safety… Much like the case for adult punishment (Western 2006), the collateral consequences of policies and practices designed to promote school safety need to be weighed against the potential benefits" (399: 2011). The findings of this chapter are suggestive of potential "collateral consequences" of using punitive sanctioning as a disciplinary strategy.

The analyses in this chapter are average effects for all students across all schools. This does not take into account the differences in context across schools. Taking school context into account may be an important in three ways: (1) as a moderator of the effects of the personal experiences examined in this chapter; (2) as directly affecting the citizenship outcomes; or (3) as affecting the likelihood that students have the personal experiences examined in this chapter. In the first case, school context may act as a moderator of the effect of being punitively sanctioned. For example, it may be that being punitively sanctioned in a school that has a low rate of

punitive sanctioning may be more damaging to later citizen participation than being punitively sanctioned in a school where a large proportion of the student body is sanctioned in that way. In the second case, school context may affect the citizenship outcomes of all the students in the school. For example, while I have examined whether having personal experiences with school impacts later citizenship outcomes, it could also be the case that just being exposed to certain types of environments may impact citizenship outcomes. The last possibility explores how the authority relations as measured by discipline policies, school community features, and racial dynamics of the school may shape student experiences of school in politically-relevant ways. The next chapter in the dissertation examines each of these possibilities.

Figure 1. Proportion of Students Experiencing Punitive Sanctioning: Separately by Gender, Race, Parent Education, and Achievement
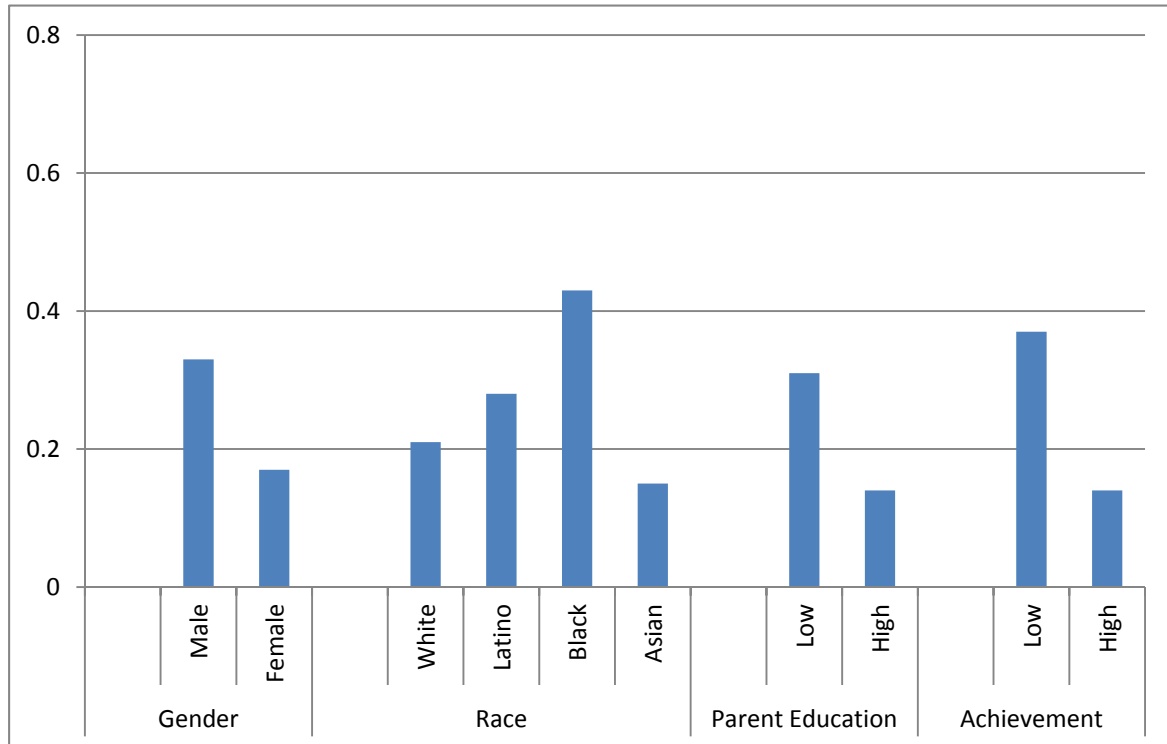
Figure 2. Proportion of Students Perceiving Unfair Treatment: Separately by Gender, Race, Parent Education, and Achievement
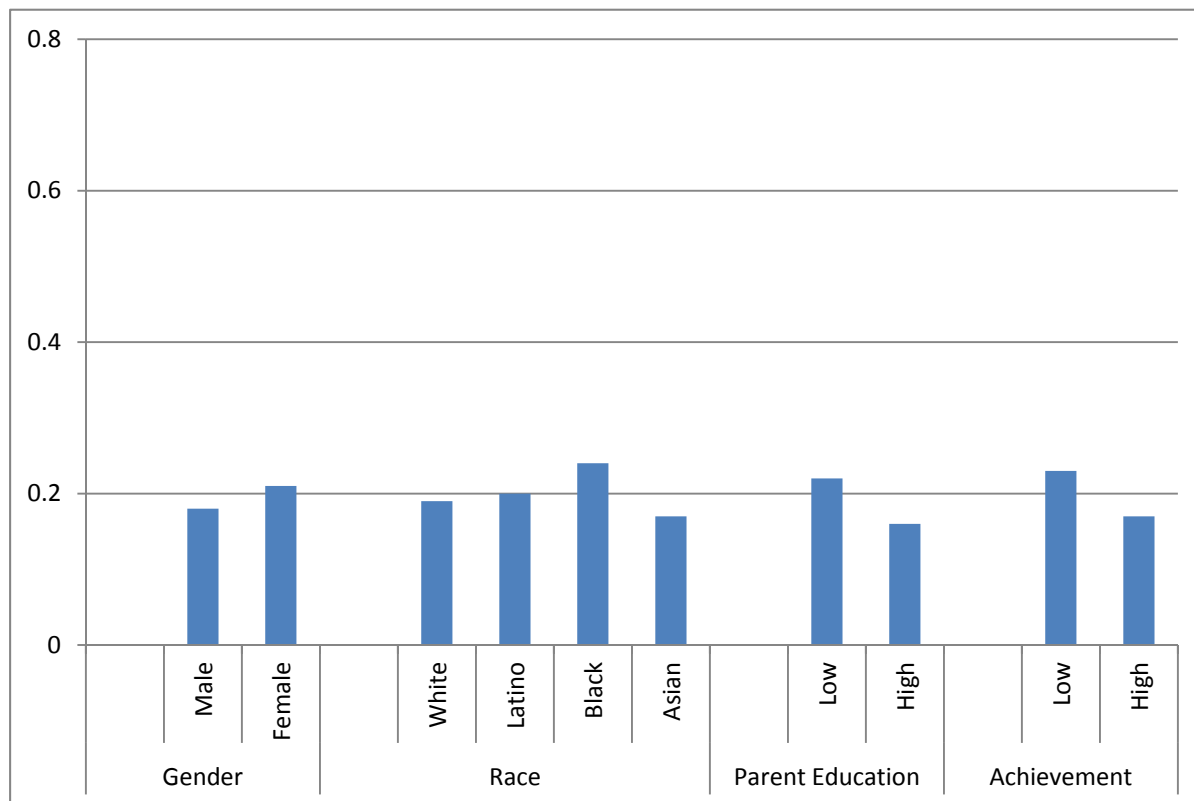
Figure 3. Proportion of Students Feeling Connected to the School Community: Separately by Gender, Race, Parent Education, and Achievement
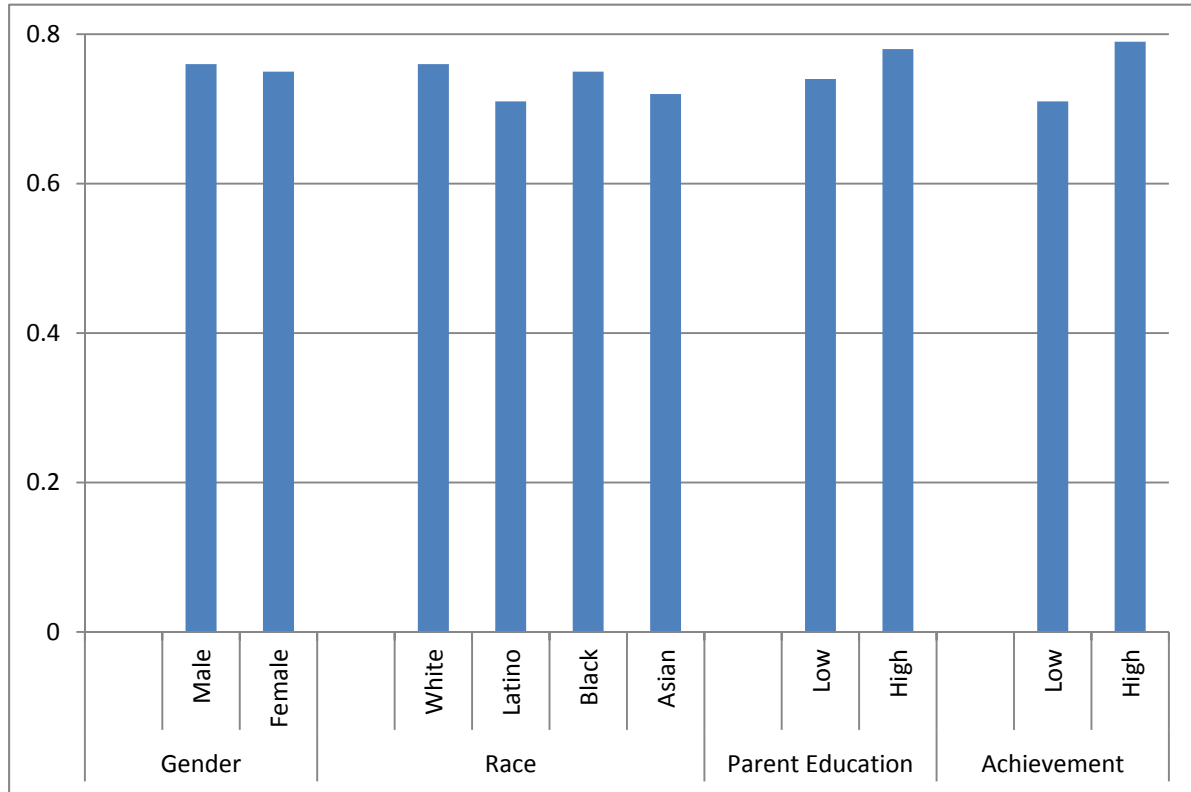
Figure 4. Average Number of Extracurricular Activities Students Participated in at School: Separately by Gender, Race, Parent Education, and Achievement
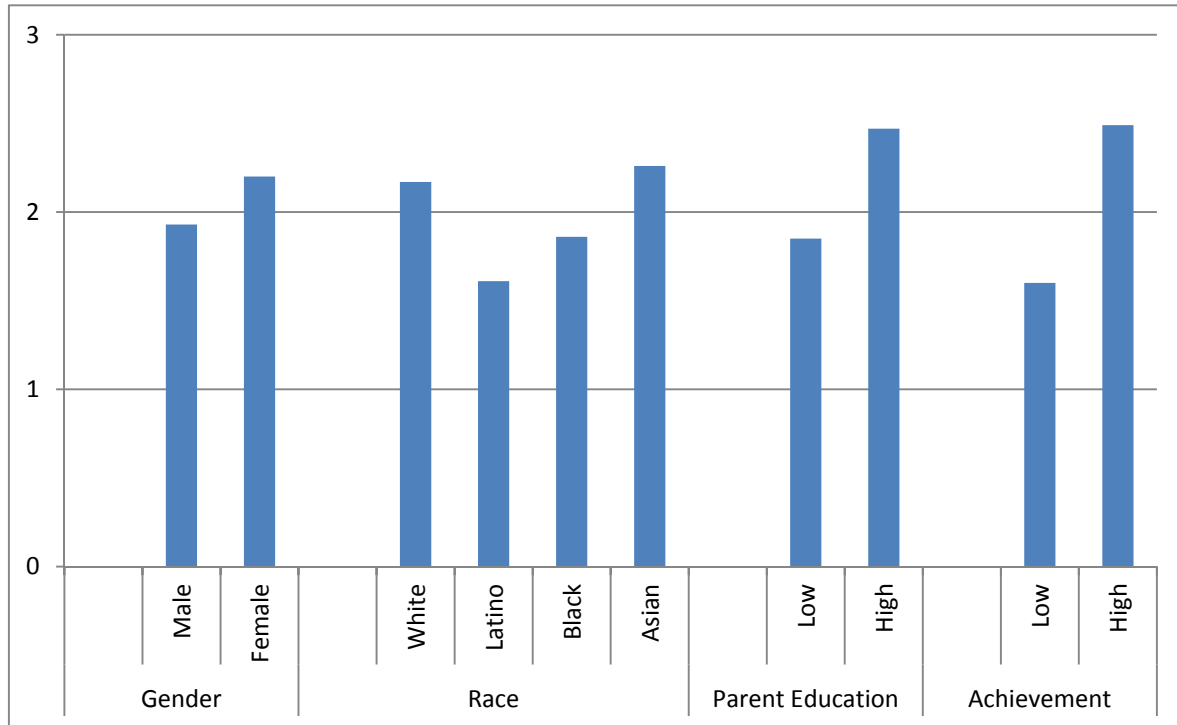
Figure 5. Citizenship Outcomes by Punitively Sanctioned
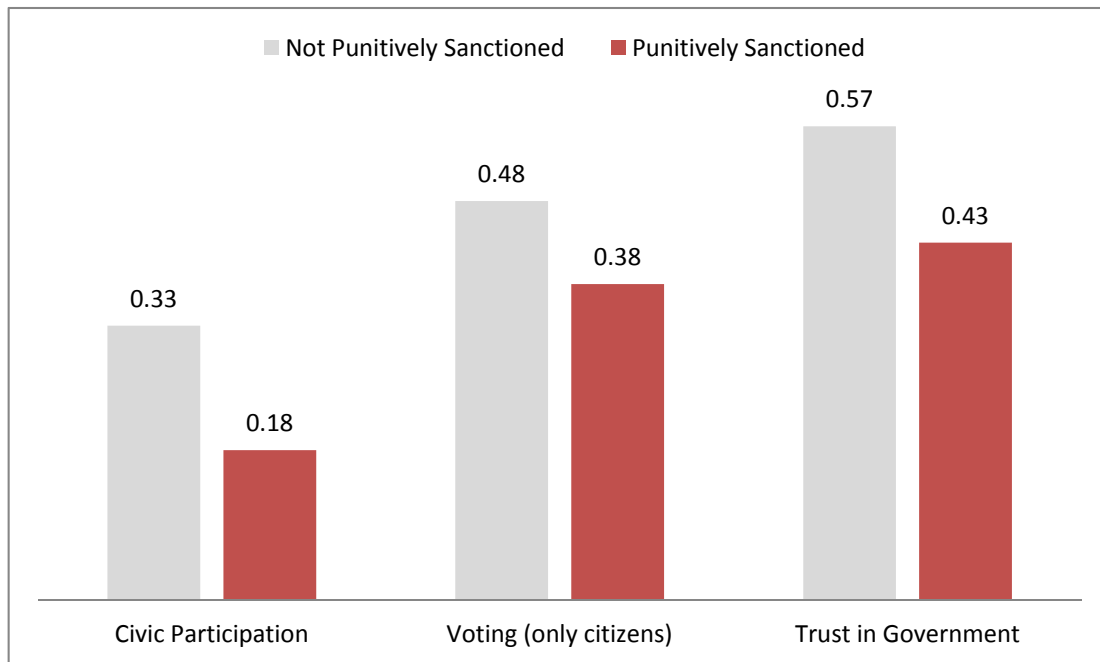
Note: N=7,738 not punitively sanctioned, and N=2,563 are punitively sanctioned. Voting outcome is restricted to citizens. All mean differences shown in figure are statistically significant at p < .05.

Figure 6. Citizenship Outcomes by Perceptions of Unfair Treatment
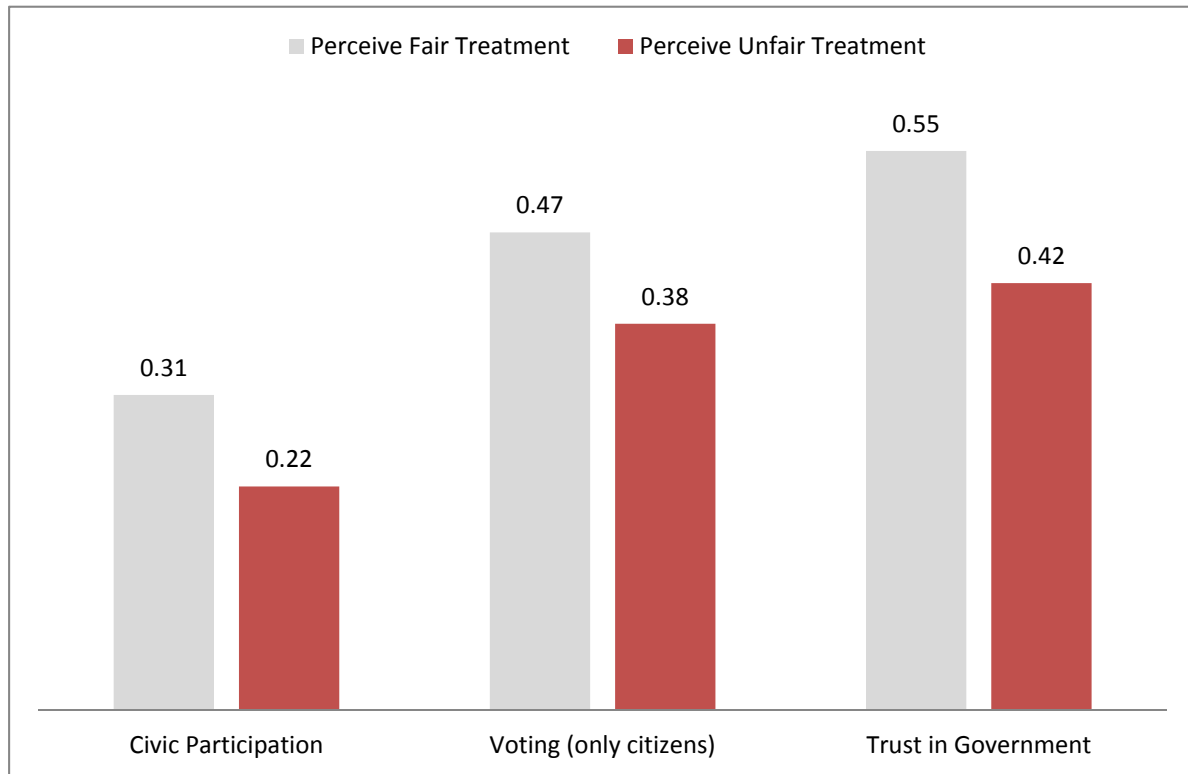
Note: N=8,261 perceive fair treatment, and N=2,040 perceive unfair treatment. Voting outcome is restricted to citizens. All mean differences shown in figure are statistically significant at p < .05.

Figure 7. Citizenship Outcomes by Feelings of Connectedness to School Community
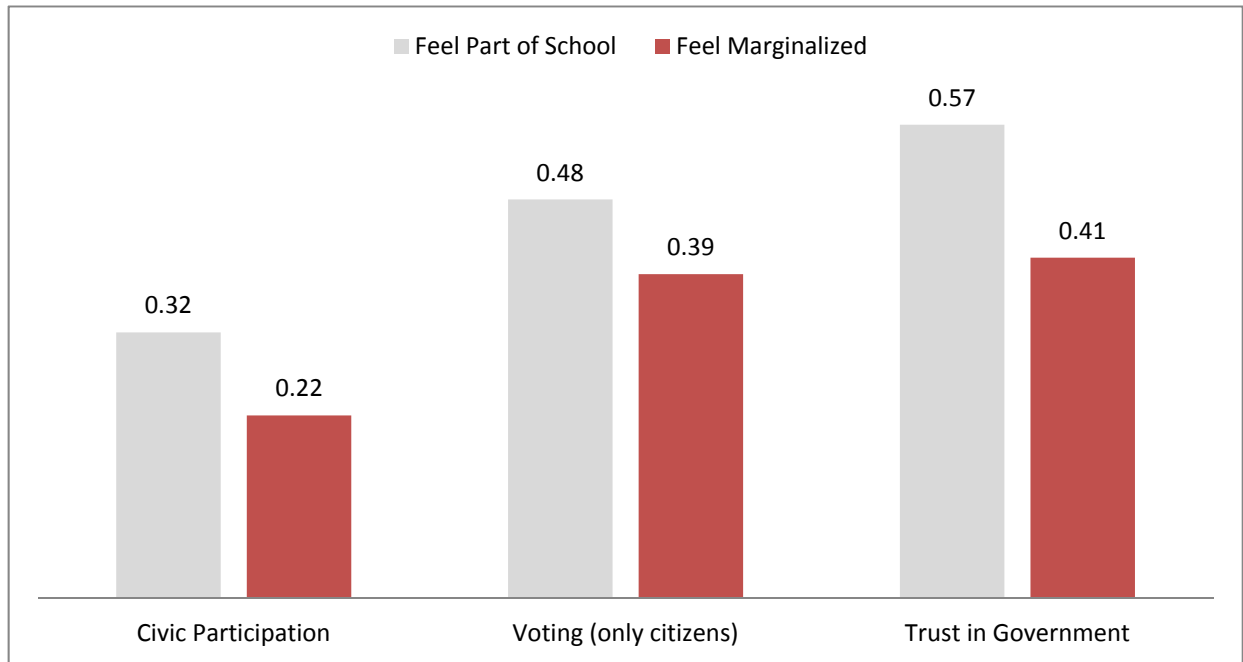
Note: N=7,606 feel socially connected to school, and N=2,695 feel marginalized from school community. Voting outcome is restricted to citizens. All mean differences shown in figure are statistically significant at p < .05.

Figure 8. Citizenship Outcomes by Level of Participation in Extracurricular Activities
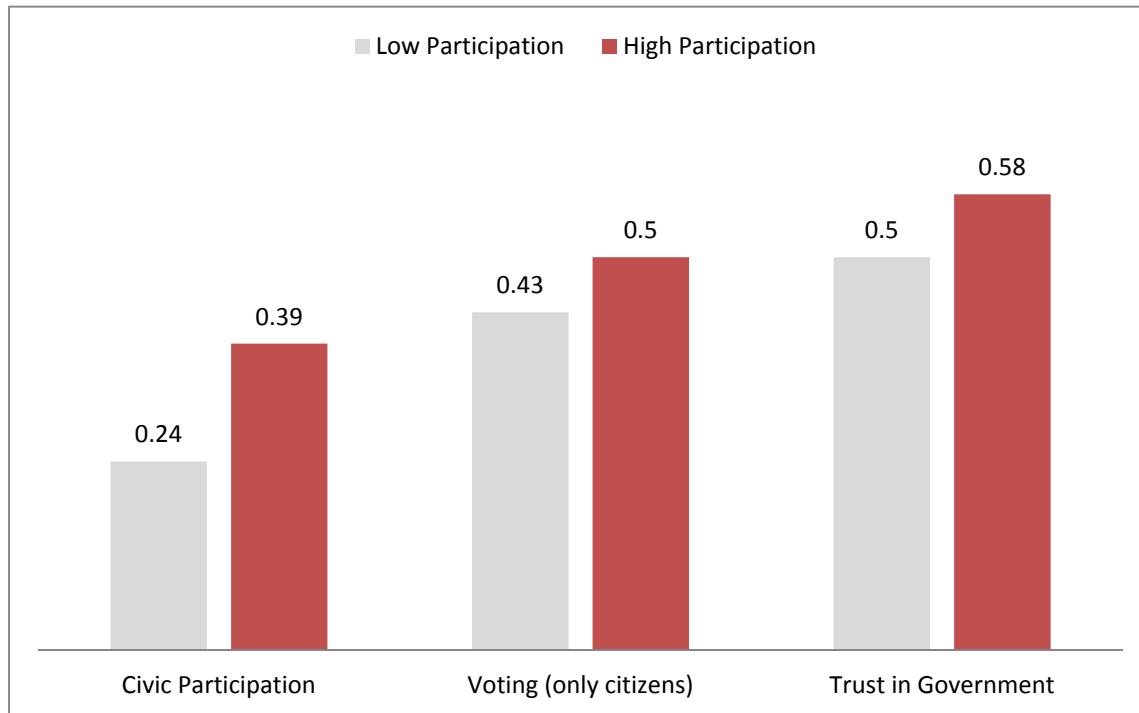
Note: Low and high participation are defined as above and below the average. N=6,564 are low participating, and N=3,737 are high participating. Voting outcome is restricted to citizens. All mean differences shown in figure are statistically significant at $p < .05$.

Table 1. Descriptive Picture of Add Health Students and Their Schools

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Student Characteristics				
Female	0.50	0.50	0	1
White	0.69	0.46	0	1
Latino	0.10	0.31	0	1
African American	0.16	0.37	0	1
Asian	0.04	0.19	0	1
Have College-Educated Parent	0.35	0.48	0	1
Age	21.71	1.81	18	27
Political Outcomes				
Civic Participation	0.29	0.46	0	1
Voting	0.44	0.50	0	1
Trust Government	0.53	0.50	0	1
Personal Experiences at School				
Punitively Sanctioned	0.25	0.43	0	1
Perceive Unfair Treatment	0.20	0.40	0	1
Feel Connected to School Community	0.75	0.43	0	1
Extracurricular Participation	2.06	1.68	0	5
Additional Confounding Factors				
Delinquent Behavior	1.11	0.96	0	6
Engagement in School	2.02	0.55	0	4
Self-Reported Average Grades	2.85	0.79	1	4
Peabody Vocabulary Test Score	102.30	14.04	14	138
Perceive Student Prejudice	3.21	1.16	1	5
Try Hard in School	2.27	0.68	0	3
Believe Hard Work Rewarded	3.90	0.87	1	5
Later Experiences				
Highest Level of Education Attained	13.20	1.96	6	22
Married at Wave 3	0.16	0.37	0	1
Employed at Wave 3	0.75	0.43	0	1
Social Welfare Receipt	0.11	0.32	0	1
Criminal Justice Experience	0.36	0.88	0	4

N=125 schools and N=10,301. Descriptive statistics are computed taking into account the complex survey design [svy commands in Stata], and are reported for imputed data set 1. Missing data were imputed using a chained equations approach [mi impute chained in Stata].

