Implicit Racial Bias and School Discipline Disparities

Exploring the Connection

KIRWAN INSTITUTE SPECIAL REPORT • *May 2014*

By Cheryl Staats
Research Associate II

Executive Summary

While the education landscape is complex and ever changing, the idea that education is a pathway to opportunity in our society persists. One education topic that has gained attention recently is school discipline, both in terms of the various approaches (e.g., zero tolerance policies) and the implementation and ramifications thereof. In fact, in January 2014, the U.S. Department of Education and the U.S. Department of Justice jointly released the first-ever policy guidance package on school discipline and school climate. These materials acknowledge the uneven landscape of school discipline in which students of color are disproportionately impacted by disciplinary actions. For example, data from the U.S. Department of Education's Office of Civil Rights found that "African American students without disabilities are more than three times as likely as their White peers without disabilities to be expelled or suspended" (Lhamon & Samuels, 2014, p. i). Disparities highlighted by the federal guidance package further a range of reports and research that have documented this troubling trend in a variety of locations and contexts (see, e.g., Losen & Gillespie, 2012; Losen & Martinez, 2013; R. J. Skiba, et al., 2011).

> *Our work at the Kirwan Institute has led us to believe that implicit bias is a powerful explanation for the persistence of many societal inequities*

As discussed in this document, many reasons have been offered to explain these disparities. Our work at the Kirwan Institute has led us to believe that implicit bias—that is, the unconscious biases that people are unaware they hold but influence their perceptions, behaviors, and decision-mak-
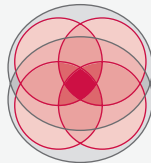
KIRWAN INSTITUTE
for the Study of Race and Ethnicity

ing—is a powerful explanation for the persistence of many societal inequities, even among individuals with egalitarian intentions. Notably, the federal guidance package mentions implicit bias as a factor that may be affecting the administration of school discipline, encouraging school personnel to receive training that will "enhance staff awareness of their implicit or unconscious biases and the harms associated with using or failing to counter racial and ethnic stereotypes" (Lhamon & Samuels, 2014, p. 17).

This report seeks to uplift implicit bias as a possible contributing factor to the racialized discipline disparities we see in K-12 education. Among the key points in this discussion are the following:

- **Many of the infractions for which students are disciplined have a subjective component, meaning that the school employees' interpretation of the situation plays a role in judging whether (and to what extent) discipline is merited. Research from the field of implicit bias suggests that ambiguous situations are ripe for the arousal of implicit bias. The automatic implicit associations that school employees carry can shape their perceptions of when discipline is necessary.**

- **The predominantly White teacher workforce contrasts with an increasingly diversified student population. This cultural mismatch between teachers and students can activate teachers' implicit racial biases in ways that contribute to discipline disparities.**

- **Pervasive societal implicit associations surrounding Blackness (e.g., being dangerous, criminal, or aggressive) can impact perceptions of Black students in ways that affect the discipline they receive.**

Finally, the implications of school disciplinary actions can extend well beyond the classroom context and affect students' larger life trajectory. Alarmingly, recent years has seen the emergence of a "**school-to-prison pipeline**" in which student disciplinary cases—even for minor, nonviolent offenses—are increasingly being handled by the criminal (juvenile) justice system. Thus, it is vital that we work to address the role of implicit bias and end racially disproportionate discipline. This document closes by discussing ways to divert students from the school-to-prison pipeline by addressing implicit racial bias through debiasing strategies.

Introduction

An August 2012 report published by The Center for Civil Rights Remedies at The Civil Rights Project at UCLA opened with this startling fact:

> "Well over three million children are estimated to have lost instructional 'seat time' and to have been suspended from school, often with no guarantee of adult supervision, in 2009–2010. **That's about the number of individual children it would take to fill every seat in every major league baseball park and every NFL stadium in America, *combined*"** (Losen & Gillespie, 2012, p. 10).

While a statement like this is enough to alarm even those who are indifferent to education policy, the reality is that these data become even more stark when viewed in light of the students' race. Indeed, to make this compelling visualization accurate, the majority of the faces pictured in those various stadiums would not be White, but rather students of color. Looking across the nation at students suspended at least once during the 2009–2010 school year, an uneven landscape emerges. The authors note that **nearly 1 out of every 6 African American students enrolled was suspended**. This high proportion is followed by Native American students (1 in 13) and Latino students (1 in 14). In contrast, among White students only 1 in 20 were suspended, and a mere 1 in 50 Asian American students were suspended, though this varied by subgroup.

While the figures cited here focus solely on suspensions, the racial distributions of other disciplinary measures also reflect disproportionality. This begs several questions, perhaps the most prominent being, *"Why is there racial disproportionality?"* Echoing this sentiment, a 2009 document from Children's Defense Fund-Ohio explored data on the racialized discipline disparities that exist in Ohio, and called for further research to understand this issue: "The implications of this data are that regardless of the demographic/geographic scenario, minority students are getting disciplined at higher rates than white students, and there seems to be no logical explanation for it based on the data. Therefore, more research should be conducted to examine the real reasons for the disproportionate levels of minority student discipline occurrences" (Children's Defense Fund-Ohio, 2009, p. 21).

In light of these disturbing numbers and lingering inquiries, this document seeks to add another concept into this discussion—**implicit racial bias**. In order to lay the groundwork, we first delve into the data on school discipline disparities, providing a broad yet concise picture of this troubling issue. Next, we briefly consider a few common explanations for these disparities. Last, we turn to the concept of implicit racial bias, asserting that this cognitive concept offers another way to understand discipline disparities.

School Discipline Disparities

"The fact of racial/ethnic disproportionality in school discipline has been widely and, we would argue, conclusively demonstrated. Across urban and suburban schools, quantitative and qualitative studies, national and local data, African American and to some extent Latino students have been found to be subject to a higher rate of disciplinary removal from school."

– Dr. Russell J. Skiba et al., 2011

Extensive research has been devoted to uncovering, understanding, and eliminating school discipline disparities. The findings of these efforts, which have largely focused on disparities by race, have been startling and disheartening. This section addresses several studies of these disparities. While not exhaustive, these examples help illustrate the scope of this disproportionality.

Data released in March 2012 by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights covered approximately 7,000 school districts (i.e., more than 72,000 individual schools). By capturing approximately 85% of the nation's students, this data provides a wide-ranging picture of the discipline numbers from the 2009–2010 school year. Consider the numbers for African American students:

While African American students comprise 18% of the overall sample, they represented…

- **35% of in-school suspensions,**

- **35% of students suspended out of school one time,**

- **46% of students suspended out of school more than once, and**

- **39% of students expelled (2009-10 Civil Rights Data Collection - Data Summary, 2012).**

Contextualizing this further, compared to their White peers, African American students were **more than 3.5 times more likely** to be suspended or expelled (2009–10 Civil Rights Data Collection - Data Summary, 2012).

Unfortunately, this disproportionality is not a new phenomenon. For example, consider the rates of school suspensions for Black and White students. A recent report notes that the suspension rate for Black secondary students increased 12.5% between the 1972–73 and 2009–2010 school years (Losen & Martinez, 2013). Meanwhile, the suspension rate for White secondary students increased a mere 1.1% over the same time span (Losen & Martinez, 2013). Thus, what was originally a 5.7 point Black/White gap has ballooned to more than 17 points (Losen & Martinez, 2013).

