Title

A Web of Punishment: Race, Place, and School Policing in the Age of Policy Reform

Author

Allen, Terry

Publication Date

2020

Peer reviewed|Thesis/dissertation

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

A Web of Punishment: Race, Place, and School Policing in the Age of Policy Reform

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in Education

by

Terry L. Allen

2022

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A Web of Punishment: Race, Place, and School Policing in the Age of Policy Reform

by

Terry L. Allen

Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2022

Professor Pedro Noguera, Chair

School policing practices disproportionately affects Black students across U.S. public schools. Less visible is the way these persistent racial inequalities have transformed the landscape of America's neighborhoods. In response to calls for policy reform, districts have clarified the roles of school police officers aimed at preventing the use of citations and arrests, namely for minor offenses of the law that would more appropriately be handled by the school administration. This dissertation examines how discipline policy reform interacts with race and geographical place to influence student arrest patterns and disciplinary infractions. Also important are the challenges that the seeming intractability of reform pose, yet with so little change in racial disparities, present to Black students and entire neighborhoods. In this dissertation, a multilevel root-cause theoretical framework is applied to clarify extant understandings of the structural conditions, political economic processes, and bioecological factors underlying racial disparities in school policing at the neighborhood level. This study reveals neighborhood contextual contradictions

between school police officers' enforcement of the law (with respect to school safety) and the unique, multifaceted responsibilities of working in educational settings with students. Drawing on school police student data in the years after the reform, combined with in-depth interviews conducted with 120 Black students, this study finds that school policing of students is more often concentrated in urban neighborhoods in Los Angeles that are characterized by poverty and social disadvantage. Qualitative findings help explain these patterns by describing students' (indirect and direct) contact with school police officers' citation and arrest-driven enforcement methods, and the routine nature of school policing as counter to not only reform, but also to larger goals of building community, instilling safety, and maximizing students' academic engagement. Participation in community-based, social justice organizations helps to buffer these effects for some Black students. My analysis suggests contention within the efficacy of LASPD policy reform, framing a contest that takes place not just across a racial divide, but literally across the modernization of urban space in Los Angeles.

This dissertation of Terry L. Allen is approved.

Kathleen A. Lytle-Hernandez

Devon W. Carbado

Tyrone C. Howard

Sandra H. Graham

Pedro Antonio Noguera, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles

2022

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Not
Enough
Can
Express
My
Gratitude
To all of
You
Who were
Part of
This Journey.
Thank you.

EDUCATION

University of California, Los Angeles – School of Law
    J.D., Expected December 2022
        Specialization in Critical Race Studies

Columbia University, Teachers College
    M.A., Education Policy, May 2016
    Concentration in Intersectional Studies

University of California, Berkeley
    B.A.., Rhetoric, May 2013

TEACHING

Teaching Assistant
University of California, Los Angeles - School of Law
    Constitutional Law 1: (Spring 2021)

Course Instructor
University of California, Los Angeles
    African American Studies 198: Directed Independent Study Research (Fall 2018 - 2021)
    Education 199: Directed Research/Senior Project in Education (Spring 2018 – 2020
    Education 98: Introduction to Interdisciplinary Research Methods (Winter 2018 - 2021)
    Education 98: Advanced Applied Data Analytics and Project Management (Fall 2017, Fall 2018)
    Honors Collegium 19: From Slavery to Mass Incarceration: Reframing American History Through Film (Summer 2017)
    Education 98: Advanced Applied Research Practicum (Spring 2017, Spring 2019)

EMPLOYMENT

University of California, Los Angeles
    Course Instructor and Senior Researcher, Graduate School of Education, December 2016 – present
    Research Fellow, Ralph Bunche Center for African American Studies, December 2021 – present
    Director of Oral History, Million Dollar Hoods, May 2017 – November 2021
    Research Assistant (Devon Carbado), School of Law, February 2018 – June 2020

Goodwin Procter LLP
    Summer Associate, June 2022 – July 2022

Google Legal Summer Institute, Baker & McKenzie LLP
    Summer Associate, May 2022 – August 2022

Meta (*previously known as Facebook*)
    User Experience Research Intern, May 2021 – June 2021

Davis Wright Tremaine LLP
    Summer Associate (Diversity Fellow), June 2021 – August 2021

United States Government Accountability Office
    Ph.D. Student Trainee, June 2019 – September 2021

RAND Corporation
    Summer Associate and Adjunct Staff, June 2018 – September 2018

Education Pioneers
    Data and Evaluation Fellow, Denver Public Schools, June 2018 – August 2018
    Strategy and Research Fellow, Mayor's Office of African American Affairs, May 2016 – August 2016

UCLA Summer Research Institute
    Co-Director and instructor, May 2017 – August 2018

The White House
    Advance Associate, March 2014 – December 2016
    Intern, Office of Scheduling and Advance, January 2014 – May 2014
Pacific Gas & Electric Company
    Change Management Graduate Intern, June 2015 – December 2015

United States Department of Education
    Research Intern, Office of Federal Financial Aid, August 2014 – May 2015

SERVICE

Professional

    Editor-in-Chief
        UCLA Law Review, Staff Member, February 2022 – present

    Faculty Appointment Committee
        UCLA School of Law, Member, August 2021 – present

    Committees
        Member, External Appointments Committee, UCLA School of Law – Dean's Office
            Academic Searches and Recruitment, August 2021 – present

Community

    Board Member, Color Compton, Compton, CA, May 2020 – present
    Founder and Board Member, GoForefront, New York, NY, May 2015 –
    present

Mentoring
    Academic and Career Mentor, Vice-Provost Initiative for Pre-College Scholars, UCLA, 2016 - present
    Summer Mentor, Summer Research Institute, UCLA, 2018 – 2022

1

INTRODUCTION

It's what they call the beginning of mass incarceration and the larger criminal justice system for like those of us who choose school rather than a life in the streets. That's what school policing is. It's the entry way down a horrible path of losses. And for some of us, maybe even many of us, we always take the "L"…it's something we can't even escape. Police in schools. Police in our neighborhoods. Police everywhere we go. The best-case scenario is that you get through a day without your learning interrupted or your walk to and from school delayed by being put in handcuffs…because we all know that being stopped and questioned, you know these everyday interactions with them, is part of what it means to be Black…oh from the worst neighborhoods in the city…they always like to remind us about that. We shouldn't be at fault for our circumstances. I'll tell you this and be done, the worst-case scenario at school is what I personally witnessed, my peers yanked out of the classroom, thrown to the floor, physically restrained, and arrested….and for something so minor or that they didn't even do… The worst thing is the stamp placed on you as a target for policing for the rest of your school time. I'm half stamped, always guilty by association.

James, 15-year-old Black student[1]

High-profile incidents of school police violence towards students have captured national

attention in recent years, from the 2015 assault of a 16-year-old Black girl to the 2016 chokehold

of an 18-year-old Black boy and the massive handcuffing and arrests of ten Black elementary-

aged children, ages 6 to 11. These Black students are part of the demographic group whose

schooling experiences often involve everyday encounters with police officers, and in many ways

take on the disproportionate burden of school policing. National data show that Black students

represent 27% of students referred to law enforcement and 31% of students subjected to a

---

[1] I use pseudonyms to protect the identities of minors who agreed to participate in this research study

school-related arrest, despite comprising 16% of the student population (U.S. Department of Education, 2019).[2] (Figure 1 summarizes the percentage of students subjected to referrals to law enforcement or school-related arrests, and total enrollment, for all racial and ethnicity groups.)

Figure 1. *Percentage of students subjected to referrals to law enforcement or school-related arrests, by race and ethnicity: 2015-16.*
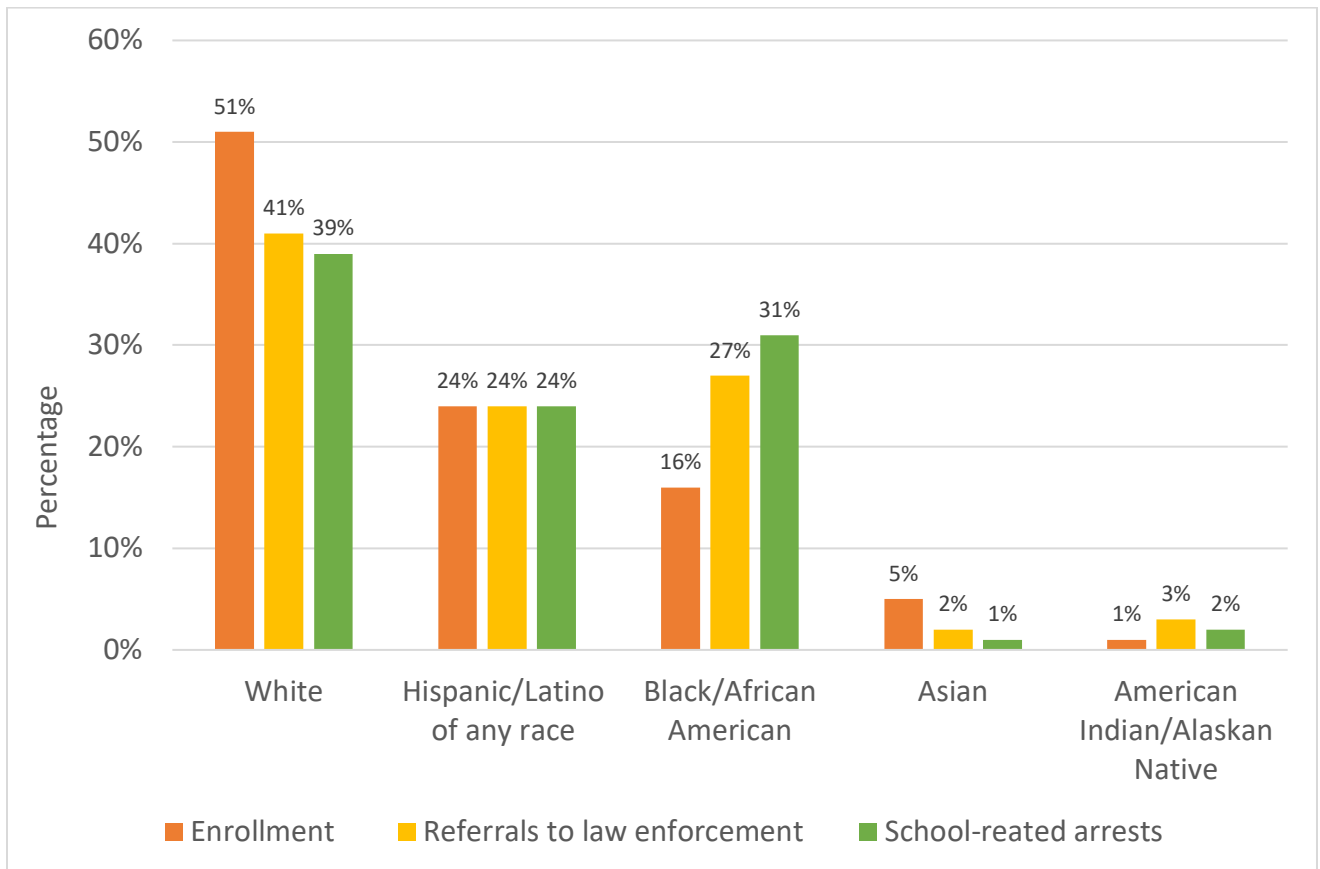
Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Civil Rights Data Collection, 2013–14. *Note.* Detail may not sum to 100% due to rounding. Totals are 49 million students for overall enrollment, 260,000 students

---

[2] Referral to law enforcement is an action by which a student is reported to any law enforcement agency or official, including a school police unit, for an infraction that occurs on school grounds, during school-related events, or while taking school transportation. Citations, tickets, court referrals, and school-related arrests are considered referrals to law enforcement. A school-related arrest refers to an arrest of a student for any activity conducted on school grounds, during off-campus school activities, while taking school transportation, or due to a referral by any school official. All arrests are considered referrals to law enforcement (U.S. Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights, 2017)

referred to law enforcement, and 92,000 students subject to school-related arrests. Data on referrals to law enforcement represents 98% of schools and data on school related arrests represents 94% of schools in the Civil Rights Data Collection universe.

Although recent data indicates an overall downward trend of school policing outcomes for all racial and ethnic groups, a closer examination of the evidence reveals little change in high rates of school police arrest and citations facing Black students (Allen, Bryan, Guerrero, Teng, and Lytle-Hernandez, 2018; Community Rights Campaign, 2013; Education Week, 2017). Beset with such policing, it is not surprising that a growing body of literature has focused on the relationship between school police-student contact (and school disciplinary sanctions, ranging from out of school suspensions to expulsions and the inconsistency in the application of such punishment) and the "potential [of this contact] to define that student's social and educational future" (Merkwae, 2015, p. 149; Gregory, Skiba & Noguera, 2010; Losen, Hodson, Keith, Morrison, & Belway, 2015; Skiba, & Mediratta, 2017; Skiba, 2015; Welsh & Little, 2018). Examples include decreased academic achievement, future disciplinary infractions, school dropout, and contact with the criminal justice system (Arcia, 2006; Balfanz, Byrnes, & Fox, 2015; Gregory et. al., 2010; Marchbanks, Blake, Booth, Carmichael, Siebert, & Fabelo, 2014; Shollenberger, 2015).