Table 2. Proportion of Students for Each Experience of School: Race * Gender

	Punitive Sanctioning	Perceive Unfair Treatment	Feel Connected to School Community	Average Number of Extracurricular Activities at School
White				
Male	0.29	0.18	0.76	2.02
Female	0.13	0.20	0.76	2.32
African American				
Male	0.52	0.21	0.78	1.79
Female	0.36	0.27	0.73	1.91
Latino				
Male	0.34	0.17	0.74	1.47
Female	0.21	0.22	0.67	1.76
Asian				
Male	0.22	0.19	0.71	2.16
Female	0.06	0.14	0.74	2.37

Note: N=10,301. Descriptive statistics are computed taking into account the complex survey design [svy commands in Stata].

Table 3. Proportion of Students for Each Experience of School: Race * Parent Education

	Punitive Sanctioning	Perceive Unfair Treatment	Feel Connected to School Community	Average Number of Extracurricular Activities at School
White				
Low	0.27	0.22	0.74	1.92
High	0.11	0.14	0.79	2.57
African American				
Low	0.48	0.24	0.75	1.72
High	0.30	0.25	0.74	2.23
Latino				
Low	0.29	0.20	0.70	1.58
High	0.23	0.17	0.73	1.75
Asian				
Low	0.15	0.17	0.71	2.08
High	0.15	0.16	0.74	2.43

Note: N=10,301. Descriptive statistics are computed taking into account the complex survey design [svy commands in Stata].

Table 4. Proportion of Students for Each Experience of School: Race * Achievement

	Punitive Sanctioning	Perceive Unfair Treatment	Feel Connected to School Community	Average Number of Extracurricular Activities at School
White				
Low	0.33	0.23	0.71	1.61
High	0.12	0.16	0.80	2.60
African American				
Low	0.49	0.25	0.72	1.70
High	0.32	0.24	0.79	2.16
Latino				
Low	0.33	0.20	0.69	1.34
High	0.20	0.18	0.73	1.99
Asian				
Low	0.26	0.17	0.66	1.81
High	0.10	0.16	0.75	2.45

Table 5. Relationship between the Experiences of School

	Perceptions of Fairness			Feelings of Connection			Extracurricular Participation		
	Fair	Unfair	Total	No	Yes	Total	Low	High	Total
Not Punitively Sanctioned	6,525 (84%)	1,213 (16%)	7,738 (100%)	1,719 (22%)	6,019 (78%)	7,738 (100%)	4,661 (60%)	3,077 (40%)	7,738 (100%)
Punitively Sanctioned	1,860 (73%)	703 (27%)	2.563 (100%)	886 (36%)	1,677 (65%)	2.563 (100%)	1,903 (74%)	660 (26%)	2,563 (100%)
Total	8,385 (81%)	1,916 (19%)	10,301 (100%)	2,605 (25%)	7,696 (75%)	10,301 (100%)	6,564 (64%)	3,737 (36%)	10,301 (100%)

Note: Extracurricular participation categories are defined by grouping participation in 0-2 activities as "low", and 3or more activities as "high".

Table 6. Citizenship Outcomes Predicted by Personal Experiences in School and Demographic Characteristics

	Civic Participation		Voting		Trust in Government	
Punitively sanctioned	0.60**	0.76**	0.70**	0.86*	0.72**	0.81**
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Perceive unfair treatment	0.82*	0.88	0.75**	0.78**	0.78**	0.82**
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Feel connected	1.31**	1.23*	1.28**	1.24**	1.72**	1.65**
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Extracurricular participation	1.20**	1.15**	1.08**	1.04*	1.06**	1.05*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.99	0.97	0.92	0.92	0.97	0.92
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Latino	0.93	1.06	0.97	1.10	0.91	0.86
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Black	0.89	1.03	1.81**	2.20**	0.61**	0.56**
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.23)	(0.28)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Asian	1.04	1.06	0.64*	0.66	1.03	0.91
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Parent education	1.96**	1.77**	1.81**	1.63**	1.16*	1.16*
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Age	0.94**	0.94**	1.12**	1.12**	1.04	1.05*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Delinquent behavior		0.88*		0.92*		0.86**
		(0.04)		(0.03)		(0.03)
Average grades		1.24**		1.25**		1.19**
		(0.06)		(0.07)		(0.06)
Vocabulary test score		1.02**		1.02**		0.99*
		(0.01)		(0.01)		(0.00)
Engagement in school		0.94		1.02		0.94

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
		(0.06)		(0.06)		(0.05)
Try hard in school		1.12*		1.09		1.02
		(0.06)		(0.06)		(0.06)
Believe hard work rewarded		1.11**		1.06		1.01
		(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.03)
Perceive student prejudice		1.00		1.05		1.02
		(0.03)		(0.03)		(0.03)
Constant	0.85	0.06**	0.04**	0.00**	0.37*	0.45
	(0.37)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.00)	(0.15)	(0.24)
Adjusted R²	0.07	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.06

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,301 students. N=9,940 for voting models which are restricted to citizens. Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate). The R² is estimated from averaging across the 5 imputed datasets (mibeta).

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Table 7. Citizenship Outcomes Predicted by Intersectional Racial Identity Categories

	Civic Participation	Voting	Trust in Government
*Race * Gender*			
White female	0.95	0.82**	1.05
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Black male	0.80	1.33*	0.69*
	(0.10)	(0.19)	(0.10)
Black female	0.92	1.95**	0.57**
	(0.10)	(0.30)	(0.07)
Latino male	0.88	0.91	0.96
	(0.14)	(0.12)	(0.15)
Latino female	0.94	0.86	0.89
	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.10)
Asian male	1.01	0.58*	1.36
	(0.21)	(0.14)	(0.30)
Asian female	1.02	0.59	0.79
	(0.20)	(0.17)	(0.15)
*Race * Parent Education*			
White no college educated parent	0.50**	0.52**	0.79**
	(0.04)	(0.02)	(0.06)
Black college educated parent	0.81	1.46*	0.44**
	(0.11)	(0.25)	(0.05)
Black no college educated parent	0.47**	1.01	0.55**
	(0.06)	(0.15)	(0.06)
Latino college educated parent	0.96	0.72*	0.69
	(0.20)	(0.12)	(0.14)
Latino no college educated parent	0.47**	0.56**	0.79
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.10)
Asian college educated parent	1.09	0.67	1.11
	(0.22)	(0.14)	(0.23)
Asian no college educated parent	0.49**	0.31**	0.74
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.19)
*Race * Immigrant Status*			
White immigrant	0.99	1.41*	0.86
	(0.18)	(0.20)	(0.12)
Black non-immigrant	0.89	1.85**	0.61**
	(0.08)	(0.24)	(0.06)
Black immigrant	0.85	1.49	0.62
	(0.28)	(0.65)	(0.22)
Latino non-immigrant	0.92	1.06	0.59**

	(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.09)
Latino immigrant	0.95	0.93	1.22
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.17)
Asian non-immigrant	1.13	0.48*	2.09*
	(0.41)	(0.15)	(0.61)
Asian immigrant	1.03	0.69	0.92
	(0.15)	(0.15)	(0.13)

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,301 students. Voting model restricted to citizens (N=9,940). Each type of intersectional racial identity estimated in separate models i.e. race * gender interactions are estimated in one model, race * parent education interactions in another. Models include the four experiences of school, and indicators for gender, parent education, and age. The reference categories are: white male, white with college educated parent, and white non-immigrant. Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate). The R^2 is estimated from averaging across the 5 imputed datasets (mibeta).
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 8. Citizenship Outcomes Predicted by Interacted Personal Experiences of School

	Civic Participation	Voting	Trust Government
*Punitively Sanctioned * Perceptions of Unfair Treatment*			
Not punitively sanctioned AND Perceive fair treatment	Ref	Ref	Ref
Not punitively sanctioned AND Perceive unfair treatment	0.84	0.74**	0.80**
	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Punitively sanctioned AND Perceive fair treatment	0.66**	0.82*	0.82*
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)
Punitively sanctioned AND Perceive unfair treatment	0.76	0.78*	0.74*
	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.09)
*Punitively Sanctioned * Feeling Connected to the School Community*			
Not punitively sanctioned AND Feel socially connected	Ref	Ref	Ref
Not punitively sanctioned AND Feel marginalized	0.75*	0.83	0.59**
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.07)
Punitively sanctioned AND Feel socially connected	0.80*	0.90	0.84*
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.06)
Punitively sanctioned AND Feel marginalized	0.78	0.65**	0.57**
	(0.18)	(0.10)	(0.08)
*Punitively Sanctioned * Participating in the School Community*			
Not punitively sanctioned AND High participation	Ref	Ref	Ref
Not punitively sanctioned AND Low participation	0.67**	0.89	0.81**
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)
Punitively sanctioned AND High participation	0.81	0.78*	0.60**
	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.07)
Punitively sanctioned AND Low participation	0.48**	0.78*	0.73**
	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.07)

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,301 students. Voting model restricted to citizens (N=9,940). Each set of interacting experiences are estimated in separate models i.e. punitively sanctioned * perceptions of treatment interactions are estimated in one model, and

punitively sanctioned * feelings of connection interactions in another. Models include all the predictors from previous models (demographics and background measures, and student behaviors and attitudes) as well as the other two experience of school not being interacted. Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate).

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Table 9. Educational Attainment Outcomes Predicted by Personal Experiences in School and Demographic Characteristics

	High School Diploma	High School Completion (with GED)	Successful Transition to College	High School Diploma - Whites	High School Diploma – Blacks	High School Diploma - Latinos
Punitively sanctioned	0.41**	0.41**	0.52**	0.36**	0.39**	0.64
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.16)
Perceive unfair treatment	0.88	0.95	0.84*	0.96	0.84	0.72
	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.11)	(0.13)	(0.17)
Feel connected	1.23*	1.08	1.15	1.37**	1.20	0.98
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.11)	(0.16)	(0.19)	(0.23)
Extracurricular participation	1.15**	1.12**	1.21**	1.16**	1.04	1.29**
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.09)	(0.10)
Female	1.04	1.13	1.31**	0.97	1.31	0.95
	(0.09)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.24)	(0.19)
Latino	0.90	1.05	1.44**	-	-	-
	(0.13)	(0.19)	(0.19)			
Black	1.45**	1.46**	1.48**	-	-	-
	(0.17)	(0.20)	(0.21)			
Asian	2.45**	4.37**	3.16**	-	-	-
	(0.73)	(1.70)	(0.83)			
Parent education	1.73**	2.17**	3.02**	1.53**	2.47**	2.17*
	(0.20)	(0.36)	(0.27)	(0.22)	(0.62)	(0.72)
Age	1.15**	1.13**	1.08**	1.22**	1.04	1.12
	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.08)
Delinquent behavior	0.80**	0.87*	0.86**	0.77**	0.76*	0.97
	(0.04)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Average grades	1.82**	1.91**	1.95**	1.77**	1.80**	2.12**
	(0.14)	(0.19)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.29)	(0.38)
Vocabulary test score	1.03**	1.04**	1.04**	1.03**	1.02**	1.02**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)

Engagement in school	1.13	1.11	1.09	1.25*	1.08	0.78
	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.14)
Try hard in school	1.01	0.87	0.91	1.06	0.89	0.94
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.05)	(0.09)	(0.17)	(0.16)
Believe hard work rewarded	1.06	1.02	1.08*	1.05	1.06	1.07
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.09)	(0.13)
Perceive student prejudice	1.06	1.01	0.98	1.03	1.05	1.16
	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.03)	(0.06)	(0.09)	(0.14)
Constant	0.00	0.00**	0.00**	0.00**	0.07	0.01*
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.11)	(0.01)
Adjusted R^2	0.13	0.09	0.25	0.15	0.10	0.10

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,301 students. Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate). The R^2 is estimated from averaging across the 5 imputed datasets (mibeta).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 10. Citizenship Outcomes Predicted by Later Socially Integrating and Potentially Marginalizing Life Experiences

	Civic Participation	Voting	Trust in Government
Punitively sanctioned	0.86	0.98	0.87*
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.06)
Perceive unfair treatment	0.88	0.79**	0.83*
	(0.08)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Feel connected	1.18	1.19*	1.63**
	(0.10)	(0.08)	(0.11)
Extracurricular participation	1.11**	1.01	1.04
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	1.00	0.86*	0.90
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.07)
Latino	1.04	1.08	0.85
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Black	0.98	2.15**	0.55**
	(0.09)	(0.26)	(0.06)
Asian	0.93	0.58*	0.86
	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.14)
Parent education	1.51**	1.45**	1.11
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.08)
Age	0.88**	1.05*	1.03
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Delinquent behavior	0.90*	0.95	0.88**
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Average grades	1.11	1.15*	1.15**
	(0.06)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Vocabulary test score	1.01**	1.01**	0.99**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Engagement in school	0.93	1.00	0.94
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Try hard in school	1.13*	1.10	1.02
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Believe hard work is rewarded	1.10**	1.06	1.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Perceive student prejudice	1.00	1.05	1.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Own education attained	1.22**	1.21**	1.06**
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Married	0.90	1.12	1.00
	(0.09)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Employed	0.89	1.02	0.94

	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Social welfare receipt	0.77*	0.97	0.79**
	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.07)
Criminal justice experience	1.08	0.92*	0.88**
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Constant	0.05*	0.00**	0.46
	(0.03)	(0.00)	(0.26)
Adjusted R²	0.11	0.09	0.06

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,301 students. Voting model restricted to citizens (N=9,940). Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate). The R² is estimated from averaging across the 5 imputed datasets (mibeta).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

CHAPTER 4

SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS AND CITIZENSHIP OUTCOMES

In the previous chapter, I examined how experiences of school are associated with later citizenship outcomes. I found that there are associations between having socially integrating experiences as well as marginalizing experiences in school and citizenship outcomes. However like the majority of work on political attitudes and behavior, it did not take into account how the contexts in which students are embedded may shape these processes. Although the dominant paradigm for understanding civic and political participation focuses on individual characteristics, the multitude of ways that social contexts and in particular, social institutions and policies shape individual behaviors and attitudes are increasingly being highlighted as of critical importance. As Bloemraad notes, "political incorporation is a social process" that includes not only formal laws regarding citizenship, but also the community and personal networks that facilitate political learning (65).

In this chapter I examine several ways in which school environments may impart lessons with civic consequences. To understand these associations, I draw on the insights from scholars emphasizing the importance of understanding the role that social contexts and in particular social institutions and policies play in producing citizenship. In particular, I utilize the structured political behavior model which argues not only for the importance of including context in models of citizenship production, but understanding the importance of the interplay between individual and contexts (Soss and Jacobs 2009).

While there is a growing body of scholarship showing that personal experiences of social institutions affect citizenship, we are more limited in what we know about how the particular features of these institutions and policies affect citizenship. Identifying this link is of critical importance to understanding how the production of participatory citizenship is not just about the production of skills and knowledge, but is a social process that is shaped by the social contexts people experience (Bloemraad 2006; Soss and Jacobs 2009).

Existing work that examines features of social institutions and policies has found strong associations with a couple of key elements: participatory, community building designs, and punitive or paternalistic designs (Weaver and Lerman 2010; Bruch et al. 2010; Mettler 2005; Kumlin 2002; Soss 2001). A recent example of this work is a collaborative project in which my colleagues and I assessed evidence between incorporating socially marginal populations through policies designed with hierarchical relations that emphasize supervision and punishment versus through policies designed with liberal-democratic values that emphasize participation and engagement in decision processes (Bruch et al. 2010). In the previous project, we found that differences in policies structure experience in specific ways which meaningfully affect people's interpretation of their experiences. We identified the authority relations as the particular policy design feature that meaningfully structures interactions and experiences with the programs.

The key point of this work is that different policy designs can result in positive or negative civic and political messages being received resulting in higher levels of engagement and participation or increased civic and political marginalization. The argument that has been made to support punitive policies is that supervision, monitoring, and harsh punishments are required to enforce appropriate behaviors. This argument has been made in relation to social welfare

policies as well as in relation to school discipline policies. However, a different perspective

argues that the organization of authority in schools, the way to maintain order, and the way to

enforce desired behaviors in social welfare programs and in schools is to encourage engagement

and foster positive aspects of community.

I focus on disciplinary policies and school community features because these

organizational features shape the authority relations experienced by students. As noted above,

experiences of authority relations, and in particular, of punitive or paternalistic authority

relations and inclusive and universalistic authority relations in other social institutions has been

found to affect engagement as well as political attitudes and beliefs about government.

Therefore I examine the role of the authority relations that are operating in the schools because

the authority relations within schools may affect the political learning process of students. I

operationalize the authority relations in schools using measures of the disciplinary environment

and school community which includes discipline policies as well as community building features

such as a strong sense of community, shared norms, and participation by students in

extracurricular activities.

An additional rationale for focusing on discipline policies is that this organizational

feature of schools has changed considerably over the past 20-30 years. While the concern in the

1970s and 1980s was that school discipline might be too lax or associated with declining test

scores (Hurn 1985), the majority of concerns regarding discipline are now focused on the

increasing restrictiveness and harshness of these policies (Way 2011; Kupchik 2010; Hirschfield

2008; Lyons and Drew 2006; Skiba 2006). In fact, the American Psychological Association

recently released a report from the Zero Tolerance Task Force criticizing the trend in the use of

highly restrictive or punitive policies. "Moreover, zero tolerance policies may negatively affect the relationship of education with juvenile justice and appear to conflict to some degree with current best knowledge concerning adolescent development" (852: APA 2008).

As schools have adopted more restrictive and punitive policies, they have come to mirror other institutions in having more punitive discipline policies. These recent shifts in how authority relations are structured in schools, using more restrictive and punitive policy designs has amplified the importance of understanding whether there are democratic consequences of this.

An additional layer of the organization of relations in schools and of the punitive turn is the relationship between racial dynamics, these organizational features, and citizenship outcomes. While it is possible that the racial dynamics could directly affect citizenship, these features of schools may come into play as moderating influences on other school features. The punitive turn in other policy areas has been argued to be fundamentally tied to race (Soss et al. 2011; Wacquant 2010). While I examine the relation between the racial dynamics and the discipline features in the next chapter, here it is important to note that the relationship between these two types of school features may condition how students experience schools in ways that affect their later citizenship.

The guiding question for this chapter is: "how does the organization of schools affect citizenship"? I examine three ways that schools could affect citizenship: (1) by affecting the likelihood of having particular experiences of school that are associated with citizenship outcomes; (2) by affecting citizenship outcomes directly; and (3) by conditioning the associations between particular experiences and citizenship. Schools could affect citizenship in

all of these ways, these are not either-or tradeoffs. In fact, the distinction between schools potentially affecting the likelihood of having particular experiences within the school, and/or shaping later political actions and orientations, is highlighted in feedback scholarship whereby experiences of social institutions affect not only direct experiences of target populations, but also can affect citizenship of larger publics (Svallfors 2007). Because school environments are experienced quite intensively for students, it is unclear whether the processes that produce generalized or mass feedback effects will occur for all students, or whether the processes that produce more limited feedback effects for specific populations affected by particular policies will occur only for those students who have particular experiences within these environments. In the previous chapter, I focused on the effects of particular school experiences for individual students, and found that there are strong associations between several school experiences and citizenship outcomes. Here the focus shifts to examine the various ways that school context may affect citizenship outcomes.

To examine each of the possible ways that schools may affect citizenship, I focus on how schools organize relations of authority and community, and the dynamics of race in the school. I estimate a series of models exploring the role of these features for each of the possible ways that schools could affect citizenship. I end with an assessment of the level of empirical evidence supporting each.

As described earlier, schools are an important context for political socialization, so differences across schools in how they organize relations are likely to affect how political socialization occurs. To the extent that these organizational differences structure the political learning processes of students, I expect associations between school context and citizenship

outcomes. The basic intuition behind this expectation is that contexts have independent ecological effects and as such can be an experience in their own right. And in fact, "disparit[ies] in socialization may well produce systematic differences in political interest, awareness, understanding, and engagement" (Soss and Jacobs 2009: 122). Finding evidence that school context affects citizenship in any of these ways will help to strengthen the argument that the associations between experiences of school and citizenship are not driven only by an underlying disposition that people bring to schools and politics, but also reflects how a social institution like schools shapes people's experiences and the political learning related to those experiences.

The empirical analyses in this chapter build on the existing work that examines how school discipline policies, school community features, and racial dynamics affect student outcomes. While the majority of this work has focused on how these features affect student behavior and educational outcomes, there is also a smaller body of work that examines the link between these types of school features and later political outcomes.

Disciplinary policies of schools have received considerable attention from scholars reflecting concerns about whether discipline policies affect student outcomes in schools as well as concerns about differential exposure to and enforcement of disciplinary rules and punishments. The majority of empirical scholarship on school discipline examines whether there is differential rates of punishment especially by race and gender (Phillips 2008; Wallace et al. 2008; Kerzmein et al. 2006; Skiba et al. 2002), but there is also a smaller empirical literature focused on examinations of effects of disciplinary environments on student outcomes (Gottfredson et al. 2005 ;Arum 2003; Barton et al. 1998; Coleman and Hoffer 1987; DiPrete et al. 1981; Metz 1978; Coleman 1961).

The majority of work that examines the association between school disciplinary measures and student outcomes focuses on student behaviors like delinquency or academic engagement, or academic outcomes such as high school completion or attained education (Arum 2003; Barton et al. 1998; DiPrete et al. 1981). In an older but thorough examination of school discipline, DiPrete et al. (1981) found that stricter discipline was associated with lower rates of delinquent behavior. In more recent work, Arum (2003) finds that the number of school rules is negatively associated with high school graduation and achievement test scores.

Arum also finds that the perceptions of school discipline increases the level of racial inequality in test scores. The first association that contributes to increased racial inequality is between perceived strictness and student test scores. This association dampens the test scores of African American students to a much greater degree than is the case for white students. The second way inequality is increased is by a moderating effect of perceptions of discipline on test scores whereby negative perceptions of discipline are associated with lower achievement gains. These moderating effects increase inequality because African American students are more likely to be in schools with these perceptions of discipline. In related work, Lee and Bryk (1989) found smaller racial gaps in schools with more order and in which discipline policies were perceived as fair. I build on this work by examining how discipline policies and perceptions of treatment are associated with citizenship outcomes, and whether these associations differ across racial groups.

Just as Arum argues that "school discipline has been a central element of differences in black-white test score performance" (Arum 2003: 181), I argue that school discipline and authority relations more broadly may be a central element for producing citizenship in ways that dampen the participation of particular students. These school features influence how students

think and behave in schools, and do so in ways that may stick with students for some time to come. Recent ethnographic work on how students perceive school disciplinary environments has found that this aspect of schools has a profound influence on how students view their educational experience (Bracy 2011; Way 2011; Kupchik 2010).

The work on how community features affect later outcomes is dominated by work that is inspired by Coleman's classic work on public versus private schools (Coleman and Hoffer 1987). Coleman and his colleagues found differences in achievement and in racial inequality in achievement between public, private, and Catholic schools. They argued that these patterns could be explained by the fact that private schools were better able to shape student behavior in large part because of the social capital bonds in the school community (e.g. peer culture, shared norms, and intergenerational closure). Building on Coleman, other scholars have specified specific ways these features of school communities operate as order producing mechanisms. For example, Bryk and Schneider (2002) identify how schools with more relational trust between members of the school community are more likely to maintain a positive level of social control. A number of scholars have also connected Coleman's ideas about the properties of schools that create a functional community to discipline, school safety, and student outcomes such as victimization. A recent example of this is Gottfredson and DiPetro (2011) who find that there is less victimization reported by students in schools in which there is a higher level of student consensus about norms.

There is also small body of work that has explored the association between the community and racial dynamics features of schools and political outcomes (Jacobsen et al. 2011; Callahan et al. 2008, 2010; Campbell 2006). The work of Callahan and her colleagues is a great recent example of this type of work. In their work, they use a measure of social connections in

school to predict political engagement and find positive associations between the level of social connectedness among students and their later political participation. Although they use a similar social connection measure and conceptualize the idea of ties to the school community as important, they draw on the work of political scientists such as Putnam (2000) to motivate the expectation that connections to community are associated with higher rates of participation. Another recent example of work that finds positive associations between aspects of community in school and later participation is Campbell's long-term study of why people vote (2006). He finds that students who attend schools with more inclusive, civic climates are more likely to vote than others over the course of their lives.

Callahan and her colleagues also examine other attributes of the school environment such as the number of social studies classes available which is used to measure civic opportunity. Examining whether there are associations between civics education and citizenship outcomes is one of the more longstanding bodies of empirical scholarship in this area. Although for a long time classroom-based civics education was ignored as a possible factor in participation and engagement. This was due in large part to the findings of a couple of influential studies in the late 1960s and 1970s which found that there was no effect of civics education on a number of political outcomes. However, more recently there has been a resurgence of work in this area because several scholars have found that there are positive effects of civics education on political outcomes and in particular on political knowledge (Conover and Searing 2000; Niemi and Junn 1998).

One line of recent work in this area has found disparities in curricular opportunities across schools and types of students. This is referred to as the "civic opportunity gap" which

borrows the language from the sociology of education work to highlight that some students have the opportunity to take more civics education than others. In particular, the work of Kahne and colleagues has found that a number of individual and school level factors are associated with the number of civic learning opportunities including a student's race and the school's socioeconomic status (Kahne and Middaugh 2008, 2009).

There is very little work that examines how racial dynamics in schools are related to citizenship outcomes. While there is a body of work in political science that explores the associations between the level of racial diversity or homogeneity and civic and political engagement (Oliver 2010; Putnam 2007; Campbell 2006), there has not been a parallel examination of racial composition in schools. A recent piece examining this connection was unable to demonstrate any associations (Jacobsen et al. 2011). Jacobsen and her colleagues examined a number of different measures of racial diversity including the number of racial groups in the school, relative size, and even change over time in the racial composition of schools, and found that none of these measures were robust predictors of later participation.

Analysis Strategy

I estimate a series of models exploring each of the three ways that schools could affect citizenship outcomes. I examine the role of schools in terms of how they organize relations of authority and community, and the dynamics of race in the school. The authority relations features examined are the punitiveness of sanctioning, the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior, the extent of surveillance and monitoring, and the level of endorsement/peer assessments of the legitimacy of authority (aggregated fairness perceptions). The school as

community features examined are sense of community (aggregated feel part), positive relations with fellow students (get along), shared norms (mean and variance of educational aspirations), and the participatory climate of the school. And the measures of racial dynamics are: the proportion of racial groups in the school, a racial diversity index (Simpson), racial inequality in sanctioning and racial differences in fairness perceptions, racial problems identified by administrator, and student perceptions of the extent of student prejudice. For the measures of racial dynamics I estimate each in separate models.