Another nationally-representative data set contained data on office discipline referrals for a slightly younger population. When considering the data from 364 elementary and middle schools during the 2005–2006 year, the research team found that compared to White students, African American

elementary students have twice the odds of receiving an office discipline referral, while the odds of receiving this referral for African American middle schoolers jump to a nearly four times the odds compared to their White peers (R. J. Skiba, et al., 2011). Similar to African American students, Hispanic students are overrepresented in office referrals at the middle school level; however, they are significantly underrepresented at the elementary school level (R. J. Skiba, et al., 2011).

Another innovative study analyzed millions of school and juvenile justice records in Texas. Researchers sought to shed light not only on who is expelled or suspended from public secondary schools, but also how those removals impacted both academic performance and related to juvenile justice system involvement. In an extensive multivariate analysis, the research team controlled for 83 different variables that could impact academic success and juvenile justice system involvement. A startling finding was that compared to similar White and Hispanic 9th grade students, African American students had a 31% higher likelihood of being disciplined in school (Fabelo, et al., 2011). Strikingly, African American students were not any more likely than students of other races to commit infractions that prompt removal from school; rather, White and Hispanic students were actually *more likely* than African Americans to engage in behaviors that merit mandatory expul-sions. The authors assert that the disconnect may be due to adult subjectivity: "High rates of disciplinary involvement among African-American students were driven chiefly by violations that are subject to the discretion of school employees. It is important to explore, with educators, parents, students, and others, what might be contributing to this disproportionality" (Fabelo, et al., 2011, p. 46).

> *High rates of disciplinary involvement among African-American students were driven chiefly by violations that are subject to the discretion of school employees*

Other times, the punishment appears overly punitive for the severity of the infraction. One study that examined the data from more than 26,000 U.S. middle and high schools found that "the vast majority of suspensions are for minor infractions of school rules, such as disrupting class, tardiness, and dress code violations, rather than for serious violent or criminal behavior" (Losen & Martinez, 2013, p. 1). Exploring the racial aspects of this further, another study focused on elementary and middle schools suggested that while the aggregated data generally appeared to show a match between the severity of infractions and associated consequences, disaggregating the data revealed that African American and Latino students are punished more severely for infractions that constitute "minor misbehavior" (R. J. Skiba, et al., 2011, p. 103). Indeed, other research suggests that Black and Latino students are punished more harshly than their White peers (see, e.g., Fabelo, et al., 2011; Lhamon & Samuels, 2014).

These studies indicate that overrepresentation of students of color in school discipline is both a multifaceted issue and a concerning trend.

Explanations for this Disproportionality

As educators and policymakers have sought to understand the reasons for these disparities, several possible explanations have emerged.

Some contend that racial disparities in school discipline is closely intertwined with socioeconomic status. Specifically, poverty and its correlation with race in our society provokes questions of whether school discipline disparities are byproducts of socioeconomic factors, rather than racial ones (Russ Skiba & Peterson, 1999; R. J. Skiba, et al., 2011). This assertion has largely been countered by research that suggests that discipline disparities by race cannot be fully explained by socioeco-

nomic status. For example, one study of a large, urban Midwestern public middle school district found "large and consistent" overrepresentation of Blacks in both office referrals and school suspensions, but these racial disparities could not be attributed to socioeconomic factors (R. J. Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Paterson, 2002). Balfanz and colleagues acknowledge the correlation between poverty and ethnicity but find that poverty is inadequate to explain Black students' disproportionate rate of suspension; even after controlling for poverty, the suspension rates for Black students remained significantly higher than the rates for White students and other minority groups in their study (Balfanz, Byrnes, & Fox, 2012). In short, the general consensus is that race contributes to discipline disproportionality independent of socioeconomic factors (R. J. Skiba, et al., 2011; Wallace Jr., Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008; Wu, Pink, Crain, & Moles, 1982).

Cultural deficit thinking is sometimes offered as another reason for discipline disparities. In an education context, the cultural deficit model asserts that minority students do not perform as well as their White peers because non-White students are culturally "deficient" in some way, such as underachieving academically, living in a dysfunctional family culture, or not valuing education (Salkind, 2008). Cultural deficit explanations have been strongly challenged, as "there is considerable evidence that deficit explanations for the discipline gap are grossly inaccurate" (Monroe, 2006, p. 104).

Others hypothesize that students of color are disciplined more frequently because they behave in ways that are disruptive to the classroom learning environment. This argument asserts that these students "may learn and exhibit behavioral styles so discrepant from mainstream expectations in school settings as to put them at risk for increased disciplinary contact" (R. J. Skiba, et al., 2011, p. 86). Considerable evidence has accumulated that counters this claim. For example, data from a nationally representative study from the early 1980s found that non-Whites were suspended more frequently than White students, even when controlling for a variety of attitude and behavior differences, leading the researchers to conclude that non-Whites' higher rate of suspension cannot be explained on the basis of more frequent misbehavior (Wu, et al., 1982). Using more recent data, in an extensive national investigation of documented office discipline referrals in more than 360 elementary and middle schools, Skiba and colleagues ultimately declare that, "With no evidence that supports the notion that there are concurrently higher levels of disruption among African American students, we see no reason to presume that disparate rates of discipline between racial and ethnic groups can be explained by differential behavior histories" (R. J. Skiba, et al., 2011, p. 104). This finding echoes earlier work by Skiba et al. in which they reviewed the disciplinary records of more than 11,000 middle school students to investigate the sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school discipline. The research team did not find evidence that the higher rates of discipline for African American students could be attributed to behavior that was either more serious or disruptive (R. J. Skiba, et al., 2002).

With the extent of racialized discipline disparities and current explanations in mind, we now turn to the concept of implicit racial bias as an emerging and important explanation for understanding these alarming discipline disparities.

Implicit Racial Bias in Educational Contexts

"As a result, many teachers, consciously or unconsciously, believe that boys present more disciplinary problems than girls, and that Black students are more likely to misbehave than youths of other races."

– Dr. Carla R. Monroe, 2005, p. 47

....

Also known as implicit social cognition, implicit bias refers to the attitudes or stereotypes that affect our understanding, actions, and decisions in an unconscious manner. These biases are activated involuntarily and without individuals' awareness or intentional control. The implicit biases we hold—both positive and negative associations—are activated based on characteristics such as race/ethnicity, gender, age, and religion, among others. Implicit biases begin to develop at a very young age through exposure to direct and indirect messages.

No one is immune to implicit biases; they are both pervasive and robust (Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998; Kang, et al., 2012; Kang & Lane, 2010; Nosek, et al., 2007). Even people with avowed commitments to impartiality and fairness are susceptible to these unconscious biases (Rachlinski, Johnson, Wistrich, & Guthrie, 2009). Because the implicit associations we hold arise outside of conscious awareness, these biases do not necessarily align with our explicit beliefs (Beattie, Cohen, & McGuire, 2013; Greenwald & Krieger, 2006; Reskin, 2005). As such, individuals who profess egalitarian beliefs may still unknowingly act in ways that reflect their unconscious biases. An example of this could be a school administrator who believes he or she is meting out equal punishments for equivalent infractions, when in fact certain student populations are receiving harsher discipline due to the subtle yet powerful influence of the administrators' implicit biases.