Contemporary school police officers are regularly present on campus in urban and suburban K-12 schools throughout the United States, and often have the authority to hand out citations, make arrests, offer diversions in lieu of a citation or arrests[3], and engage in other law enforcement activity such as the use of excessive physical force. These regimes expose students to police in their everyday routines at school, translating into regular and involuntary school

---

[3] According to LASPD, diversion can include any of the following three different pathways: intake and counseling, successful completions, and referred to probation.

police-student interactions through frequent and sometimes intrusive exchanges. As research suggests, many school police encounters are often the result of minor, non-criminal violations of school rules (e.g., disobedience, defiance, talking back to a teacher) that rely on a high degree of subjectivity and could be handled informally by school officials (Epstein, Blake, & Gonzalez, 2017; Gregory et al., 2010; Morris, 2007; Morris & Perry, 2017; Kupchik 2010; Skiba, Michael, Nardo & Peterson, 2002). These encounters can lead, and often have led, down two pathways: 1) mentorship and knowledge sharing from school police officers' role as safety experts, educators, liaisons to community resources, or 2) formal infractions in the form of a citation, arrest, or even the direct transportation to juvenile detention as primary enforcers assigned to patrol and surveil both schools and their surrounding communities (Finn, Shively, McDevitt, Lassiter, & Rich, 2005; LASPD, 2014a; Kupchik, 2010; U.S. Department of Education, 2016a). Although studies show that the burden of school policing encounters fall on Black students ((Allen et al., 2018; Community Rights Campaign, 2013; Education Week, 2017), there are other ways school policing unjustly exert its power and reach that often slips below the national radar

Recent grassroot efforts have gone beyond challenging education reformers to address the reality that school policing has not produced equitable outcomes for all students. These efforts have focused on elevating communities that are subject to the disproportionate brunt of school police-student contact (Community Rights Campaign, 2013; Education Week, 2017; Nolan, 2011; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019). Existing research suggests that disparities in school policing do not solely represent differences in behavior, differences in selection, or discretionary decision-making among school police officers (Anyon, Jenson, Altschul, Farrar, McQueen, Greer, Downing, & Simmons, 2014; Bradshaw, Mitchell, O'Brennan, & Leaf, 2010; Golann, 2015; Okonofua & Eberhardt, 2015; Rocque 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2011; Skiba

et al., 2002). One of the ways that school policing influences local communities within cities is through color-blind or race neutral policies, which have become common features of discipline policy reform in many districts and cities (Skiba, 2015; Steinberg & Lacoe, 2017). Existing research has argued that prior disciplinary reform efforts are largely color-blind or race-neutral (Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock, 2017; Skiba, 2015). This line of work demonstrates little change in disparities in school policing and related exclusionary discipline outcomes (Welsh & Little, 2018; Skiba, 2015; Steinberg & Lacoe, 2017). Exclusionary discipline refers to zero tolerance and stricter disciplinary policies resulting in school exclusion through out-of-school suspensions, expulsions, school-based arrests, and the inconsistency in the application of such punishments (Bowman-Perrott, Benz, Hsu, Kowk, Eisterhold, & Zang, 2013; Mallett, 2016; Skiba, Chung, Trachok, Baker, Sheya, & Hughes, 2014). The literature on both school policing and exclusionary discipline suggests that race trumps all other characteristics in explaining their high rates of disparities. However, there is inclusive evidence showing how race (e.g., discrimination and bias) is linked to these disparities (Carter et al., 2017; Skiba, Chung et al., 2014; Steinberg & Lacoe, 2017; Welsh & Little, 2018). The majority of studies report either descriptive claims or tend to focus on identifying rather than explaining the mechanisms influencing the discipline disparities (Welsh & Little, 2018).

Taking a closer look of how profound racial variations in discipline disparities across local communities within cities and districts is promising (Carter et al., 2017; Gregory et al., 2017; Losen et al., 2015; Skiba, 2015; Gregory et al., 2010; Welsh & Little, 2018;). This work can lead in shifting the discourse from what students or teachers are doing to how the myriad variables of the political economy and structural conditions in neighborhoods may contribute to school policing disparities (Welsh & Little, 2018). Not unlike the geographically concentrated

nature of mass incarceration that has been documented by scholars (Capers, 2009; Clear, 2007; Crawford, 2009; Herbert, 1997; Sampson, 2012), a small number of local communities may also be subject to the disproportionate brunt of school policing. While disciplinary policy reform claim to reduce routine and potentially biased practices (LAUSD, 2014; U.S. Departments of Justice and Education, 2016), it is accurate to note that continued investments in the larger infrastructure of school policing across the U.S. educational landscape may actually produce stark spatial inequalities by race. This may especially be the case throughout many urban neighborhoods where exclusionary discipline is most pervasive (LAUSD, 2014; Hashim et al., 2018).

Despite prominent attention on contributing factors to disparities in school policing, the role of local neighborhoods as mechanisms of continued racial inequalities is often overlooked and understudied (Welsh & Little, 2018). A recent review of research on exclusionary disciplinary sanctions notes ” insufficient attention to issues of race and culture” and that “future studies may consider districts and neighborhoods as a mechanism of the disparities in disciplinary outcomes to better understand them” (Welsh and Little, 2018, pp. 781 and 785). A long tradition of sociological thought explains how school policing influences local communities through large-scale structural legacies of historical displacements (Anderson, 1990; Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson, 1987; Wright, 1994). Examples of these displacements include but not limited to: housing instability, policing, concentrated poverty, substance abuse, unemployment, and underemployment, etc. From this accounting, neighborhood inequality in school policing can be viewed as occurring from the result of structural, macro-level analyses of historical displacements (related to structural conditions and to the political economy), micro-level individual conditions (i.e., race and culture), and relationships between actors embedded in

institutional spaces (Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson, 1987). These forces combine to undergird racial and spatial inequalities that are present at the neighborhood (meso) level. According to Feagin (1991), "there is a spatial dimension to discrimination" (p. 102). As Kristin Ross (1988) describes, such an "awareness of social space....always entails an encounter with history — or better, a choice of histories" (Gregory, 1994, p. 348). Indeed, the history of social and ethnic stratification, disinvestment, and concentrated socio-economic disadvantage has played an important role in urban community formation, in which policy trends and tensions of school reform have been developed and played out (Lipman 2002; Wilson, 1987). Thus, a structural approach to school policing sees how discipline policy reform interacts with race and space interacts as a foundational mechanism of inequality. As Wright (1994) notes, "'no one intended this calamity" for Black students and communities that are subject to the disproportionate brunt of school policing, and "no one really benefits from it" (p. 36).

In an effort to contribute to the ongoing discourse over racial disparities in arrests and disciplinary outcomes, there is a need for further critical policy analysis and evaluation studies exploring the relationship between school police-student contact and whether or not reform efforts have produced spatial inequality according to race (Welsh and Little, 2018). Also important are the challenges that the seeming intractability of reform, yet with so little change, present to Black students residing in communities where school policing is concentrated (Noguera and Wells, 2011; Payne, 2008). This dissertation contributes to a sociocultural-situated discussion of relationships between school policing and neighborhood-level effects and meanings of policy and practices, on the one hand, and structural political–economic and cultural contexts, on the other.

Study Aims and Objectives

My central aim is to provide context on the discourse of equity and efficacy that frames disciplinary reforms, whereby policies and practices not only exacerbate existing inequalities and create new dynamics of inequality with important implications for students and neighborhoods. It is my hope to provide context to how a host of actors and decision-makers have generated the growth and maintenance of the school policing infrastructure. These conditions are related to structural conditions and to the political economy of local neighborhoods, which work together to sharpen continued racial inequality of educational opportunity and produce students' segmented identity formation and social networks.

To accomplish this aim, I link an empirical multiple-methods analysis of Los Angeles School Police Department's (LASPD) policies with a historical, "theoretical and political analysis of their genesis and social meaning" (Apple, 1998, p. 25) Such backdrop of the evolution of the school policing infrastructure through U.S. public schools is especially important for documenting the educational and social consequences of policy reform, and the ways in which these reform efforts interacts with race and space. These relationships processes are part of a dominant system of social structures embedded within neighborhoods that not only regulate the extent and degree of school policing but also defines which behaviors, values, and attitudes are considered punishable (Lipman, 2002; Ozga, 2000). My multiple method design pays explicit attention to assessing LASPD's policies from the standpoint of equity and social justice. Here I claim an expanded definition of Lipman's (2002) equity of outcomes. To achieve equity, as Lipman (2002) states, "not only must students have equal opportunities and rights, but special efforts must be made to overcome past injustice and the historically sedimented advantages of race, gender, and class (p. 382). I argue that it is just as important that local

neighborhoods in Los Angeles are provided with the "special efforts" to combat policies and

practices that perpetuate and maintain social inequality and injustice. Specifically, I leverage the

work of sociologist Jeniffer Ozga (1994) on "bring[ing] together structural, macro-level analyses

of social systems and education policies with micro-level investigation, especially that which

takes account of people's perception and experience" (Ball, 1994, p. 14). Motivated by this

reality, this dissertation weaves together several types and levels of data to address the following

two general research questions:

> *Research Question 1*: How does discipline policy reform, namely changes to the role of
>
> school police officers, interact with race and geographical place to influence arrests
>
> patterns and disciplinary infractions (i.e. citations and diversions) in school policing?

> *Research Question 2*: How do Black students' experience and respond to school policing
>
> according to attending school and/or residing in high concentration neighborhoods?

Neighborhood and Policy Context of Los Angeles: An Overview

To understand post-reform racial disparities in school policing, and the possibility of the

concentrated nature of arrests and disciplinary infractions, we must reckon with the extent to

which the modernization of urban space were comprised by significant changes to structural

conditions and the economy that accompanied the rise of policing and incarceration in Los

Angeles. Current inequalities have more to do with these neighborhood features than research

have explored and less to do with differences in behavior, differences in selection, or

discretionary decision-making among school police officers than research has long assumed

(Anyon, Jenson, Altschul, Farrar, McQueen, Greer, Downing, & Simmons, 2014; Bradshaw, Mitchell, O'Brennan, & Leaf, 2010; Golann, 2015; Okonofua & Eberhardt, 2015; Rocque 2010; Rocque & Paternoster, 2011; Skiba et al., 2002).

Los Angeles has long been described as one of America's largest global or world cities (Abu-Lughod, 1999). As defined by Abu-Lughod in *New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America's Global Cities* (1999), global cities refer to "urban concentrations or nodes through which a disproportionate fraction of national and international interactions flow" (Abu-Lughod, 1999; p. 400). These interactions stem from a number of factors, including but not limited to: the changing management and organization of production, communication, and innovation central to the political economy, the demographic decomposition resulting from immigration, economic dispersal and integration, early forms of transportation, and social and civic culture more broadly (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Sassen, 1994). Unrestrained by the historical economic restructuring and social changes, the metropolis of Los Angeles has emerged as an urban center that typifies the character of global cities (Sansen, 1998). The increasing racial and class polarization has produced a variety of distinct sub-regions, or local neighborhoods embedded within larger communities.

Accompanying the unique spatial arrangements of Los Angeles are concentrated expressions of both poverty and wealth (Delmelle, 2019; Rothstein, 2017; Measure of America, 2017). This social and economic polarization of rich and poor is hardly a new phenomenon (Abu-Lughod, 1999). Referred to as the "dual city," social and ethnic stratification has been an apparent feature of Los Angeles history, beginning with American migrants quickly displacing the former Mexican elites (Lytle-Hernandez, 2016). As research has documented, the "gap between the poor, concentrated chiefly in the southern portion of the city and the easternmost

'barrios,' and the rich, who live largely in 'self-governing' communities and in selected 'suburbs' and 'exurbs' in the surrounding counties, widened dramatically in the 1980s and continued to do so in the early 1990s" (Abu-Lughod, 1999, p. 367). Over time, these features of stratification have produced and facilitated very different prospects and challenges of inclusion and exclusion for its residents. Most pertinent are patterns of social life, the relationships among residents, and a variety of negative outcomes across a range of critical issues (Abu-Lughod, 1999; Delmelle, 2019; Lipman, 2002; Rothstein, 2017; Sassen, 1994; Wilson, 1987). A 2017 report, *A Portrait of LA County*, from the Social Science Research Council's Measure of America program, provides a clear portrayal of differences in social life according to race/ethnicity, geography, and socioeconomic composition of Los Angeles communities. Utilizing the "American Human Development Index" as a measurement of quality of life, the report shows that in two distinct sub-regions referred to as, "Struggling LA" and "Precarious LA" score the lowest on a range of critical issues, including health, education, income, living standards, environmental justice, housing, homelessness, violence, and income inequality (Measure of America, 2017). (Figure 2 shows the American Human Development Index scores of Los Angeles County's communities sorted into five categories.)

Figure 2. *American Human Development in the "Five Los Angeles Counties"*

	Glittering LA	Elite Enclave LA	Main Street LA	Struggling LA	Precarious LA
HD Index	9 and above	7 to 8.99	5 to 6.99	3 to 4.99	below 3
Life Expectancy (years)	86.4	83.9	82.9	81.5	78.7
Less than High School (%)*	2.3	5.4	14.9	30.8	51.8
At least Bachelor's Degree (%)*	69.9	58.3	35.5	19.6	4.7
Graduate/Professional Degree (%)*	31.5	24.0	12.6	5.4	0.7
School Enrollment (%)	91.7	84.7	82.6	77.1	73.4
Median Earnings (2015 $)	$52,687 and up	48,347	35,773	25,469	19,060

* Percent of adults age 25 and up

Source: Reprint from Measure of America (2017). *A Portrait of Los Angeles County*, Social Science Research Council.