In addition to examining the linear associations between each of the school environment features and experiences of school and citizenship outcomes, I also explore a number of configurations that combine elements of authority relations, school as community, and racial dynamics – to assess whether particular combinations of school features combine to create particularly beneficial or detrimental contexts for the development of citizenship. The rationale is that school environments are not experienced one dimension at a time/independently. They are experienced as environments that have multiple characteristics.

In section 1, I investigate how schools affect the likelihood of having the four focal experiences in school. I examine the linear association between each of the school features and these experiences as well as associations with particular school configurations defined by multiple school features.

I also explore whether the effects of school environments are particular to certain groups of students or have more diffuse effects for everyone exposed to the school context. In other words, how students experience the authority relations (disciplinary environment and school

community) may differ depending on their position within the school. While it is possible that all students receive similar institutional messages from the organization of authority relations and school community relations, it is also possible that certain messages are directed specific groups of students. For example, an implicit narrative within the school used to justify the particular organization of discipline in the school could be "we need these restrictive policies so that everyone is safe". But alternatively, the justifying narrative could be "we need these restrictive policies because we need to deal with particular problems that we have at this school". This type of message could be implicitly or explicitly tied to specific groups in the school as was found by Ferguson in her study of how African American males are treated and seen as the problematic group in the elementary schools she studied (2000).

To examine these associations, I estimate models predicting each of the four experiences of school and include the disciplinary and community features, one measure of racial dynamics (proportion African American in the school), as well as several school controls and the student characteristics used in the previous chapter. The school controls include the proportion of the student body with a parent who has a four year college degree, average school achievement, average student educational attainment after high school, average delinquent behavior, and indicators for the school being a private school, located in an urban area, located in the southern region of the US, and having a large student body. This strategy ensures that to the extent possible, I am controlling for the differences in the student population across schools.

In section 2, I explore the authority relations, the school as community, and the racial dynamics of the school are associated with the citizenship outcomes. I also examine whether the effects of the school environment are widely diffused (i.e. affect all students) or only affect

certain students, and whether the effects of school disciplinary features are limited to specific configurations of features. The models estimated in section 2 mirror the models estimated in section 1, however I also include the four experiences of school. Modeling the citizenship outcomes in this way makes these analyses parallel to the main model specifications for the previous chapter with the only difference being the addition of the school characteristics.

In section 1 and 2, I examine whether configurations of school features are particularly consequential. The first school configuration I examine captures the implementation perceptions of punitive sanctioning policies, and is measured by crossing the punitive sanctioning policy index with the school average fairness perceptions. The motivation for this configuration is taken from the procedural justice literature and posits that the existence of the punitive policies may only negatively affect student outcomes when students also perceive a high level of unfairness in the environment. The second school configuration measures differences in how repressive school environments can be by looking at schools with both highly punitive sanctioning policies and extensive rule-based regulation or surveillance practices. Much of the literature in criminology on school discipline focuses on how multiple features of school disciplinary environments may converge to create particularly repressive environments for students and posits that these types of environments may be particularly harmful to students as well. The third configuration captures the possible conditional associations between authoritative or punitive environments and outcomes whereby authoritative environments are bad unless also paired with a supportive climate. This configuration is motivated by the work on authoritative school environments which has identified support and structure as two elements of school environments that are necessary for promoting positive student behavior (Gregory, Cornell, and Fan 2011). This configuration is

measured by crossing the punitive policy index (strict/authoritative dimension) and the sense of community measure (support dimension). The final type of configuration examines school environments differences in schools that are defined by racial diversity or presence of African Americans and the presence or absence of racial conflict as reported by the school administrator. This type of configuration explores whether the presence of African Americans or high levels of racial diversity are more or less consequential for student outcomes when there is also a perception of racial conflict in the school.

In section 3, I examine whether there are differential effects of the focal experiences of school across school contexts (i.e. the school context moderates the effects of individual experiences). In particular, I examine whether there are cross-level interactions between the disciplinary measures and the personal experiences of school, and also between the racial dynamics of the school and racial differences in citizenship outcomes. Both of these cross-level interactions are motivated by the idea that the meaning of stigmatizing experiences and identities may vary across school contexts. To the extent that the measures I have of the disciplinary environment and racial dynamics, I am able to capture some of the meaningful differences in how experiences such as being punitively sanctioned or having racial minority identities differ across schools.

Sample

A difference between the analytic sample for this chapter versus the previous chapter is that in this chapter I restrict the sample to students who did not switch schools before the Wave 1 In-Home Survey. I restrict the sample in this way because the focus is on estimating the effects

of exposure to school environments, so the students need to be in the schools to be exposed. The measure I use to identify school switchers is not ideal and so represents an approximation of the population I would like to exclude. The identification of school switchers relies on a survey item in Wave 1 survey asking students whether they have switched schools since the administration of the In-School Survey. This measure is not ideal because it does not capture students who switch school from Wave 1 to Wave 3.[40] This criteria eliminates only 155 students. The resulting analytic sample is 10,146. I could also approximate the identification of dropouts. However, this is even more problematic in terms of measurement and is arguably not desirable. Restricting the analyses to include only those who do not drop out would make the estimated effects more conservative because school environments could influence the decision to drop out (or switch schools), and to the extent that drop outs have lower civic or political participation or lower trust in government, the associations estimated for the school context will be smaller. For this reason, I decided to keep those who report completing a GED or their highest grade of school completed as less than 12 (i.e. non-completers) in the analyses.

Discussion on Estimation of School Effects

A number of critiques concerning interpretation, measurement and estimation have plagued work focused on identifying associations between structural factors such as school discipline policies and racial composition and student outcomes. Both individual selection processes (unmeasured individual factors) and potential confounding (unmeasured school factors) have been common critiques of the school composition literature (Morgan 2001;

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[40] I could also have examined transcript data available at Wave 3 to assess whether students completed high school in the same school. I did not pursue this because the sample is in grades 7-12 at Wave 1, so most students would have switched schools for high school.

Reardon, Yun, and Kurlaender 2006; Linn and Welner 2007; Vigdor 2011), with a number of scholars arguing that effects of student body characteristics cannot be identified sufficiently to have confidence in the estimates produced in typical analyses (Hauser 1969, 1970; Manski 1995; Sewell, Hauser, Springer, and Hauser 2004; Hanushek 2010). In addition, the limited availability of data on structural factors of interest has led a number of scholars to rely on student body compositional measures as indirect or proxy measures of the actual factor of interest (e.g. academic orientation of students or other cultural phenomena), resulting in the same compositional measure being interpreted as capturing different phenomena. Recent work has attempted to deal with these critiques by taking into account a wide range of other correlated factors (e.g. school quality, teacher characteristics, peer effects, etc.), using longitudinal data (Berends et al. 2008; Rumberger and Palardy 2005; Borman et al. 2004) and innovative identification strategies (Harding 2003; Hanushek et al. 2006, 2009; Crosnoe 2009; Legewie and DiPrete 2012).

These challenges to identification of context effects are hard to solve not only statistically but analytically. Parsing out the effects due to individual characteristics and other school features is complicated by the fact that many of the features of school environments (especially the school as community features) are not only taken from data collected in the same time period, but are mutually constituted by individuals, the interactions among individuals, and the organizational features of the school. In the case of fairness perceptions and feeling marginalized from the school community these outcomes are occurring contemporaneously with the school environment measures i.e. there is no temporal ordering that helps with making claims regarding

causality. In the case of punitively sanctioned, this outcome spans the time period of when the student was in the school – 7th-12th grades.[41]

The strategies I use to address these issues are having strong theoretical motivation for the measures I use to capture the key conceptual pieces of the environment proposed to affect student outcomes, and including a wide range of student and school level characteristics that may also be associated with the student experience of school. Controlling for potentially confounding school factors does not rule out the possibility that the contextual effects found in these analyses could be due to students selecting into (or being sorted into) schools based in part on these school factors (or others that are correlated with them). Therefore unobserved self-selection processes of students into schools, as well as self-selection into certain experiences and situations after school that affect their citizenship outcomes could partially account for the observed associations. However, non-causal descriptive modeling such as this can usefully contribute to sociological understandings and inform educational policy and practice.

My analysis strategy is similar to a number of the classic works on disciplinary environment effects (Arum 2003; Coleman and Hoffer 1987; DiPrete et al. 1981). Each of these studies use a number of school and student characteristics as a way to isolate the influence of disciplinary environments. For some outcomes DiPrete et al. (1981) and Coleman and Hoffer (1987) also use a change methodology whereby they examine changes from 10th to 12th grades, however for others they use measures of factors before or near the beginning of their experience in the school as pre-treatment controls for later outcome. Just as in the earlier chapter, I use the

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[41] Although this measure is also not ideal because a student can be reporting being sanctioned in a school environment that is not the one being measured. This can occur because they were suspended when they were in middle school and I have their high school context information, or vice versa, or they switched schools etc.

same strategy with estimating the contextual effects of disciplinary environment, school as community features, and racial dynamics on later citizenship outcomes.

A handful of recent studies have utilized quasi-experimental methods to enhance the ability of the authors to make causal claims for associations between school compositional factors or school disciplinary policies on student outcomes. Below I discuss the potential value of using propensity score analysis strategy or an instrumental variables strategy in my project and review three studies that utilize the Add Health data and represent analyses that have similarities to mine (Crosnoe 2009; Babcock 2009; Waddell 2010).

Propensity score (PS) analysis could be a potential quasi-experimental method to use in my analyses. However, if the largest concern is that there is an underlying dispositional or attitudinal characteristic of students that drives both experiences of school and later citizenship outcomes, PS does not address this. PS doesn't address this concern because it only matches students based on observable characteristics and so does not provide any additional information regarding characteristics that are unobserved and vary across persons. The potential benefit of using PS to "match" students that are similar on observables, you need to identify some factor (treatment) that differs. In my case, the treatment could be a type of school environment and the students could be matched on their observable characteristics like race, class, gender. For example, I could match students in "treated" schools where the treatment is one type of authority relations to students in "not treated" schools. This type of strategy has been used recently by Crosnoe (2009) in an examination of the "frog pond" effect in schools of different socioeconomic composition. Crosnoe uses a type of propensity score weighting (to address measurable confounds) and robustness indices (to address unmeasured confounds) to bolster his

confidence in the estimates of socioeconomic composition. This strategy could potentially bolster the confidence I have in claiming "effects" of authority relations or racial composition on outcomes (my focal interests that vary at the school level), however it would not address concerns regarding a factor that varies between students within schools (i.e. dispositional factors).

Another potential quasi-experimental method I could use to obtain greater confidence in the causal interpretation of the estimated associations is an instrumental variables strategy (IV). IV is a helpful strategy when you are limited by cross-sectional data in which the "cause" and the "effect" are observed simultaneously. Babcock (2009) used an IV strategy to ascertain the effects of school discipline policies on student behaviors. Babcock utilizes two instruments that capture aspects of the judicial-legal climate of the state level court – a factor that is presumed to influence discipline policies but not affect student behavior except through discipline policies.[42] Babcock (2009) provides estimates of the focal associations with and without the use of the IV approach in order to show the extent of bias in the estimates. Empirically, Babcock finds that both the reduced form regression estimates and the IV estimates of the effect of discipline policies are statistically significant, but that the IV estimates are larger in absolute value. Substantively, Babcock finds that when students attend schools with stricter discipline, they are less often truant, are more likely to graduate, and have higher labor market participation.

Waddell (2010) also utilized an IV approach to examine the effect of school sanctions on adolescent drug use. Similar to Babcock (2009), Waddell (2010) first estimates OLS regression

[42] Drawing on the work of Arum et al. (2003) which details how court decisions have affected school discipline policies, Babcock uses the student-friendliness of court climate which is measured by the relative frequency with which state and regional appellate courts sided with students in discipline lawsuits between 1960 and 1992 as one instrument, and the density of public interest lawyers at the state level as the second.

models before turning to the IV estimates to assess the differences between these estimating strategies. Waddell uses the second infraction consequence for stealing school property or verbally abusing a teacher reported by the school administrator as instruments. Waddell finds that when not using the IV method, there are no associations between the penalties schools give out for drug use and adolescent drug use. However, when Waddell uses the IV strategy, he finds that students in schools that expel second-time offenders (as opposed to out-of-school suspension) are less likely to report using drugs.

Using an IV strategy could bolster the confidence I have in claiming that authority relations have real effects on experiences of school and later citizenship outcomes. However, in order to use an IV strategy, I need to find a plausible instrument that predicts not only discipline policies but authority relations more broadly, but that does not affect student experiences of school or their later citizenship outcomes. Thus far, I have been unable to come up with an instrument that meets there criteria. If the results from Babcock (2009) and Waddell (2010) are any indication, by not utilizing an IV approach, the estimates I obtain are potentially under-estimating the actual effect of discipline policies and authority relations.

Results

I begin the analyses by providing a description of the schools in the analytic sample. The descriptive picture of the students in these schools was provided in Analysis 1. Given that the analytic sample so closely parallels the Add Health core longitudinal sample, these descriptive statistics are representative of schools with 7-12 grades in the 1994-95 school year [see Table 1

for descriptive statistics of all school measures]. Within the 125 schools, the number of students in the analytic sample per school is on average 82, with a range of 3 to 907.

< Table 1 >

On average 21% of students in each school are one or more grade levels above grade level according to the school administrator, 39% have a parent with a four year college degree, and 67% go on to college themselves after high school. In terms of some of the basic features of schools, 42% of the students in the analytic sample attend schools in the South, 20% attend schools in the West, 22% in the Midwest, and the remaining 16% in the Northeast. The Add Health sample of schools is overwhelmingly public schools, only 9% of the students in the sample attend private schools which represents only 12 schools. Approximately 30% of students attend schools defined as large (more than 1000) students, and 30% attend urban schools as opposed to rural or suburban schools.

In terms of the disciplinary features, the Add Health schools have a high degree of punitiveness in their sanctioning policies with a mean of 5.77, and relatively small range of variation (from 4.44-6.5), indicating that most schools have rather harsh penalties associated with most of the infractions captured in the measure. However, given that schools have relatively high punitive sanctioning policies, schools only average 12% of students being punitively sanctioned, although the maximum value of 60% shows that some schools utilize these sanctioning policies at a much higher rate. The schools also have high mean value for rule-based regulation of student behavior – 3.66 out of a maximum of 4, meaning that most schools have 3 or 4 of the rules captured by this measure. The last discipline related environment measure is the

extent of surveillance and monitoring of students. The mean of 0.76 indicates that on average schools have less than 1 of the possible 2 types of surveillance procedures. The most common surveillance feature schools have is a security guard.

In terms of the school community features, the school average is 2.59 out of a maximum of 4 which would be that all students strongly agree with the three statements that comprise the sense of community scale. The student-to-student relations measure shows a similar mean of 2.36 indicating that on average students in schools report a response that is between neither agree or disagree and agree that they get along with other students at the school. Overall there is a high level of agreement with the mainstream norm of educational aspirations in the schools. The mean for this measure is 4.43, indicating that most students in the schools report aspiring to a college education, however there is a wide range of school averages with a minimum value of 2.50 indicating that in some schools there is a much lower level of agreement that this is a desired goal. The extent of shared norms is a measure of the variation within the school in terms of the educational aspirations. The mean is approximately one which is not really an interpretable number since this is a mean of variances. The measure captures the extent of heterogeneity in the school community with regard to sharing the norm of attaining a college education. The distribution of this measure is such that in schools with higher mean educational aspirations, the variance tends to be smaller indicating a strong negative correlation between the mean and variance of educational aspirations at the school level. The average number of activities students engage in at school is 2.31. This measure of the participatory climate of the school varies substantially between schools, where in some schools students average just about one activity whereas in others students typically participate in more than four activities.

The average racial composition of the schools is 56% white, 16% African American, 15% Latino, 3% Asian, and the remaining 9% American Indian, "other" race, and multiracial. This average racial composition masks the fact that students in different racial groups experience vastly different racial compositions on average (see Figure 1). The most noticeable difference in the racial composition of schools experienced by students identifying with different racial groups is between whites and students of each of the other racial groups. Whites on average experience a school where they comprise 73% of the student body, whereas African Americans and Latinos on average attend a school in which their group does not comprise the majority (49% and 39% respectively), and Asians on average attend schools where their group is the third largest group in the school. Due to continued school racial segregation, students in each racial group on average attend schools that have a higher number of same race peers than is true of the overall average school.

< Figure 1 >

On average the school administrator reports that racial conflict is a small problem (a response of 0 indicates no problem and response of 2 indicates a big problem). Overall there is a relatively high level of agreement among students that their fellow students are prejudiced. An average of over three indicates that on average students report agreeing with the statement that students at this school are prejudiced. There is a wide range of African American disproportionality in punitive sanctioning. A value of zero on this measure indicates no disproportionality in sanctioning, meaning that Black students comprise an equal proportion of the population that is sanctioned and of the school body. There are schools where Blacks are under-represented compared to their population in the school (-0.39), as well as schools where

they are over-represented (0.30). Similar to the racial disproportionality in sanctioning, there is a wide range between schools in terms of the difference between white and African American fairness perceptions in their school with some schools having white students report more fairness and in others African Americans being more likely to report fair treatment by teachers.

Possibility #1: Are School Environments Associated with Politically Relevant Experiences of School?

The first way that schools may affect citizenship outcomes is by affecting the likelihood that students have politically relevant experiences in school. On average schools have 11% of their students reporting that they feel marginalized from their school community, 20% perceiving that teacher treatment of students is unfair, and 27% having been punitively sanctioned. Table 2 shows the average difference in the proportion of students who have these experiences across schools of different types.

Which school a student is located in makes a much greater difference for the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned. Not surprisingly, students in schools with more college-educated parents and in which a higher proportion of students attend college after high school, are less likely to experience punitive sanctioning.

The majority of the disciplinary environment and school community features are related to differences in the likelihood of being sanctioned. A student is more likely to be punitively sanctioned if he/she attends a school that is above the sample mean on the punitive policy index or in the extent of monitoring and surveillance. When students in the school perceive more fair treatment, the likelihood of being sanctioned is lower. For the school community measures, a

greater sense of community, better student-to-student relations, more mainstream norm agreement, and greater student participation are all associated with a lower likelihood of sanctioning.

Interestingly, being located in a school that is high on either of the measures of heterogeneity in the school – racial diversity or variation in holding mainstream norms – increases the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned. Similarly, being located in a school that has a higher proportion of African Americans or in which the school administrator reports racial conflict as a problem for the school also increase the likelihood of being sanctioned. These patterns are suggestive of schools using punitive sanctioning as a method for dealing with or managing diversity within the school.

< Table 2 >

There are also several significant differences in the likelihood that students perceive unfair treatment by teachers, feel connected to or participate in the school community. Students are more likely to perceive unfair treatment and less likely to feel connected to or participate in schools that punitively sanction a higher proportion of their students (see Table 3). Consistent with Coleman's articulation of a functional community, students in schools with more of a sense of community, higher rates of norm agreement, and more extensive sharing of the norm (i.e. less variation), have a lower likelihood of reporting unfair treatment. Also consistent with the expectations derived from Coleman's concept of functional community is the fact that students feel more connected to school when they are located in schools with more mainstream norm agreement, more sharing of the norm (i.e. less variation), and in private schools.

< Table 3 >

The racial dynamics of the school also affect the likelihood that students perceive unfair treatment or participate at a high level in school activities in schools. Students in schools with a higher proportion of African American students, with higher levels of perceived student prejudice, and in which the administrator reported racial problems, are more likely to report perceiving unfair treatment. Students in schools with a higher proportion of African American students or in which racial conflict is reported are also less likely to participate in a lot of school activities.

The majority of the findings regarding the school environments in which students are more or less likely to have each school experience are supportive of Coleman's conceptualization of the school as a functional community. This highlights how there may be other bases on which to draw authority and avenues through which to maintain order (shared norms and relations of trust), as opposed to disciplinary methods such as punitive sanctioning and surveillance and monitoring of students. However, there are no differences between private and public schools in the Add Health data in terms of students perceiving unfair treatment. This is not consistent with the idea of the functional community, nor with some of Coleman's own work on private, Catholic schools which found lower perceptions of fairness in public schools even though public schools are supposed to have the benefit of rules and procedures more so than private and Catholic schools (Coleman 1981).

The intraclass correlation for being punitively sanctioned is much higher than it is for fairness perceptions or feeling marginalized from the school community. The intraclass

correlation for being punitively sanctioned is 0.124 indicating that approximately 12% of the

variation in the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned is between schools. The intraclass

correlations for participation in school activities is slightly lower (ICC=0.092), and fairness

perceptions and feelings of belonging vary much more within schools than across them

(ICC=0.036 and 0.033 respectively). This relatively low amount of variation between schools is

typical of other key school outcomes; for example there is more variation in student achievement

within schools than between them (Sewell and Hauser 1980; Nye, Konstantopoulos, and Hedges

2004). This finding suggests that understanding how organizational and social factors affect

student experiences within schools are more potentially important for understanding the

generation of inequality than between school differences in these factors (Gamoran 1987).

While these descriptive differences are suggestive, it is possible that these differences are

driven by the fact that students found in one school differ from those in another. There remain a

great deal of segregation by race and socioeconomic status in schools in the US (Vigdor 2011;

Orfield and Lee 2006; Clotfelter et al. 2006). To examine whether a student is more likely to

have one of these experiences holding constant many of their own characteristics, I estimate

multivariate regression models.

As expected the majority of the factors that predict the three experiences of school are

individual characteristics. While in the previous chapter descriptive differences were shown for

students with different racial, gender, parent education, and achievement as well as for race *

gender, race * parent education, and race * achievement intersectional social locations, here the

focus is on the associations for school level factors. However, a couple of notable student

characteristics are worth mentioning: being punitively sanctioned is less likely for females,

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the school. Several other school characteristics are associated with a lower likelihood of being sanctioned: having better student-to-student relations, having a higher proportion of college-going, and being a large size.

In addition to a number of individual characteristics that are associated with perceiving unfair treatment in school [see Table 4 for full results], only two school features are directly associated with this experience of school: the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior and the fairness perceptions of the student body. Students are more likely to perceive unfair treatment in schools with more rule-based regulations, suggesting that this method of regulation of student behavior comes with the cost of having students perceive unfair treatment. Students in schools with higher levels of agreement about fairness of treatment are less likely to perceive unfair treatment. One interpretation of this association is that students are more likely to hold the same perception as their peers because they all similarly perceive the objective level of unfairness in the school. The fact that students are less likely to report perceiving unfair treatment in schools where more students perceive fair treatment provides evidence that fairness perceptions are not just driven by an underlying disposition but are either affected by the actual situation they observe at school or that their perceptions are affected by the beliefs of other students in the school.

There are two possibilities that could explain the association between individual and collective fairness perceptions. One possibility is that students are observing the same social reality and so there is a higher level of consensus regarding the fairness of treatment of teachers. The other possibility is that there is a strong social dynamic in which students receive social messages in schools about the dynamics of relations among teachers and students whereby their

perceptions come to match those of their peers. The social dynamic interpretation fits with the social psychological understanding of how endorsement of the legitimacy of authority operates. When one's peers feel that the authority (teachers) are more fair (legitimate), then one is more likely to feel that authority is more legitimate (Johnson, Dowd, and Ridgeway 2006). With either interpretation, the fact that there is contextual variation in the fairness perceptions bolsters the case that it is affected by what occurs in school and is not only reflective of an underlying disposition.

In terms of the positive school experience of feeling connected to school, there are two school features that are positively associated with a student feeling part of the school community: having better student-to-student relations (OR=1.47), and having a more participatory school climate (OR=1.27). These suggest that students are more likely to feel connected to school when they attend schools with more participation and better relations among fellow students.

To this point I have examined whether the school characteristics have diffuse effects on all students in the school. I now turn to examine whether these school characteristics have effects only on specific types of students. To assess whether the school features have more targeted effects on specific groups of students, I focus on whether the disciplinary features have stronger associations for students that differ by race, gender, parent education, or achievement. This examination sheds light on whether the disciplinary features make it more likely that some students will experience punitive sanctioning, perceive more unfair treatment, feel connected to or participate in the school community. I estimate the same model as above but restrict the sample to different types of students. Using fully interacted models allows for the estimation of interactions with the personal characteristics as well as with the other school features.

As noted above, the likelihood that students will experience punitive sanctioning is higher in schools that have more punitive sanctioning policies. The positive association is estimated to increase the odds of being punitively sanctioned by 78% (OR=1.78). However, there are a number of reasons why one might expect that this overall average association may differ depending on the students' characteristics. And in fact, I find that the effect of having more punitive sanctioning policies is strongest for African American students [see Table 5]. For African Americans being in a school with more punitive sanctioning policies is associated with a two-fold increase in the likelihood of being sanctioned (OR=2.33). While for whites being in a school with more punitive sanctioning policies is also associated with an in the odds of being punitively sanctioned, their odds increase less dramatically (OR=1.74). And Latino students fall in-between whites and African Americans with an increase in the likelihood of experiencing sanctioning of almost exactly two (OR=2.03).

< Table 5 >

Other groups of students are also more strongly affected by the relative punitiveness of the sanctioning policies in the school. Lower achieving students, students with more educated parents, and male students are more likely to be sanctioned in schools with more punitive policies: for low achieving students they have 81% higher odds of being sanctioned versus 64% higher odds for higher achieving students; for students with college educated parents they have 96% higher odds versus 69% higher odds for students without a college educated parent; and for male students they have an 88% higher odds versus only 57% higher odds for female students.

These patterns of association suggest that in some cases it is the higher status students that are most affected by the sanctioning policy in the school, whereas in others the lower status group is most affected by this policy. The stronger associations for African American and lower achieving students magnifies the already higher odds of being punitively sanctioned. In this way the more punitive the sanctioning policies of the school, the larger the disparity in who experiences this type of sanctioning. However the stronger effects of the punitive policy index on higher status students operates to decrease the disparity between lower and higher status students because overall higher status students are less likely to be punitively sanctioned, but that likelihood increases when they attend a school with more punitive sanctions.[44]

School characteristics may also affect the likelihood of having the four focal experiences of schools when they are found together in the same school environment.[45] Focusing on the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned, I examine this experience of school for each of the four configurations described above. There are two noticeable patterns observed in the associations between the indicators for the configurations of specific school features and the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned. First, the punitive policy index is a strong predictor of the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned regardless of the other dimension in each of the

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[44] In the next chapter I examine the likelihood that students with different characteristics are found in schools with different disciplinary policies, school as community features, and racial dynamics. The focus here is on how school environments affect student outcomes in schools as well as their later citizenship outcomes. However, the conclusions drawn here regarding the processes increasing and decreasing disparities across groups are reinforced by what is found in the next chapter.