Implicit biases can be manifested in a variety of ways that yield significant impacts. A growing body of scholarship is dedicated to understanding how implicit racial bias can permeate educational settings, often yielding negative consequences for students of color.

Subjective Interpretations of Ambiguous Situations

As previously noted, many of the infractions for which students are disciplined have a subjective component, meaning that the school employees' interpretation of the situation plays a role in judging whether (and to what extent) discipline is merited. Some infractions such as "disruptive behavior" are ambiguous and highly contextualized (Vavrus & Cole, 2002). One 2011 report on school discipline in Texas found that the vast majority of disciplinary actions were attributed to discretionary responses to student behavior (Fabelo, et al., 2011). Research from the field of implicit bias suggests that ambiguous situations are ripe for the arousal of implicit bias, as implicit biases have a tremendous impact on subjective decision making (Hoffman, et al., 2008). Thus, in circumstances in which discipline may be merited, teachers' "background experiences and automatic associations shape his or her interpretation of the scene" (Ogletree, Smith, & Wald, 2012, p. 53).

Research suggests that this subjectivity can contribute to discipline disparities. Indeed, studies that explore racialized discipline disparities often note that office referrals and other disciplinary measures for students of color tend to rely heavily on subjective interpretations of infractions such

as "disrespect" or "excessive noise" whereas White students' office referrals are more frequently the result of an objective event, such as smoking or vandalism (R. J. Skiba, et al., 2002, p. 332).

Moreover, the federal school discipline guidance package released in January 2014 also makes the connection between subjective office referrals and the possibility of bias. School discipline investigations by the U.S. Department of Education and the U.S. Department of Justice flagged students' initial referral to the principal's office for misconduct as a point for concern "to the extent that it entails the subjective exercise of unguided discretion in which racial biases or stereotypes may be manifested" (Lhamon & Samuels, 2014, p. 6).

Other research from outside the education field suggests that ambiguous evidence can be interpreted in racially-biased ways. Using a mock-juror set-up, Levinson and Young found that when presented ambiguous evidence about a fictitious armed robbery, participants who saw a dark-skinned perpetrator were more likely to consider the evidence presented as indicative of criminal guilt compared to participants who viewed a lighter-skinned perpetrator (Levinson & Young, 2010). They were also more likely to assert that the defendant was in fact guilty of the crime when viewing a dark-skinned perpetrator (Levinson & Young, 2010). With this association occurring automatically and unintentionally, this research questions individuals' sense of objectivity in circumstances involving ambiguous evidence (Levinson & Young, 2010).

Together this indicates that ambiguity can activate implicit biases in student disciplinary situations that require subjective judgment.

Cultural Competence and Teachers' Perceptions of Student Behavior

Another way in which implicit racial biases can have disadvantageous consequences for students of color is in regards to teachers' culturally-influenced perceptions of student behavior. Unconscious bias can affect both how behavior is perceived and interpreted (Osher, Quinn, Poirier, & Rutherford, 2003; Soto-Vigil Koon, 2013). For example, Vavrus and Cole argued that students who are singled-out for suspensions are disproportionately "those whose race and gender distance them from their teachers, and this subtle, often unconscious process may be one of the reasons students of color often experience suspension in the absence of violent behavior" (Vavrus & Cole, 2002, p. 109). Notably, research indicates that teachers' race matters with respect to perceptions of students' behavior. Downey and Pribesh found that while Black students "are typically rated as poorer classroom citizens" than their White peers in terms of behavior, when Black and White students are taught by same-race teachers, Black students' classroom behavior is actually viewed as *more favorable* than White students' (Downey & Pribesh, 2004, p. 275).

Recognizing that the current teaching workforce is largely comprised of White females, a cultural mismatch often emerges between teachers and their increasingly diverse student bodies. A national survey of more than 1,000 public school teachers found that the teaching population in 2011 was both 84% White and 84% female (Feistritzer, 2011). In contrast, data from the 2008–09 academic year indicated that students of color comprise the majority of public primary school students in many schools nationwide (Cárdenas, 2012). Looking across the 100 largest metropolitan areas in the United States, more than 55% of students enrolled in public primary schools were non-White (Cárdenas, 2012).

This cultural mismatch between teachers and students can activate teachers' implicit racial biases in ways that contribute to discipline disparities. Culture-based misunderstandings between students and teachers can lead to students being disciplined unnecessarily for perceived unruliness

even when their actions were not intended to be inappropriate (C. Weinstein, Curran, & Tomlinson-Clarke, 2003; C. S. Weinstein, Tomlinson-Clarke, & Curran, 2004). Several examples illustrate this contrast between "mainstream sociocultural norms" and "culturally influenced" student behavior (C. Weinstein, et al., 2003, pp. 269–270). A lively debate may be interpreted as aggressive and contentious rather than simply verbal sparring common among African American teenagers (C. S. Weinstein, et al., 2004). Differences in discourse models can also signal cultural mismatch. Overlapping speech, such as the active "call-response" participatory pattern familiar to African American students, may be perceived as disruptive and/or rude when contrasted with the more "passive-receptive" approach that is likely to be more typical to White teachers' expectations (Monroe, 2005; C. S. Weinstein, et al., 2004). In other cases, play fighting may be mistakenly regarded as genuine aggression (Monroe, 2005). For Black females in particular, what may be perceived as loud and defiant behavior may actually be the manifestation of important survival qualities that have historically reflected resilience in the face of racism, sexism, and classism (Morris, 2013). Moreover, for Black students, these disconnects are particularly perplexing when teachers sanction them for behavior that may be accepted or even rewarded in their home life (Downey & Pribesh, 2004). In sum, influenced by implicit biases, "practitioners' misunderstanding of the intent behind student actions" can lead to the disproportionate administration of school discipline by race (Monroe, 2006, p. 105).

Implicit Biases and Perceptions of Blackness, Particularly Black Males

Broadly speaking, research suggests that most Americans—regardless of race—hold an anti-Black/pro-White implicit bias (Dovidio, Kawakami, & Gaertner, 2002; Greenwald, et al., 1998; Greenwald, Poehlman, Uhlmann, & Banaji, 2009; McConnell & Liebold, 2001; Nosek, Banaji, & Greenwald, 2002). While this implicit bias is not gender-specific, Black males are uniquely situated at a precarious identity intersection of race/gender.

Pervasive cultural narratives and media portrayals perpetuate stereotypes and further associations that connect Black males with negative traits such as aggression, violence, and criminality (see, e.g., Dixon & Linz, 2000; Oliver, 2003). A 2007 study by Justin Levinson in which mock jurors were told a story of a fictional fistfight highlights this association. In one condition, the protagonist of the story was a Caucasian, "William;" in other conditions, "William" was replaced by "Tyronne" (who was explicitly described as African American) or "Kawika," a Hawaiian. Fifteen minutes later, participants were asked to recall details of the confrontation. Despite participants across the conditions being told the same story, Levinson found that the reported race of the fictional defendant affected participants' recollection of the scenario. In particular, participants had an easier time successfully recalling facts about the aggressiveness of "Tyronne" compared to when "William" or "Kawika" were in the same role (Levinson, 2007).