All of these features contribute to the persistence of deeply entrenched social and economic disparities present throughout the city, particularly the urban community of South Central. Similarly, a more recent study by Elizabeth Delmelle (2019) examines various types of neighborhoods according to 18 critical features of America's most modern metropolitan areas, including Los Angeles. In the study, Los Angeles is categorized into nine distinct neighborhood types. Neighborhoods described as "Struggling LA" and "Precarious LA" by the Social Science Research Council's Measure of America (2017) report are characterized as: "Black high poverty," "Hispanic and black, high poverty," "mixed race, average socioeconomic status," and "older homes, blue collar, white and Hispanic" (Delmelle, 2019). (Figure 3 shows the spatial

distribution of neighborhood types in Los Angeles in 2010). This is evidence of the changing

social landscape of Los Angeles, taking the form of a mixture of neighborhood types).

Despite bearing little resemblance of previous historical models of urban/suburban or

poor city/rich suburban, one of the most persistent features of Los Angeles is the contradictions

of disinvestment and reinvestment according to neighborhood types (Abu-Lughod, 1999;

Delmelle, 2019; Sassen, 1994). This is especially the case in "high-poverty black" and "white

and Asian, multi-unit, and high educated" neighborhoods, the only two neighborhoods types that

have not seen a decline over time (Delmelle, 2019). According to research, "high-poverty black "

neighborhoods are marked by a host of socioeconomic disadvantages (Delmelle, 2019; Measure

of America, 2017). Indicators of these disadvantages include, but not limited to: concentrated

poverty, low levels of education and income, and a high percentage of Black and Latinx

residents (Delmelle, 2019; Measure of America, 2017). Key critical measures of well-being in

Los Angeles County that are often not included in research on neighborhood types are those

related to policing and incarceration (Lytle-Hernandez & Allen, 2018).

Figure 3. *Spatial distribution of neighborhood types in Los Angeles, 2010*
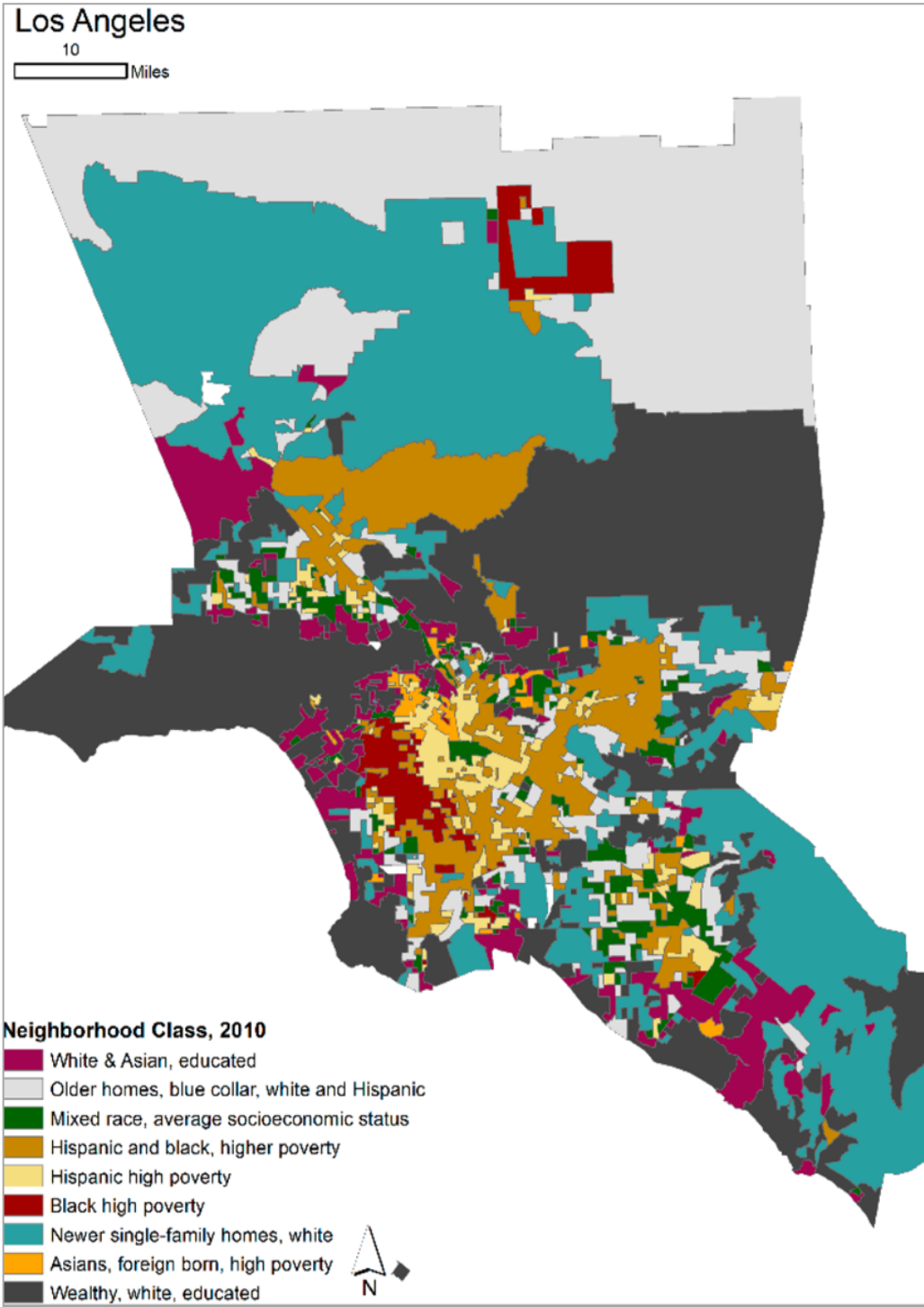
Source: Reprint from Delmelle, E. C. (2019). The Increasing Sociospatial Fragmentation of Urban America, *Urban Science, 3*(1):9, 1-14.

Since the 1960s, mass incarceration has emerged as a common feature of urban life in high-poverty black neighborhoods. As legal scholar Michelle Alexander (2010) describes it, mass incarceration is the "New Jim Crow," the institutional basis for a new caste system that disproportionately impacts Blacks, Latinx, and impoverished urban communities. Los Angeles County operates the largest jail system in the United States. Research also suggests that local authorities have made policing and incarceration one of the top priorities for public investment, making the inequities of the New Jim Crow central to any measure of well-being in Los Angeles and key to any effort to address the persistence of social and economic disparities across urban communities and their residents (Lytle-Hernandez and Allen, 2018).

The massive carceral systems and contemporary policing infrastructure in Los Angeles in many ways foregrounds the development and implementation of school policing and disciplinary policy reform initiatives in local communities, namely poor and urban neighborhoods. Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2008) argues that to address complexity of urban communities and the politics of people who inhabit them, it is important to recognize that "these people and locations are among the most vulnerable to the 'organized abandonment' that accompanies globalization's large-scale movements of capital and labor, and as such they are subject to many other processes that accumulate in and as forgotten places " (p. 32). Gilmore's (2008) theoretical perspective on forgotten places helps to frame the ramifications of Los Angeles' increasing economic and social displacements for its educational landscape.

The cumulative effect of discipline policy trends and tensions (i.e., zero tolerance policies and the increased presence of law enforcement, alongside the disinvestment of urban schools), many urban communities have become sites of collective, continuing, and cumulative disadvantages. This poses a host of challenges for the education of the students residing in these

neighborhoods, particularly Black students (Anyon, 1997). One of the guiding features of disciplinary reforms efforts is the fundamental operating logic of criminalization and punishment, in which funnels students into the carceral state and out of schools (Gilmore, 2007; Hinton, 2015; Meiners 2007; Nolan 2011; Thompson, 2010; Sojoyner, 2016; Sojoyner 2017; Vaught, 2017; Winn 2011; Wun, 2016). Scholars have long argued the myriad of ways that education produces and reproduces multiple forms of state-sponsored forms of discipline, violence, and punishment (Sojoyner, 2017). A focus on urban neighborhoods as key sources of structural oppression that undergirds racial and spatial inequality in school policing is essential. In this matter, race and space are central to understanding the consequences of school policing policy initiatives and practices as it points to the structural processes facilitating urban Black students' disproportionate experiences in arrest and disciplinary infractions. Also important is the challenges navigating school-police contact, which play an important role in defining students' social and educational futures. The intersection of disciplinary policy reform and this broader socio-economic, cultural, and political dynamic—according to race and place—is at the heart of my analysis.

Theoretical context: The Local Concentration of School policing

A long tradition of sociological thought has documented three broad approaches to explain how school policing influences local communities within cities and districts (Anderson, 1990; Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson, 1987; Wright, 1994). The first approach explains social differences on the basis of individual factors, such as race, gender, sexual orientation status, and socioeconomic status. Educational researchers who adhere to this perspective documented a number of individual contributors to racial disparities in exclusionary

discipline, including but not limited to: race (Skiba, Chung et al., 2014), socioeconomic status (Hinojosa, 2008; Noltemeyer & Mcloughlin, 2010; Skiba et al., 2014), and student behaviors and/or attitudes (Huang & Cornell, 2017; Skiba et al., 2002; Wallace, Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008). Although no one single factor explains the discipline disparities, the extant literature in education suggests that race trumps other individual student-level characteristics (Carter et al., 2017; Huang & Cornell, 2017; Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba et al., 2014; Skiba, Horner, Chung, Rausch, May, & Tobin, 2011; Welsh & Little, 2018).

The second approach is associated with a relational theory to inequality. This perspective emerges from unequal social interactions and network structures between social actors in which advantages and disadvantages accumulate across institutional spaces (Desmond 2014; Desmond and Wilmers, 2019; Marx, 1977; Sewell, 2016: Tilly, 2005; Tomaskovic-Devey, 2014). As Tilly (2005) puts it, "explanation of inequality and its changes must therefore concentrate on identifying combinations and consequences of causal mechanisms—notably exploitation, opportunity hoarding, emulation, and adaptation—within episodes of social interaction" (p. 107). Scholars on institutional space—namely, neighborhoods—have produced accounts of inequality based on unequal access to social goods and resources between different actors (Desmond and Wilmers, 2019; Sewell, 2016; Baron and Bielby 1980; Sakamoto and Kim 2010). In this view, educational researchers have documented several social interaction conditions at the school-level that contribute to the racial disparities in exclusionary discipline outcomes. This includes but not limited to: demographic composition (i.e. the percentage of Black students) (Anderson & Ritter, 2017; Anyon, Jenson, Altschul, Farrar, McQueen, Greer, Downing, B., & Simmons, 2014). Gregory, Cornell, & Fan, 2011; Losen et al., 2015; Rocha & Hawes, 2009; Skiba et al., 2014; Welch & Payne, 2010), average school achievement (Rausch & Skiba, 2005), teachers'

17

classroom management skills (Skiba et al., 2014), teacher–student racial match (Bradshaw, Mitchell, O'Brennan, & Leaf, 2010; Jordan & Anil, 2009; Kinsler, 2011; Lindsay & Hart, 2017), the absence of racial diversity, demographic similarity, and broader representative bureaucracies (Blake, Smith, Marchbanks, Seibert, & Kim, 2016; Feistritzer, Griffin, & Linnajarvi, 2011; Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, & Nicholson-Crotty, 2009; Roch, Pitts, & Navarro, 2010; Rocha & Hawes, 2009; Staats, 2014), teachers' perceptions, expectations, and bias (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock, 2017; Gershenson & Dee, 2017; Golann, 2015; Gregory & Mosely, 2004; Hines-Datiri, 2015; McNeal, 2016; Okonofua, Walton, & Eberhardt, 2016; Skiba et al., 2011; Staats, 2014), principals' attitudes and perspectives (Mukuria, 2002; Skiba et al., 2014), and the potential of discrimination and bias from a various of institutional social actors (Skiba et al., 2014; Steinberg & Lacoe, 2017a; Zimmerman, 2018; Downey & Pribesh, 2004; McGrady & Reynolds, 2013; Yates & Marcelo, 2014; Blake , Butler, Lewis & Darensbourg,, 2011; Gregory, Bell, & Pollock, 2016). The relational theory literature is rooted in the relational perspective that suggests "there is an identifiable actor receiving disproportionate rewards," (Brady, Biradavolu, and Blankenship, 2015, p. 1127). The potential of racial and spatial relational structures may contribute to Black students as the identifiable actor to high rates of disproportionate exclusionary discipline outcomes (Sewell, 2016).

The third approach, however, explains inequality as a product of large-scale legacies of historical displacements (e.g., housing instability, policing, concentrated poverty, substance abuse, unemployment, and underemployment, etc.). Among the scholars who have ascribed to this perspective, the work of William Julius Wilson' s *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987) has been influential to an outpouring of empirical investigations into the study of neighborhood dynamics and inequality. From this accounting, racial disparities in school policing can be viewed as

occurring from the result of inequality that is present at the neighborhood level, particularly

within institutional urban spaces. The social landscape of many urban spaces is not only shaped

by individual conditions and relationships between actors embedded in institutional spaces

(Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1993; Wilson, 1987). These forces combine to undergird

racial and spatial inequalities that are present at the neighborhood level. Indeed, the history of

social and ethnic stratification, disinvestment, and concentrated socio-economic disadvantage

has played an important role in urban community formation, in which policy trends and tensions

of school reform have been developed and played out (Wilson, 1987; Lipman 2002). Thus, a

structural perspective sees how school policing policy reform interacts with race and space as a

foundational mechanism of inequality. As Wright (1994) notes, "'no one intended this calamity"

for Black students and urban communities, and "no one really benefits from it" (p. 36).