[45] Each of the configurations is defined by cutting schools into high and low values based on the 125 school mean value for each dimension of the configuration. The two exceptions to this is the measure of racial problems perceived by the school administrator which is categorized as no problem (absence) versus a small or large problem (presence); and the proportion of African Americans in the school is categorized into three groups where low presence is 5% or less, moderate presence is more than 5% but less or equal to 25%, and high presence is above 25%. There is a relatively even distribution of schools across each of the configurations except for the presence of African Americans and racial conflict. There are very few schools that have moderate or high presence of African Americans and do not have racial conflict as reported by the school administrator.

configurations. In the first configuration that captures the implementation of discipline and treatment of students at the school (punitive sanctioning policy * fairness perceptions), both the school types that have highly punitive sanctioning policies are associated with an increased likelihood of being punitively sanctioned (OR=1.15 and OR=1.39). The fact that these associations are similar suggests that fairness perceptions of students in the school do not moderate the impact of punitive sanctioning policies. These results are not expected from a procedural fairness perspective which posits a positive moderating role for fairness perceptions. For schools categorized by the repressive school configuration (punitive sanctioning policy * surveillance practices), I find strong associations with being punitively sanctioned for the two school types that have highly punitive sanctioning policies (OR=1.60 and OR=1.56). This pattern of associations suggests that higher levels of surveillance in the school do not magnify the effect of punitive policies which one could expect if more repressive school environments were worse than school environments with only punitive sanctioning policies.

< Table 6 >

The third configuration, supportive authority (punitive sanctioning policy * sense of community), displays the same pattern of results. In both types of schools with highly punitive policies, there is a significant increase in the likelihood of being punitively sanctioned (OR=1.82 and OR=1.50). This runs counter to what one could expect from previous work on school communities and parenting that predicts positive student outcomes in supportive environments with high authoritativeness. Instead what is observed here is that the level of community does not condition the effect of punitive sanctioning policies.

The findings thus far provide some evidence that schools do play an indirect role in fostering citizenship by affecting the likelihood that students have experiences in school that are associated with later political outcomes. In the previous chapter, I found that being punitively sanctioned is negatively associated with civic and political participation and trust in government. In this chapter, I have found that punitive sanctioning policies affect the likelihood that all students experience punitive sanctioning. However, some groups of students are more strongly affected by these policies, specifically, male, African American, low-achieving, and students with high levels of parental education. I also found that the punitiveness of sanctioning policies is a strong predictor of a student being sanctioned in schools almost regardless of a number of other school features, suggesting that there are limited compounding effects of the school features examined.

Possibility #2: Are School Environment Features Associated with Citizenship Outcomes?

The second way that schools could affect citizenship is by affecting citizenship outcomes directly. In addition to school context being associated with having particular experiences within schools, certain features of the school context or configuration of features may also affect a student's overall experience of school in a way that impacts later citizenship. Schools on average have 30% of their former students reporting that they participate in civic activities, 45% report voting, and 52% report trusting government [see Table1]. The interclass correlation of the citizenship outcomes indicate that only 3% to 7% of the variation in these outcomes is between schools.[46] However, as noted above, this does not mean that schools do not matter. Looking at

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[46] The interclass correlation for civic participation is 0.041, for voting it is 0.072, and for trust in government it is 0.031.

the mean differences in these outcomes across schools shows that there are meaningful
differences across schools.

In Table 7, I display the mean differences across schools for each of the citizenship
outcomes. In this descriptive look I highlight the mean differences between schools that are high
or low on each of the disciplinary features, school community features, racial dynamics, as well
as the other school characteristics used in the multivariate analyses. After discussing some of key
findings that highlight the level of variation across schools, I will turn to examining these
descriptive findings in a multivariate context.

In terms of the disciplinary environment of schools, students who attended schools in
which a higher proportion of students were punitively sanctioned or in which there was a higher
level of surveillance, report lower levels of civic participation and lower levels of trust in
government. These mean differences are consistent with expectations derived from the school
discipline literature that posit negative effects of more punitive and harsh disciplinary
environments. These descriptive findings are also in line with expectations from the policy
feedback effects and social institutions work that finds more positive citizenship outcomes for
people experiencing less punitive environments. Also as expected from procedural fairness
theory, young adults who attended schools in which there was a higher proportion of students
perceiving fair treatment report higher levels of civic participation and trust in government.

< Table 7 >

Consistent with the expectations derived from Coleman's idea of a functional
community, there are differences in the levels of participation and trust in government in schools

with the positive features of community. Students who attended schools where more students felt a sense of belonging or in which there are higher levels of students participation in school activities are more likely to participate civically and trust government. All three citizenship outcomes are better for students who attended a school with more positive student-to-student relations and in which there are more students with high educational aspirations (e.g. agreement with a mainstream norm). Also consistent with Coleman but derived primarily from Harding's work on heterogeneity, in schools where there is more variation in educational aspirations, there are lower levels of civic and political participation and trust in government.

There are relatively few differences in the citizenship outcomes across the school racial dynamics measures. In particular, somewhat surprisingly, there are no mean differences for any of the racial dynamics measures for voting. There are opposite mean differences for the presence of whites and African Americans in the school: there is higher rates of civic participation and trust in schools with more whites, and lower rates of both of these in schools with more African Americans. Several other features of schools such as the average level of parental education, later student attainment, and school type are also associated with mean differences in citizenship outcomes. In fact, some of the largest mean differences observed across school are between schools with lower and higher than average parent education and between public and private schools.

While these descriptive school mean differences are suggestive, it is possible that they are driven by the differences in the types of students located in different schools. To examine whether the disciplinary features, school community features, and racial dynamics are associated with the citizenship outcomes holding constant student characteristics, I estimate a series of

multivariate logistic regression models. These models mirror those from the previous chapter but add the school context measures.[47]

Importantly, the key findings from the previous chapter remain with the inclusion of the school factors – being punitively sanctioned is negatively associated with all three citizenship outcomes, perceiving unfair treatment is negatively associated with voting and trust in government, and feeling connected to or participating in the school community are positively associated with all three citizenship outcomes.

< Table 8 >

Very few of the descriptive school mean differences in citizenship outcomes remain in the multivariate models that include both student and school characteristics. While this might be expected given the low intraclass correlations, it is surprising that so many of the school factors that had noticeable differences in citizenship outcomes are not significant predictors of these outcomes. Most obviously is the lack of predictive power of the disciplinary features of schools. The only exception is that the extent of surveillance and monitoring is negatively associated with civic participation such that being in a school with more extensive surveillance is associated with an 11% lower odds of civic participation.

In terms of the school community features, there are only a handful of significant associations with the citizenship outcomes. Being in a school with more positive student-to-student relations is positively associated with later civic participation (OR=1.43). The level of educational aspirations is positively associated with voting (OR=3.25). Because I consider this a

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[47] As noted above, the models in this chapter exclude students who switched schools since the focus is on the associations between school features and the outcomes.

measure of holding mainstream norms, the interpretation of this association is that in schools where mainstream norms are more supported, students are more likely to vote. This interpretation is also supported by the fact that the association between educational aspirations and voting holds constant the school's average level of parent education and also the actual educational attainment of students. Somewhat surprisingly, the measure of participatory climate of the school is negatively associated with both participation outcomes. One important thing to note is that these associations are controlling for the students' own level of participation which is a positive factor predicting later citizenship participation. However, more exploration is needed to further understand the negative associations estimated for the school average level of participation.

In terms of the racial dynamics measures, looking first at the presence of different racial groups in a school, I find that the proportion of African American in the school is positively associated with voting (OR=2.24). The positive association between the proportion African American and voting appears to be driven by a handful of schools that have a high proportion of African Americans and a very high reported voting rate rather than a systematic pattern throughout the distribution of the proportion African American. Three schools in particular seem influential with voting rates over 70% and the proportion of African Americans over 75%. If the proportion of white students is used as the measure of racial dynamics in the school, it is negatively associated with voting (OR=0.57). The lack of associations between the proportion of various racial groups in the school and citizenship outcomes is not unexpected. There are not strong expectations for why simply the *presence* of particular groups in schools could affect the political learning processes present in schools. The inclusion of more proximate measures related

to the political learning processes hypothesized to be occurring in schools accounts for the elimination of the school-level correlations between the presence of racial groups and citizenship outcomes.

I turn next to examine the presence of groups, not as a proportion of a specific group, but instead in terms of diversity/heterogeneity. Unlike the proportion of specific groups, diversity has a much more nuanced set of expectations. Theories of intergroup contact and perpetuation theory predict that attending a school with more diversity is likely to lead to a number of positive social outcomes. I use this expectation to assess whether it can be applied to political outcomes. On the other hand, an expectation of potential negative effects of diversity may be obtained by drawing on the work in political science that examines the effects of racial diversity and heterogeneity on political outcomes and community social capital (Hero 1998; Putnam 2007). While both contact and perpetuation theory would lead to expecting positive associations with later citizenship outcomes, there is limited evidence that supports this idea. In fact, racial diversity is not significantly associated with any of the citizenship outcomes.

I turn next to examine whether the racial dynamics measures that capture the degree of racial inequality or salience of race are associated with citizenship outcomes. One association reaches conventional levels of statistical significance: the proportion of students who report that other students in the school are prejudiced is negatively associated with voting. This suggests that in schools where there is a more widespread belief that peers are prejudiced, students are less likely to vote (OR=0.63). The fact that most of the racial dynamics measures are not associated citizenship outcomes as independent factors is not all that surprising. Three additional possibilities are that these measures only affect particular students as opposed to having more

diffuse effects on all students, that the effects of these measures are more appropriately identified by creating configurations of schools that examine the intersection of racial presence and racial conflict, or that these contextual measures are more likely to be modifiers of individual characteristic effects. I examine the first two of these possibilities next and the last in section three.

While overall there are limited associations between school characteristics and citizenship outcomes, I now turn to examine specific hypotheses suggesting that school features may affect particular groups of students differently. So instead of examining whether school features have similarly diffuse effects that affect all students in the school in terms of their citizenship outcomes, I examine whether certain school features impart lessons with civic consequences only to certain types of students. To explore this possibility, I use the same model specifications but restrict the sample to students defined by race, parent education, gender, achievement, and punitive sanctioning status. For now, I focus on one of these – punitive sanctioning status. I compare whether there are differential effects of the school disciplinary environment, school community, or racial dynamics measures for students who have and have not been punitively sanctioned.

There are a couple of notable differences in the associations between the school disciplinary features and citizenship outcomes for students who have or have not been punitively sanctioned. First, for students who have been punitively sanctioned, their civic participation is dampened by the punitiveness of the sanctioning policies of the school (OR=0.64). Whereas this disciplinary feature is not associated with a dampening effect for non-punitively sanctioned students and is in fact in the opposite direction (OR=1.06). So while there is no overall

association between the punitiveness of a school's sanctioning policies and civic participation, there is for students who have been punitively sanctioned. The implication of this finding is that in addition to the dampening effect associated with being punitively sanctioned (which translates to a 32% reduction in the odds of participating), experiencing this in schools with more punitive policies further reduces the odds of participating.

< Table 9 >

A second notable difference in the associations for disciplinary features of schools on students who have or have not been punitively sanctioned is the effect of being in a school with more extensive surveillance and monitoring. For students who have not been sanctioned, this disciplinary feature is negatively associated with their later civic participation, decreasing their likelihood of participating by 13%. Similarly, the likelihood of voting is lower for non-sanctioned students in schools with more extensive rule-based regulation of student behavior. These findings are supportive of the expectation that when students are exposed to more regulation and supervision, they become more passive, in this case more passive in terms of participation in civic and political life.

The final piece of possibility number two, that particular school characteristics affect the likelihood participating civically or politically and trusting government, is an examination of a select number of configurations of school characteristics. Unlike in the examination of the associations between these school configurations and experiences of school, there are no strong patterns of association between these configuration indicators and later citizenship outcomes for students.

Overall there is limited evidence that schools affect citizenship by affecting citizenship outcomes directly: whether linear associations with each school feature or configurations of school types, and whether all students in the school or more targeted effects on specific types of students. However, there are several important associations that suggest specific ways in which school features affect citizenship. First, the civic consequence of being punitively sanctioned is magnified in schools with more punitive sanctioning policies. Second, having more extensive rule-based regulation or surveillance and monitoring of students negatively affects the later participation of non-sanctioned students – the vast majority of the student population of schools. Finally, there is some support for the potential positive role of schools having features of a functional community: having better relations among students is beneficial for civic participation, and sharing of mainstream norms is beneficial for later voting. I now turn to examine the third possible way that schools could affect the citizenship outcomes.

Possibility #3: Do School Environments Condition the Association Between Politically Relevant Experiences of School and Citizenship Outcomes?

The third way that schools could affect citizenship is by conditioning or moderating the associations between particular experiences and citizenship. To explore this possibility, I examined two types of cross-level interaction hypotheses: (1) do the effects of the experiences of schools differ across schools with more restrictive authority relations?; and (2) are there greater racial disparities in the citizenship outcomes across school environments characterized by racial inequality?

Although the first cross-level interaction hypothesis could be used to investigate whether there are differences in the associations for all three of the focal experiences of school across all of the disciplinary features, I have chosen to investigate one particular type of cross-level interaction – the experience of being punitively sanctioned by sanctioning policies in the school. In other words, I examine whether being punitively sanctioned has a consistent dampening effect on citizenship outcomes or whether the consequences associated with this experience are greater when experienced in schools with more punitive sanctioning policies or higher rates of punitive sanctioning. Two different stories motivate an expectation of different effects. On the one hand, if the effect of being punitively sanctioned is due to a stigma-related process, then being sanctioned in a context where few people are sanctioned may be expected to be a more significant and meaningful experience (i.e. more stigma when less common), and hence have a larger dampening effect on civic outcomes. However, it is also possible that the stigma associated with being punitively sanctioned and the more formal exclusion that occurs with being disciplined in this way are stigmatizing markers that do not vary across context. Work on the stigma of discipline and criminal justice suggests the latter (see for example, Pager's (2007) work on the "mark of a criminal record").

A similar expectation of differences across punitive sanctioning context is motivated by my previous work on the differential dampening effect of experiencing cash assistance in states that differed in the punitiveness of their welfare policies in which I found that receipt of cash assistance in states with harsher policies had a larger dampening effect (Bruch et al. 2010). The expectation here is not about the extensiveness with which a school uses punitive sanctioning

and the relative rarity of this experience for students, but instead is about the policy on the books – the punitiveness of the sanctioning policies for various offenses.

To explore these hypotheses, I estimate models predicting the citizenship outcomes with cross-level interactions between the experience of being punitively sanctioned (student level) and the punitive sanctioning policy index or the proportion of the students being punitively sanctioned in the school (school level). Other than the introduction of these cross-level interactions, the models remain the same as the previously estimated models with all the student and school level predictors. The results of interest are for two dummy variables indicating being punitively sanctioned in schools with less or more punitive sanctioning policies or low or high rates of punitive sanctioning. Students who have not been punitively sanctioned serve as the reference category.[48]

Overall being punitively sanctioned is associated with a 28% lower odds of civic participation and a 16% lower odds of voting (see Table 8). However, these average associations mask two important differences in the effect of being punitively sanctioned across schools that vary in terms of the implementation or punitiveness of their disciplinary sanctioning practices. First, being punitively sanctioned in schools with more punitive sanctioning policies is associated with a 30% reduction in the odds of participating civically and a 19% reduction in the

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[48] Setting the model up in this way provides a direct estimation of the different effects of being punitively sanctioned associated with different school environments. This method is also an intuitive way to understand the differences found. I used this method for obtaining interaction estimates to compare the effects of receiving TANF in states with low and high punitive policy indexes (Bruch et al. 2010). Alternative methods would be to include the main effects of being sanctioned and of the punitive policy index or punitive sanctioning rate, then add a linear interaction term between them, or to run separate models. The first is not my preferred method because in order to obtain actual predicted effects at specific levels of the punitive policy index or sanctioning rate you have to do additional calculations. The second is not my preferred method because of the loss in power when splitting the sample and for my purposes it is unnecessary for the models to be fully interacted because of my interest in one interaction, although the benefit is that the reference category is people in that same type of environment who did not experience being punitively sanctioned as opposed to everyone who did not experience punitive sanctioning.

odds of voting, whereas for students who are punitively sanctioned in schools with less punitive policies, these associations are of a smaller magnitude and are not significant. These findings provide evidence supportive of the hypothesis that there is a stronger dampening effect on participation when policies are more punitive in nature.

< Table 10 >

The second important difference in the effect of being punitively sanctioned is that the dampening effect of this experience is stronger in schools where this is more of a rare occurrence. For civic participation, the odds of participating are reduced by 33%, and the odds of voting are reduced by 23% when sanctioned in these schools. This suggests that being sanctioned is more consequential when fewer students in your school share this exclusionary punishment.

The second cross-level interaction hypothesis that I explore is whether there are greater racial disparities in the citizenship outcomes across schools characterized by different racial dynamics (racial disparities in sanctioning rates, perceptions of student prejudice, and the administrator report of racial conflict being a problem in the school). I focus my attention on two of the most robust racial differences in citizenship outcomes – African Americans higher likelihood of voting and African Americans lower odds of reporting trust in government. My expectation is that in schools characterized by racial inequality and racial conflict there will be a dampening effect on the positive association between being African American and voting, and a magnifying effect on the negative association with trust in government.

To examine this hypothesis, I estimate models predicting the citizenship outcomes with cross-level interactions between the racial identity indicators (student level) and the racial

dynamics context measures (school level). I interact each racial identity indicator with indicators

for low and high values of each of the racial dynamics measures. This allows for directly

comparing the effect of identifying with a particular racial category in schools that are

characterized by more or less of a particular racial dynamic. The models are the same as the

previously estimated models with all the student and school level predictors with the exception

of no longer having the proportion of African Americans in the school.[49]

African American young people in the Add Health sample are substantially more likely

to report voting than whites (see Table 8). However this higher likelihood of voting varies

across schools with different racial contexts. As expected, when African American students

attend a school in which the administrator reports no racial problems or in which there is a low

amount of student prejudice perceived by other students, African Americans are much more

likely to vote (OR=3.09 and 2.68 respectively). However, when they attend schools where racial

conflict is reported or where there is a high level of student prejudice perceived, the voting

advantage is much smaller (OR=1.86 and 1.31 respectively). This pattern is not found in the third

measure of racial inequality – over-representation in African Americans being sanctioned. In this

case, African Americans are more likely to vote when they attend schools with a higher level of

inequality in sanctioning (OR=2.16 versus 1.88 in schools with lower levels of inequality). This

difference in the odds of voting is much more similar than the differences in the odds of voting

for the other racial dynamics measures, therefore it is likely that this difference is not significant.

< Table 11 >

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[49] The decision to take out this measure of racial dynamics is motivated by wanting to examine the main associations of each of the racial dynamics interacting with racial identity without the additional control for the racial composition of the school.

Turning to the second consistent finding of racial differences in citizenship outcomes, overall African American young people in the Add Health sample are less likely to report trusting government (OR=0.56). However, there is no evidence to suggest that this belief is affected by the racial dynamics in school they attend at least as measured by the current models. The estimated odds of African Americans trusting government are of similar magnitude across schools with varying levels of each of the racial dynamics. In all school contexts measured here African American young people are less likely to report trusting government.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the role of school context for citizenship outcomes. While in the first analysis chapter I focused on how individual experiences and characteristics affected these outcomes, in this chapter I built on those analyses and focused on particular features of the school context.

Schools have been seen as sites of citizenship production for quite some time, but there is surprisingly little work that explores the potential impact of school contextual features such as the disciplinary environment, school community features, or racial dynamics. The analyses in this chapter inform this scholarship by providing unique and new information on the various ways that these school features could be associated with citizenship outcomes.

I explored three ways that schools could affect citizenship: (1) by affecting the likelihood of having particular experiences of school that are associated with citizenship outcomes; (2) by affecting citizenship outcomes directly; and (3) by conditioning the associations between particular experiences and citizenship. I explored these possibilities by examining configurations

of school features as well as independent effects of these features, looking at targeted versus diffuse effects for different types of students, and the potential moderating role of school features. I focused in particular on school authority relations, community features, and racial dynamics.

While these three general expectations for how schools could be implicated in the production of citizenship motivated the analyses of this chapter, there are varying levels of support for each of these possibilities. I found that there is some evidence that schools play an indirect role in fostering citizenship by affecting the likelihood that students have experiences in school that are associated with later political outcomes. I found that punitive sanctioning policies affect the likelihood of experiencing sanctioning for all students. However, these policies more strongly affect the likelihood of sanctioning for African American, male, and low-achieving students as well as for students with more highly educated parents.

In terms of whether school disciplinary features directly affect citizenship outcomes, I found that the punitiveness and extensiveness of use of sanctioning affect the strength of the dampening effect of being sanctioned. Being sanctioned in schools with more punitive policies or in schools where fewer students are sanctioned strengthens the negative association between being sanctioned and civic and political participation.

There is also some support for schools acting as a moderating force for individual student characteristics. I found that African Americans odds of voting is depressed in schools with more racial conflict and inequality, whereas their likelihood of reporting trust in government is less influenced by the racial dynamics of the school.

Finding this contextual variation in the effects of racial identification as well as for experiencing punitive sanctioning highlight the fact that observed differences in citizenship outcomes across individuals are malleable and constructed. Although I cannot claim that these school features can be considered exogenous or that their effects are causal because of the fact that student (or their parents) select or are sorted into specific schools, I have demonstrated how many individual differences are not due to individual factors alone but instead are due to external factors or the interaction between individual and external factors (Soss and Jacobs 2009). In fact, in the next chapter I examine the extent to which student characteristics are associated with these school features.

In addition to the findings regarding the role of school context, the analyses in this chapter strengthen the findings from the previous chapter. In the first chapter I found strong and robust associations between individual characteristics and the citizenship outcomes. In this chapter, I added measures for a wide range of school contextual features to the same individual baseline model as was estimated in the previous chapter. The vast majority of the individual level findings discussed in the previous chapter remained robust to the inclusion of these school factors. This speaks to the strength of these individual characteristics and experiences of school as predictors of later citizenship.

There are a number of potential reasons why there are rather limited associations between the authority relations, school community, and racial dynamics school features and citizenship outcomes. It could be due to the limited variation in a number of the measures. This is particularly the case with the authority relations measures for the punitive sanctioning policy index, the rule-based regulation of student behavior, and the extent of surveillance and

monitoring security procedures. It could be that the effects are not linear or that there are threshold effects. While I examined a number of configurations of school features, it could be that other combinations of features or different cutpoints of the measures such as extremely high values of particular features is strong enough as an "exposure" dose to affect the citizenship outcomes. Also the co-construction of citizenship and participation between the individual and contexts may not be well captured by the conventional interactions used in the statistical models.

The empirical analyses of this chapter show that the main ways that school context operates is by affecting the likelihood that a student will have a particular experience or by moderating the effects of their individual characteristics and experiences. This conclusion helps to motivate the next chapter which examines whether students of different social positions (race and class) more likely to be found in schools that have these features. The examination of this will provide the last piece of the puzzle that explores how the organization of schools affects citizenship.

Figure 1. Average Racial Composition for Students Identifying with Different Racial Groups
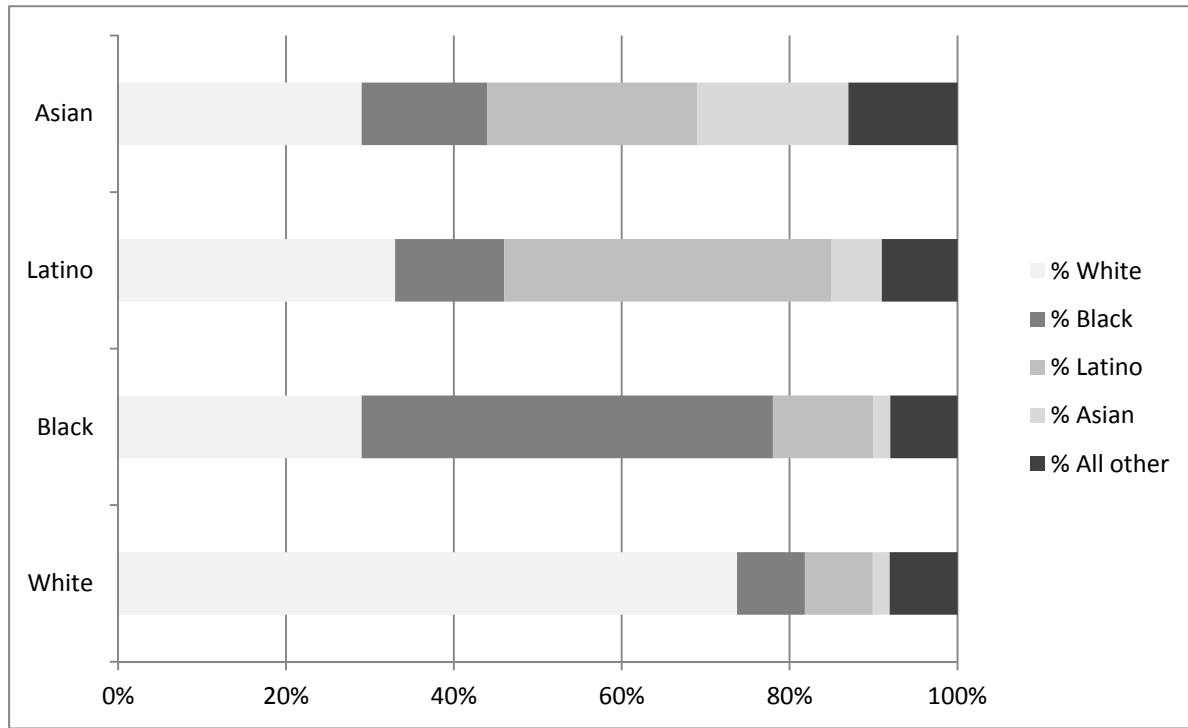
Table 1. Description of Add Health Schools

	Mean	Standard Deviation	Minimum Value	Maximum Value
Outcomes (School level)				
Civic Participation	0.30	0.10	0.09	0.67
Voting	0.45	0.15	0	1.00
Trust Government	0.52	0.11	0.26	1.00
Personal Experience at School (School level)				
Punitively Sanctioned	0.25	0.14	0	0.67
Perceive Unfair Treatment	0.19	0.08	0	0.41
Feel Connected to School Community	0.75	0.09	0.33	1.00
Extracurricular Participation	2.17	0.57	0.67	3.65
Disciplinary Environment				
Punitive Discipline Index	5.77	0.38	4.44	6.5
Proportion Students Sanctioned	0.12	0.13	0	0.60
Extent of Surveillance/Monitoring	0.76	0.78	0	2
Rule-Based Regulation	3.66	0.65	0	4
Fairness Perceptions	2.45	0.26	1.68	3.42
School Community Features				
Sense of Community	2.59	0.22	2.08	3.42
Student-Student Relations	2.36	0.32	1.59	3.38
Mainstream Norm Agreement	4.43	0.31	2.50	4.92
Extent of Shared Norm	1.01	0.46	0.08	3.61
Participatory Climate	2.31	0.63	1.15	4.51
School Racial Dynamics				
Proportion White [a]	0.56	0.30	0	0.96
Proportion Latino [a]	0.15	0.18	0	0.93
Proportion African American [a]	0.16	0.23	0	0.89
Proportion Asian [a]	0.03	0.07	0	0.40
Racial Diversity (Simpson Index)	0.37	0.17	0.08	0.66
Administrator Report Racial Problems	0.73	0.53	0	2.00
Racial Disproportionality in Sanctioning	0.03	0.09	-0.39	0.30
Perception of Student Prejudice	3.13	0.34	2.10	3.84
Racial Difference in Fairness Perceptions	0.18	0.60	-1.79	2.43
Other School Environment				
Average Student Achievement	21.46	15.51	0	90
Proportion of Students College-Going	0.67	0.22	0.05	1.00
Proportion Parents with College Degree	0.39	0.16	0.10	0.91

South	0.42	0.50	0	1
Urban	0.30	0.46	0	1
Private	0.09	0.28	0	1
Large	0.30	0.46	0	1

N=125 schools. School level measures derived from student level data are aggregated taking into account the sampling design of Add Health. Missing data were imputed using a chained equations approach [mi impute chained in Stata]. Descriptive statistics are reported for imputed data set 1.