Other work in the implicit bias realm has provided evidence of the implicit association between Black men and criminality. B. Keith Payne's work indicated that when non-Black participants were primed with the image of a Black face (as opposed to a White face), they were more quickly able to identify images of guns more quickly than hand tools (Payne, 2001). Moreover, participants also misidentified hand tools as guns more often when primed with a Black face (Payne, 2001). In another study, when Eberhardt et al. sought to isolate the association between Black males and criminality, they found that when they directly asked police officers "who looks criminal?", the officers selected more Black male faces than White ones, particularly those that appeared more stereotypically Black (Eberhardt, Goff, Purdie, & Davies, 2004). Finally, and perhaps most alarmingly, other research suggests the presence of an implicit association between Blacks and apes, and this association can impact the extent to which individuals condone and justify violence against Black criminal suspects (Goff, Eberhardt, Williams, & Jackson, 2008).

Other research on priming suggests an implicit association between Blackness and individuals who merit punishment. Work by Graham and Lowery considered whether the unconscious racial stereotypes held by police officers and juvenile probation officers affected how they perceived and treated juvenile offenders. The researchers discovered that when subliminally race-primed for Blackness, the officers regarded offenders as more culpable and "deserving" of harsher punishment than those who had been exposed to a neutral prime (Graham & Lowery, 2004). Notably, the officers' consciously-held beliefs about race did not moderate the effects of the primes. Applied to an educational context, "these subjective impressions can (and often do) mean the difference between one student being sent back to the classroom and another student being sent to the principal's office, or between one student getting a warning for a fistfight and another getting arrested and referred to juvenile court on assault and battery charges" (Ogletree, et al., 2012, p. 54).

Two studies by Hugenberg and Bodenhausen consider the implicit association between Blackness and perceived affect. A 2004 study presented European American participants with several racially-ambiguous computer-generated male faces with facial expressions that clearly were either happy or angry. When asked to racially categorize these ambiguous faces, participants who held strong implicit associations of Black-bad/White-good were more likely to categorize the hostile faces as African American but not the happy faces (Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2004). In another study, Hugenberg and Bodenhausen showed subjects a series of faces (one series of Black and one series of White) with expressions that gradually progressed from a scowl to a smile. They asked European American participants to identify which face in the series they perceived to be

implicit biases have been shown to influence how European Americans perceive the emotional state of African Americans

the one that indicated an offset/onset of anger. They found that individuals with higher levels of Black-bad/White-good implicit bias more readily perceived anger in the Black faces. (Hugenberg & Bodenhausen, 2003). Thus, implicit biases have been shown to influence how European Americans perceive the emotional state of African Americans.

In a classroom context, these implicit associations surrounding Blackness can have a profound impact on Black students, particularly males. Monroe considers the implications when she reflects that "Many teachers may not explicitly connect their disciplinary reactions to negative perceptions of Black males, yet systematic trends in disproportionality suggest that teachers may be implicitly guided by stereotypical perceptions that African American boys require greater control than their peers and are unlikely to respond to nonpunitive measures" (Monroe, 2005, pp. 46–47). Accounting for the earlier discussion of how ambiguous situations can give rise to implicit biases, Ogletree, Smith, and Wald consider how the implicit associations involving Black males can affect teachers' and administrators' actions. They write, "Thus, racially charged stereotypes of being prone to violence and dangerous that apply to young Black males might cause other students and teachers to evaluate and report ambiguous evidence of school disciplinary code violations in racially biased ways and also may have a negative impact on the ability of school administrators to weigh such evidence in a racially neutral manner" (Ogletree, et al., 2012, p. 55).

Implicit Bias and the School-to-Prison Pipeline

"For many young people, our schools are increasingly a gateway to the criminal justice system. This phenomenon is a consequence of a culture of zero tolerance that is widespread in our schools and is depriving many children of their fundamental right to an education."[1]

– U.S. Senator Dick Durbin, speaking at the first-ever Congressional hearing on the School-to-Prison Pipeline, December 12, 2012

Recent years have seen a noticeable increase in school disciplinary cases being referred to the criminal (juvenile) justice system. This distressing national trend in which students effectively are funneled from the education system into the criminal justice system, often for minor, nonviolent offenses that previously had been addressed in school, is known as the school-to-prison pipeline. Several factors contribute to this trend. First, **widely-adopted zero tolerance policies that mandate predetermined consequences**, regardless of the context or gravity of the behavior, are often harsh and punitive in nature, pushing students away from the classroom context via out-of-school suspensions or expulsions. Students who find themselves removed from the educational environment, often unsupervised during school hours, may engage in antisocial activities that lead to involvement in the criminal justice system (Hemphill, et al., 2012). Furthermore, a Zero Tolerance Task Force convened by the American Psychological Association reviewed the effectiveness of zero tolerance policies, finding that these policies have not resolved, and indeed may have exacerbated, minority overrepresentation in school punishments" (American Psychological Association, 2008, p. 860). In a nod to the school-to-prison pipeline, this Task Force ultimately concluded that zero tolerance policies "may negatively affect the relationship of education with juvenile justice" (American Psychological Association, 2008, p. 852).

Second, the increasing presence of school resource officers and other law enforcement personnel in the educational environment has strengthened the connection between schools and the criminal justice system. In many cases, disciplinary concerns that were previously handled by school administrators have instead been turned over to law enforcement personnel, thereby **directly linking students to the criminal justice system** (American Psychological Association, 2008). Moreover, these school resource officers may not be well versed in adolescent development; thus, without proper training, "minor, developmentally influenced misbehavior" may be perceived and addressed as a criminal act (American Psychological Association, 2008, p. 858).

Negative Implications of Exclusionary School Discipline Policies and the School-to-Prison Pipeline

Exclusionary school discipline policies and referrals to law enforcement have a range of negative consequences. Lost classroom time is one dimension of concern. Students who are suspended, expelled, or otherwise removed from the classroom for any duration miss valuable instruction time. Upon returning to the classroom, students often find that they have fallen behind their peers academically, which can lead to further behavioral issues due to students' frustration or boredom, as well as putting them at a greater risk for school dropout (see, e.g., Biehl, Celeste, McFarland, Lier, & Wheeler, 2012; Wald & Losen, 2003). This loss of instruction time can also yield poor academ-

1. http://www.durbin.senate.gov/public/index.cfm/pressreleases?ID=7dcaee2b-b40e-4199-bf20-557b4b1bc650

ic outcomes and perpetuate the achievement gap (see, e.g., Arcia, 2006; Russell Skiba & Rausch, 2004). In fact, national data suggests that schools with exclusionary discipline policies have lower academic outcomes (*Handcuffs on Success: The Extreme School Discipline Crisis in Mississippi Public Schools*, 2013). Moreover, by removing students from the classroom, they are not given the opportunity to learn "appropriate" behaviors and thus may unintentionally repeat their previous problematic behavior patterns upon their return to class.