Significance of study

Across many cities and districts in the United States, sweeping disciplinary policy reform

initiatives have transformed the characteristics of neighborhoods and the lives of many poor,

Black students (Hashim, Strunk, and Dhalowal, 2018; Steinberg & Lacoe, 2016, 2017b; Anyon,

Rutgers, Farrar, Jenson, Mcqueen, Downing, … Simmons, 2016; Losen, Martinez, & Okelola,

2014; Sumner, Silverman, & Frampton, 2010; González, 2009; Karp & Breslin, 2001). This

relationship is part and parcel of larger processes referred to as the *racialization of space* and the

spatialization of race (Calmore, 1995; Liptsiz, 2007, 2011; Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2016).

Racialization of space describes how many Black students are attached to many areas where

school policing policies remain prevalent; where these policies have led to increased

opportunities for contact with law enforcement; and where the extent and impact of these

policies and practices (and associated norms) have been concentrated (Clear 2007; Spatial Information Design Lab 2007; Samson and Morenoff, 1997; Sampson 2012; Hinton, 2016). On the other hand, spatialization of race describes how demographic composition of the spaces that many Black students inhabit determines the extent and degree of differential treatment and disparate exposure to school policing policies and practices (Calmore, 1995; Liptsiz, 2007; Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2002).

Policies that have made clarifications to the role of school police officers are promising reform efforts designed to address racial disparities in school policing (Hashim, Strunk, and Dhalowal, 2018; Bowman-Perrott, Benz, Hsu, Kowk, Eisterhold, & Zang, 2013; Mallett, 2016; Skiba, Arredondo, & Williams, 2014; Anyon, Gregory, Stone, Farrar, Jension, McQueen, Downing, Greg & Simmons, 2016). However, recent evidence suggests limited evidence on the efficacy and social implications of these approaches (Welsh & Little, 2018; Steinberg & Lacoe, 2017a; Curran, 2016; Skiba, 2015). This is particularly true for many Black students who have been disproportionally affected by school policing outcomes (Welsh & Little, 2018; Bradshaw, Mitchell, O'Brennan, & Leaf, 2010; Gregory & Weinstein, 2008; Hinojosa, 2008; Raffaele Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Rocque, 2010; Skiba, Horner, Chung, Rausch, May, & Tobin, 2011; Skiba et al., 2014; Wallace, Goodkind, Wallace, & Bachman, 2008).

School policing policies and practices have garnered increasing public attention from policymakers, researchers, and practitioners (Welsh & Little, 2018). The massive hiring of school police officers and employing of modern policing tactics increased during the 1990s (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019; Advancement Project, 2018; Nolan, 2011). These changes are part and parcel of the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act of 1994, the widespread implementation of zero tolerance laws, and the 1999 Columbine High School

shooting (Advancement Project, 2018; Meiners 2007; Heitzeg, 2009). Recent reform efforts have generally focused on clarifying the role of law enforcement away from being responsible for daily disciplinary interventions to handling serious safety issues only (U.S. Departments of Justice and Education, 2016; LAUSD, 2013; LASPD, 2014). Throughout many districts, school police officers may decide to arrest, cite, or divert (e.g., community-based services and programs offered to students in lieu of an arrest and/or citation) a student engaged in a misbehavior on school grounds or within the surrounding community (Community Rights Campaign, 2013).

Critics of the law enforcement presence in schools have challenged education reformers to address the reality that school policing has not produced equitable outcomes for students (Community Rights Campaign, 2013; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019; Education Week, 2017; Nolan, 2011). Although national discourse tends to focus on Black students who have been disproportionately affected by school policing outcomes, often obscured are the profound racial variations across local communities within cities and districts (Welsh & Little, 2018; Gregory, Skiba, & Mediratta, 2017; Skiba, 2015; Losen, Hodson, Keith, Morrison, & Belway, 2015; Gregory, Skiba & Noguera, 2010; Welsh & Little, 2018; Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock, 2017). This is especially the case with school policing in Los Angeles Unified School District's (LAUSD), home to the largest school police department in the United States, the fifth largest police department in Los Angeles County, and the 14th largest in the state of California (LASPD, 2020).

Recently, to address the disproportionate patterns in school discipline and police involvement, LAUSD adopted a series of policies and programs emphasizing restorative justice practices (RJPs) for building positive, safe and inclusive school climates. RJP's are non-punitive approaches for managing student behavior and limiting police involvement in school discipline;

its origins rests in LAUSD's Positive Behavior Intervention and Support (PBIS) policy and the School Climate Bill of Rights Resolution that were passed on May 14, 2013 and implemented during the 2014-15 school year. These policy reforms eliminated suspensions for acts of willful defiance, created alternative conflict resolution practices to suspensions, and clarified the role of law enforcement in schools so that LASPD officers handle serious safety issues instead of daily disciplinary interventions. According to LASPD's guiding principles on roles and responsivities for school campuses,

> As a general guideline, police officers do not respond to routine school discipline matters unless there is an immediate nexus to student and or staff safety. Where possible, LASPD officers should strive to support opportunities for students to receive effective mentorship, learn from their mistakes, and to promote fair and proportionate responses to student behavior that maximize the student's continued engagement in the educational setting. (p. 1)

Insofar as RJP's gained prominence and traction among policymakers and practitioners, there is little systematic research on the efficacy of these policies. In fact, one of the most significant ironies of these policies is that LAUSD's authorization of $4.9 million in funding to support RJP implementation coincided with LAUSD's Board of Education remarkably steady. Despite the restorative turn of the district aiming to clarify the central role of school police officers as being responsible for handling serious safety issues instead of daily disciplinary interventions, it is accurate to note the investments in the District's school police force and larger infrastructure. One of the most significant ironies of recent policies is that LAUSD's authorization of $4.9 million in funding to support the implementation RJPs coincided with LAUSD's Board of Education remarkably steady increase of LASPD's $53 million budget

beginning in the years before and after RJP implementation (LAUSD, 2013). RJP's are non-punitive approaches for managing student behavior and limiting police involvement in school discipline; its origins rests in LAUSD's Positive Behavior Intervention and Support (PBIS) policy and the School Climate Bill of Rights (SCBOR) Resolution that were passed on May 14, 2013 and implemented during the 2014-15 school year. In the end, this increases opportunities of diffusing school discipline and law enforcement practices into the everyday lives of students in schools and communities where exclusionary discipline policies and practices are most pervasive (LAUSD, 2014; Hashim et al., 2018).

As illustrated in Figure 4, existing evidence reveals that Black students are disproportionately arrested and cited by LASPD at higher levels compared to their other racial and ethnic peers (The Labor/Community Strategy Center, 2013; Education Week Research Center, 2017; Allen et al., 2018). A recent report by UCLA's Million-Dollar-Hoods project reveals that Black students as young as eight are arrested in school (Allen, Bryan, Guerrero, and Lytle-Hernandez, 2018). Surprisingly, the sources, meanings, and social implications of the concentrated nature of arrest patterns and disciplinary infraction by school police in local neighborhoods in Los Angles are less understood (Welsch & Little, 2008).

Figure 4. *Percentage of Los Angeles School Police student involvement by Los Angeles* Unified

School District student enrollment and race & ethnicity: 2014-2017
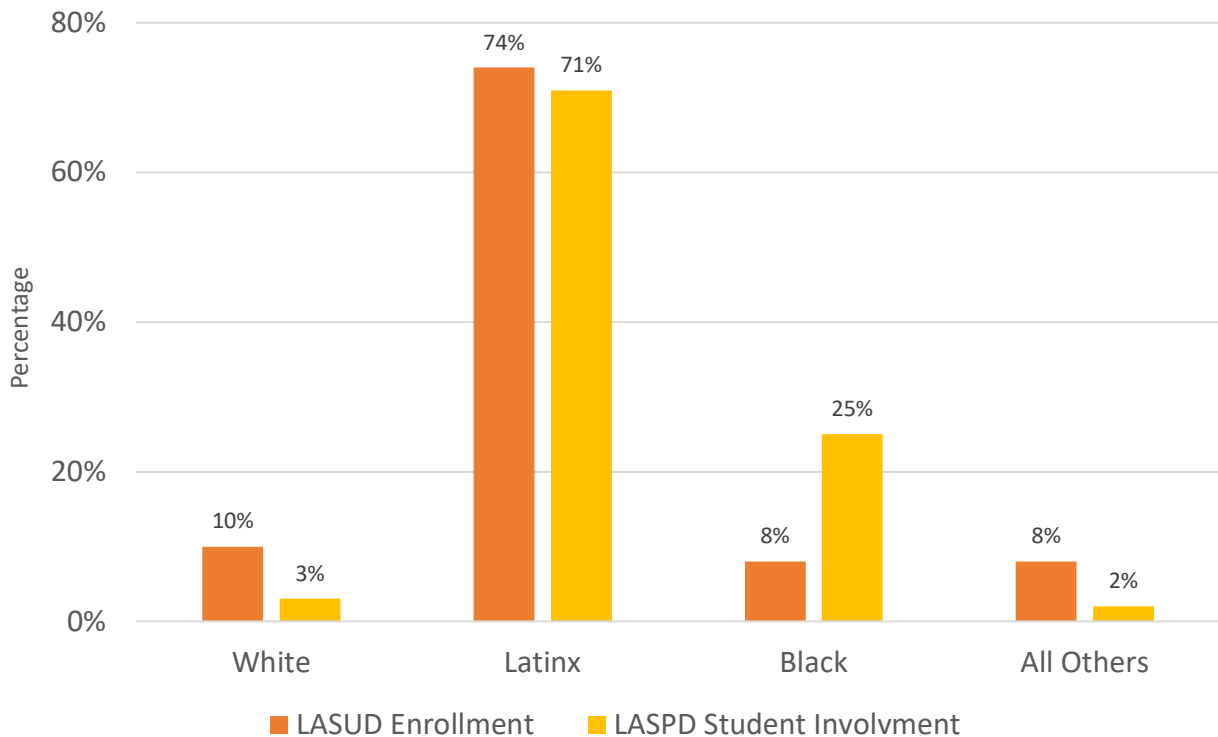
Source: Allen. T., Bryan, I., Guerrero, A., & Lytle-Hernandez, K. (2018, October). Policing Our Students: An

Analysis of L.A. School Police Department (2014 – 2017). Million Dollar Hoods Project. Los Angeles, CA.

This study utilizes multiple-methods to examine the neighborhood impact of discipline

policy reform in Los Angeles on arrest patterns, disciplinary infractions, and Black students

experiences with school policing. Theory posits that lager social, economic, and political

structures undergird racial and spatial inequality in school policing at the neighborhood level.

These features are the result of historical legacies of racial discrimination and fundamental

transformations of the American economy (Wilson, 1987; Massey and Denton 1994; Tabb, 1970). The spatial inequality in school policing directly contributes to concentrated socio-economic displacements (e.g., housing instability, policing, substance abuse, over policing, unemployment, and underemployment, etc.) that often accompany many neighborhoods, namely poor and urban areas (Dahrendorf, 1959; Giddens, 1973; Sharkey, 2013; Sampson and Morenoff, 1997; Travis, Western and Redburn, 2014; Noguera, 2003; Wilson, 1987). As a result, many urban neighborhoods through Los Angeles have become sources of continued racial inequity in social and educational opportunities (i.e., negative academic achievement, dropping out of school, contact with the criminal justice system, etc.) (Measure of America, 2017; Wallace et al., 2008; Lewis, Butler, Bonner, Fred, & Joubert, 2010; Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010; Losen & Martinez, 2013. Balfanz, Byrnes, & Fox, 2013; Raffaele Mendez, 2003; American Psychiatric Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Cameron & Shepard, 2006; Losen & Martinez, 2013). These dynamics have important implications for the students residing in these neighborhoods, particularly their experiences and responses to such concentrated inequity, namely school policing.

There is limited evidence on the efficacy of disciplinary reform efforts to address arrests and discipline disparities. Also important is the lack of evidence to fully document the challenges faced by students and their communities (Welsh and Little, 2018). Recent literature has documented the short and long-term effects of disciplinary reform efforts and how they influence exclusionary discipline rates for students (Hashim et al., 2018; Anyon et al., 2016; González, 2009; Sumner et al., 2010). However, absent from these accounts are arrests patterns and disciplinary infraction by school police, and their racial and neighborhood dynamics, which is similar to documented research on law enforcement policies and practices employed (Crawford,

2009). LASPD play a vital and multi-faceted role in the lives of students in LAUSD, serving as safety experts, mentors, educators, liaisons to community resources, and as enforcers assigned to patrol and surveil both schools and their surrounding communities (Community Rights Campaign, 2013; L.A. School U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019: LASPD, 2014a). Despite recent reform that clarified the role of law enforcement in schools (so that LASPD officers handles serious safety issues instead of daily disciplinary interventions), more attention is needed to address the institutional processes and conditions that not only circumscribe communities (LAUSD, 2013, 2014; Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1993), but also perpetuate and maintain racial and spatial disparities in school policing. This also includes the host of other harmful environment conditions or "institutionalized forms of resource deprivation" (Sewell, 2016). As Ruth Wilson Gilmore (2002) argues, "a geographical imperative lies at the heart of every struggle for social justice" (p. 16).