[a] The racial composition of the school are reported only for the four largest racial groups in the sample - white, Latino, African American, and Asian. The other racial categories that are not reported (American Indian, "other" race, and multiracial) make up the remaining proportion of the student body.

Table 2. Potentially Marginalizing Experiences of School by School Characteristics

	Punitively Sanctioned		Perceive Unfair Treatment	
	Low	High	Low	High
Disciplinary Environment				
Punitive Policy Index	0.23[t]	0.27[t]	0.18[t]	0.20[t]
Proportion Punitively Sanctioned	0.22*	0.30*	0.16*	0.22*
Rule-Based Regulation	0.22	0.26	0.17	0.20
Surveillance/Monitoring	0.21*	0.29*	0.18	0.20
Fairness Perceptions	0.29*	0.20*	0.22*	0.15*
School Community Features				
Sense of Community	0.29*	0.19*	0.22*	0.15*
Student-Student Relations	0.29*	0.21*	0.19	0.19
Mainstream Norm Agreement	0.30*	0.21*	0.21*	0.17*
Extent of Shared Norm	0.21*	0.29*	0.18[t]	0.20[t]
Participatory Climate	0.30*	0.20*	0.20	0.18
School Racial Dynamics				
Proportion African American	0.20*	0.35*	0.17*	0.23*
Proportion White	0.34*	0.19*	0.21[t]	0.18[t]
Simpson Diversity Index	0.21*	0.30*	0.18	0.20
Aggregate Student Prejudice	0.26	0.24	0.18[t]	0.20[t]
Disproportionality in Sanctioning	0.24	0.28	0.19	0.19
Bl-Wh Racial Diff in Fairness Percep	0.25	0.26	0.19	0.19
Admin Report Racial Problems	0.20*	0.27*	0.17[t]	0.20[t]
Other School Characteristics				
Proportion Parent College Educated	0.30*	0.19*	0.19	0.18
Average Achievement	0.27	0.22	0.19	0.19
Proportion of Students College-Going	0.30*	0.20*	0.20	0.18
Aggregate Student Delinquency	0.25	0.25	0.17*	0.20*
Urban	0.25	0.26	0.19	0.18
Large	0.26	0.23	0.19	0.19
South	0.24	0.27	0.19	0.19
Private	0.26*	0.16*	0.19	0.16

Note: N=125. The mean differences are school-level means. The table shows the difference in means between low and high values of the school characteristic listed on the left. For example, 24% of students in schools with less punitive sanctioning policies are punitively sanctioned versus 29% of students in school with more punitive policies. Low and high values are determined by splitting the sample of schools at the school-level mean. Non-continuous school features are low if the school does not have that value and high if the school does have that feature.

* Indicates a statistically significant mean difference at p < 0.05

[t] Indicates a statistically significant mean difference at p < 0.10

Table 3. Socially Integrating Experiences of School by School Characteristics

	Feel Connected to School Community		Highly Participatory in School Community	
	Low	High	Low	High
Disciplinary Environment				
Punitive Policy Index	0.74	0.77	0.40	0.38
Proportion Punitively Sanctioned	0.79*	0.71*	0.43*	0.34*
Rule-Based Regulation	0.74	0.76	0.39	0.39
Surveillance/Monitoring	0.79*	0.72*	0.46*	0.33*
Fairness Perceptions	0.71*	0.81*	0.35*	0.45*
School Community Features				
Sense of Community	0.71*	0.82*	0.35*	0.44*
Student-Student Relations	0.77	0.74	0.37	0.41
Mainstream Norm Agreement	0.73*	0.77*	0.34*	0.44*
Extent of Shared Norm	0.77*	0.73*	0.45*	0.34*
Participatory Climate	0.71*	0.80*	0.30*	0.50*
School Racial Dynamics				
Proportion African American	0.75	0.75	0.42*	0.34*
Proportion White	0.74 [t]	0.77 [t]	0.34*	0.43*
Simpson Diversity Index	0.77*	0.73*	0.42 [t]	0.37 [t]
Aggregate Student Prejudice	0.78*	0.72*	0.40	0.39
Disproportionality in Sanctioning	0.75	0.76	0.40	0.38
Bl-Wh Racial Diff in Fairness Percep	0.74	0.77	0.36*	0.39*
Admin Report Racial Problems	0.79*	0.74*	0.44*	0.37*
Other School Characteristics				
Proportion Parent College Educated	0.75	0.75	0.36*	0.43*
Average Achievement	0.74 [t]	0.77 [t]	0.37	0.43
Proportion of Students College-Going	0.74 [t]	0.77 [t]	0.34*	0.45*
Aggregate Student Delinquency	0.79*	0.72*	0.39	0.40
Urban	0.76	0.74	0.40	0.39
Large	0.78*	0.69*	0.42*	0.32*
South	0.74	0.77	0.42*	0.36*
Private	0.75 [t]	0.80 [t]	0.38*	0.55*

Note: N=125. The mean differences are school-level means. The table shows the difference in means between low and high values of the school characteristic listed on the left. For example, 24% of students in schools with less punitive sanctioning policies are punitively sanctioned versus 29% of students in school with more punitive policies. Low and high values are determined by splitting the sample of schools at the school-level mean. Non-continuous school features are low if the school does not have that value and high if the school does have that feature.

* Indicates a statistically significant mean difference at $p < 0.05$

[t] Indicates a statistically significant mean difference at $p < 0.10$

Table 4. Student Experiences of School Predicted by School and Student Characteristics

	Punitively Sanctioned	Perceive Unfair Treatment	Feel Connected to School Community	Participation in School Activities
Student Level Predictors				
Female	0.40**	1.41**	0.83*	1.36**
	(0.03)	(0.11)	(0.06)	(0.09)
Latino	0.92	1.13	0.85	0.97
	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.09)	(0.11)
Black	1.73**	1.39**	0.81	1.18
	(0.22)	(0.17)	(0.09)	(0.14)
Asian	0.63	1.13	0.70*	1.01
	(0.13)	(0.23)	(0.12)	(0.16)
Parent education	0.48**	0.76**	1.11	1.53**
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.11)
Age	1.13**	1.05	0.90**	0.98
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Delinquent behavior	1.71**	1.32**	0.83**	1.05
	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.05)
Average grades	0.60**	0.85**	1.22**	1.81**
	(0.03)	(0.05)	(0.06)	(0.10)
Vocabulary test score	0.98**	1.00	1.00	1.01**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Engagement in school	0.97	1.03	0.91	0.96
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Try hard in school	0.90	0.88*	1.24**	1.13*
	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Believe hard work is rewarded	0.94	0.87**	1.27**	1.11**
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.04)
Perceive student prejudice	1.03	1.18**	0.85**	1.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)

School Level Predictors

Punitive Policy Index	1.78**	1.02	1.05	1.10
	(0.28)	(0.13)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Rule-Based Regulation	1.07	1.20*	1.03	1.06
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Surveillance/Monitoring	1.14	1.02	0.93	0.94
	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Fairness Perceptions	1.04	0.33**	0.78	0.58*
	(0.37)	(0.10)	(0.16)	(0.13)
Sense of Belonging	0.74	0.89	2.92**	1.33
	(0.33)	(0.35)	(0.89)	(0.41)
Student Relations	0.57*	0.99	1.47*	1.25
	(0.14)	(0.18)	(0.27)	(0.23)
Mainstream Norm Agree	1.77	0.57	0.52	0.41**
	(1.21)	(0.29)	(0.20)	(0.13)
Extent of Shared Norm	1.26	0.85	0.80	0.59**
	(0.48)	(0.28)	(0.19)	(0.12)
Participatory Climate	0.92	1.17	1.27*	2.53**
	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.19)
Proportion African American	1.37	0.79	2.27**	0.97
	(0.42)	(0.20)	(0.49)	(0.24)
Prop Parent College Education	1.07	1.13	0.94	0.91
	(0.14)	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.07)
Average Achievement	1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Prop Students College-Going	0.99*	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Student Delinquency	1.07	0.65	0.93	0.95
	(0.47)	(0.22)	(0.24)	(0.26)
Urban	1.23	0.82	0.96	0.89
	(0.18)	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.08)

Large	0.72*	0.85	1.11	0.96
	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.11)
South	0.81	1.02	1.00	0.88
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.07)	(0.08)
Private	1.15	0.89	1.05	0.79
	(0.26)	(0.18)	(0.14)	(0.12)
Constant	0.02	13.60	6.95	0.23
	(0.09)	(41.77)	(15.93)	(0.48)
Adjusted R^2	0.20	0.05	0.06	0.15

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,146 students. The sample is restricted to non-school switchers. Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate). The R^2 is estimated from averaging across the 5 imputed datasets (mibeta).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 5. Odds of Being Sanctioned by Student and School Characteristics Separately by Race, Gender, Parent Education, and Achievement

	Race			Gender		Parent Education		Grades	
	White	Latino	Black	Male	Female	Low	High	Low	High
Punitive Policy Index	1.74**	2.03**	2.33**	1.88**	1.57*	1.69**	1.96**	1.81**	1.64**
	(0.34)	(0.52)	(0.65)	(0.34)	(0.35)	(0.31)	(0.48)	(0.33)	(0.37)
Rule-Based Regulation	1.00	0.89	1.12	1.17	0.94	1.00	1.20	1.22	0.81
	(0.10)	(0.17)	(0.22)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.15)	(0.14)	(0.10)
Surveillance/Monitoring	1.12	1.00	1.23	1.19	1.05	1.13	1.12	1.11	1.26
	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.16)	(0.13)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.17)
Fairness Perceptions	1.30	0.28	2.63	1.43	0.63	1.15	0.95	1.40	0.68
	(0.55)	(0.40)	(1.56)	(0.74)	(0.33)	(0.51)	(0.52)	(0.59)	(0.29)
Sense of Community	0.48	9.26	0.86	0.46	1.45	0.65	1.06	0.91	0.54
	(0.29)	(13.17)	(0.60)	(0.26)	(0.88)	(0.37)	(0.72)	(0.49)	(0.35)
Student Relations	0.60	1.67	0.33**	0.68	0.45*	0.46**	0.86	0.58	0.60
	(0.19)	(0.83)	(0.10)	(0.19)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.31)	(0.20)	(0.18)
Mainstream Norm Agree	3.55	0.21	2.70	1.97	1.46	2.85	0.35	3.19	0.39
	(2.81)	(0.41)	(2.08)	(1.58)	(1.08)	(2.03)	(0.41)	(2.25)	(0.38)
Extent of Shared Norm	1.85	0.47	0.95	1.19	1.41	1.94	0.42	1.60	0.75
	(0.84)	(0.58)	(0.38)	(0.54)	(0.68)	(0.80)	(0.31)	(0.67)	(0.41)
Participatory Climate	0.92	1.00	0.60*	0.94	0.88	0.86	0.98	0.84	1.02
	(0.16)	(0.34)	(0.12)	(0.14)	(0.15)	(0.13)	(0.20)	(0.11)	(0.23)
N	5526	1653	2193	4713	5433	6359	3787	5065	5081

N=125 schools, see table row for student sample size. The sample is restricted to non-school switchers. Results shown are from separately estimated models for each group of students. Selected results are shown in the table. The models also include all of the individual-level student characteristics from the previous model specifications (Table 4). Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate).

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Table 6. Odds of Being Sanctioned by School Configurations

	Punitively Sanctioned
*Implementation of Sanctioning (Punitive Policy Index * Fairness Perceptions)*	
Less Punitive Policies AND Low Levels of Fairness Perceived	0.89
	(0.15)
More Punitive Policies AND Low Levels of Fairness Perceived	1.15
	(0.18)
More Punitive Policies AND High Levels of Fairness Perceived	1.39+
	(0.26)
*Repressive Environment (Punitive Policy Index * Surveillance Practices)*	
Less Punitive Policies AND Heavy Use of Surveillance Practices	1.40+
	(0.25)
More Punitive Policies AND Less Use of Surveillance Practices	1.60**
	(0.24)
More Punitive Policies AND Heavy Use of Surveillance Practices	1.56*
	(0.29)
*Supportive Authority (Punitive Policy Index * Sense of Community)*	
Less Punitive Policies AND Low Levels of School Community	1.44+
	(0.27)
More Punitive Policies AND Low Levels of School Community	1.82**
	(0.35)
More Punitive Policies AND High Levels of School Community	1.50+
	(0.31)
*Racial Conflict and Presence (% African American * Perceived Racial Conflict)*	
Low Presence of African Americans AND Perceived Conflict	0.89
	(0.13)
Moderate Presence of African Americans AND Perceived Conflict	1.03
	(0.17)
High Presence of African Americans AND Perceived Conflict	1.25
	(0.22)
Moderate Presence of African Americans AND No Perceived Conflict	1.43
	(0.37)
High Presence of African Americans AND No Perceived Conflict	1.42
	(0.36)

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,146 students. The sample is restricted to non-school switchers. Results shown are from separately estimated models for each school typology. Selected results are shown in the table. The models also include all of the school and student characteristics from the previous model specifications (Table 4). Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate).

+ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 7. Citizenship Outcomes by School Characteristics

	Civic Participation		Voting		Trust in Government	
	Low	High	Low	High	Low	High
Disciplinary Environment						
Punitive Policy Index	0.30	0.30	0.45	0.45	0.53	0.51
Proportion Punitively Sanctioned	0.33*	0.26*	0.45	0.45	0.54*	0.50*
Rule-Based Regulation	0.31	0.30	0.46	0.44	0.52	0.52
Surveillance/Monitoring	0.32*	0.28*	0.44	0.45	0.55*	0.50*
Fairness Perceptions	0.28*	0.33*	0.45	0.44	0.50*	0.55*
School Community Features						
Sense of Community	0.27*	0.34*	0.45	0.44	0.49*	0.56*
Student-Student Relations	0.28*	0.32*	0.41*	0.49*	0.49*	0.56*
Mainstream Norm Agreement	0.25*	0.34*	0.38*	0.50*	0.49*	0.54*
Extent of Shared Norm	0.35*	0.26*	0.49*	0.40*	0.55*	0.49*
Participatory Climate	0.27*	0.34*	0.45	0.45	0.49*	0.55*
School Racial Dynamics						
Proportion African American	0.32*	0.27*	0.43	0.48	0.55*	0.46*
Proportion White	0.27*	0.32*	0.44	0.45	0.47*	0.55*
Simpson Diversity Index	0.30	0.30	0.46	0.43	0.54	0.50
Aggregate Student Prejudice	0.31	0.29	0.44	0.45	0.52	0.53
Disproportionality in Sanctioning	0.30	0.30	0.45	0.45	0.53	0.51
Bl-Wh Racial Diff in Fairness Percep	0.29	0.31	0.44	0.46	0.51	0.54
Admin Report Racial Problems	0.31	0.30	0.47	0.44	0.53	0.52
Other School Characteristics						
Proportion Parent College Educated	0.26*	0.36*	0.40*	0.52*	0.50*	0.55*
Average Achievement	0.29	0.32	0.43	0.47	0.51	0.54
Proportion of Students College-Going	0.27*	0.34*	0.44	0.45	0.50*	0.54*
Aggregate Student Delinquency	0.30	0.30	0.44	0.45	0.54	0.51
Urban	0.30	0.31	0.45	0.44	0.53	0.51
Large	0.30	0.30	0.43	0.49	0.52	0.52

South	0.31	0.28	0.43	0.47	0.53	0.51
Private	0.29*	0.41*	0.43*	0.58*	0.52	0.58

Note: N=125. The mean differences are school-level means. The table shows the difference in means between low and high values of the school characteristic listed on the left. Low and high values are determined by splitting the sample of schools at the school-level mean. Non-continuous school features are low if the school does not have that value and high if the school does have that feature.

* $p < .05$

Table 8. Citizenship Outcomes Predicted by School Disciplinary and Community Features, Racial Dynamics, and Student Characteristics

	Civic Participation	Voting	Trust in Government
Student Level Predictors			
Punitively sanctioned	0.78**	0.84*	0.82**
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.05)
Perceive unfair treatment	0.85	0.81**	0.83*
	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Feel connected to school	1.22*	1.25**	1.69**
	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.11)
Participation in school	1.16**	1.06**	1.05*
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Female	0.98	0.91	0.93
	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.06)
Latino	1.06	0.97	0.85
	(0.12)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Black	0.98	1.65**	0.56**
	(0.10)	(0.20)	(0.06)
Asian	1.12	0.54**	0.91
	(0.16)	(0.12)	(0.14)
Parent education	1.65**	1.45**	1.12
	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.08)
Age	0.91**	1.14**	1.06*
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)
Delinquent behavior	0.88**	0.93*	0.87**
	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.04)
Average grades	1.24**	1.24**	1.18**
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.06)
Vocabulary test score	1.01**	1.02**	0.99**
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Engagement in school	0.94	1.03	0.94
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)
Try hard in school	1.12*	1.08	1.03
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)
Believe hard work is rewarded	1.11**	1.08*	1.01
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)
Perceive student prejudice	0.99	1.06*	1.02
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
School Level Predictors			
Punitive policy index	0.98	0.86	1.00
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.11)
Rule-based regulation	0.96	0.90	1.03

	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.07)
Surveillance/monitoring	0.89*	0.99	0.93
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.05)
Fairness perceptions	0.84	0.92	0.95
	(0.18)	(0.28)	(0.26)
Sense of belonging	1.65	2.17	1.03
	(0.48)	(0.88)	(0.39)
Student relations	1.41*	1.18	1.12
	(0.23)	(0.21)	(0.31)
Mainstream norm agree	1.98	3.25**	2.00
	(1.16)	(1.38)	(0.76)
Extent of shared norm	1.20	1.26	1.28
	(0.36)	(0.35)	(0.31)
Participatory Climate	0.84*	0.71**	0.99
	(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.10)
Proportion African American	1.63	2.24**	0.97
	(0.41)	(0.64)	(0.26)
Proportion parent college educated	1.08	1.06	1.01
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)
Average achievement	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)
Proportion students college-going	1.00	1.00	1.00
	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)
Student delinquency	1.97*	0.87	0.60*
	(0.58)	(0.31)	(0.15)
Urban	1.12	1.03	1.00
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Large	0.98	0.99	1.14
	(0.09)	(0.13)	(0.10)
South	1.00	0.91	1.00
	(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.10)
Private	0.98	1.45*	0.89
	(0.14)	(0.24)	(0.13)
Constant	0.00	0.00	0.02
	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.04)
Adjusted R²	0.09	0.09	0.06

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,146 students. The sample is restricted to non-school switchers. The voting models are also restricted to citizens (N=9,787). Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate). The R² is estimated from averaging across the 5 imputed datasets (mibeta).

* p < .05; ** p < .01

Table 9. Citizenship Outcomes Predicted by School Disciplinary and Community Features, Racial Dynamics, and Student Characteristics Separately for Students Who Have and Have Not Experienced Punitive Sanctioning

	Student Experienced Punitive Sanctioning = NO			Student Experienced Punitive Sanctioned = YES		
	Civic	Vote	Trust	Civic	Vote	Trust
Punitive Policy Index	1.06	0.83	0.97	0.64*	0.96	1.21
	(0.13)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.13)	(0.18)	(0.21)
Rule-Based Regulation	0.95	0.87*	1.03	1.14	0.99	0.98
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.08)	(0.13)	(0.13)	(0.10)
Surveillance/Monitoring	0.87*	0.94	0.93	0.96	1.10	0.93
	(0.05)	(0.07)	(0.06)	(0.11)	(0.15)	(0.09)
Fairness Perceptions	0.90	0.96	0.92	0.64	0.67	0.89
	(0.23)	(0.33)	(0.27)	(0.34)	(0.35)	(0.39)
Sense of Community	1.45	2.56*	1.18	3.02*	1.42	0.60
	(0.52)	(1.11)	(0.50)	(1.61)	(0.97)	(0.30)
Student Relations	1.32	1.21	1.40	1.91	1.24	0.57
	(0.23)	(0.23)	(0.42)	(0.73)	(0.49)	(0.19)
Mainstream Norm Agree	1.52	3.62**	2.09*	6.63*	3.94	3.12
	(1.06)	(1.63)	(0.77)	(6.18)	(3.24)	(2.59)
Extent of Shared Norm	0.91	1.43	1.43	3.05*	1.10	1.21
	(0.34)	(0.41)	(0.39)	(1.56)	(0.54)	(0.53)
Participatory Climate	0.83	0.65**	0.93	0.80	0.87	1.19
	(0.08)	(0.07)	(0.10)	(0.14)	(0.16)	(0.20)
Prop African American	1.69	3.10**	0.87	1.68	1.21	0.94
	(0.50)	(1.05)	(0.26)	(0.75)	(0.58)	(0.38)
N	7648	7350	7648	2498	2437	2498

Notes: N=125 schools, see table row for student sample size. The sample is restricted to non-school switchers. Results shown are from separately estimated models for each group of students. Selected results are shown in the table. The models also include all of the school and student characteristics from the previous model specifications. Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 10. Odds of Citizenship Outcomes by Experiencing Punitive Sanctioning in Schools with High and Low Levels of Punitive Sanctioning and Punitive Sanctioning Policy Index

	Civic Participation	Voting	Trust in Government
Punitive Sanctioning Rate			
Punitively sanctioned in school with HIGH rate of sanctioning	0.86	0.88	0.81**
	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.06)
Punitively sanctioned in school with LOW rate of sanctioning	0.67**	0.77*	0.83
	(0.09)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Punitive Sanctioning Policy Index			
Punitively sanctioned in school with MORE punitive policies	0.70**	0.81*	0.85*
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.07)
Punitively sanctioned in school with LESS punitive policies	0.90	0.88	0.77*
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.08)

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,146 students. The sample is restricted to non-school switchers. The voting models are also restricted to citizens (N=9,787). The models also include all of the school and student characteristics from the previous model specifications. The models with the punitive sanctioning rate interactions are run separately from the models with the punitive sanctioning policy index interactions. Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 11. Odds of Citizenship Outcomes by Racial Identity in Schools Characterized by High and Low Levels of Particular Racial Dynamics

	Civic Participation	Voting	Trust in Government
Administrator Report of Racial Conflict as Problem			
Latino identity with NO racial conflict in school	1.10	1.31	1.02
	(0.27)	(0.22)	(0.18)
Latino identity with racial conflict in school	1.06	0.91	0.82
	(0.13)	(0.10)	(0.09)
Black identity with NO racial conflict in school	0.89	3.09**	0.54**
	(0.18)	(0.82)	(0.08)
Black identity with racial conflict in school	1.16	1.86**	0.56**
	(0.12)	(0.22)	(0.07)
Asian identity with NO racial conflict in school	1.15	0.36**	0.44*
	(0.27)	(0.12)	(0.11)
Asian identity with racial conflict in school	1.12	0.61	1.08
	(0.19)	(0.016)	(0.20)
Racial Inequality in Sanctioning			
Latino identity with LOW inequality in sanctioning	0.91	0.85	0.90
	(0.14)	(0.10)	(0.12)
Latino identity with HIGH inequality in sanctioning	1.35	1.19	0.77
	(0.23)	(0.18)	(0.11)
Black identity with LOW inequality in sanctioning	1.21	1.88**	0.56**
	(0.14)	(0.28)	(0.10)
Black identity with HIGH inequality in sanctioning	1.06	2.16**	0.54**
	(0.14)	(0.31)	(0.07)
Asian identity with LOW inequality in sanctioning	1.17	0.50*	1.09
	(0.22)	(0.15)	(0.23)
Asian identity with HIGH inequality in sanctioning	1.11	0.65	0.73
	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.12)

Perceived Student Prejudice			
Latino identity with LOW perceived prejudice	1.14	0.98	0.72*
	(0.17)	(0.16)	(0.10)
Latino identity with HIGH perceived prejudice	0.98	0.98	1.05
	(0.15)	(0.10)	(0.16)
Black identity with LOW perceived prejudice	1.21	2.68**	0.57**
	(0.14)	(0.38)	(0.09)
Black identity with HIGH perceived prejudice	0.97	1.31	0.51**
	(0.14)	(0.20)	(0.06)
Asian identity with LOW perceived prejudice	1.10	0.64	0.90
	(0.17)	(0.18)	(0.17)
Asian identity with HIGH perceived prejudice	1.29	0.43*	0.91
	(0.34)	(0.16)	(0.26)

Notes: N=125 schools and N=10,146 students. The sample is restricted to non-school switchers. The voting models are also restricted to citizens (N=9,787). The models also include all of the school and student characteristics from the previous model specifications. The models with the punitive sanctioning rate interactions are run separately from the models with the punitive sanctioning policy index interactions. Results reported as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. Standard errors are in parentheses. Models are estimated in Stata using complex survey specifications (svy) with multiply imputed data (mi estimate).