Removal from the school environment has several broader negative consequences for many students. Students excluded from school can also display weaker school bonds and/or feel alienated from school (R. J. Skiba & Rausch, 2006). Being removed from school, such as through the use of suspensions, is also seen as a key indicator of students' future drop out (Arcia, 2006; Suh, Suh, & Houston, 2007). For example, a 2009 report that considered suspension data from four of the largest school districts in Colorado found that dropouts were approximately two to three times as likely to have been suspended across the four years being studied (2003–2006 academic years) than students who graduated (Mac Iver, Balfanz, & Byrnes, 2009). Perhaps most alarmingly, removing students from school is seen as a risk factor for future juvenile justice system involvement (Wald & Losen, 2003).

Simply put, when a teacher or administrator elects to discipline a student in a manner that removes him or her from the classroom setting, that student may experience a range of negative implications that impact not only his/her school experience, but also larger life trajectory. Pervasive racial disproportionalities in school discipline mean that some students are more likely to be exposed to these kinds of negative outcomes than others. It is therefore imperative that we work to end racially disproportionate discipline, stop the school-to-prison pipeline, and keep students

> *when a teacher or administrator elects to discipline a student in a manner that removes him or her from the classroom setting, that student may experience a range of negative implications that impact not only his/her school experience, but also larger life trajectory"*

in the classroom. In the words of U.S. Attorney General Eric Holder, "Ensuring that our educational system is a doorway to opportunity—and not a point of entry to our criminal justice system—is a critical, and achievable, goal."[2]

A Federal Call to Action: Discipline Disparities, the School-to-Prison Pipeline, and Implicit Bias

The importance of racialized discipline disparities gained national attention in January 2014 when the U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Justice jointly released federal policy guidelines on school discipline and school climate. The five part guidance package is designed to help public elementary and secondary schools administer school discipline without discriminating on the basis of race.

In a subtle nod to the school-to-prison pipeline, the guidance package acknowledges that exclusionary school discipline can increase the odds of students becoming involved in the juvenile justice system (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Furthermore, the materials recognize that "the increasing use of disciplinary sanctions such as in-school and out-of-school suspensions, expulsions, or referrals to law enforcement authorities creates the potential for significant, negative

---

2.) United States Attorney General Eric Holder. July 21, 2011. http://www.justice.gov/opa/pr/2011/July/11-ag-951.html

educational and long-term outcomes, and can contribute to what has been termed the 'school to prison pipeline'" (Lhamon & Samuels, 2014, p. 4).

The guidance package also pays special attention to the role of school resource officers and law enforcement in the administration of school discipline, noting that while these entities can play a role in maintaining school safety, special care is needed to avoid unnecessary student referrals to the juvenile justice system. Similarly, the materials emphasize that school-based law enforcement officers' primary concern should be safety rather than discipline, as by "avoiding inappropriate officer involvement in routine discipline matters, schools have found that they can reduce students' involvement in the juvenile justice system" (U.S. Department of Education, 2014, p. 10).

Notably, the federal guidance package also recognizes implicit racial bias as a factor that contributes to discipline disparities, particularly emphasizing the need for training. For example, a discussion on the fair implementation of discipline policies by school staff members suggests that staffers should receive training and similar opportunities to assess their awareness "of their implicit or unconscious biases and the harms associated with using or failing to counter racial and ethnic stereotypes" (U.S. Department of Education, 2014, p. 17). Other parts of the materials suggest training for school resource officers and other law and security personnel on topics such as bias-free policing, implicit bias, and cultural competency. As discussed in the next section, these recommendations from the federal policy guidelines align with research-based recommendations from the scholarly literature on implicit bias.

Diverting Students from the School-to-Prison Pipeline by Addressing Implicit Racial Bias

While dismantling the School-to-Prison Pipeline is a challenging imperative, many scholars, policymakers, and school personnel have explored avenues for undertaking this daunting yet urgent task. Recommendations include the elimination of zero-tolerance policies, limits on the use of law enforcement in schools (such as restricting their involvement to safety-related concerns rather than disciplinary matters), creating learning environments that are responsive and supportive rather than punitive, and collecting detailed data on discipline instances by race, gender, and other characteristics. Here, we focus on how addressing implicit racial bias can serve as another means to counter and eliminate the devastating effects of this pipeline on students of color.

First, a vital step to combating implicit bias is increasing knowledge and awareness of its existence (Rudman, 2004). In many cases this awareness emerges as a result of educational programming. A few articles emphasize the importance of implicit bias education across a range of domains, including health and the criminal justice system (Bennett, 2010; Hannah & Carpenter-Song, 2013; Kang, et al., 2012; Roberts, 2012). Some models suggest that raising awareness may encompass a range of stages in which individuals may progress from a lack of awareness of unconscious bias to recognizing bias in oneself and acting in ways to mitigate that bias (Teal, Gill, Green, & Crandall, 2012). Other researchers acknowledge that awareness and concern about one's biases are necessary before individuals will have the motivation necessary to counter biased responses (Devine, Forscher, Austin, & Cox, 2012). Regarding the importance of raising awareness, Dovidio and colleagues emphasize that individuals' awareness of their own implicit biases also allows them to recognize any discrepancies that may exist between their conscious beliefs and implicit associations, therefore providing motivation for some to "reprogram" the implicit associations they hold (Dovidio, Kawakami, Johnson, Johnson, & Howard, 1997).

Considering the importance of rising awareness of biases in an education context, Monroe en-

courages teacher education efforts that provide "opportunities for teachers to interrogate their own beliefs about student groups as well as culturally based expectations concerning discipline," as they are "powerful means of shifting present trends in disproportionality" (Monroe, 2005, p. 49).

While an important first step, mere awareness of implicit bias is "not sufficient to reduce the automatic, habitual activation of stereotypes and the subsequent impact of implicit bias" (Chapman, Kaatz, & Carnes, 2013, p. 1508). Nor is it adequate to simply repress biased thoughts, as this does not reduce biases and may even amplify them by making them hyper-accessible due to "rebound effects" (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000, 2007; Macrae, Bodenhausen, Milne, & Jetten, 1994). Rather, the best approach for addressing one's implicit biases is to acknowledge them and directly challenge them in an effort to build new mental associations. Fortunately, implicit biases are generally regarded to be malleable (among many others, see, e.g., Blair, 2002; Dasgupta, 2013; Kang, 2009; Roos, Lebrecht, Tanaka, & Tarr, 2013). Debiasing has been likened to "unlearning" a habit, requiring consistent reinforcement of the new association (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013; Devine, et al., 2012; Glock & Kovacs, 2013).