This dissertation discusses disciplinary reforms in LAUSD that have occurred over the past decade across the City of Los Angeles. In presenting my analyses, I offer an explanation regarding the failure of these policies to bring about changes in arrests and disciplinary infractions for Black students. In addition, this study fills important gaps in education literature by providing evidence on the role of neighborhoods as mechanisms of these racial disparities in school policing. My central argument is that, contrary to the restorative justice and equity discourse that frames many past reforms, there is little critical examination of the genesis of these policies, of whose interests they serve, of their social implications, or of their meanings for students and communities. This is especially the case for urban neighborhoods that are marked with a host of existing inequalities. I contend that the most recent wave of school policing

policies has failed to address the numerous ways in which race interacts with geographical space to influence student arrest patterns and disciplinary infractions by school police.

Scholars have well-documented how race functions over time and in different spaces (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Feagin 2000; Ture and Hamilton 1967; powell, 2007; Emirbayer and Desmond 2015; Jung 2015; Omi and Winant, 2015; Davis 2003; Gilmore 2007). Both race and space (i.e., according to demographic composition) has influenced the extent to which one has access to social goods, and the degree to which one is subject to mechanisms of discipline, punishment, or social exclusion (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton, 1983; Johnson, 1985, Carbado, 2002; Capers, 2009; Crawford, 2009; Baas, 2001; Herbert, 1997). However, research that addresses the critical interplay between race and place within policy reform is often marginalized in educational literature (Welsh & Little, 2018; Carter et al., 2017). Also, important, under the premise that "the rapid pace of reform has outstripped research and documentation (Gregory et al., 2017, p. 254)," are the challenges that the seemingly intractability of reform, yet so little change present to Black students and local communities (Payne, 2008; Noguera and Wells, 2011). A more nuanced understanding of how race and space interact with school policing is needed if we are to improve the rigor of interventions, shape future policy reform, and enhance their applications to practice. This is especially important as many urban school districts and neighborhoods are evolving into critical sites of discipline and police contact, not to mention the continued divestment in resources (Hinton, 2015; Thompson, 2010; Sojoyner, 2016; Meiners 2007; Nolan 2011; Winn 2011; Sojoyner 2016; Wun, 2016; Vaught, 2017).

The ambition of this dissertation is to do more than point out the profound racial and spatial dimensions of arrests patterns and discipline infractions. I move beyond the trope of concentrated disadvantage in urban neighborhoods and document how Black student experience

and respond–in creative, productive, and at times even halting and unsuccessful ways–to school policing and the structural changes that accompanied it. This dissertation contributes to a socially and culturally situated discussion of relationships between neighborhood-level meanings and consequences of disciplinary policy reforms, on the one hand, and social, political, and economic imperatives as critical sources for the transmission of inequity for Black students, on the other. This yields new possibilities for how Black students imagined their neighborhoods and its possibilities, reacted to the schooling policing and its interrelated features of urban decline and decay, and fashioned politics and social action with the ambition of making their schools and neighborhoods safer places of educational and social mobility. Whether they succeeded or failed, their efforts of navigating the perils of school policing requires serious attention and reflection.

Outline of dissertation

This dissertation is organized into five chapters. Combining oral history interviews with novel arrest, citation, and diversion data from LASPD, the **first chapter** lays out the research methods into three parts. In part one, I provide a background on the disciplinary reforms in LAUSD. The second part applies the work of Creswell and Tashakkori (2007) to describe the two strands of research that guides my study. The first strand uses qualitative methodological and analytic efforts to understand how 120 Black students experienced and responded to school policing in urban neighborhoods. I also weave together notes from a roundtable interview with LASPD leadership. The first strand offers describe the primary sources of quantitative data. Specifically, I provide a descriptive and spatial analysis of arrest, citation, and diversion data from LASPD for the years 2014 through 2017. I also lay out key correlates of these disparities across neighborhoods in Los Angeles. The period of 2014 through 2017 is useful and important

given the district-wide wave of disciplinary reform that addressed the long-standing racial disparities in exclusionary discipline and school policing. These efforts amplified the demand for restorative and non-exclusionary measures throughout the district.

The **second chapter** lays out a review of literature on the context and consequences of school policing. Here I argue that the search for the underlying root causes of disparities in school policing without an examination of the race, place, and the political economy ensures that structural racism persists and will be underestimated. In the first three sections, I begin by analyzing how the rise and impact of past disciplinary reforms emerged under particular conditions of the post-civil rights context. Specifically, I describe how past reforms contracted definitions of pre-delinquent and delinquent for poor, marginalized populations (namely Black students), and expanded zero-tolerance policies and law enforcement presence in their everyday lives. I then identify the numerous and multifaceted contributors that explain the rates of and disparities in school policing and disciplinary outcomes. This is final sections of this literature review shows how previous explanations to disparities in school policing fails to recognize the complex ways race and space operates in and through the expanding school policing infrastructure. Here I fill important gaps in education literature by providing evidence on the role of neighborhoods as mechanisms of these racial disparities in school policing. Also important are the collective, continuing, and cumulative challenges for many Black students and urban communities.

The **third chapter** examines the contemporary investigation of school policing with historical considerations of Los Angeles as a stark representation of concentrated socioeconomic disadvantage. I provide a brief history of the contemporary manifestation of Los Angeles as a carceral state all on its own, home to the largest jail system in the United States that imprisons

more people than any other nation on Earth. From its first settlement, policing and incarceration have characterized Los Angeles–such as the criminalization of public order charges, gang injunctions, mass incarceration, and school policing, just to name a few. I examine the particular implications for poor people and poor communities, namely African Americans and urban communities of Black Los Angeles. In examining these dynamics, I point to the way in which school policing has long been a socially constructed disciplinary practice concentrated in a small number of neighborhoods.

This historical overview is in the **four chapter** by a theoretical discussion for understanding the mechanisms of inequality driving profound racial variations in school policing outcomes across local communities. First, I put forth complementary theories that provide an explanation for (1) why the most recent wave of disciplinary reforms may or may not be successful at addressing the underlying root causes of racial disparities, and (2) how disciplinary policies and practices has produced spatial inequality in student arrest patterns and disciplinary infractions according to race. Specifically, I draw on sociological theories of structural racism (Feagin and Elias, 2013; Bonilla-Silva, 1997), institutional racism (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967)*, and bioecological theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979, 1986) on child development. These forces combine to undergird racial and geographical inequalities that are present at the neighborhood level. Applying these theories suggests that disciplinary reforms may not be achieving equitable outcomes. Also, in this chapter, I explore the utility of "infrapolitics" (Scott, 1985) to examine Black students' response (e.g., experiences and individual acts of resistance) to school policing according to where they reside and attend school.

In the chapters that follow, these historical and theoretical traditions are made clear through my detailed descriptive analysis of the arrest patterns and disciplinary infractions by

LASPD, and the key correlates of these disparities across neighborhoods in Los Angeles. These data help explain the high degree of stability and the structural dilemma of high concentrated neighborhoods. Beset with such punishment, many of the students attached to these neighborhoods face frequent negative encounters with school police and additional burdens in how they navigate and engage these punitive educational and neighborhood contexts. These chapters also capture the students' responses to schooling policing, namely how they fought back, survived , and made community outside of its racial and spatial dynamics.

It is my hope that this dissertation will offer solutions that go beyond the narrow solutions typically offered when considering discipline policy reform and to embark on developing structural conditions that put in place to protect and serve the punitive reality in many urban communities and facing many Black students. These solutions require strategic and purposeful efforts to not only use restorative discourse, but also acknowledge racial disparities in school policing in schools and communities. This emphasizes equity in education for all students and opportunities to be civic actors (Winn, 2013; Winn, and Winn, 2016), as opposed to exposing students to police in their everyday routines at school and in their neighborhood. As research suggests, these features oftentimes translate into regular and involuntary school police-student interactions through frequent and sometimes intrusive exchanges. This is particularly important because much of the language in discipline policy reform related to school policing is up for interpretation. Also important is the de facto discriminatory disciplinary policies and practices that perpetuate a substantially punitive relationship between Black students, urban neighborhoods, and school police (Bass, 2001).

If LASPD are to engage in these efforts, then they will need to turn away from policies and practices rooted in social, political, and economic imperatives that produce and maintain

inequality. An equitable education is not limited to school resources, high quality teachers, high test scores, or even college preparation. It provides the tools that students need to survive and critique the unequal futures being created in policies and enforced in the schools, in the neighborhoods, in the city, and globally. Pursuit of this educational direction is part of a larger racial, spatial, and democratic project to reshape contemporary disciplinary policy related to school policing.

2

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

Research Approach

The study used a mixed-methods approach to examine how discipline policy reform, namely changes to the role of school police officers, interacts with race and space to 1) influence arrests patterns and discipline infractions, and 2) shape Black students' experiences and responses to school policing according to attending school or residing in high concentration neighborhoods. In this study, I address the following four sub-questions:

Sub-question #1. Did discipline policy reform affect racial disparities and the spatial concentration in arrests and disciplinary by LASPD? How large and varied are these disparities across neighborhoods for Black students?

Sub-question #2. What are the key correlates of these discipline disparities? For instance, how does differences in community level features relate to racial and neighborhood disparities in school policing?

Sub-question #3. How do Black students who reside in high concentration areas experience and respond to school policing? How do these experiences and responses differ among Black boys and girls?

Sub-question #4. To what extent does community-based, social justice involvement relate to Black students' responses to school policing? For example, how does community-based, social justice program involvement influence students' racial identity development, critical consciousness meanings, and academic engagement? In what ways does these features buffer the potential consequences of school policing?

To address these sub-questions, I conduct a number of analyses using several different primary sources of data. Applying the work of Creswell and Tashakkori (2007), this study is guided by two strands of research. The first strand applies is informed by youth participatory action research (YPAR) to analyze the quantitative sources of data. Here I rely participatory research project whereby undergraduates served as co-researchers in examining the racial/ethnic and spatial disparities in school policing, and the key correlates of these disparities across neighborhoods in Los Angeles.[4] It is important to note that YPAR is often characterized as involving the "insiders" who are currently experiencing injustices to become co-researchers. In this case, and by definition, the undergraduates are not insiders. However, they identify as insiders to the issue, having experienced various racialized encounters with school police officers as high school students in Los Angeles. The second strand of research uses qualitative methodological and analytic efforts to understand how 120 Black high school students' experience and response to school policing.[5]

---

[4] The undergraduates who contributed to the study are referred to as "undergraduates"
[5] All high school participants of the study are described in this study as either "students" or "youth" to differentiate from the undergraduates who served as co-researchers

Strand 1: Quantitative Data Sources and Analyses

The Important Role of Youth Participant Action Research

I was guided in this first strand of analysis by previous theory and empirical research, namely YPAR. There is a growing body of work that describes the theoretical, methodological, and practical elements of YPAR, and its long-standing contributions and implications on several areas of present and future education research (Caraballo et al., 2017; Mirra, Garcia, and Morrell, 2016; Rodriguez & Brown, 2009; Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012; Lesko & Talburt, 2011; Morrell, 2004).

YPAR engages in rigorous research inquiries by centering youth interests, perspectives, and identities (Morrell, 2004; Kamler, & Comber, 2005), providing youth with the tools for critical inquiry (Fine, Tuck, and Zeller-Berkman, 2008; Fox, Mediratta, Ruglis, Stoudt, Shah, and Fine, 2010), and engaging them as assets for social action (Flicker, Maley, Ridgelet and Skinner, 2008; Livingstone, Celemencki, and Calixte, 2014; Lesko & Talburt, 2011; Morrell, 2004; Caraballo et al., 2017). In one of the first YPAR studies in education, McIntyre (2000) emphasizes the importance of "engaging in a process that positions youth as agents of inquiry and as 'experts' about their own lives" (p. 126). Existing research reveals several ways YPAR projects offer unique opportunities to improve youth outcomes in educational contexts (Ozer, 2016; Ozer & Douglas, 2013). This includes, but are not limited to: increased student engagement, motivation, socio-political awareness, attendance, literacy and math preparation, graduation, and academic achievement scores (Yang, 2009; Cammarota & Romero, 2009; Ozer & Douglas, 2013; Voight & Velez, 2018). According to Morrell (2004), "although they are the population with the most at stake in schools, youth are rarely engaged in conversations about the

conditions of schools or school reform. Simply put, youth do not often participate as researchers or experts in dialogues concerning the present and future of urban education" (p. 156). A recent review of YPAR research notes the important role of collaborative inquiry with practice (i.e., action) with and by youth who directly experience the structural oppressions that scholars endeavor to understand (Caraballo et al., 2017).