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

CHAPTER 5

DISCIPLINE POLICIES AND THE DYNAMICS OF RACE IN SCHOOLS

This final chapter examines the how the authority relations and racial dynamics of schools are related and how they are distributed across schools. In particular, the chapter focuses on the relationship between the discipline policies of schools and three dimensions of racial dynamics – racial group presence, the average socioeconomic position of racial groups, and racial conflict in the school.

While a wide range of organizational and social structure factors have been examined as potential factors affecting the generation of inequality both between and within schools, I focus on discipline policies. Discipline policies have been found to be unequally administered (Skiba et al. 2011; Gregory et al. 2010; Wallace et al. 2008), and to be associated with worse student outcomes (Arum 2003; Barton et al. 1998; DiPrete et al. 1981). In addition, as shown in the previous two chapters, how schools are organized and experienced are linked to the later citizenship outcomes of students. Therefore, it is important to ask who is exposed to these conditions. For example, if punitive discipline policies are equally distributed across all schools, then all students are likely to experience them, however, if punitive discipline policies are only found in certain types of schools, then only certain types of students are exposed to these policies and their potential politically marginalizing effects. Therefore, in the current chapter, the focus is on what types of schools have these discipline policies. I examine four discipline policies: the punitive sanctioning policy index, the proportion of students punitively sanctioned (policy as implemented), the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior, and the utilization of surveillance and monitoring security practices.

There are a number of reasons for exploring how the racial dynamics of schools are associated with discipline policies. First, an extensive literature finds racial disproportionality in sanctioning and discipline (Skiba et al. 2011; Gregory et al. 2010; Wallace et al. 2008). This work explores the role of a number of individual characteristics in predicting punitive sanctioning, however we know much less about how school characteristics are associated with these disparities. In particular, we do not know the extent to which these racial disparities are due to racial minorities being in schools with more restrictive and punitive discipline policies, or why certain schools have specific types of discipline. The conclusion of a recent review on racial disparities in school discipline noted that one of the major reasons why there is a lack of work in this area is the data utilized has limited information about students and/or schools, and so the field has been unable to assess the relative contributions of a number of student and school factors that may contribute to the disporportionality (Gregory et al. 2010). For example, one of the best data sources for nationally-representative trends in sanctioning is the Office of Civil Rights data. While this data includes the rates of sanctioning for students of different characteristics, it has very limited information on schools and student characteristics. Other data sources used to examine discipline policies have very little data on students and most of the time the only student data available is at the school level (e.g. School Survey on Crime and Safety).

Second, school discipline policies have moved in a more restrictive and punitive direction (Lyons and Drew 2006; Hirschfield 2008; Kupchik 2010). This trend has been linked to federal policy changes such as the 1994 Safe Guns Act, zero tolerance policies, as well as increases in student safety concerns (Way 2011), although the degree to which these policies are a response to an increase in need (e.g. safety or student behavior problems) is debated (Casella 2003;

Noguera 2003; Ewing 2000; Skiba and Peterson 1999, 2000). An empirical analysis of the

increasing use of several more restrictive and punitive policies finds that schools have increased

their use of three security-based strategies: surveillance, utilization of police officers in schools,

and harsher punishments (Kupchik and Ellis 2008).

Many scholars have recently argued that the shift in school discipline practices reflects a

more fundamental change in how schools are organized which is now characterized by a the use

of a crime control paradigm (Hirschfield 2008, 2011; Simon 2006). The arguments made in this

literature connect to the broader arguments regarding a shift toward a different type of

governance of dependent populations whereby policies across social institutions share an

underlying logic that has shifted toward a more punitive and restrictive version of control or

authority (Soss et al. 2011; Wacquant 2009, 2010). The degree to which the trend in the

increasingly harsh or restrictive policies is seen in school discipline mirrors this shift in the use

of more punitive, harsh, and paternalistic policies across a number of social institutions has

important implications for how we understanding these trends. Wacquant (2009) makes this

connection explicit by arguing that the urban school is similar to the prison and the ghetto

because these institutions are each designed to marginalize minority youth. Empirical

examinations of this punitive turn in various policy areas has found a strong association between

more punitive policies in a number of areas and the presence of racial minorities (Soss et al.

2011; Soss et al. 2001).

And third, there is only a small body of work of mostly qualitative case-study work

focused on school discipline which has focused on the distribution of discipline policies across

schools with different student body populations (Kupchik and Ward forthcoming; Nolan 2011;

Payne and Welch 2010; Kupchik 2009, 2010). Within this emerging literature there is an ongoing and unresolved debate regarding the prevalence and distribution of the more restrictive and punitive discipline policies. On the one hand people argue that these policies are targeted at poor, minority, and urban schools (Hirschfield 2008; Wacquant 2001). In a couple of recent studies, schools with more racial minorities or urban locations were found to be more likely to have physical barriers (gates/walls) and more extensive security arrangements (Gottfredson et al. 2000; Devine 1996). In agreement with the divergence side, Hirschfield (2008) argues that urban and suburban schools have different logics of discipline which lead to the use of different security procedures. In suburban schools there is a "more diluted or hybridized form" (84), whereas in urban schools where there is a concentration of racial minorities, the security procedures used such as metal detectors are less discrete and more obtrusive. Several studies have found evidence supportive of this argument. DeVoe et al. (2005) found that metal detectors more in schools with minorities, but drug sniffing dogs were more common in suburban, rural, and white schools. And Monahan and Torres (2010) state that poorer, inner-city students subjected to more invasive disciplinary practices while students in more affluent schools are monitored more discretely.

On the other hand, people argue that these policies have converged on a much wider range of schools (Kupchik 2009; Kupchik and Monahan 2006; Simon 2007). As Simon (2007) articulates, although these practices may have started as being targeted at specific types of schools or students, the use of them has now spread to all schools. For example, in a small scale study of four high schools that vary in their racial and class compositions, Kupchik (2009) finds that all four of the schools have harsh, punitive discipline practices. A limitation of much of this

work however is the inability of scholars to disentangle the effects of the targeted toward specific types of students versus toward specific types of schools.

Only a handful of studies have been able to examine how race matters for the construction of different disciplinary environments in different schools (Arum 2003; Devine 1996). One example is Arum's (2003) work which examines the distribution of African American students across schools that vary in their disciplinary climate. He finds that African American students are more likely to experience school settings that are either the most lenient or strictest, and because of the association between fairness and strictness perceptions, these schools are also most often perceived as unfair. In his most recent work, Arum (2012) explores the role of population heterogeneity in explaining variation in disciplinary climates. He finds that whites attend schools that have lower levels of violence, disobedience, and safety problems. The analyses in this chapter build on these findings regarding disciplinary climates by focusing on discipline policies.

The most directly comparable work has been done by Kupchik and Ward (forthcoming) and Welch and Payne (2010). Kupchik and Ward (forthcoming) use a nationally-representative dataset, the School Survey on Crime and Safety to examine the distribution of security practices such as metal detectors, the use of police officers in schools, and surveillance cameras across schools with different socioeconomic and racial compositions. They find that at the high school level, these types of security measures are not correlated with the race or socioeconomic background of students, whereas in elementary and middle schools there is a positive association between the proportion of students receiving free and reduced price lunch and the use of these security practices, and that the racial composition of the school is a predictor of the use of metal

detectors.[50] The major limitation of this work in relation to the current analysis is that they rely on an aggregated measure of racial minorities to assess the effect of racial composition on security procedures. Welch and Payne (2010) is even more illuminating. Using a nationally-representative sample of middle and high schools, they examine the associations between the use of harsh sanctions and the proportion of African Americans in the school. They find that African Americans are more likely to attend schools that have higher rates of utilizing harsh discipline practices. The measure they use is very similar to my measure of the use of punitive sanctioning. One of the limitations of the Welch and Payne (2010) study that I am able to improve upon is the use of a wider range of other school controls that may influence the use of punitive sanctioning. I am also able to examine the relative association for the presence of African Americans in the school for other disciplinary policies as well to assess whether this phenomena is specific to harsh sanctioning.

I draw on each of these motivations to ask the guiding question for the analyses in this chapter: Does the hard line follow the color line in school discipline policy (Soss et al. 2004)? I examine how school-specific racial dynamics are related to school discipline policies. The key racial dynamics investigated are: racial presence, relative racial position, and racial conflict in the school. For racial socioeconomic position, I examine both the absolute position of racial groups as well as their relative positions relative to other racial groups' position in the same school.

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[50] The primary controls that Kupchik and Ward (forthcoming) rely on is the average achievement of students, a few other typical aggregate control variables, and the level of crime in the school and neighborhood.

These measures of racial dynamics are used because they operationalize ways that race operates not as an individual identity, but as a relational distinction (Bourdieu 1990). The measures highlight how racial categories are positioned in relation to each other and gain meaning through this relation (Glenn 1999; Tilly 1998), and most importantly for this chapter, how these relations affect the discipline policies of the school.

While the most common way to examine race as an aggregate phenomena in schools is to use a measure of racial composition that captures the numerical presence within the school in a linear association model, I argue that we need to draw on relational inequality theory and classic theories of racial relations to use composition-based measures in a more theoretically informed way and appreciate how additional aspects of racial relations matter. In other words, group relations are more complicated than just the number of group members in a setting, and how and when group relations have been theorized to operate are specific to particular conditions in that setting. For example, contact theory specifies four conditions for positive group relations to result (Allport 1954), group threat theory specifies particular expectations for different situations (Blalock 1967), and relational inequality theories such as Tilly's durable inequality specify the conditions under which a higher level of inequality is expected between groups (Tilly 1998). Therefore, in this chapter I focus not only on the relationship between the presence of a particular racial group and discipline policies of schools, but on how three aspects of racial dynamics are related these policies.

The numerical presence and socioeconomic position of racial groups in the school capture two attributes of racial relations that are theorized to affect racial inequality (Allport 1954; Blumer 1958; Blalock 1967; Blau 1977; Bourdieu 1990). Motivated by the classic theories

of intergroup contact and group threat (Allport 1954; Blalock 1967) as well as by the

macrostructural theory of relations (Blau 1977), I use the numerical presence of groups in

schools to capture the frequency of groups and level of diversity in schools. However, I argue

that measures capturing positional locations need to be paired with presence-based measures in

order to develop a broader and more contextually-specific understanding of how racial relations

affect student outcomes. In other words, it is not just about the relative size or presence of the

group, but also how the group is structurally positioned relative to other groups in a specific

context (Soss and Bruch 2008; Weber 1968; Blumer 1958; Bonilla-Silva 1997; Bourdieu 1985). I

utilize presence- and position-based measures to operationalize the structure of racial relations

which along with the level of reported racial conflict in the school may affect the discipline

policies schools choose to implement.

The chapter has three main sections. Section 1 describes the distribution of students of

different racial identities and parent education backgrounds across schools with different

discipline policies. Section 2 examines the associations between the discipline policies and racial

dynamics of the school. Section 2 also examines the relationships between racial presence and

the average socioeconomic position of racial groups within schools. Section 3 uses multivariate

analyses to investigate these relationships.

Analysis Strategy

I estimate multivariate school-level regression models to predict the four school

discipline policy measures. The models predicting the punitive policy index and the proportion

of punitively sanctioned students are standard OLS regressions. Rule-based regulation of student

behavior has been categorized into low, medium, and high categories and treated as a continuous

outcome as well.[51] However, the extent of surveillance and monitoring outcome is estimated with Poisson regression to account for the count nature of this measure.

I adopt an additive modeling strategy adding sets of predictors in separate models creating a fully specified model in steps. Each set of predictors represents an explanation posited for the use of more restrictive and punitive discipline policies. The primary focus is on the racial dynamics measures.

In addition to the three focal racial dynamics-based explanations, I also examine the extent to which school problems are related to discipline policies. The school problems I explore are the level of student behavior delinquency, the level of problems perceived by the school administrator, and the feelings of safety by students. While these seem like obvious predictors of school discipline, as noted in the introduction, many have argued that the increasingly restrictive discipline policies are not a response to an increase in need or actual school disorder, violence, or safety concerns. And, one of the critiques of the punitive turn in discipline policies is that they are not even effective at their primary goal of ensuring safety, deterring misbehavior, etc.

A number of critiques concerning interpretation, measurement and estimation have plagued work focused on identifying associations of compositional measures of schools. I discussed the estimation and identification issues in Analysis 2. To address concerns about the estimation of the primary school level measures (e.g. the racial dynamics), I include a number of school characteristics as controls. These include school type, size, and location, as well as the average achievement and attainment of students. I do not include a measure of average

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[51] The nature of the underlying measure is a count of zero to four rules regulating student behavior. However, very few schools had values of 0-2 so these values were all categorized as having low rule-based regulation. Schools reporting three of the four are categorized as moderate, and schools with all four rules are categorized as high.

socioeconomic status of the student body as a control because one of the primary racial dynamics examined is average group-based socioeconomic status in the school.

In terms of addressing the interpretation critique, I argue that my use of theoretically-informed and proximal measures of racial dynamics is less susceptible to the basic critique of interpreting composition-based measures as proxies for a number of possible related factors. While many have used racial composition measures to proxy for other unmeasured factors that are related to race, I interpret these measures more narrowly as capturing specific aspects of racial relations (presence and socioeconomic position). My use of these measures is less susceptible to the interpretation critique noted in Analysis 2 in large part because the racial dynamics measures I use are interpreted with a coherent race-specific theory about racial relations. In addition to the theoretical rationale for this interpretation, as noted above, I also control for a large number of other school factors that may also be related to school discipline policies to help isolate the independent associations for the key racial dynamics predictors.

The sample of schools used in the analyses varies depending on which measures of racial presence and socioeconomic position are being used. In the models using the presence and positions of African Americans, the sample is restricted to the 82 schools that have at least five African American and five white students which is the criteria I use for minimal representation of the groups. In the models using the presence and position of Latinos, the sample is restricted to the 112 schools that have at least five Latino and five white students. In the models using racial diversity as the measure or racial presence, the full sample of 125 schools is used.

Results

One descriptive way to shed light on the interplay of the presence of racial minorities and the disciplinary policies is to examine the policy differences in schools experienced by students identifying with different racial groups. There are a number of discipline policies that are more or less likely to be experienced by students with different racial identities [see Table 1]. On average African American students attend schools that differ on all four disciplinary policies. The average school that African American students attend has more punitive disciplinary sanctioning policies, a higher proportion of students are punitively sanctioned, there is a higher level of surveillance and monitoring, and the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior is greater. Latino and Asian students are also more likely to attend schools with higher levels of surveillance and monitoring. White students on the other hand attend schools with a lower level of surveillance security procedures.

< Table 1 >

Students of different socioeconomic status also experience disciplinary environments that differ in important ways. Students without a college educated parent are more likely to attend a school that has a higher proportion of students being punitively sanctioned, and in which there is a higher level of rule-based regulation of student behavior. These descriptive differences suggest that students of lower status (racial minorities and lower socioeconomic status) are more likely to encounter school environments that have more punitive and restrictive disciplinary polices. In the US, race and socioeconomic status overlap so next I examine whether these racial differences

in school environments are experienced by all members of each racial group, or whether they are concentrated among students with lower socioeconomic status.

A couple of interesting patterns are also observed when the racial identity and parent education categories are intersected [see Figures 1-4]. First, although there is no difference between the average school attended by students with and without a college-educated parent in terms of the punitive policy index, among African Americans, Latinos, and Asians, students with a college-educated parent experience schools with more punitive policies than their racial peers without a college-educated parent, whereas whites with a college-educated parent experience schools with less punitive policies than their less educated counterparts [see Figure 1]. In other words, higher status racial minorities on average experience school environments that are more punitive, whereas the opposite is true for whites.

< Figures 1-4 >

The second striking pattern is that there are differences across racial groups in the extent to which parental education serves as a moderating or buffering effect on the likelihood of experiencing more punitive, harsh, or regulated school environments. For example, while students with and without a college-educated parent on average experience different school environments in terms of their rates of punitive sanctioning, this pattern does not hold for African Americans and Latinos [see Figure 2]. Among white and Asian students, those with a college educated parent are more likely to attend a school where a lower proportion of the student body is sanctioned. However, for African American and Latino students there is no difference in the rate of sanctioning with and without having a college educated parent.

There are also differences across racial groups in the extent to which parent education is associated with attending schools with less surveillance and monitoring [see Figure 3]. Among African Americans, those with college educated parents attend schools with more surveillance than African Americans without a college educated parent. But for Latino and Asian students, those with college educated parents experience schools that have less surveillance. There is no difference for white students.

For the last disciplinary measure – the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior – all students except African Americans experience less rule-based regulation in their school environments when they have a college-educated parent. These descriptive differences demonstrate that students with different socioeconomic and racial backgrounds on average attend schools that organize their discipline in various ways.

Correlations among Discipline Policies and Racial Dynamics

In addition to understanding how students are distributed across schools with various discipline policies, it is important to understand the distribution of and relationships between racial dynamics and disciplinary policies. To examine these relationships, I estimate school-level correlations among these measures. These correlations help to inform the later multivariate relationships estimated between the racial dynamics measures and disciplinary policies.

Looking first at the correlations among the disciplinary policies of interest, it is surprising that there is not even a moderate correlation between the two measures of punitive sanctions – the policy-on-the-books and the policy as implemented (r=0.06). One possibility for the surprisingly low correlation between these measures is that the policy-on-the-books is only used

in racialized ways i.e. that it is only used extensively when there are more non-white students. To examine this possibility I estimated correlations for schools with low, moderate, and high levels of racial diversity. The correlation between these measures does not reach statistical significance for any of the three groups of schools. The least diverse schools actually have the highest correlation between these measures (r=0.19), whereas moderate and high diversity schools have much smaller correlations (r=0.07 and r= -0.09).

In fact, the policy-on-the-books for disciplinary sanctioning is only significantly correlated with one discipline measure – the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior. The modest size correlation (r=0.23) indicates that in schools with more punitive sanctioning policies, there also tends to be more rules regulating student behavior.

< Table 2 >

The measure that captures the frequency of use of punitive sanctioning, as opposed to the policy-on-the-books, is positively correlated with the extent of surveillance (r=0.25). This suggests that in schools where students are monitored through the use of more surveillance techniques, higher proportions of the student body are suspended or expelled. The proportion of students punitively sanctioned is also negatively correlated with the students' fairness perceptions in the school (r= -0.44). In fact, this is one of the strongest correlation among all the school environment measures, and suggests that in schools where a higher proportion of students are punitively sanctioned, students perceive less fairness in how teachers treat students. Recall that in the first analysis chapter, in an examination of the relationship between these two measures at the individual level, only a moderate correlation was found (r= -0.13), and only 17%

of those who experienced punitive sanctioned also reported perceiving unfair treatment. Student fairness perceptions are also negatively correlated with the extent of surveillance and monitoring in the school, indicating that in schools with more surveillance, there is a lower level of perceived fairness.

In terms of the racial dynamics of the schools, there are a number of significant and substantively meaningful correlations. Not surprisingly, the proportion of African Americans in a school is positively correlated with all four of the discipline policies. This is not surprising given that mean differences in these discipline policies were found for African American students (see Table 1). The relationship between the presence of African Americans and punitive sanctioning suggests that the sorting of students into schools with different sanctioning practices is an important piece of the story for understanding the racial inequality in rates of sanctioning found in previous work.

The level of racial conflict as reported by the school administrator is also strongly related to three of four discipline policies. When school administrators report racial conflict in their school, the school is more likely to have more punitive sanctioning policies, and to use more rule-based regulation of student behavior and surveillance practices. Theses correlations suggest that one way schools respond to racial conflict is more punitive and restrictive policies. However, given that these disciplinary policies and the perception of racial conflict are also correlated with the presence of African Americans in the school and racial diversity, it is not possible to determine if these disciplinary policies are determined more by the presence of racial minorities or by the perception of racial conflict or a more complex inter-connection between these factors is at play. This will be examined in the multivariate analyses to come.

Interestingly, the proportion of students in the school that are punitively sanctioned is not related to the level of racial conflict reported by the school administrator. However, the proportion of students sanctioned is correlated with the perceptions of unfair treatment in the school. In schools with more punitive sanctioning, students perceive more unfair treatment.

There are a number of unexpected correlations among the racial dynamics measures as well. The level of student prejudice perceived by students is significantly lower in schools with a higher proportion of African American students (r= -0.33), while the opposite correlation is found with the proportion of white students (r=0.37). To explore these correlations, I examined two scatterplots that graphed the level of perceived student prejudice by the proportion of the student body who identify as African American and white [see Figure 5 and 6].

< Figure 5 & 6 >

What is clear from both figures is that there are nonlinear associations between the presence of African Americans and whites and the level of student prejudice. In the case of African Americans there is a positive correlation with student prejudice perceptions at low levels of African American presence which then turns negative at moderate to high levels of African American presence. So while the overall negative correlation estimated is an accurate depiction of the schools with approximately 20% or more African American student populations, it is not an accurate depiction of the vast majority of schools in which there is a very low proportion of African Americans. And in fact, 89 of the 125 schools in the sample have less than 20% African Americans. In these schools there is a small positive correlation between the level of student prejudice and the proportion of African Americans (r=0.03), and the strongest positive

correlation between student prejudice and the proportion of African Americans in the school is found in schools that are less than 10% African American (r=0.13). Group contact theory provides one possible interpretation of the positive correlation between prejudice and the presence of African Americans in the school when there is a low level of presence. Contact theory predicts that when there are few members of the minority group, then there is less frequent contact between majority and minority race group members, making it more likely that majority group members will maintain their prejudicial beliefs whereas when contact is more likely and common, prejudice is expected to decline.

Figure 2 which shows the nonlinear association between the proportion of whites in the school and the level of perceived student prejudice depicts a positive slope until whites reach approximately 60-70% of the student body. While the fitted line depicts a plateau and then slight negative slope at high proportions of whites, the scatterplot dots show that there are both very high and low average levels of student prejudice in these schools. In order for the patterns observed in this scatterplot and fitted line graph to be reconciled with the patterns observed in the previous figure for African American presence, it is necessary to distinguish who is reporting prejudice. An intuitive assumption is that racial minorities report higher levels of prejudice than whites. However, if this was always true, then there would be a positive correlation between the proportion of African Americans and average levels of perceived student prejudice. In order to explain the negative slope seen in Figure 1, we have to assume that when there are more African Americans (or a certain threshold is reached), then there is less prejudice and so less prejudice is reported. However, in the Add Health sample, whites have a significantly higher average perception of student prejudice than non-whites (3.28 versus 3.06). Recall that this measure is

not asking students to report their own prejudice but instead is asking for their assessment as to whether other students in the school are prejudiced. So one way to understand this non-intuitive finding is that whites are perceiving their school peers, 57% of whom are white on average, as more prejudiced. Unfortunately, I cannot distinguish whether there is objectively more prejudice in schools with higher proportions of whites (and/or lower proportions of racial minorities), or simply that whites perceive whites as more prejudiced than non-whites. The only data that sheds some light on this is that there is a positive correlation between perceived student prejudice and the administrator report of racial conflict (r=0.24). If the administrator report is a measure of objective racial problems and there is overlap between racial problems and student prejudice, then this correlation could be interpreted as providing support for the former possibility.

The other correlations that are potentially not expected are between the administrators' report of racial conflict being a problem at the school and racial presence. While there is a negative correlation between the proportion of white students and the administrator report of racial conflict (r= -0.24), there is a smaller and non-significant correlation between the proportion of African American students and this measure. However, another way to examine this relationship is by comparing the mean values across different levels of African American presence. In schools with low African American presence (less than 5%), the average administrator report of racial conflict is 0.57, whereas the average for schools with moderate and high African American presence (5-25% and more than 25% respectively) is much higher at 0.88. There is also a large, positive and significant correlation between the level of racial diversity in the school and the administrator perception of racial conflict (r=0.37). This suggests that higher levels of racial conflict are perceived in schools with higher presence of African

Americans and/or in schools with more racial diversity. This pattern of correlations highlights

the complexity of the racial composition in schools. The racial presence of schools nationally

and in the Add Health sample is not defined by varying proportions of whites and African

Americans. Instead the schools are comprised of varying proportions of each of the major racial

groups in the US, reflecting the growing demographic changes in the country as a whole (Lee

and Bean 2012).

Correlations among Racial Presence and Relative Socioeconomic Status of Racial Groups

Two of the primary racial dynamics focused on in this chapter is the presence of racial

groups in schools and the relative socioeconomic status of these groups within the same school.

To being the exploration of the relationships between these compositional features of schools, I

estimate the correlations among racial presence and the average socioeconomic status of African

Americans, Latinos, and whites [see Table 3].

The negative correlation between the presence of whites and African Americans, Latinos,

and the racial diversity measures captures the extensive segregation of white students from other

racial groups in schools (Orfield 2005). There is a positive correlation between the presence of

white students and their average socioeconomic status (r=0.20), meaning that as the proportion

of whites increases so does their average level of parent education. This association between

group presence and position does not hold for African Americans and Latinos. In fact for

Latinos, the association between presence and position is negative (r=-0.28). There are also

positive correlations between each group's average socioeconomic status. This reflects the fact

that schools are segregated not only by race but also be socioeconomic status (Orfield 2005). In

other words, high socioeconomic status students are more likely to attend schools with other high socioeconomic status students and vice versa.

< Table 3 >

However, turning to the relative socioeconomic status of racial groups within the same school, there are substantial differences in the relative position experienced by students of different racial groups. For whites, higher presence of their group is negatively associated with the ratio of African American to white position. This indicates that in schools with more whites, they also tend to be relatively advantaged over African American students. The same is true for African American students which is seen in the positive correlation between the presence of African Americans and the relative position measure (r=0.32). The relative position of whites and Latinos follows a different pattern. For Latinos, a higher proportion of their group in the school is negatively associated with having a relative advantage over whites (r=-0.27).