An extensive body of scholarly literature has explored various techniques for debiasing. While these are not specific to the education realm, these promising debiasing approaches would certainly apply to education professionals. For example, many implicit bias scholars advocate for exposure to counter-stereotypes and counter-stereotypical individuals, thereby training people to develop new associations that contrast with the stereotypical associations they already hold (see, e.g., Blair, Ma, & Lenton, 2001; Dasgupta & Asgari, 2004; Dasgupta & Greenwald, 2001; Kang, et al., 2012; Kawakami, Dovidio, Moll, Hermsen, & Russin, 2000; Wittenbrink, Judd, & Park, 2001). Others encourage intergroup contact, embracing the idea that gaining familiarity with outgroups can help reduce implicit biases (Pettigrew, 1997; Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). Adopting the perspective of others has also shown promise as a debiasing strategy, because it allows individuals to consider multiple viewpoints and perspectives, which can reduce the activation of automatic biases (Galinsky & Moskowitz, 2000; Todd, Bodenhausen, Richeson, & Galinsky, 2011).

increasing teachers' cultural competency can help counter cultural misunderstandings that can lead to unnecessary disciplinary action

Finally, and specific to the education realm, increasing teachers' and administrators' cultural competence and making them more culturally-responsive to their student populations is another approach that helps to counter discipline disparities while addressing implicit bias. Efforts in this area involve educational professionals familiarizing themselves with the culturally-specific behavioral norms of their students and employing behavior management strategies that are culturally-resonant (Monroe, 2005). Culturally responsive approaches shed light on potential cultural explanations for student behaviors that may otherwise be deemed disruptive (Monroe & Obidah, 2004). Moreover, some research suggests that "building cultural bridges between teachers and students is critical to reversing negative disciplinary trends that exist among African American students who attend urban schools"(Monroe & Obidah, 2004, p. 258). In short, increasing teachers' cultural competency can help counter cultural misunderstandings that can lead to unnecessary disciplinary action. By better understanding and responding to students' cultures, teachers are better-positioned to interpret potential disciplinary situations in light of students' cultural orientations, as opposed to relying on implicit biases.

Conclusion

School discipline involves complex dynamics in which students, teachers, administrators, school resource officers, and others interact in ways that can either push students out of school or keep them involved in the education system. Students of color often bear the brunt of pervasive implicit racial biases and decisions related to school discipline. This trend is concerning in light of current demographic projections for a further diversifying population, particularly among youth. Indeed, the U.S. Census found that more than 50% of children younger than age one were minorities as of July 2011 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2012). As this population ages and enrolls in school, their impact on student demographics in both the short and long terms will be significant.

With these dynamics in mind, education professionals should be encouraged to consider the ways in which unconscious biases may be affecting discipline decisions in their own districts and schools. While ensuring that discipline is fair and consistent is only one of the many challenges educators face today, the ramifications of these disparities, such as school discipline serving as a gateway to the school-to-prison pipeline, can have considerable negative consequences that affect students' overall life trajectories. Understanding the influence of implicit biases in school discipline is a critical first step to ending racialized disparities, reducing student push out, and ensuring that all students have access to educational opportunity.

Works Cited

2009-10 Civil Rights Data Collection - Data Summary. (2012). Office for Civil Rights, U.S. Department of Education.

American Psychological Association. (2008). Are Zero Tolerance Policies Effective in the Schools?: An Evidentiary Review and Recommendations. *American Psychologist, 63*(9), 852-862.

Arcia, E. (2006). Achievement and Enrollment Status of Suspended Students: Outcomes in a Large, Multicultural School District. *Education and Urban Society, 38*(3), 359-369.

Balfanz, R., Byrnes, V., & Fox, J. (2012). *Sent Home and Put Off-Track: The Antecedents, Disproportionalities, and Consequences of Being Suspended in the Ninth Grade*: The Civil Rights Project.

Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (2013). *Blindspot: Hidden Biases of Good People.* New York: Delacorte Press.

Beattie, G., Cohen, D., & McGuire, L. (2013). An Exploration of Possible Unconscious Ethnic Biases in Higher Education: The Role of Implicit Attitudes on Selection for University Posts. *Semiotica*(197), 171-201.

Bennett, M. W. (2010). Unraveling the Gordian Knot of Implicit Bias in Jury Selection: The Problems of Judge-Dominated Voir Dire, the Failed Promise of *Batson*, and Proposed Solutions. *Harvard Law and Policy Review, 4*(1), 149-171.

Biehl, S., Celeste, G., McFarland, K., Lier, P. v., & Wheeler, S. (2012). *Zero Tolerance and Exclusionary School Discipline Policies Harm Students and Contribute to the Cradle to Prison Pipeline®* (Issue Brief): Children's Defense Fund - Ohio. http://www.ohiopovertylawcenter.org/zero-tolerance-and-school-discipline-issue-brief/view.

Blair, I. V. (2002). The Malleability of Automatic Stereotypes and Prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Review, 6*(3), 242-261.

Blair, I. V., Ma, J. E., & Lenton, A. P. (2001). Imaging Stereotypes Away: The Moderation of Implicit Stereotypes Through Mental Imagery. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(5), 828-841.

Cárdenas, V. (2012). The Top 10 Facts About Children of Color in the United States: They Now Make Up the Majority of New U.S. Births. Retrieved from http://www.americanprogress.org/issues/race/news/2012/05/18/11581/the-top-10-facts-about-children-of-color-in-the-united-states/

Chapman, E. N., Kaatz, A., & Carnes, M. (2013). Physicians and Implicit Bias: How Doctors May Unwittingly Perpetuate Health Care Disparities. *Journal of General Internal Medicine, 28*(11), 1504-1510.

Children's Defense Fund-Ohio. (2009). *Ohio's Kids Count: 2009 Data Book*: http://www.cdfohio.org/research-library/ohios-kids-count-2009-data.html.

Dasgupta, N. (2013). Implicit Attitudes and Beliefs Adapt to Situations: A Decade of Research on the Malleability of Implicit Prejudice, Stereotypes, and the Self-Concept. *Advances in Experimental Social Psychology, 47*, 233-279.

Dasgupta, N., & Asgari, S. (2004). Seeing is Believing: Exposure to Counterstereotypic Women Leaders and Its Effect on the Malleability of Automatic Gender Stereotyping. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 40*(5), 642-658.

Dasgupta, N., & Greenwald, A. G. (2001). On the Malleability of Automatic Attitudes: Combating Automatic Prejudice With Images of Admired and Disliked Individuals. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(5), 800-814.

Devine, P. G., Forscher, P. S., Austin, A. J., & Cox, W. T. L. (2012). Long-Term Reduction in Implicit Bias: A Prejudice Habit-Breaking Intervention. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 48*(6), 1267-1278.

Dixon, T. L., & Linz, D. (2000). Race and the Misrepresentation of Victimization on Local Television News. *Communication Research, 27*(5), 547-573.

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., & Gaertner, S. L. (2002). Implicit and Explicit Prejudice and Interracial Interaction. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 82*(1), 62-68.

Dovidio, J. F., Kawakami, K., Johnson, C., Johnson, B., & Howard, A. (1997). On the Nature of Prejudice: Automatic and Controlled Processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 33*, 510-540.

Downey, D. B., & Pribesh, S. (2004). When Race Matters: Teachers' Evaluations of Students' Classroom Behavior. *Sociology of Education, 77*(4), 267-282.

Eberhardt, J. L., Goff, P. A., Purdie, V. J., & Davies, P. G. (2004). Seeing Black: Race, Crime, and Visual Processing. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 87*(6), 876-893.