Although an increasing number of studies have made significant contributions to YPAR and education, many of these publications utilized YPAR to explore critical research and reform on the inequitable educational experiences facing youth (Caraballo et al., 2017; Brion-Meisels & Alter, 2018). Specifically, researchers have emphasized the engagement of centering youth voices in education debates, often with a particular focus on school reform (Kelly, 1993; Noguera, 2007) and education policy (Bertrand & Ford, 2015). These debates and subsequent results have often been historically waged between and among policy makers, researchers, and practitioners. However, this promising body of research suggests that input from youth can yield actionable results of what traditional schooling and policy initiatives perpetuates (Caraballo et al., 2017; Paris & Winn, 2014; Gutiérrez, 2008). For example, Noguera (2017) examined the role of 150 high school students' schooling perspectives on strengthening reform efforts across several critical areas in education. Related to school discipline reform, Noguera (2007) found that many youth "recognize the need for safety and order in school, and many of the [youth] interviewed wanted to see disruptive [youth] dealt with in a firm manner" (p. 208). He further concluded that "it is rare for a school to seek [youth] input on matters related to discipline even though their buy-in is essential if schools are to succeed in creating an environment that is conducive to learning" (p. 208). Beyond studies engaging youth in various form of education reform, YPAR has been utilized to foster sociopolitical skills (Cammarota & Romero, 2011; Zaal

& Terry, 2013; Ozer & Douglas, 2013), increase motivation to change their schools and communities (Ozer & Douglas, 2013), support the development of critical thinking skills (Kirshner, Pozzoboni, & Jones, 2011), enhance participatory action behavior (Ozer & Douglas, 2013), reimagining of school curriculum and pedagogical approaches (Wright, 2015; Cook-Sather, 2009), college readiness (Knight & Marciano, 2013), elevation of youth voices in school-based decision making (Chou, Kwee, Lees, Firth, Lorence, Harms,…Wilson, 2015; Kirshner et al., 2011; Mitra, 2008), and reframing youths' academic experiences and their identities (Caraballo & Hill, 2014; Morrell, 2008; Cook-Sather, 2009; Payne, Starks, & Gibson, 2009).

Despite this compelling evidence, there is limited scholarship on the extent to which YPAR can and should be used to inform school policing. Also important is how it can help to offer explanations for why reform efforts have largely failed to bring about the dramatic changes in arrest and disciplinary infractions that have been promised. What, then, is the best way to examine LASPD data than being informed by YPAR? Several scholars have utilized YPAR as a unique method, emphasizing the importance critical collaborations by youth and scholars for conducting education research. This collaborative, dialogical, and joint activity, "emphasizing youth leadership, in partnership with adults, frames youth themselves as assets and actors, contributing to growth and change in adults, institutions, systems, communities and society" (Fox et al., 2010, p. 634). Such a process encompasses mixed methods data collection and analysis, ranging from "surveys, logistic regressions, ethnography, public opinion polls, life stories, testimonies, performance, focus groups, and varied other methods" (Fine, 2008, p. 215). As researchers have made clear, YPAR is not a just a method, but rather a "radical epistemological challenge to the traditions of social science…[on] where knowledge resides"

with the common goal "to interrogate the conditions of oppression and surface leverage points for resistance and change" (Fine, 2008, p. 215).

Background of Undergraduate Action-Research Practicum

In this section, I draw on the role that YPAR can offer on critical understanding of the racial and spatial disparities of arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD. In the action-based research program, I apprentice undergraduates (instead of high school youth) as critical co-researchers to assist in the descriptive analysis of LASPD arrest and disciplinary infractions. We also explore key correlates of these disparities across neighborhoods in Los Angeles.

The Undergraduate Action Research Program consists of two components: a two-quarter interdisciplinary, university-based research practicum, and a series of independent study seminars with a community-based learning collaborative. Building upon existing studies on YPAR, the practicum is intended to provide upper-division undergraduates with guiding curriculum and training in action-based research (Elvemo, Greenwood, Martin, Matthews, Strubel, Thomas & Foote Whyte, 1997; Barazangi, Greenwood, Burns & Finnie, 2004; Stovall and Delgado, 2009). Roughly 20 undergraduates participate each year in the two-quarter long, weekly, two-five credit research practicum. Specifically, the practicum engages undergraduates in mixed methods data analysis, visualization, and Geographic Information Systems (GIS) to research and map the extent of school policing in Los Angeles. In the practicum, we draw on a number of novel data sources from LASPD to assess the racial/ethnic and geographical patterns of school policing. We also draw on data from the Mapping Los Angeles project (Los Angeles Times, 2019) to examine key correlates of school policing discipline disparities. An essential part of this critical research process is to examine the processes by which all co-researchers

reflect on and critique racial/ethnic and geographical patterns of school policing in Los Angeles. Through the lens of critically engaged social action and activist research, critique describes the collaborative efforts to understand why school policing is the way it is, and how it could be different. One of the overarching aims of the practicum is that each undergraduate completes a research proposal for a participatory research project in partnership with a community-based learning collaborative. In action research, the undergraduates define the problem focus, in collaboration with academic researchers. The approach to the research problem is negotiated openly among the co-researchers. The final proposed study is motivated by undergraduates' personal research interests, and set between the researchers and the community collaborative.

The Undergraduate Community-Learning Collaborative

Following the two-quarter practicum, undergraduates are offered the opportunity to pursue a series of independent study courses to pursue their participatory research project. These courses provide undergraduates with social science research methods and critical concepts related to race, criminal justice, and educational equity in the context of Los Angeles. The independent study is designed to connect undergraduates with a community-based research opportunity under the guidance of scholars, experts, and their peers on race and educational equity. The co-researchers are then trained in the relevant research methods and social change activities. Building off the critical knowledge and problems identified by undergraduates in the practicum, research design and methods for the participatory research project is developed and implemented throughout a series of independent study.

For purposes of this dissertation, I draw on one of the selected participatory research projects. This project uses oral histories to amass evidence about Black and Latinx residents of

39

Los Angeles, and their experiences with living in a neighborhood or attending a school that is marked by hyper-policing and incarceration. Data analysis from the research practicum is utilized to provide context to the high school students' experiences with school policing. The co-researchers helped to set concrete outcomes, deploy the selected research methods, and collaboratively interpret the preliminary interview results (Hart, 1992). The final analyses for this dissertation was done alone, but I acknowledge the support of the undergraduates in the early stages of the larger participatory research project. Select undergraduates as part of this research process received supplemental stipends and research support. Roughly five to ten undergraduates participate each year in the independent study course (two to five credits each quarter) and service learning community project.

Racial/Ethnic and Spatial Disparities in School Policing

Drawing on shared knowledge between co-researchers during the undergraduate practicum, the first strand of this dissertation probed the following question: how does discipline policy reform, namely changes to the role of school police officers, interact with race and space to influence arrests patterns and discipline infractions? To answer this, I address the following two empirical sub-questions: First, did discipline policy reform affect racial disparities and the spatial concentration in arrests and discipline by LASPD? How large and varied are these disparities across neighborhoods for Black students? Second, what are the key correlates of these discipline disparities? For instance, how does differences in community level features relate to racial and neighborhood disparities in school policing?la

To address the extent and degree of racial and neighborhood school policing disparities across Los Angeles, I used data from LASPD. The data was generated on March 25, 2018 through a Public Records Act request. The request was submitted by UCLA-Professor Kelly

Lytle Hernandez on January 4, 2018. A later request was submitted by myself on April 21, 2019. The fulfilled request included data; for the entire City of Los Angeles, counts of all disciplinary infractions (labeled "arrest," "citation," and "diversion"). For this dissertation, these counts are disaggregated by age (student only, which include 1) ages 17 and under, and 2) 18 years old for records that are listed "on-campus" at an elementary, middle or high school), sex (male or female), race/ethnicity (we use counts of "white," "Black," "Latinx," and "All other" students in this dissertation), charge type (across hundreds of law enforcement codes), involvement year (January 1, 2014 to December 31, 2017), off-campus (yes or no), and location of involvement type (street number, street address, and zip code). I aggregated the individual-level counts of involvement type to the community level by way of local neighborhoods (and zip codes), using data from the Mapping Los Angeles project (Los Angeles Times, 2019). Because LASPD are assigned to every elementary, middle, and high school (where they are physically located on a 24/7 basis) and their surrounding neighborhoods, we combine the involvement counts of individual arrest, citations, and diversions with those of their respective neighborhood in which they psychically occurred. Thus, a neighborhood within the City of Los Angeles is conceptualized as a geographical area that includes student arrests, citations and diversions occurring on school grounds and throughout its surrounding community. It is important to note that the involvement period of 2014 to 2017 marked the implementation of restorative-based approaches to exclusionary discipline. The district prioritized the poorest, and most heavily concentrated Black and disproportionately suspended schools across the district (LAUSD, 2014). These efforts also included a clarified role to LASPD officers to handling serious safety disciplinary encounters instead of daily disciplinary interactions in students and their communities (LAUSD, 2014).

Associations Between School Policing and Community-level Features

Given my hypothesis about the profound variation in school policing disparities among local communities, I examined the extent to which these disparities are related to an array of community features, including racial/ethnic composition and socioeconomic conditions such as poverty, income, educational attainment, and student arrests by the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The features correspond with previous literature and my theoretical framework that guides the dissertation's research questions. I argue that school policing is a product of institutional racism that undergird not only larger structural, macro- and micro-level inequalities, but also those related to the neighborhood level for many urban Black students.

The community level features explored in this study come primarily from two data sources. First, data was collected from the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD). The data was generated on March 15, 2018 by the LAPD through a Public Records Act request. The final dataset entailed more than twenty categories of information. For purposes of the study, we used a sum of all student arrests that took place between 2014 and 2017. The term "student" is defined as both aged 17 and under, and aged 18 years of age for only those whose occupation was listed as a "student" or "grade-level." Similar to the analysis of LASPD data, I conducted descriptive statistics of the LAPD data, reporting arrests patterns across sex, race, location of arrest, charge type. The 2010 U.S. Bureau of the Census data was used to calculate rates of arrests by zip codes in the City of Los Angeles. The zip codes were matched to its corresponding neighborhood using the Mapping L.A. project (Los Angeles Times, 2019).

Second, data was pulled from the Mapping L.A. project (Los Angeles Times, 2019) on community level features. The data include basic descriptive information on demographics by race/ethnicity, educational attainment, and median family income for all neighborhoods in the

42

City of Los Angeles. The following data sources, alongside recent research studies on neighborhoods types (Delmelle, 2019; Measure of America, 2017), help explain the connection of community-level features to the geographical concentrated areas of school policing in Los Angeles. Prior work on large cities in the U.S. has shown that features of urban "concentrated disadvantage" tend to spatially cluster, such as the concentration of poverty, crime, unemployment, and incarceration (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton, 1983). All of these features are more prevalent in "high poverty neighborhoods" with high population percentages of African Americans and a host of other disadvantages (Delmelle, 2019). I hypothesized that school policing is another cluster of features reflected in concentrated disadvantage facing urban communities in Los Angeles.

To calculate the geographical concentrated nature of school police, all LASPD data was geocoded according to its location of arrest. The geocoding process was completed as part of a larger research project on mapping the fiscal cost of incarceration in Los Angeles. This analysis is twofold: 1) matching all LASPD data to a school address using "location of arrest" or 2) matching with the exact "location of arrest" for those records reported as "off-campus." As mentioned, LASPD involvement takes place within the neighborhood boundaries of a police officer's assigned school campus within LAUSD and also its surrounding neighborhoods.

Due to the collaborative learning environment of the participatory research project, it is important to note that I received assistance the spatial analysis of LASPD data that was performed for this study. It is my hope that these methodological approaches, informed by YPAR, contributes to a structural, macro-level analysis with micro-level investigation for evaluating and improving school policing policies and practices that are present at the neighborhood level (Omi and Winant 2015; Ball, 1994).

Strand 2: Qualitative Data Sources and Analyses

Black Students' Experiences and Responses to School Policing

A total of 120 oral history interviews was conducted with Black students from 11 high schools to understand the role that race and space plays in their experiences and responses to school policing. A summary of the student composition is summarized below in Table 1.

Table 1

Summary of Student Characteristics, Gender Breakdown, Number of Primary Schools Attended by Students, First Generation Status, and Number of Neighborhoods Resided by Students, by Total Students

Total Students	Gender Breakdown (and % of total students)	High School Grade Level (and % of total students)	Number of Primary Schools Attended by Students	First-Generation Status (and % of group)	Number of Neighborhoods Resided by Students
120	71 females (59.2) 49 males (40.8)	65 Juniors (54.2) 55 Seniors (45.8)	11 High Schools	97 (80.8)	26

The final sample included males 50 (42%) and 70 females (58%). A total of 65 students (54%) were rising high school seniors, and the remaining 55 (46%) were rising juniors. In total, 120 Black students from 11 high schools were interviewed. The schools varied according to school type (e.g., magnet, neighborhood), student enrollment, and the percentages of both low-income students (measured here by the number of students receiving free or reduced-fee lunch) and racial/ethnic composition. (Table 2 shows a summary of school characteristics, total student

enrollment by category, percentage of socioeconomically disadvantaged, percentage of Black students, percentage of graduates with all A-G requirements, graduation rates, and total number of students, by high school.)

All students attended school and/or resided in one the following eight neighborhoods: Westside South Central, Eastside South Central, Gardena, Westchester, Carson, Westlake, South Gate, or Sun Valley. These neighborhoods varied by region as well as population, race/ethnicity composition, educational attainment, age, and median family income. The majority of features were important markers of socioeconomic status. (Table 3 provides a summary of neighborhood characteristics, total population, percentage of race/ethnicity, median household income, and percentage of residents 25 and older with high school diploma, by Los Angeles Times' Mapping L.A. Neighborhoods.) The total number of students who attended or resided in these neighborhoods are not reported due to the students' residing in different neighborhoods than where they attend school, and vice versa. The common theme amongst all students is that they either resided and/or attend school in Westside and/or Eastside South Central.