Although there are strong correlations between the presence of racial groups and the socioeconomic status of groups, these correlations only tell a partial story of what the presence and relative position of groups are within actual schools. To examine this in more detail, I cross these two dimensions of racial dynamics to identify schools that vary in how racial groups are relationally positioned [see Tables 4 and 5].

Overall in the sample of schools that have at least nominal representation of both whites and African Americans, there is a socioeconomic status advantage for whites. The mean level of parental education is 3.58 for whites and 3.44 for African Americans. This difference widens in schools that have low and moderate presence of African Americans (3.82 vs. 3.52 and 3.87 vs

3.66 respectively). However, in schools in which African Americans have a high presence, African Americans have higher average levels of parental education. It is important to note that this advantage is not because these are schools in which African Americans with high parent education are located. Instead this relative advantage is created by both whites and African Americans having very low levels of parental education, with African Americans having slightly higher (3.13 vs 3.07).

< Table 4 >

Although African Americans have a relative socioeconomic advantage over whites in more than a third of the schools with adequate representation of both groups, half of these schools are schools in which African American presence is high and the socioeconomic status of both whites and African Americans is very low. In schools in which African Americans have low or moderate presence, their socioeconomic advantage is more substantial and is not due to the fact that whites in those schools have lower than average parent education.

Looking at the schools defined by Latino presence and the relative socioeconomic status of Latinos and whites, the first thing to note is that about two-thirds of the schools are comprised of schools in which whites have a relative advantage. In fact, there are only eight schools in which Latinos have a relative advantage over whites in terms of average parental education. This is not surprising given that Latino parents tend to have lower levels of education (Crosnoe and Turley 2011; Kao and Thompson 2003). Of these eight schools, seven are schools with a Latino advantage that is due in large part because of the low socioeconomic status of whites in these schools.

< Table 5 >

Now that I have provided a detailed descriptive picture of the discipline policies and racial dynamics in the Add Health schools, I turn to examine the relations between these school features in multivariate regression models.

Disciplinary Policies and the Presence and Position of Racial Groups

For each of the four discipline policies, I estimate a series of models that begin with the bivariate associations between a measure of racial presence and the discipline policy [see Tables 6-9]. There are limited associations between racial presence and the discipline policies. The presence of African Americans is positively associated with the proportion of students who are punitively sanctioned, the presence of Latinos and the measure of racial diversity are both negatively associated with the punitive policy index and the extent of surveillance. The lack of association between the presence of African Americans and the discipline policies contrasts with the earlier descriptive findings in which African Americans were found to attend schools that have higher mean values on all four the discipline policies. There was also a positive correlation between the presence of African Americans and the four policies. There are two potential explanations for these differences. First, although the estimates remain negative, they do not reach statistical significance because the sample of schools is smaller in the multivariate models due to the restriction of having at least nominal presence of racial groups. Alternatively, it could be that the earlier correlations and mean differences reflect other school factors that are correlated with the presence of African Americans. In other words, the earlier correlations were spurious. Examining the correlations between the presence of African Americans and the

discipline policies only within the 82 schools used in the multivariate analyses, it is clear that these associations are weaker in this smaller sample of schools. While not dramatically different, the correlations are attenuated. For example, the correlation between the proportion of African Americans in the school and the punitive policy index is 0.16 in this smaller sample, versus 0.18 in the larger sample of schools.

< Table 6-9 >

Next I examine the association between racial socioeconomic positions – absolute and relative – with the discipline policies. The racial presence of African Americans, Latinos, or a measure of racial diversity remains in the models. The socioeconomic position of white students is a strong predictor of discipline policies. The absolute or mean level of parental education of white students is not a significant predictor of the punitive policy index. Instead, white students' relative socioeconomic position is associated with less punitive policies [see Table 6]. The reference category is relative parity i.e. similar socioeconomic positions between groups. In particular, in schools where white students have a relative positional advantage over African American students, there are less punitive policies. This finding is obtained in the models with racial presence measured by the proportion of African American students and with the racial diversity measure.

The relative positional advantage of white students is also a significant predictor of the proportion of students who are punitively sanctioned [see Table 7], and the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior [see Table 8]. In schools in which whites have a positional advantage, there are fewer students sanctioned and less ruled-based regulation. This suggests that

it is not the case that whites use discipline policies to help maintain relative group advantage over African Americans and Latinos. Or alternatively, it could be the case that

In addition to the relative position of white students being an important predictor of discipline policies, their absolute position is also associated with two of these policies. As the level of average parent education of white students increases there are fewer rules regulating student behavior and a smaller proportion of the student body experiences punitive sanctioning.

The positions of African American and Latino students appear to be less related to school discipline policies. The only exception to this is a counter-intuitive finding that in schools in which Latino students have a relative advantage over whites, there is more punitive sanctioning of students. This is counter-intuitive because in general higher position is associated with better outcomes (i.e. less regulatory, punitive policies). However viewed in relation to the earlier descriptive findings, this is less surprising. Figures 1 and 2 show that for the punitive policy index and the proportion of students sanctioned, Latinos of higher status (absolutely speaking) actually experience more punitive policies.

The last racial dynamic I examine is racial conflict. Racial conflict is the strongest racial dynamic predictor of school discipline policies. The perception of racial conflict in a school is associated with large increases in the punitiveness of sanctioning policies as well as the extent of rule-based regulation of student behavior. In models with the presence and position of African American students, perceived racial conflict is associated with a 0.18 to 0.28 increase in the punitive policy index, a 0.18 increase in models with Latino presence and position, and 0.16 to 0.29 in models with racial diversity. These are substantial effects: they represent an increase of

one half to almost a full standard deviation (sd=0.38). Similarly, for the extent of rule-based

regulation of student behavior, the estimated increase in regulation ranges from 0.28 to 0.49

which represents an increase of one half to a full standard deviation (sd=0.51).

Conclusion/Discussion

In this chapter I have examined the relationships between school discipline policies and

three aspects of racial dynamics: racial presence, racial socioeconomic position (absolute and

relative), and racial conflict.

The analyses from this chapter provide new findings to inform the ongoing debate

highlighted in the introduction as to whether or not discipline and security practices are

distributed across schools that differ in the student body characteristics. African American

students and students with lower socioeconomic status on average attend schools that organize

their discipline in more punitive and restrictive ways. However, it is only white students who are

buffered from the more punitive and restrictive environments when their parents have higher

average levels of education.

I find that the presence of racial groups, the absolute and relative socioeconomic position

of racial groups, and racial conflict are related to school discipline policies. While there are

limited associations between racial presence and discipline, there are stronger findings for the

role of racial position and racial conflict. The racial position of white students in particular is

related to the punitiveness and restrictiveness of school discipline policies whereby when they

are more advantaged, relatively and absolutely, they experiences less punitive and restrictive

school environments. These results suggest that as the dominant group, the position (both

absolute and relative to other racial groups) of white students is an important factor related to the discipline policies of schools. Assuming that less punitive, harsh or restrictive discipline policies are better, these findings suggest that whites are the only racial group that is able to translate their positional advantages (both absolute and relative) into better school environments for their children.

Schools with perceived racial conflict have more punitive and restrictive discipline policies. This finding suggests that one way schools respond to racial conflict (or at least the perception of it), is to have more restrictive rules and harsh discipline policies.

The results found in this chapter highlight the importance of examining multiple aspects of racial dynamics. In addition to the presence of racial groups in schools, the examination of racial group position and racial conflict shed new light on other ways that race affects these policy outcomes.

The major limitation to these analyses is the cross-sectional nature of the data. This limits my ability to infer reactions on the part of policymakers or administrators. However, many of these associations remain even with the addition of other potentially confounding school characteristics such as size, location, average achievement, and school community features. Given the limited state of knowledge in this area, the results from these analyses reveal interesting descriptive patterns that should be examined in future work.

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Figure 1. Average Disciplinary Environment Experienced by Students by Racial Identity and Parent Education: Punitive Sanctioning Policy Index
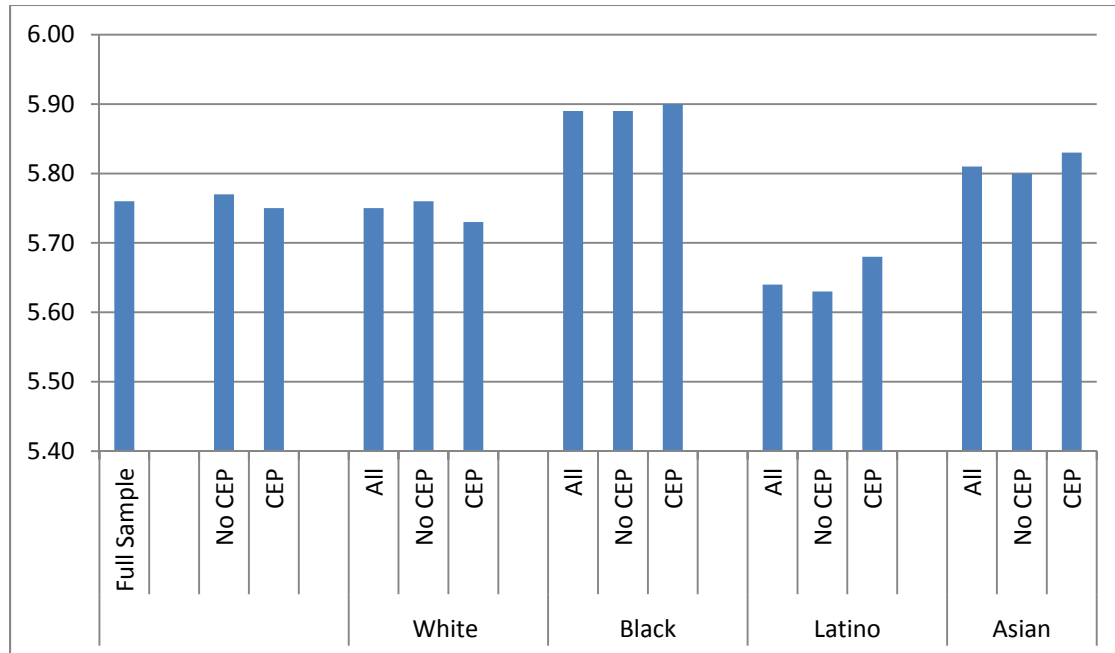
Note: CEP = College-educated parent

Figure 2. Average Disciplinary Environment Experienced by Students by Racial Identity and Parent Education: Proportion Punitively Sanctioned
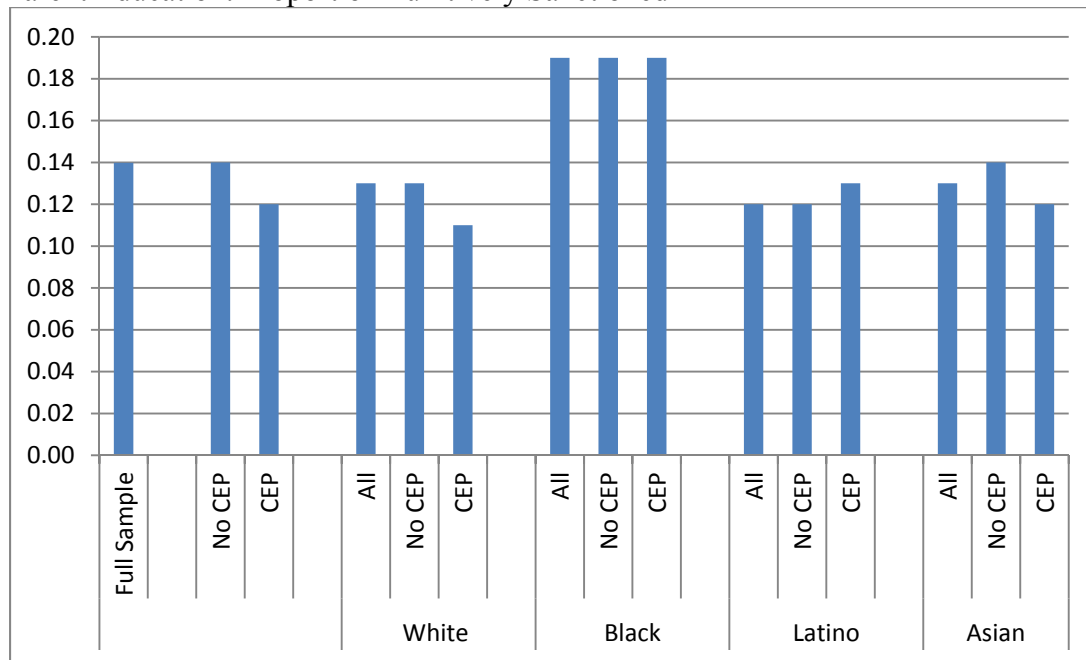
Note: CEP = College-educated parent

Figure 3. Average Disciplinary Environment Experienced by Students by Racial Identity and Parent Education: Extent of Surveillance and Monitoring
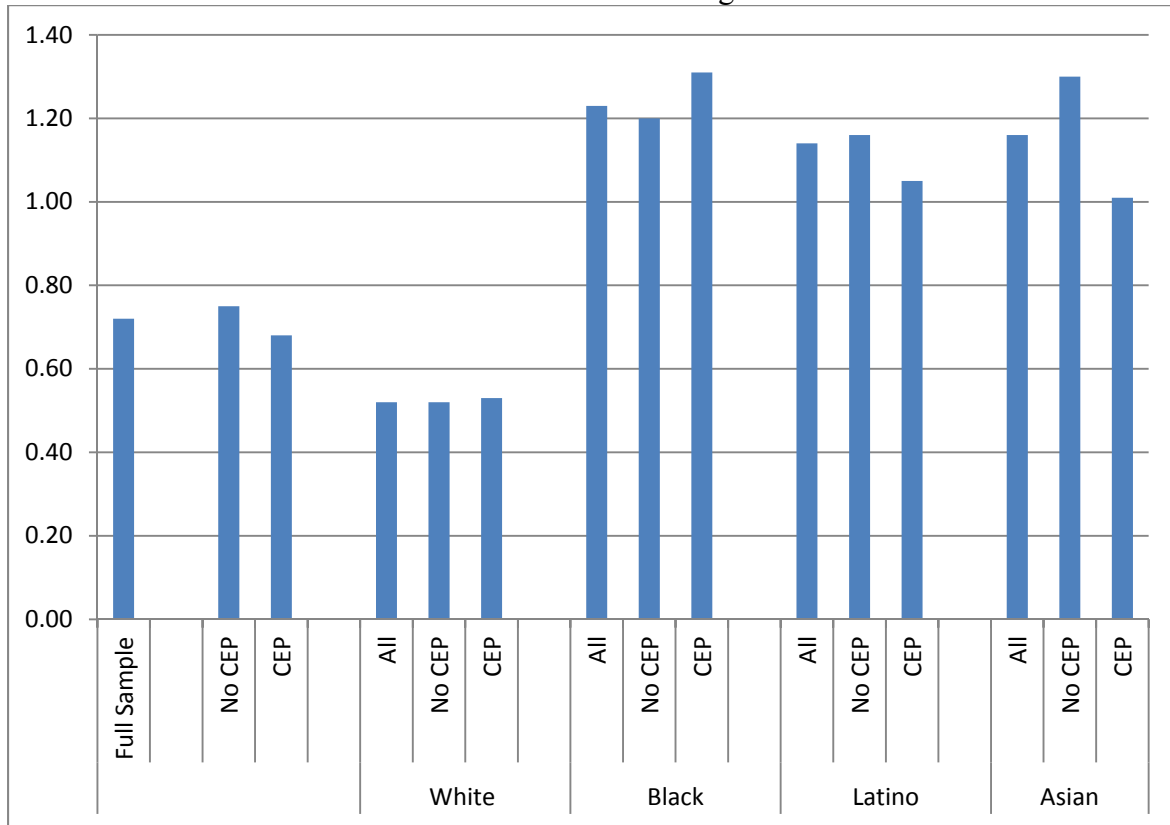
Note: CEP = College-educated parent

Figure 4. Average Disciplinary Environment Experienced by Students by Racial Identity and Parent Education: Rule-Based Regulation
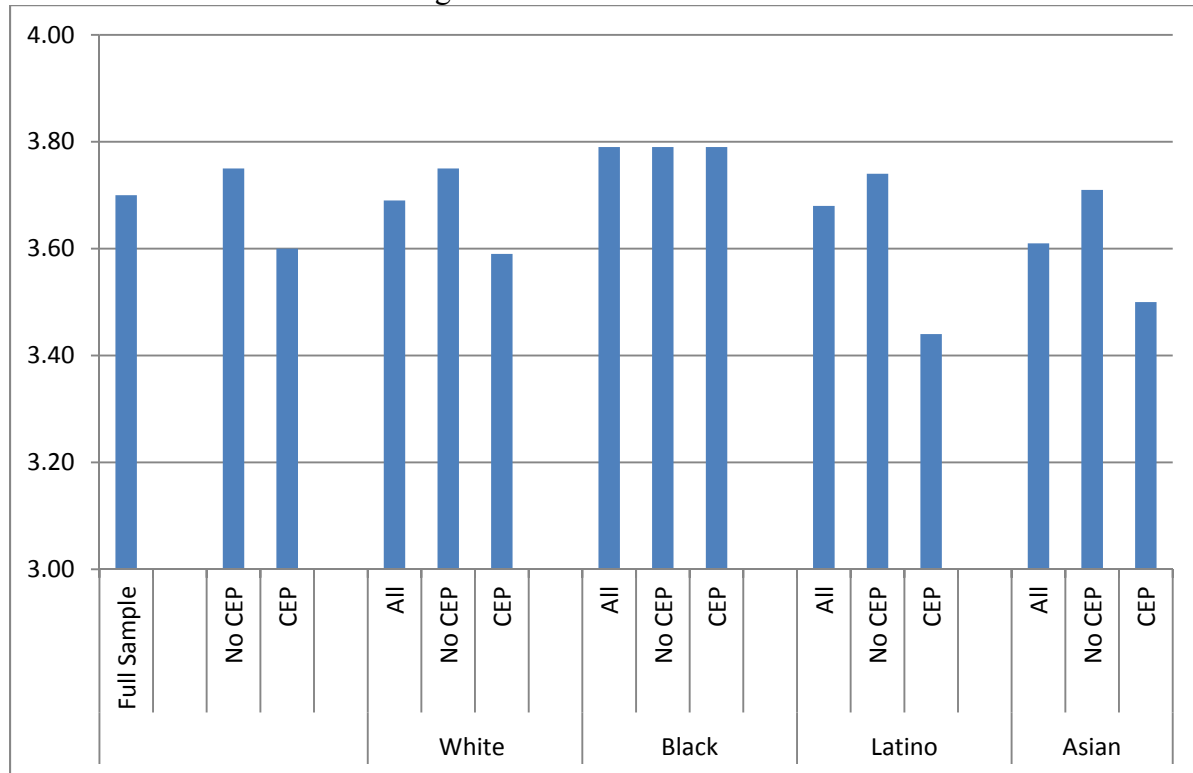
Note: CEP = College-educated parent

Figure 5. Perceived Student Prejudice by Proportion African American in School
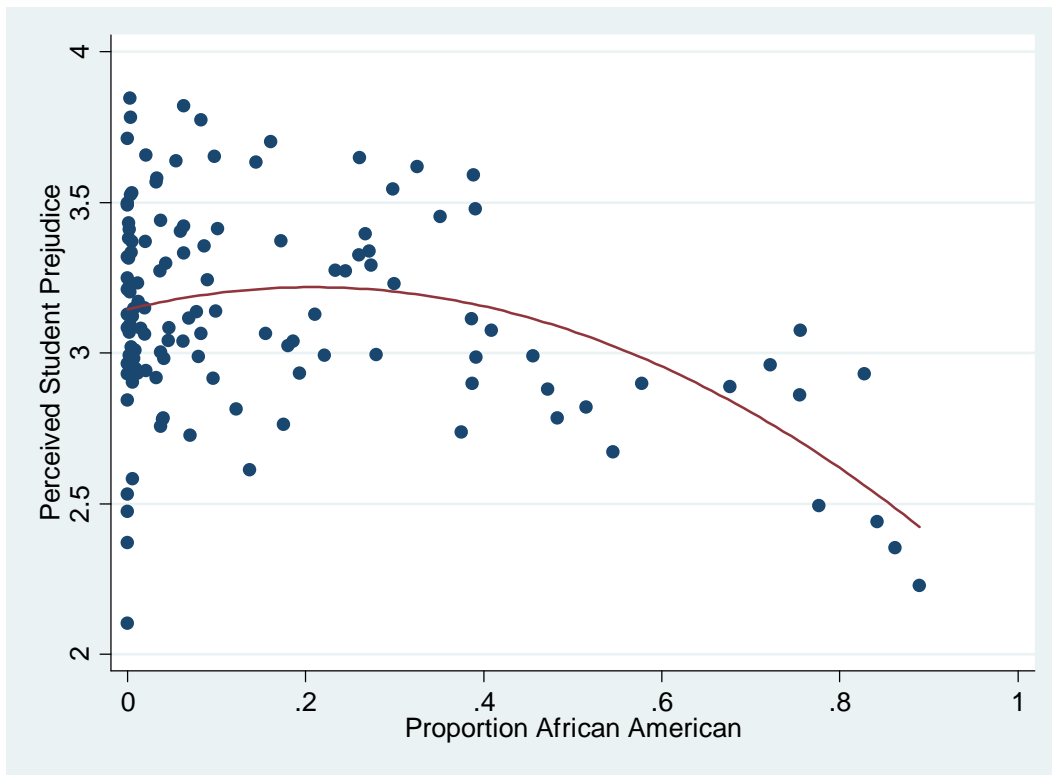
Figure 6. Perceived Student Prejudice by Proportion White in School
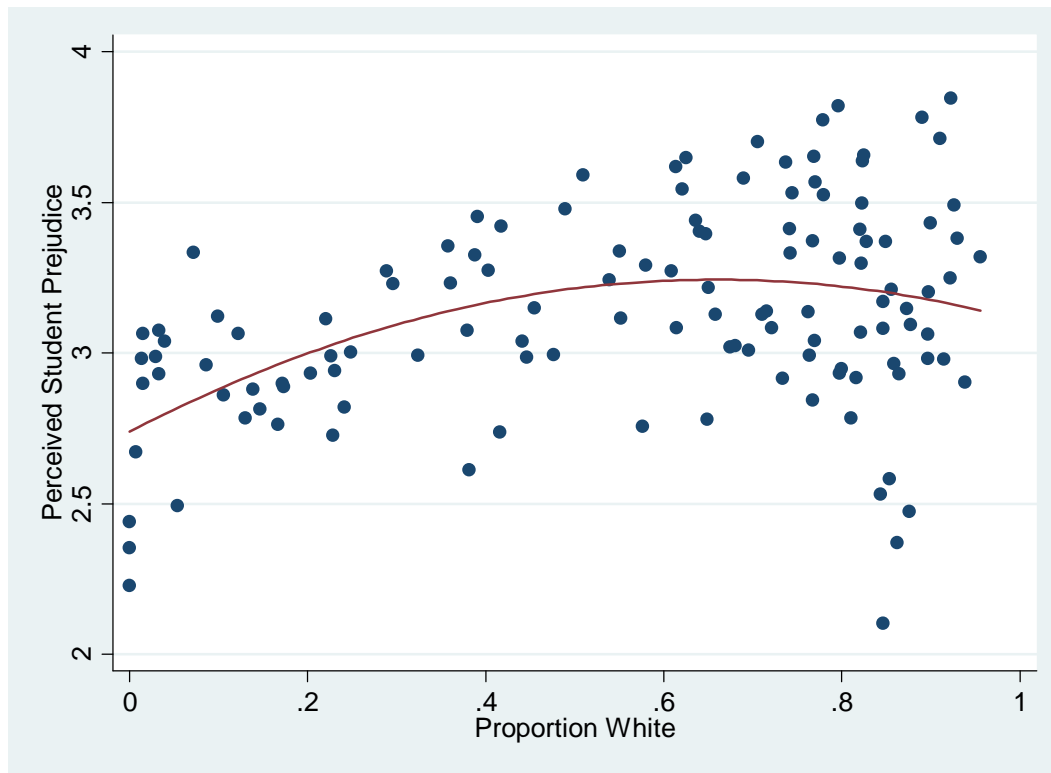
Table 1. Average Disciplinary Environment Experienced by Students by Racial Identity and Parental Education

	Full Sample	White	African American	Latino	Asian	No Parent with College Degree	Parent with College Degree
Punitive Discipline Index	5.76	5.75	5.89*	5.64	5.81	5.77	5.75
Prop. Punitively Sanctioned	0.14	0.13[t]	0.19*	0.12	0.13	0.14*	0.12*
Extent of Surveillance	0.72	0.52*	1.23*	1.14*	1.16*	0.75	0.68
Rule-Based Regulation	3.70	3.75	3.79	3.68	3.61	3.75*	3.60*

Note: Tests for significant differences of means were conducted at the student level using a post-estimation Wald test in order to estimate the means appropriately accounting for the survey structure of the data. Mean differences are for each category versus all other students (e.g. white vs. not white).

* Indicates a statistically significant mean difference at $p < 0.05$

[t] Indicates a statistically significant mean difference at $p < 0.10$

Table 2. Correlations among School Discipline Policies and Racial Dynamics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
(1)	1									
(2)	0.06	1								
(3)	0.23*	-0.01	1							
(4)	-0.01	0.25*	-0.01	1						
(5)	-0.12	-0.44*	-0.08	-0.27*	1					
(6)	-0.10	-0.10	-0.13	-0.50*	0.15	1				
(7)	0.18*	0.19*	0.18*	0.37*	-0.19*	-0.07*	1			
(8)	0.16	0.09	0.04	0.33*	-0.16	-0.58*	0.30*	1		
(9)	0.04	0.33*	0.08	0.00	0.40*	0.37*	-0.33*	0.02	1	
(10)	0.24*	0.12	0.35*	0.18*	-0.12	-0.24*	0.13	0.37*	0.24*	1

Note: Correlations are estimated at the school level (N=125).

* Indicates a significant correlation at $p < .05$ obtained from Stata's pwcorr command.