Fabelo, T., Thompson, M. D., Plotkin, M., Carmichael, D., III, M. P. M., & Booth, E. A. (2011). *Breaking Schools' Rules: A Statewide Study of How School Discipline Relates to Students' Success and Juvenile Justice Involvement*: Council of State Goverments Justice Center and The Public Policy Research Institute, Texas A&M University.

Feistritzer, C. E. (2011). *Profile of Teachers in the U.S. in 2011*. Washington, DC: National Center for Education Information.

Galinsky, A. D., & Moskowitz, G. B. (2000). Perspective-Taking: Decreasing Stereotype Expression, Stereotype Accessibility, and In-Group Favoritism. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*(4), 708-724.

Galinsky, A. D., & Moskowitz, G. B. (2007). Further Ironies of Suppression: Stereotype and Counterstereotype Accessibility. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 43*(5), 833-841.

Glock, S., & Kovacs, C. (2013). Educational Psychology: Using Insights from Implicit Attitude Measures. *Educational Psychology Review, 25*(4), 503-522.

Goff, P. A., Eberhardt, J. L., Williams, M. J., & Jackson, M. C. (2008). Not Yet Human: Implicit Knowledge, Historical Dehumanization, and Contemporary Consequences. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 94*(2), 292-306.

Graham, S., & Lowery, B. S. (2004). Priming Unconscious Racial Stereotypes about Adolescent Offenders. *Law and Human Behavior, 28*(5), 483-504.

Greenwald, A. G., & Krieger, L. H. (2006). Implicit Bias: Scientific Foundations. *California Law Review, 94*(4), 945-967.

Greenwald, A. G., McGhee, D. E., & Schwartz, J. L. K. (1998). Measuring Individual Differences in Implicit Cognition: The Implicit Association Test. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 74*(6), 1464-1480.

Greenwald, A. G., Poehlman, T. A., Uhlmann, E. L., & Banaji, M. R. (2009). Understanding and Using the Implicit Association Test: III. Meta-Analysis of Predictive Validity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 97*(1), 17-41.

Handcuffs on Success: The Extreme School Discipline Crisis in Mississippi Public Schools. (2013). Advancement Project, American Civil Liberties Union of Mississippi, Mississippi State Conference of the NAACP, Mississippi Coalition for the Prevention of Schoolhouse to Jailhouse.

Hannah, S. D., & Carpenter-Song, E. (2013). Patrolling Your Blind Spots: Introspection and Public Catharsis in a Medical School Faculty Development Course to Reduce Unconscious Bias in Medicine. *Culture, Medicine, and Psychiatry, 37*(2), 314-339.

Hemphill, S. A., Herrenkohl, T. I., Plenty, S. M., Toumbourou, J. W., Catalano, R. F., & McMorris, B. J. (2012). Pathways from School Suspension to Adolescent Nonviolent Antisocial Behavior in Victoria, Australia and Washington State, United States. *Journal of Community Psychology, 40*(3), 301-317.

Hoffman, P., Manthey, R. E., Bosco, J. D., Khosravi, F., Steele, R. L., & Warren, R. W. (2008). *What Were You Thinking? Subjective Decision-making: How to Use and Defend Against Experts on Unconscious Bias in Employment Discrimination Cases.* Dana Point, CA: ERR Midwinter Meeting.

Hugenberg, K., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2003). Facing Prejudice: Implicit Prejudice and the Perception of Facial Threat. *Psychological Science, 14*(6), 640-643.

Hugenberg, K., & Bodenhausen, G. V. (2004). Ambiguity in Social Categorization: The Role of Prejudice and Facial Affect in Race Categorization. *Psychological Science, 15*(5), 342-345.

Kang, J. (2009). *Implicit Bias: A Primer for the Courts*: Prepared for the National Campaign to Ensure the Racial and Ethnic Fairness of America's State Courts.

Kang, J., Bennett, M., Carbado, D., Casey, P., Dasgupta, N., Faigman, D., et al. (2012). Implicit Bias in the Courtroom. *UCLA Law Review, 59*(5), 1124-1186.

Kang, J., & Lane, K. (2010). Seeing Through Colorblindness: Implicit Bias and the Law. *UCLA Law Review, 58*(2), 465-520.

Kawakami, K., Dovidio, J. F., Moll, J., Hermsen, S., & Russin, A. (2000). Just Say No (to Stereotyping): Effects of Training in the Negation of Stereotypic Associations on Stereotype Activation. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 78*(5), 871-888.

Levinson, J. D. (2007). Forgotten Racial Equality: Implicit Bias, Decisionmaking, and Misremembering. *Duke Law Journal, 57*(2), 345-424.

Levinson, J. D., & Young, D. (2010). Different Shades of Bias: Skin Tone, Implicit Racial Bias, and Judgments of Ambiguous Evidence. *West Virginia Law Review, 112*(2), 307-350.

Lhamon, C. E., & Samuels, J. (2014). *Dear Colleague Letter from the U.S. Department of Justice and the U.S. Department of Education.* Retrieved from www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201401-title-vi.pdf.

Losen, D. J., & Gillespie, J. (2012). *Opportunities Suspended: The Disparate Impact of Disciplinary Exclusion from School*: The Center for Civil Rights Remedies at The Civil Rights Project.

Losen, D. J., & Martinez, T. E. (2013). *Out of School & Off Track: The Overuse of Suspensions in American Middle and High Schools*: The Center for Civil Rights Remedies at the The Civil Rights Project (UCLA).

Mac Iver, M. A., Balfanz, R., & Byrnes, V. (2009). *Advancing the "Colorado Graduates" Agenda: Understanding the Dropout Problem and Mobilizing to Meet the Graduation Challenge*: The Center for Social Organization of Schools at Johns Hopkins University.

Macrae, C. N., Bodenhausen, G. V., Milne, A. B., & Jetten, J. (1994). Out of Mind but Back in Sight: Stereotypes on the Rebound. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 67*(5), 808-817.

McConnell, A. R., & Liebold, J. M. (2001). Relations among the Implicit Association Test, Discriminatory Behavior, and Explicit Measures of Attitudes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 37*(5), 435-442.

Monroe, C. R. (2005). Why Are "Bad Boys" Always Black?: Causes of Disproportionality in School Discipline and Recommendations for Change. *The Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas, 79*(1), 45-50.

Monroe, C. R. (2006). African American Boys and the Discipline Gap: Balancing Educators' Uneven Hand. *Educational Horizons, 84*(2), 102-111.

Monroe, C. R., & Obidah, J. E. (2004). The Influence of Cultural Synchronization on a Teacher's Perceptions of Disruption: A Case Study of an African American Middle-School Classroom. *Journal of Teacher Education, 55*(3), 256-268.

Morris, M. W. (2013, November/December). Education and The Caged Bird: Black Girls, School Pushout and the Juvenile Court School. *Poverty & Race, 22,* 5-7.

Nosek, B. A., Banaji, M. R., & Greenwald, A. G. (2002). Harvesting Implicit Group Attitudes and Beliefs From a Demonstration Web Site. *Group Dynamics: Theory, Research, and Practice, 6*(1), 101-115.

Nosek, B. A., Smyth, F. L., Hansen, J. J., Devos, T., Linder, N. M., Ranganath, K. A., et al. (2007). Pervasiveness and Correlates of Implicit Attitudes and Stereotypes. *European Review of Social Psychology, 18,* 36-88.