Table 2

Summary of School Characteristics, Total Enrollment, Percentage of Socioeconomically Disadvantaged, Percentage of Black Students, Percentage of Graduates with all A-G Requirements, Graduation Rate, and Total Number of Students, by High School

High School Name	Enrollment	% of socioeconomically disadvantaged	% Black	% Graduates with all A-G Requirements	Graduation Rate	Students (and % of total students)
Loyola	Medium	90	69	44	80	7 (5.8)

Lowell	Medium	78	53	46	67	9 (7.5)
Central	Large	69	25	62	86	14 (11.6)
Dobbins	Large	91	42	79	99	12 (10)
Grant	Medium	58	20	78	89	16 (13.3)
Northeast	Medium	65	2	65	89	18 (15)
King	Medium	97	25	51	57	12 (10)
Carver	Small	86	22	46	10	7 (5.8)
Cooper	Large	97	8	42	83	6 (5)
Kennedy Magnet	Medium	74	73	61	2	7 (5.8)
Boudin	Medium	87	22	38	85	12 (10)

Source: California Department of Education, 2017-18 School Accountability Report Card for 21st Century Learning Institute. *Note*. I use pseudonyms and enrollment scales of small, medium, and large for the high school to protect the school locations of the minors who agreed to participate in this research study. A school labeled "small" according to enrollment number >700; medium is 701>1500; and large 1501>.All percentages, with the exception of total students, are rounded to the nearest whole number. Percentage of total students may not equal to 100 due to rounding.

Table 3

Summary of Neighborhood Characteristics, Total Population, Percentage of Race/Ethnicity,

Median Household Income, and Percentage of Residents 25 and older with High School

Diploma, by Los Angeles Times' Mapping L.A. Neighborhoods

Neighborhood	Population	Race/Ethnicity (and %)	Median Household Income	% residents 25 and older with high school diploma)
South Los Angeles	749,453	Latinx (56.7%) Black (38.0%) White (2.2%) Asian (1.6%) Other (1.5%)	N/A	8.2
Gardena	57,818	Latinx (31.8%) Black (24.5%) White (12.4%) Asian (27.2%) Other (4.0%)	$52,897	16.6
Westchester	43,005	Latinx (16.5%) Black (16.6%) White (52.3%) Asian (9.6%) Other (4.9%)	$77, 473	42.3
Carson	286,222	Latinx (91.2%) Black (0.7%) White (2.3%) Asian (5.2%) Other (0.6%)	4	5.1
Westlake	8,663	Latinx (4.5%) Black (0.5%) White (85.5%) Asian (6.2%) Other (3.2%)	126,550	51.4%
South Gate	96,418	Latinx (92.1%) Black (0.6%) White (5.9%) Asian (0.9%) Other (0.5%)	$48,312	4.9
Sun Valley	81,788	Latinx (69.4%) Black (1.9%) Asian (8.1%) White (17.9%) Other (2.7%)	$51,299	10.7

Source: Mapping Los Angeles project, http://maps.latimes.com/neighborhoods (Los Angeles Times, 2019). *Note*. South Los Angeles encompasses the neighborhoods within Westside South Central and Eastside South Central. For purposes of this study, Eastside South Central represents the following eight neighborhoods: Florence Firestone, Central Alameda, Historic South Central, South Park, Florence, Green Meadows, Willowbrook, and Watts. On the other hand, Westside South Central represents the following 22 neighborhoods: University Park, Adams Normandie, Arlington Heights, Mid City, Baldwin Hills / Crenshaw, Jefferson Park, Harvard Heights, Leimert Park, Exposition Park, Chesterfield Square, Vermont Slauson, Vermont Knolls, Vermont Square, View Park, Windsor Hills, Hyde Park, Gramercy Park, Vermont Vista, Manchester Square, Broadway - Manchester, Westmont, Athens. The median household is not reported.

Participation Sample Selection

A purposeful snowball sampling technique was identified and used to recruit and interview Black high school students. All 120 Black students were selected for this study because they self-identified or were recommended by program staff or peers as being actively involved in one or two social-justice community-based organizations in the City of Los Angeles. The first organization is referred to as Black Scholars Alliance. It is a university-based, pre-college access program designed to support and encourage historically underrepresented students become competitively eligible for selective universities using a holistic approach and social justice framework. The second organization is JusticeYouthLA, a nonprofit organization that provided a range of programming to historically marginalized and underrepresented populations, including social justice training, employment opportunities, mentoring, college preparation, and other activities to support the holistic development of local students. A particular focus was on students who resided or attended school in South Central and South Gate, based on previous research on the top areas of LASPD student involvement (Allen et al., 2018).

Together, this context centered on a social justice framework and holistic approach is particularly useful for my study on race, space, and school policing. First, these are community organizations that serve predominantly African American students in a school district where they account for roughly 8 percent of the total student population (LAUSD, 2018). Second, these organizations are in the heart of a district with the largest school police force. LASPD is responsible for disproportionately arresting and citing African American students compared to their racial and ethnic counterparts; thus, students are required to navigate a wide range of indirect or direct challenges related to school safety, discipline, and discretionary decision-making among police officers (Million Dollar Hoods, 2017, Community Rights Campaign, 2013; Education Week, 2017). Third, many Black students in the study had some form of contact with school police in their school and/or surrounding neighborhood, and most said that they had friends, family, and neighbors who also had some form of contact. Although students in the final sample of my study encountered various forms of school policing, the district was undergoing multiple reforms regarding school police that sought to offer new restorative opportunities. Fourth, the students attended a diverse set of schools on the basis of racial/ethnic composition, school resources, and location. They also resided in a range of different neighborhoods. These features suggest that students may not be subjected to the same experiences and responses to school policing. Fifth, the community organizations work to provide services to battle with the long-standing history of racial injustices affecting marginalized populations; they are places where students obtain the necessary cultural tools and knowledge, and thus apply what they are learning into the real-world. Sixth, these are two of the few community-based programs with school-community-level partnerships that center social justice and a holistic approach to bettering students' life outcomes. Specially, a particular focus on the Black educational

experience in Los Angeles, given the depth of racial oppressions enforced by multiple institutions and actors. Also important was an intentional focus informed by YPAR, which offers a critical understanding of engaging undergraduates on issues related to the causes of schooling policing, the relationship between racial and spatial disparities and student outcomes, and the efficacy of reform efforts to school policing that have emerged throughout Los Angeles. The selected two community organizations draw on YPAR to provide "young people [who directly experience the oppressions surrounding education inequity that scholars seek to understand] with opportunities to identify structural, interpersonal, and psychological factors affecting their lives; to gather and analyze data about these factors; and to determine actions that will address existing harms" (Brion-Meisels & Atler, 2018, p. 430; Caraballo, Lozenski, Lysicott, & Morell, 2017; Paris & Winn, 2014; Gutiérrez, 2008). These characteristics made Black Scholars Alliance and Youth4JusticeLA rich sites to study how discipline policy reform interacts with race and space to influence 1) arrests patterns and discipline infractions, and 2) Black students' experiences and responses to school policing according to attending school or residing in high concentration neighborhoods. These organizations helped with recruitment and also served as the location of the oral history interviews.

All 120 interviews were conducted in-person and lasted approximately 2 hours. These interviews were collected as part of a larger participatory action research project on Black and Latinx residents and their experiences with policing and incarceration in the City of Los Angeles. Interviews with high school students who lived or attended school outside of this study's focus were not included. A semi-structured interview protocol was created to help guide the discussion of all interviews, allowing the opportunity for students to engage in related dialogue as questions and topics emerged. I also followed-up with many of the students for clarification on words and

phrases that were undefined. Also important was clarifying distinctions between school policing and neighborhood policing. Taken together, the interview protocol allowed for students to set their own parameters and voice their own experiences, responses, and associated definitions. The following topics were addressed: family and personal educational background; neighborhood histories; sense of agency, trust, and fairness in police officers' practices and decisions; experiences of safety; exposure to violence, housing insecurity, and discrimination; harms suffered as a result of policing; responses to policing; and the role of community-based, social justice involvement. For the purposes of this study, only results relevant to the discussion of school policing and this study's focus is discussed. As part of the oral consent form, each student was promised confidentiality and asked for permission to video-record the interviews. None of the students refused the recording. An incentive payment was provided to students at the end of the interview to thank them for their participation. All interviews were transcribed for analytic purposes. It is also important to note that I do not include any analysis done by undergraduate co-researchers.

Qualitative Interview Analysis

To analyze high school student interview data, I first reviewed all the transcripts to identify general themes. Next, I applied a multi-step thematic analysis to the interviews. All interviews were coded (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995; Bogdan & Biklen, 2003) to identify specific themes, patterns, and individual quotes that summarized the key discussion points. Informed by theoretical framework, this analysis was conducted based on the following domains and in the specified order: a) Black students' experiences with school police, b) Black students' indirect experiences with school police, c) Black students' perceptions of school police, and d)

Black students' responses to school police. To further understand Black students' responses to school police, I used the following additional coding domains: a) Black students' responses to school policing with more exposure to community-based, social justice organizations, and b) Black students' responses to school policing with less exposure to community-based, social justice organizations. The rationale behind this process was based my theoretical framework. This work informed my hypotheses that these critical themes were salient for Black students' experiences and responses to school policing across high concentration neighborhoods of arrest patterns and discipline infractions in Los Angeles. Also important was the variation in responses to school policing for Black students according to their level community-based, social justice program involvement. Such involvement may play a role in buffering the consequences associated with school policing and other neighborhood disadvantage in high concentration neighborhoods.

Next, several themes were identified and catalogued for each major domain. An important sub-theme included differences across and within Black male and female students. This analysis necessitates an intersectional approach that moves beyond singular notions of race or gender; thus, furthering our understanding how Black male and female students experienced and response to school policing in unique ways that may be similar or different form each other (Crenshaw 1989, 1995). An intentional focus was on Black male and female students, and differences within each group, as subjects of school policing. This approach is an undeveloped and often hidden racialized and gendered dimension of school policing (King 1988; Lorde 1984; Crenshaw 1995; Sesko and Biernat 2009).

The data was then reviewed through several iterations and compared across domains and against other data in the same thematic category. Researchers refer to this process as the

"constant comparison method" (Glazer and Strauss, 1967). This method repeated itself until redundancy was reduced and the data represented its appropriate domains and themes (Charmaz 1990; Ryan and Bernard, 2003; Ayres, 2008). The next step included a microanalysis of each domain and theme (Diamond and Gomez, 2004). The purpose of this analysis was to outline a set of guiding parameters for describing the connection between Black students' experiences and responses to school police, and the LASPD data that detailed the arrests patterns and disciplinary infractions across Los Angeles. As Bailey (2009) suggests, it is important to "contextualize and make connections between themes to build a coherent argument supported by data" (p. 21).

The final analyses were conducted for Black students, disaggregated by sex. Decades of research have documented the unique disciplinary experiences and responses facing Black boys and girls (Bradshaw, Mitchell, O'Brennan, & Leaf, 2010; Gregory & Weinstein, 2008; Hinojosa, 2008; Raffaele Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Rocque, 2010; Skiba et al., 2011; Skiba, Chung, et al., 2014; Wallace et al., 2008; Epstein, Blake, & Gonzalez, 2017; Blake, Butler, & Smith, 2015; Blake, Butler, Lewis, & Darensbourg, 2011; Morris & Perry, 2017; Wun, 2018; Hines-Datiri & Cater Andrews, 2017; Crenshaw, Ocen & Nanda, 2015; Morris, 2012; Annamma, Anyon, Joseph, Farrar, Greer, Downing, & Simmons, 2019). Next, I overlaid the results with base-maps of local neighborhoods to identify its relationship to location of the highest concentration of LASPD arrest and disciplinary infractions facing Black students (Los Angeles Times, 2019). This process matched local neighborhoods to the geographical-concentrated nature of school policing, discussed later in this section as Strand 2 of the research process.

Establishing Validity

53

When examining the 120 interviews with Black students, I established trustworthiness and validity in four different ways during data collection and analysis. This included triangulation, extended engagement in the field during interviews, constantly searching for disconfirming evidence in each interview, and participant checking.

The first step verified data through data triangulation. This process attempts to explain the complexity of conclusions related to students' experiences and responses to school policing in a more detailed and balanced way by studying them from multiple viewpoints (Cohen, Manion, & Morrisson, 2008). Data triangulation is also an important means to cross-check data from different sources (Cresswell & Miller, 2000). I engaged in this continual comparison process, or what researchers refer to as the "constant comparison method" (Glazer and Strauss, 1967). Specifically, I checked all interviews against interview notes, notes against interview observations, observations against primary sources, and so forth. This method repeated itself until redundancy was reduced and the data represented its appropriate domains and themes (Ayres, 2008; Charmaz 1990; Ryan and Bernard, 2003). Using multiple data sources helped to prevent confirmation bias, or making false inferences without questioning and complementing information derived from other sources (Earl & Katz, 2006; Kahneman & Klein, 2009)

Second, I spent prolonged time in and around schools and neighborhoods throughout Los Angeles to generate and confirm, or disconfirm, emerging hypotheses. My extended time in the field also included speaking to LASPD leadership, and several staff and families who were actively involved in my two selected community-based organizations responsible for recruiting all student participants of the study. Interviewing and observing students in two sessions (which lasted roughly two hours each), and conducting follow-ups over the course of several weeks or months (if need be) strengthened the validity of my study in two ways. First, students were

unlikely to uphold fabricated constructions of their actual experiences and responses to school policing if interviewed and observed on multiple occasions (Becker, 1970). Furthermore, because interviews occurred in one or two community-based organizations that students were actively involved in, they are likely extending students' "degree of discursive penetration of the social systems to whose constitution they contribute" (Giddens, 1979; p. 5) Scholars refer to this as ''discursive penetration," knowledge of the social systems that individuals participate in, which varies from person to person.