(1) Punitive sanctioning policy index

(2) Proportion of student punitively sanctioned

(3) Rule-based regulation

(4) Extent of surveillance/monitoring

(5) Perception of fair treatment

(6) Proportion white students

(7) Proportion African American students

(8) Racial diversity

(9) Perceptions of student prejudice

(10) Administrator report of racial conflict

Table 3. Correlations among School Environment Measures

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)
(1)	1								
(2)	-0.69*	1							
(3)	-0.64*	-0.02	1						
(4)	-0.58*	0.30*	0.36*	1					
(5)	0.20*	-0.27*	-0.14	0.07	1				
(6)	0.10	-0.10	-0.10	-0.04	0.44*	1			
(7)	0.16	-0.02	-0.28*	-0.13	0.55*	0.34*	1		
(8)	-0.29*	0.32*	0.13	0.03	-0.64*	0.28*	-0.28*	1	
(9)	-0.01	0.31*	-0.27*	-0.13	-0.45*	-0.12	0.42*	0.46*	1

Note: Correlations are estimated at the school level (N=82-125).

* Indicates a significant correlation at $p < .05$ obtained from Stata's pwcorr command.

(1) Proportion of white students

(2) Proportion of African American students

(3) Proportion of Latino students

(4) Racial diversity

(5) Average parent education for white students

(6) Average parent education for African American students

(7) Average parent education for Latino students

(8) Ratio of African American average parent education to white average parent education

(9) Ratio of Latino average parent education to white average parent education

Table 4. African American Presence by Relative Socioeconomic Position

Presence of African Americans	Relative Socioeconomic Status			
	Black Advantage	Parity	White Advantage	Total
Low				
Number of schools	4	7	12	23
Average White SES	3.53	3.77	3.94	3.82
Average Black SES	4.26	3.74	3.14	3.52
Moderate				
Number of schools	7	8	16	31
Average White SES	2.94	3.94	4.23	3.87
Average Black SES	3.86	3.82	3.49	3.66
High				
Number of schools	12	7	9	28
Average White SES	2.45	3.41	3.63	3.07
Average Black SES	3.17	3.33	2.91	3.13
Total				
Number of schools	23	22	27	82
Average White SES	2.79	3.72	3.99	3.58
Average Black SES	3.57	3.64	3.24	3.44

Note: N=82 because of the restriction on schools needing at least 5 students to estimate the average racial group socioeconomic position.

Table 5. Latino Presence by Relative Socioeconomic Position

Presence of Latinos	Relative Socioeconomic Status			
	Latino Advantage	Parity	White Advantage	Total
Low				
Number of schools	1	18	15	34
Average White SES	3.78	3.58	3.52	3.56
Average Latino SES	4.27	3.41	2.65	3.10
Moderate				
Number of schools	7	14	34	55
Average White SES	2.28	3.30	3.94	3.57
Average Latino SES	2.92	3.22	2.96	3.02
High				
Number of schools	0	2	21	23
Average White SES	-	2.60	3.50	3.42
Average Latino SES	-	2.67	2.55	2.56
Total				
Number of schools	8	34	70	112
Average White SES	2.47	3.41	3.72	3.54
Average Latino SES	3.09	3.29	2.77	2.95

Note: N=112 because of the restriction on schools needing at least 5 students to estimate the average racial group socioeconomic position.

Table 6. Punitive Sanctioning Policy Index Predicted by Racial Dynamics

	Racial Presence	Racial Position		Racial Conflict		Full Model	
		Absolute Positions	*Relative Positions*	*Absolute Positions*	*Relative Positions*	*Absolute Positions*	*Relative Positions*
Black-White Relations							
Proportion African American	0.27	0.17	0.25	0.22	0.20	0.10	0.08
	(0.19)	(0.21)	(0.19)	(0.20)	(0.18)	(0.23)	(0.22)
Average Black SES		-0.01		0.03		-0.01	
		(0.07)		(0.07)		(0.08)	
Average White SES		-0.06		-0.03		-0.10	
		(0.06)		(0.06)		(0.08)	
Black relative SES advantage			-0.14		-0.10		-0.06
			(0.11)		(0.10)		(0.11)
White relative SES advantage			-0.19+		-0.18*		-0.21*
			(0.10)		(0.09)		(0.10)
Racial conflict				0.28**	0.28**	0.24*	0.26**
				(0.09)	(0.08)	(0.10)	(0.10)
Latino-White Relations							
Proportion Latinos	-0.33	-0.31	-0.29	-0.40+	-0.37+	-0.53+	-0.53+
	(0.21)	(0.23)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.22)	(0.28)	(0.27)
Average Latino SES		0.03		0.01		0.01	
		(0.07)		(0.07)		(0.08)	
Average White SES		-0.07		-0.05		-0.06	
		(0.06)		(0.06)		(0.08)	
Latino relative SES advantage			-0.16		-0.12		-0.22
			(0.15)		(0.15)		(0.15)
White relative SES advantage			-0.07		-0.05		-0.06
			(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.08)
Racial conflict				0.18*	0.18*	0.10	0.09
				(0.07)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)

Racial Diversity and Black-White Relations							
Racial diversity	0.36+	0.35	0.07	0.15	-0.07	0.38	0.24
	(0.22)	(0.23)	(0.29)	(0.23)	(0.27)	(0.28)	(0.33)
Average Black SES		0.02		0.04		0.04	
		(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.05)	
Average White SES		-0.07		-0.06		-0.11	
		(0.05)		(0.05)		(0.08)	
Black relative SES advantage			-0.12		-0.08		-0.05
			(0.11)		(0.10)		(0.11)
White relative SES advantage			-0.20*		-0.19*		-0.22*
			(0.10)		(0.09)		(0.10)
Racial conflict				0.22**	0.29**	0.16+	0.25*
				(0.08)	(0.08)	(0.09)	(0.10)

Notes: N=82 schools for African American presence models. N=112 for Latino presence models. N=125 for racial diversity models. Full models also include basic school characteristics (average student achievement, and indicators for private, urban, large, and south), school problems (delinquency, perceived problems of administrator, and safety perceptions of students), and school community features (sense of community, student relations, mainstream norm agreement, shared norm, and participatory climate).

+ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 7. Proportion Punitively Sanctioned Predicted by Racial Dynamics

	Racial Presence	Racial Position		Racial Conflict		Full Model	
		Absolute Positions	*Relative Positions*	*Absolute Positions*	*Relative Positions*	*Absolute Positions*	*Relative Positions*
Black-White Relations							
Proportion African American	0.05 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.03 (0.08)	0.12+ (0.06)	0.13* (0.06)
Average Black SES		-0.03 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.03)		-0.01 (0.02)	
Average White SES		-0.03 (0.02)		-0.03 (0.02)		-0.04+ (0.02)	
Black relative SES advantage			-0.01 (0.04)		-0.01 (0.04)		0.01 (0.03)
White relative SES advantage			-0.03 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.04)		-0.03 (0.03)
Racial conflict				-0.02 (0.03)	-0.01 (0.03)	-0.04 (0.03)	-0.02 (0.03)
Latino-White Relations							
Proportion Latinos	-0.03 (0.07)	-0.01 (0.07)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.08)	0.01 (0.07)	-0.02 (0.07)	0.02 (0.07)
Average Latino SES		0.03 (0.02)		0.02 (0.02)		0.01 (0.02)	
Average White SES		-0.05* (0.02)		-0.04* (0.02)		-0.05* (0.02)	
Latino relative SES advantage			0.08+ (0.05)		0.09+ (0.05)		0.09* (0.04)
White relative SES advantage			-0.03 (0.03)		-0.03 (0.03)		-0.02 (0.02)
Racial conflict				0.01 (0.02)	0.02 (0.02)	-0.02 (0.02)	-0.01 (0.02)

Racial Diversity and Black-White Relations							
Racial diversity	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.05	0.01	0.04	0.04
	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.11)	(0.08)	(0.10)
Average Black SES		-0.01		-0.01		0.01	
		(0.02)		(0.02)		(0.01)	
Average White SES		-0.03+		-0.03+		-0.05*	
		(0.02)		(0.02)		(0.02)	
Black relative SES advantage			-0.01		-0.01		0.01
			(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.03)
White relative SES advantage			-0.03		-0.03		-0.04
			(0.04)		(0.04)		(0.03)
Racial conflict				-0.01	0.01	-0.03	-0.02
				(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.03)

Notes: N=82 schools for African American presence models. N=112 for Latino presence models. N=125 for racial diversity models. Full models also include basic school characteristics (average student achievement, and indicators for private, urban, large, and south), school problems (delinquency, perceived problems of administrator, and safety perceptions of students), and school community features (sense of community, student relations, mainstream norm agreement, shared norm, and participatory climate).

+ p < .10 * p < .05; ** p < .01

Table 8. Extent of Rule-Based Regulation of Student Behavior Predicted by Racial Dynamics

	Racial Presence	Racial Position		Racial Conflict		Full Model	
		Absolute Positions	*Relative Positions*	*Absolute Positions*	*Relative Positions*	*Absolute Positions*	*Relative Positions*
Black-White Relations							
Proportion African American	0.41	0.07	0.28	0.13	0.20	-0.35	-0.37
	(0.28)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.28)	(0.26)	(0.33)	(0.33)
Average Black SES		0.03		0.08		0.12	
		(0.10)		(0.10)		(0.12)	
Average White SES		-0.24**		-0.19*		-0.14	
		(0.09)		(0.08)		(0.12)	
Black relative SES advantage			0.12		0.18		0.08
			(0.16)		(0.15)		(0.17)
White relative SES advantage			-0.12		-0.11		-0.16
			(0.14)		(0.13)		(0.14)
Racial conflict				0.41**	0.48**	0.44**	0.46**
				(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.15)	(0.14)
Latino-White Relations							
Proportion Latinos	-0.03	-0.24	0.11	-0.38	-0.02	-0.40	-0.13
	(0.29)	(0.30)	(0.30)	(0.29)	(0.29)	(0.38)	(0.37)
Average Latino SES		-0.13		-0.16+		-0.11	
		(0.10)		(0.09)		(0.11)	
Average White SES		-0.11		-0.08		-0.12	
		(0.08)		(0.08)		(0.10)	
Latino relative SES advantage			-0.20		-0.14		-0.31
			(0.20)		(0.20)		(0.20)
White relative SES advantage			-0.18		-0.15		-0.19+
			(0.11)		(0.11)		(0.11)
Racial conflict				0.28**	0.28**	0.38**	0.38**
				(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.11)	(0.11)

Racial Diversity and Black-White Relations							
Racial diversity	-0.09	0.02	0.11	-0.26	-0.12	-0.57	-0.21
	(0.29)	(0.32)	(0.42)	(0.32)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.50)
Average Black SES		0.07		0.10+		0.08	
		(0.06)		(0.06)		(0.07)	
Average White SES		-0.22**		-0.21**		-0.12	
		(0.07)		(0.07)		(0.11)	
Black relative SES advantage			0.14		0.20		0.09
			(0.16)		(0.14)		(0.17)
White relative SES advantage			-0.14		-0.11		-0.13
			(0.14)		(0.13)		(0.14)
Racial conflict				0.31**	0.49**	0.39**	0.45**
				(0.10)	(0.12)	(0.12)	(0.14)

Notes: N=82 schools for African American presence models. N=112 for Latino presence models. N=125 for racial diversity models. Full models also include basic school characteristics (average student achievement, and indicators for private, urban, large, and south), school problems (delinquency, perceived problems of administrator, and safety perceptions of students), and school community features (sense of community, student relations, mainstream norm agreement, shared norm, and participatory climate).

+ $p < .10$ * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

Table 9. Extent of Surveillance and Monitoring Security Practices Predicted by Racial Dynamics

	Racial Presence	Racial Position		Racial Conflict		Full Model	
		Absolute Positions	*Relative Positions*	*Absolute Positions*	*Relative Positions*	*Absolute Positions*	*Relative Positions*
Black-White Relations							
Proportion African American	0.59	0.47	0.37	0.47	0.37	0.87	0.84
	(0.50)	(0.56)	(0.53)	(0.56)	(0.53)	(0.70)	(0.70)
Average Black SES		0.13		0.13		0.26	
		(0.21)		(0.21)		(0.29)	
Average White SES		-0.13		-0.14		-0.10	
		(0.17)		(0.18)		(0.26)	
Black relative SES advantage			0.40		0.40		0.32
			(0.30)		(0.31)		(0.37)
White relative SES advantage			0.01		0.01		-0.05
			(0.30)		(0.30)		(0.33)
Racial conflict				-0.03	0.02	-0.13	-0.10
				(0.26)	(0.25)	(0.30)	(0.30)
Latino-White Relations							
Proportion Latinos	1.31**	1.45**	1.55**	1.39*	1.50**	-0.78	-0.75
	(0.50)	(0.56)	(0.54)	(0.57)	(0.55)	(0.82)	(0.82)
Average Latino SES		0.15		0.13		0.12	
		(0.23)		(0.23)		(0.28)	
Average White SES		-0.14		-0.12		-0.01	
		(0.18)		(0.18)		(0.25)	
Latino relative SES advantage			0.39		0.42		0.52
			(0.39)		(0.39)		(0.45)
White relative SES advantage			-0.22		-0.20		-0.09
			(0.26)		(0.26)		(0.28)
Racial conflict				0.16	0.18	-0.05	0.02
				(0.22)	(0.21)	(0.28)	(0.28)

Racial Diversity and Black-White Relations

Racial diversity	2.02**	1.72*	0.79	1.66*	0.79	0.56	0.31
	(0.68)	(0.72)	(0.84)	(0.75)	(0.85)	(0.90)	(1.03)
Average Black SES		-0.05		-0.04		0.02	
		(0.15)		(0.15)		(0.19)	
Average White SES		-0.09		-0.09		-0.01	
		(0.16)		(0.16)		(0.25)	
Black relative SES advantage			0.41		0.41		0.31
			(0.30)		(0.30)		(0.38)
White relative SES advantage			-0.04		-0.04		-0.11
			(0.30)		(0.30)		(0.33)
Racial conflict				0.07	0.01	-0.02	-0.12
				(0.24)	(0.25)	(0.29)	(0.31)

Notes: N=82 schools for African American presence models. N=112 for Latino presence models. N=125 for racial diversity models. Model estimated is Poisson regression, so coefficients are not the same scale as previous tables. Full models also include basic school characteristics (average student achievement, and indicators for private, urban, large, and south), school problems (delinquency, perceived problems of administrator, and safety perceptions of students), and school community features (sense of community, student relations, mainstream norm agreement, shared norm, and participatory climate).

$+ p < .10 * p < .05; ** p < .01$

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

Although schools have been seen as representing an important institutional environment for political learning that may shape later citizenship, the emphasis has been on understanding how individuals learn politically-relevant skills or obtain politically-relevant knowledge. This focus is consistent with our understanding of education in general as a site for the accumulation of human capital defined as skills and knowledge. However, I argue that a much wider range of experiences of school are politically relevant because schooling can also be thought of as reflecting how people have experienced educational institutions.

This dissertation examined how applying insights from the policy feedback effects and social institutions literature to the study of political socialization in schools leads to new questions and findings that inform our understanding of how citizenship is constructed within schools. Specifically, I examined how specific personal experiences of school and school organizational features were related to later citizenship outcomes.

In addition to thinking about schools as sites of explicit political socialization such as civics education, I argued for the importance of examining how the implicit political learning (interpretative effects) of students are shaped by organizational features of the schools. Drawing from the work of experiences with other social institutions (including my own previous work), I focused on authority relations as a key element. The conceptualization of authority relations I used was broad and included both school disciplinary policies and school community features.

The basic expectation was that experiencing different types of authority relations – either through personal experiences such as being punitively sanctioned, perceiving unfair treatment,

feeling part of or participating in the school community OR through simply being in a school that has organized their authority relations in different ways – would impact what students learned about engaging in their community (civically and politically), as well as their orientations towards government.

Although the majority of scholarship on school discipline examines effectiveness in maintaining order and limiting student misbehavior, I have looked not at the effectiveness of discipline strategies in achieving this goal, but instead on the democratic consequences of the current disciplinary strategies that schools utilize. In this way, I examined potential unintended consequences.

In addition to focusing on disciplinary and community features, I also focused on the racial dynamics of schools as potential factors influencing the political learning processes in schools. The motivation for this piece of the dissertation is derived from both general theories of racial relations such as intergroup contact and racial threat as well as from theoretical and empirical work on schools that demonstrates the importance of racial context for social relations within the school and student outcomes.

I examined not only the typical measure of racial composition – the presence of a specific group such as African Americans, but also other dynamics of race that could be expected to impact relations within the school and later outcomes, including the absolute and relative socioeconomic position of racial groups, and racial inequality and conflict.

I argued that it is necessary to examine the multiple aspects of relations operating simultaneously in schools in order to capture the conditional nature of these relational attributes

specified by theories of racial relations. In other words, how groups are relatively positioned in terms of composition-based attributes and the organization of authority relations affects how and whether inequality is produced in schools. This expectation is guided by the idea that the effects of racial composition and authority relations will differ depending on the structure of relations among social groups.

Main Findings

In the first empirical chapter, I explored the extent to which student experiences of school are related to later citizenship outcomes. In particular, I examined how experiences of specific authority relations and community dynamics in school settings affect later citizen participation and attitudes toward government. The findings from this chapter highlight that schools represent important sites for political socialization. Although there are a number of pathways through which education and schooling affect citizenship, this chapter explored four of these: potentially marginalizing experiences of school, potentially socially integrating experiences of school, basic skills acquisition for participation, and educational attainment. I found evidence suggesting that all four of these channels are associated with later citizenship outcomes.

The political learning that occurs with the personal experiences of being punitively sanctioned, perceiving unfair treatment, feeling connected to and participating in the school community are all associated with citizenship outcomes. Experiencing punitive sanctioning and perceiving unfair treatment are negatively associated with later participation. However, feeling part of school and participating in school activities have positive effects on participation and trust in government. Together these findings highlight that school-based experiences in a young

person's formative years can either dampen their later participation or increase the likelihood that they will become an engaged citizen.

In the second empirical chapter, I examined three ways that schools could affect citizenship: (1) by affecting the likelihood of having particular experiences of school that are associated with citizenship outcomes; (2) by affecting citizenship outcomes directly; and (3) by conditioning the associations between particular experiences and citizenship.

I found varying levels of support for each of these three possibilities. I found that there is some evidence that schools play an indirect role in fostering citizenship by affecting the likelihood that students have experiences in school that are associated with later political outcomes. The clearest finding here is that students are more likely to be punitively sanctioned in schools with more punitive sanctioning policies. However, the effect of sanctioning policies is stronger for African American, male, and low-achieving students, as well as those with more highly educated parents.

The second way that schools may affect citizenship outcomes is directly. Although there are descriptive differences in the average rates of participation and reported trust in government across many of the school features, the vast majority of these differences do not remain in the multivariate models. However, I found that the punitiveness and extensiveness of sanctioning affect the strength of the dampening effect of being sanctioned. I found that being sanctioned in schools with more punitive policies or in schools strengthens the negative association between being sanctioned and later participation. This is interpreted as providing evidence that the harsher the policy, the stronger influence it has on students as a meaningful school experience for later

citizenship. However, I also found that being sanctioned in schools in which fewer students were sanctioned strengthens the negative associations between being sanctioned and later participation. This suggests that being sanctioned in an environment where this is a rare occurrence is more stigmatizing and/or meaningful for students as a significant experience in school in a way that affects later citizenship.

In terms of the third way that schools may affect citizenship – by modifying the effect of personal experiences - I explored only two possibilities – whether the effect of being punitively sanctioned is stronger in schools with more punitive policies, and whether there are stronger effects of race in schools characterized by racial inequality or conflict. In terms of whether the racial dynamics of the school magnify or lessen the association between racial group membership and citizenship outcomes, I focused on African American and voting and trust because they were the strongest findings in the first chapter and also have large literatures on them to explain these patterns generally. I find that the higher rate of voting of African Americans is depressed when they attend schools that are characterized by racial inequality or conflict. This suggests that African American political participation is dampened when they attend a school where race is a salient marker of difference. However, the association between identifying as African American and trust in government appears to be less affected by school context. The magnitude of the associations are more similar across schools with varying levels of racial inequality and conflict.

In the third empirical chapter, I explored whether students of different racial or socioeconomic status backgrounds are more likely to experience the disciplinary environments that may be better or worse for citizenship outcomes. I also examined how the authority relations

and racial dynamics of schools are related and how they are distributed across schools focusing in particular on three dimensions of racial dynamics: racial group presence, the average socioeconomic position of racial groups, and racial conflict in school.

In the third chapter I asked whether the hard line in school discipline follows the color line. I found that indeed, schools with higher proportions of African Americans have more punitive sanctioning policies, sanction a greater number of students, have more rule-based regulation of student behavior and use more surveillance techniques. Students without college-educated parents also attend school with higher rates of sanctioning.

I found that all three of the racial dynamics were related to discipline policies. The weakest relationship is between racial presence and the discipline policies, while the strongest is between racial conflict and the discipline policies of schools. The strength of these associations suggest that one way schools deal with or manage racial conflict is by implementing more restrictive rules and harsher discipline policies.

I also found that the socioeconomic position of white students was associated with the discipline policies of the schools they attended. When white students are more advantaged, relatively or absolutely, they experience less punitive and restrictive school environments suggesting that whites are able to translate their positional advantages into better school environments for their children.

Contributions

By bridging the gaps between the sociology of education understandings of socialization and discipline in schools, the general political socialization literature, and the insights from the

feedback scholars and new institutionalist work in political science on experiences of institutions and on punitive policy designs and authority relations, the analyses in this dissertation make a number of unique contributions.

In particular, examining the relationships between punitive sanctioning and fairness perceptions in schools with later citizenship outcomes has not been done previously. Showing the potential citizenship consequences therefore highlights how socially marginalizing experiences in school should be considered in future examinations of political socialization in schools.

The examination of how authority relations in schools are related to later citizenship outcomes is also innovative. Of the few studies that have applied insights from policy feedback scholarship to schools, this is the first to explore positive and negative aspects of authority relations and how they are experienced in schools as social institutions. In doing so, I have contributed new knowledge to what we know about how schools affect later citizenship outcomes.

My investigation of whether individual experiences and/or school environment affect citizenship outcomes was also informative for policy feedback effects scholars. Because it is not yet clear when feedback effects are going to occur or under what conditions should we expect feedback effects, this examination of personal experiences and the contextual factors of the institutions in which they occur is informative for helping to understand these processes.

I have been able to make these contributions because I have taken advantage of one of the only datasets available that has detailed information on school authority relations, student experiences of school, and later citizenship outcomes.

However, a major limitation of my work is that I have not been able to rule out the potential bias from unobserved heterogeneity, I have used a much richer set of controls at both the student and school level than is typical in studies of political socialization in schools. And the interpretation of the empirical findings are grounded in the previous work that finds that experiences within social institutions do affect perceptions of fairness and connection and that these subjective experiences affect later citizenship outcomes.

Implications

While there are a number of ways of organizing authority relations in schools, the findings from the current work suggest that there are potentially negative consequences associated with certain experiences of school and school policies that are justified by deterrence theory. In other words, policy designs can result in positive or negative civic and political messages being received resulting in higher levels of engagement and participation or increased civic and political marginalization. While the shift toward more punitive and restrictive school discipline policies is justified in part by arguing that supervision, monitoring, and harsh punishments are required to enforce appropriate behaviors, another theoretical perspective points to organizing authority in schools in ways that foster positive aspects of community building and participation.

I was unable to leverage exogenous variation such as state policy differences that impact how schools are structured in the same way that I was able to in my previous work (Bruch et al. 2010). Therefore, while I cannot make a strong claim that if we did not suspend or expel students in middle and high school, then they would vote more. I agree with the conclusion that sociologists David Kirk and Robert Sampson articulate, "Moreover, there may be unintended negative repercussions from the use of suspension and expulsion as a tool for promoting school safety… Much like the case for adult punishment (Western 2006), the collateral consequences of policies and practices designed to promote school safety need to be weighed against the potential benefits" (399: 2011). The findings of this dissertation are suggestive of potential "collateral consequences" of having students experience schools in these ways.

Schools also need to be aware of the importance of students perceiving treatment (outcomes and procedures) as fair. Since many are concerned with the crisis of authority which is based on the idea that schools have lost their moral authority (Arum 2003), this would be one way to enhance or reinforce moral authority. This may be even more important in schools where there is conflict (whether racial conflict or otherwise) because of the key role that authority plays in mediating conflict. So it may be possible that in schools where there is conflict or diversity/heterogeneity, perceptions of legitimacy and fairness are even of more critical importance as a way to get voluntary acceptance of authority as the mediator as opposed to using coercive methods.

Schools need to focus attention on creating inclusive environments that ensure all students feel included and part of the school. The findings from this dissertation reinforce what other work has shown - that schools with greater sense of community have more positive

outcomes for students. Creating a sense of community is also one way that schools can maintain order as opposed to relying on harsh punishments and security practices. Other alternative disciplinary strategies are school-wide positive behavior support programs and social emotional learning programs (Osher et al. 2010; Goodman 2010).

The focus here is on the implications of experiences of school because these individual experiences have stronger and more robust associations with the citizenship outcomes than do the school policies and context. In the chapter that examined the role of school discipline policies, community features, and racial dynamics, I found that these school features affect citizenship outcomes indirectly by affecting the likelihood of having certain experiences of school, and as modifiers of personal experiences and social identities. However, I found little evidence that these contextual features of schools had direct effects on citizenship outcomes.

The primary implication from the findings in the second chapter is that citizenship outcomes are malleable and constructed. Finding that there is a great deal of the contextual variation in these outcomes as well as finding direct and moderating effects of school contextual features highlights that observed differences in citizenship outcomes across individuals are due not only to individual characteristics but instead are also a product of the interaction of these characteristics with the environment.

The findings for trusting government inform scholarship on how political orientations are formed. Findings large racial differences for African Americans is consistent with previous work examining racial differences, however, these findings show that this racial difference appears at a much younger age than currently thought. Because most of the work on political orientations

relies on surveys of adults, it remains uncertain when these orientations develop. The findings also provide empirical evidence supportive of the posited link between perceptions of justice and fairness and political orientations.

The major implication for the last empirical chapter draws on the findings from the previous two chapters. In these chapters, I demonstrated the potentially negative consequences of discipline policies – influencing the experiences students have in school or directly affecting their later outcomes. Therefore, in the third empirical chapter, I examined whether all students are being exposed to these types of policies. Because I found that African Americans are more likely to attend schools that have harsher sanctioning policies, more rule-based regulation, and higher levels of surveillance and monitoring this has implications for how we understand the potential consequences of these policies. In other words, since African Americans are more likely to experience harsher and more restrictive discipline policies and these policies directly or indirectly may affect citizenship, this could be one pathway through which schools dampen the participation of African Americans.

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