Ogletree, C., Smith, R. J., & Wald, J. (2012). Criminal Law - Coloring Punishment: Implicit Social Cognition and Criminal Justice. In J. D. Levinson & R. J. Smith (Eds.), *Implicit Racial Bias Across the Law*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.

Oliver, M. B. (2003). African American Men as 'Criminal and Dangerous': Implications of Media Portrayals of Crime on the 'Criminalization' of African American Men. *Journal of African American Studies, 7*(2), 3-18.

Osher, D. M., Quinn, M. M., Poirier, J. M., & Rutherford, R. B. (2003). Deconstructing the Pipeline: Using Efficacy, Effectivness, and Cost-Benefit Data to Reduce Minority Youth Incarceration. *New Directions for Youth Development, 2003*(99), 91-120.

Payne, B. K. (2001). Prejudice and Perception: The Role of Automatic and Controlled Processes in Misperceiving a Weapon. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(2), 181-192.

Pettigrew, T. F. (1997). Generalized Intergroup Contact Effects on Prejudice. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin, 23*(2), 173-185.

Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783.

Rachlinski, J. J., Johnson, S. L., Wistrich, A. J., & Guthrie, C. (2009). Does Unconscious Racial Bias Affect Trial Judges? *Notre Dame Law Review, 84*(3), 1195-1246.

Reskin, B. (2005). Unconsciousness Raising. *Regional Review, 14*(3), 32-37.

Roberts, A. (2012). (Re)forming the Jury: Detection and Disinfection of Implicit Juror Bias. *Connecticut Law Review, 44*(3), 827-882.

Roos, L. E., Lebrecht, S., Tanaka, J. W., & Tarr, M. J. (2013). Can Singular Examples Change Implicit Attitudes in the Real-World? *Frontiers in Psychology, 4*(594), 1-14.

Rudman, L. A. (2004). Social Justice in Our Minds, Homes, and Society: The Nature, Causes, and Consequences of Implicit Bias. *Social Justice Research, 17*(2), 129-142.

Salkind, N. J. (Ed.) (2008) Encyclopedia of Educational Psychology. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, Inc.

Skiba, R., & Peterson, R. (1999). The Dark Side of Zero Tolerance: Can Punishment Lead to Safe Schools? *The Phi Delta Kappan, 80*(5), 372-376, 381-382.

Skiba, R., & Rausch, M. K. (2004). *The Relationship Between Achievement, Discipline, and Race: An Analysis of Factors Predicting ISTEP Scores*: Center for Evaluation and Education Policy.

Skiba, R. J., Horner, R. H., Chung, C.-G., Rausch, M. K., May, S. L., & Tobin, T. (2011). Race Is Not Neutral: A National Investigation of African American and Latino Disproportionality in School Discipline. *School Psychology Review, 40*(1), 85-107.

Skiba, R. J., Michael, R. S., Nardo, A. C., & Paterson, R. L. (2002). The Color of Discipline: Sources of Racial and Gender Disproportionality in School Punishment. *The Urban Review, 34*(4), 317-342.

Skiba, R. J., & Rausch, M. K. (2006). Zero Tolerance, Suspension, and Expulsion: Questions of Equity and Effectiveness. In C. M. Evertson & C. S. Weinstein (Eds.), *Handbook of Classroom Management: Research, Practice, and Contemporary Issues* (pp. 1063-1089). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Soto-Vigil Koon, D. (2013). *Exclusionary School Discipline: An Issue Brief and Review of the Literature*: The Chief Justice Earl Warren Institute of Law and Social Policy. www.law.berkeley.edu/files/BMOC_Exclusionary_School_Discipline_Final.pdf.

Suh, S., Suh, J., & Houston, I. (2007). Predictors of Categorical At-Risk High School Dropouts. *Journal of Counseling & Development, 85*(2), 196-203.

Teal, C. R., Gill, A. C., Green, A. R., & Crandall, S. (2012). Helping Medical Learners Recognise and Manage Unconscious Bias Toward Certain Patient Groups. *Medical Education, 46*(1), 80-88.

Todd, A. R., Bodenhausen, G. V., Richeson, J. A., & Galinsky, A. D. (2011). Perspective Taking Combats Automatic Expressions of Racial Bias. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 100*(6), 1027-1042.

U.S. Census Bureau. (2012). Most Children Younger Than Age 1 are Minorities, Census Bureau Reports. *U.S. Census Bureau Newsroom, May 17*. Retrieved from http://www.census.gov/newsroom/releases/archives/population/cb12-90.html

U.S. Department of Education. (2014). *Guiding Principles: A Resource Guide for Improving School Climate and Discipline*. Washington, D.C.

Vavrus, F., & Cole, K. (2002). "I Didn't Do Nothin'": The Discursive Construction of School Suspension. *The Urban Review, 34*(2), 87-111.

Wald, J., & Losen, D. J. (2003). Defining and Redirecting a School-to-Prison Pipeline. *New Directions for Youth Development, 99*, 9-15.

Wallace Jr., J. M., Goodkind, S., Wallace, C. M., & Bachman, J. G. (2008). Racial, Ethnic, and Gender Differences in School Discipline Among U.S. High School Students: 1991-2005. *Negro Educational Review, 59*(1/2), 47-62.

Weinstein, C., Curran, M., & Tomlinson-Clarke, S. (2003). Culturally Responsive Classroom Managment: Awareness Into Action. *Theory Into Practice, 42*(4), 269-276.

Weinstein, C. S., Tomlinson-Clarke, S., & Curran, M. (2004). Toward a Conception of Culturally Responsive Classroom Management. *Journal of Teacher Education, 55*(1), 25-38.

Wittenbrink, B., Judd, C. M., & Park, B. (2001). Spontaneous Prejudice in Context: Variability in Automatically Activated Attitudes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 81*(5), 815-827.

Wu, S.-C., Pink, W., Crain, R., & Moles, O. (1982). Student Suspension: A Critical Reappraisal. *The Urban Review, 14*(4), 245-303.

This publication was produced by the Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University. As a university-wide, interdisciplinary research institute, the Kirwan Institute works to deepen understanding of the causes of—and solutions to—racial and ethnic disparities worldwide and to bring about a society that is fair and just for all people.

Kirwan Institute research is designed to be actively used to solve problems in society. Its research and staff expertise are shared through an extensive network of colleagues and partners—ranging from other researchers, grassroots social justice advocates, policymakers, and community leaders nationally and globally, who can quickly put ideas into action.

For More Information

The Kirwan Institute for the Study of Race and Ethnicity at The Ohio State University is known and respected nationally and deeply engaged in social issues. We are focused on projects that are integrated with sound research, strategic communication, and advocacy. To learn more, visit **www.kirwaninstitute.osu.edu**.
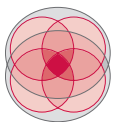
KIRWAN INSTITUTE
for the Study of Race and Ethnicity

The Ohio State University
33 West 11th Avenue
Columbus, Ohio 43201

Phone: (614) 688-5429
Fax: (614) 688-5592
www.KirwanInstitute.osu.edu