Third, I ensured the validity of my qualitative findings through searching for disconfirming evidence, which was informed by my final approach of participant checking. During the coding phases of my study, I generated hypotheses and then actively sought evidence to disprove them. For instance, first-session interviews suggested that a bulk of students did not have any contact with school police in their neighborhoods or schools. I searched for evidence throughout a students' interview that would disprove this hypothesis, initially finding none. However, over time it became clear that in certain informal and indirect circumstances students did have contact with school police that may not have led to a formal infraction, but significantly influenced their experiences and responses to school policing.

The final approach to establishing trustworthiness and validity was member checking within and across interviews. This process involved asking the majority of the students about the accuracy of my understanding about my Black students' experiences and responses to school policing. I also returned to each community-based organization, and their associated school sites (if any), after data collection and throughout several phases of data analysis to share with students, staff, and community members about my larger interview themes. This process also involved asking about ways in which my understanding of the data might be incorrect.

Participant checking served as a methodological approach of requesting disconfirming evidence. Throughout the data analysis process, I conducted a thorough search for disconfirming evidence by carefully examining each interview recording, transcript, and field note for any data that would cause me to ignore or improve my qualitative conclusions (and their connections to the primary source data about school policing disparities). In this sense, I constantly refined the themes, concepts, and the organizational arrangement I present in the findings. There were several many other stories that I collected that are not documented in this study, but deserve to be heard. It is my hope to share these stories in other venues.

In what follows, I first provide a brief overview of the joint research activities waged by myself and youth in the undergraduate action research program. The program highlights how the orchestra of combined action research and social change activities contributes to education scholarship and praxis related to critical concepts of discipline policy reform, educational equity, and interactions between youth and law enforcement. This collaboratively reflective process, rendered in part and parcel by critical social action and activist research with youth and researchers, informs strand two of my methodological and analytic efforts for all quantitative data used in this study.

The Los Angeles Context: Background of Recent Policy Reforms

Programs that train school personnel on RJP and the clarified role of school police officers in districts such as LAUSD have become a national model for recent discipline reform (Hashim et al., 2018). While these policies have gained prominence among policymakers and practitioners, a particular question remains: To what extent are school reforms working to not only build safe school climates, but also to counter school policing and discipline disparities. For

some, the downward trend of arrests and disciplinary infractions for all racial and ethnic groups, and claims of improvements in school safety might conjure up potential evidence of progress (Addington, 2009; McDewitt and Panniello, 2005). For others, persistent high rates of disproportionalities for Black students are indicators of continued racial inequity of educational opportunity. Also important is the potential geographically concentrated nature of student arrests and disciplinary infractions in local communities. While there appears to be emerging consensus of the gap in evidence on the efficacy of these policies, surprisingly few studies have directly taken on the task of exploring the role race and geographical space plays in interaction with disciplinary policy reform (Welsh & Little, 2018). Specifically, there is little critical examination of the genesis of these policies, of whose interests they serve, of their social implications, or of their meanings for students and communities. This is especially the case for the nearly forty-five thousand, or 8.2%, Black students in LAUSD, and the urban neighborhoods where many students reside and/or attend school that are marked with a host of existing inequalities (Los Angeles Unified, 2018).

In LAUSD, the origins of these school policing and disciplinary reform efforts trace back to the SCBOR Resolution that were passed on May 14, 2013 and implemented during the 2014-15 school year (LAUSD, 2013). The SCBOR of 2013 was the grounding piece of policy that focused primarily on RJPs, promising new alternatives to discipline and school exclusion that focused on creating schools where community is at the center (LAUSD, 2013, 2014). The RJP approaches relies on bringing together all impacted students, school personnel, and other involved community members to repair harm and restore school safety and order after a student behavior incident has occurred (LAUSD, 2014).

The SCBOR reaffirmed core commitments of the School Wide Positive Behavior

Intervention Support (SWPBIS), the widely accepted viable alternative to traditional disciplinary

policies (LAUSD, 2013). RJPs were implemented alongside the SWPBIS program in Los

Angeles United schools (LAUSD, 2014). To align to the multi-tiered support system in SWPBS,

the district developed three tiers of RJPs for schools (LAUSD, 2014). Tier 1 involved building a

sense of community in schools (LAUSD, 2014). This included, but not limited to, celebrating

student accomplishments, and promoting healthy teacher-student relationships. Tier 2 repaired

harm between students and teachers for student misbehavior or conflict (LAUSD, 2014).

Examples include restorative discussion-circles and peer mediation to resolve conflict. Tier 3

reintegrated students who have been a recipient of exclusionary discipline or school police

involvement. This included partnering with community-based services and programs offered to

address students' socioemotional needs (LAUSD, 2014). A total of $4.9 million dollars

supported schools' implementation of RJPs and SWPBIS strategies (LAUSD, 2014). The district

prioritized the poorest, and most heavily concentrated Black and disproportionately suspended

schools (LAUSD, 2014). It also merits noting that alongside the implementation of the School

Climate Bill of Rights, LAUSD's Board of Education authorized a remarkably steady increase of

LASPD's $53 million budget (The Labor/Community Strategy Center Archives).

LAUSD is now home to the largest school police department in the United States, the

fifth largest police department in Los Angeles County, and the 14th largest in the state of

California (LASPD, 2020). LASPD employs over 410 sworn police officers and 135 non-sworn

school safety officers and support staff in school buildings (LASPD, 2020; Allen et al., 2018).

Despite the restorative turn of the district, it is accurate to note that investments in its school

police force and larger infrastructure has yielded increased possibilities for diffusing law

enforcement strategies into the everyday lives of students; particularly those schools with high enrollments of Black students, students eligible for special education, students who qualify for free and reduced-price lunch, and a track record of racial disproportionately in arrests patterns and disciplinary infractions (Hashim et al., 2018; LAUSD, 2018). These features are also likely to be concentrated in certain neighborhoods. Prior work on large cities in the U.S. has shown that these features tend to spatially cluster and concentrated in certain neighborhoods (Baas, 2001; Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2002; Crawford, 2009; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clark, & Roberts, 1978; Herbert, 1997; Johnson, 1985; Massey and Denton, 1983; Sampson et al., 1997; Wilson 1987). It was under this premise that the assessment of discipline policy reform, race, and space described here were conducted.

Research Positionality Statement

The unsettling fact that Los Angeles imprisons more people than any other city in the United States can have odd effects on a person. This reality has been the catalyst for my work as a doctoral student at UCLA. The scope of the policing incarceration problem may surprise you. In my work with Professor Kelly Lytle-Hernandez on the UCLA-based Million Dollar Hoods (MDH) research project, I quickly realized that policing and incarceration stretches beyond steel bars. Incarceration as a social and political institution is not only shaped by political and cultural forces, but also shapes the political, cultural, and social lives of many aggrieved communities and individuals.

The MDH project maps the fiscal and human cost of mass incarceration in Los Angeles. Using Big Data, namely local arrest and jail records, our research documents show hundreds of millions of dollars are wasted every year on ineffective and inequitable law enforcement. These

are our Million Dollar Hoods – and in these neighborhoods, I couldn't help but to think of family members and residents who bear a large share of these costs, namely from processes of criminalization, arrests, detention, and punishment. This includes financial costs of losing much-needed cash and assets via the money bail system. It also includes social and psychological costs, eliciting what sociologist Bruce Western calls "a cumulative spiral of disadvantage," reducing educational attainment opportunities, wages, and social determinants of health over the long term. For me, it is not enough to chronicle the disparities of policing and incarceration; engaging in ways to document the psychological tolls, social sufferings, cultural formations, emotional costs, and strategies of individual and family resilience is also important (Painter, 1995).

On the MDH project, I served as Director of Oral History and Ethnographic Research, which includes hiring and overseeing a 10+ UCLA undergraduate research team. Informed by YPAR, as noted previously in the method section, we collected over 100+ oral histories of residents and community members to understand their residential experience in Los Angeles. Our aim was to document lived histories of those who reside in a Million Dollar Hood.

In the winter of 2018, I traveled around L.A. County to capture the full measure of human caging. One of my first stops was in the neighborhood of South-Central Los Angeles to talk with a woman I'll call Tamika. Nearly every Black male in her family had been arrested and incarcerated in L.A. County, she shared during an interview. Her fountain of knowledge about the carceral state's far reaching consequences were evidenced by her experience of being caged alongside her incarcerated loved ones. As another South-Central resident put it, "I feel like I've been behind bars with them." These are just two examples of the 125 and counting stories that I've collected as part of my work at MDH. Their stories are not just about the financial expenses or emotional weight of having an incarcerated loved one, but also the relentless perils of

disadvantages that come with living in a neighborhood that is impoverished and regularly discriminated against." A vast majority of residents I spoke to must contend with the heavy police presence and surveillance as part of their daily lives. Navigating this, along with "the poverty, the discrimination, the crime, the violence, and the fact that there are so many people without money, without jobs, without homes, without an education, and even on drugs—all at once—is the real challenge," another resident shared. It became no surprise that the largest number of arrests occur in L.A.'s most impoverished neighborhoods.

This experience as a researcher and collaborator– alongside my previous work experiences as a summer associate at RAND and a student trainee at the U.S. Government Accountability Office–has taught me how to design community-centered research, combine methodologies (e.g., GIS mapping, primary sources, and quantitative analysis), interpret unexpected results, and integrate data across academic boundaries to explore policing and incarceration more broadly. Together, they have both strengthened and solidified my desire for community-driven work and applied policy and legal analysis.

None of the above experiences were supposed to be a part of my life story. I grew up in the projects of San Francisco. At the age of thirteen, sitting out on the front porch of my home, I watched the police murder my oldest brother. Throughout my teens, I observed countless Black men, women, boys, and girls who were subject to harassment, arrests, and physical abuse by the police. It was not until later that I realized that some these encounters were at the hands of school police officers. I also had numerous encounters with police throughout my neighborhoods and schools. And little did I know I was living in precisely a community that is now the basis for my study—a Million Dollar Hood.

An underlying goal of this dissertation is to shed light on MDHs and transform them.

Limitations

There are, of course, several limitations to our study. First, Los Angeles is unique in several important respects according to school police and disciplinary reform efforts, and these findings may not be replicated in other cities or districts. In addition, we do not have school police arrest and citation data for the years prior to the city's rapid wave of discipline policy reform in the 2014-15 school year. The availability of this data would allow us to compare the changes of racial disparities in school policing across neighborhoods in Los Angeles. Third, the study does not fully measure all social features of neighborhoods when examining the relationships between dimensions of concentrated disadvantage and school policing. Increasing statistical power would allow for an estimation and accountings for causality of the degree to which concentrated disadvantage and school policing cluster in urban neighborhoods, and subsequently contribute to students' experiences and responses to school policing. Finally, a primary limitation of the qualitative results is they are simply based on students' reports of their experience and responses. These reports could be influenced by an array of factors, including the actual police officer assigned to their school, the actual implementation of disciplinary policies and practices, and the school climate.

It is also important to note that with a sample of only 120 Black students across urban neighborhoods of Los Angeles, an examination of previous research suggests that the sample size would need to increase dramatically to produce more significant differences between Black students in urban neighborhoods to differentiate their experiences and responses to school police. Also important to the important concept of generalizability (Firestone, 1993). While the theoretical relationship described in this study may hold true within the sample, they do not

necessarily generalize to a larger population of Black students. Moreover, the sample of students likely do not capture the full diversity of Black students in each of the 11 schools. As noted previously, the sample included recommended students who were involved in community-based organizations that focused on aspects of social justice and YPAR. Therefore, the sample that were interviewed may be more social-action minded and critically conscious about the structural conditions underlying school policing for Black students and throughout many urban neighborhoods. In any case, the selected methodology utilized in this study has heuristic value in taking one step towards unpacking how discipline policy reform interacts with race and place to shape Black students' experiences and responses to school policing.

3

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The Rise and Impact of Past Reforms

In the 1960s and 1970s, much of the effort to reform Black urban communities in the United States focused primarily on preventing and controlling youth crime and violence (Hinton, 2015, 2016; Murakawa, 2014; Ward, 2012; Weaver, 2007). Community-based social welfare and law enforcement programs, and a variety of alternatives to formal incarceration/detention attempted to not only counter the pernicious effects of black concentrated poverty, but also explicitly address youth crime and violence in segregated urban communities (Hinton, 2015, 2016). A primary goal of these reform efforts was the elimination of non-violent status offenses or crimes that applied to youth, such as truancy and violating curfew (Hinton, 2015, 2016; Ward, 2012). However, by the end of the 1980s, social welfare and law enforcement programs focused specifically, and in many cases, exclusively on rural and suburban communities (Hinton, 2015). These efforts took precedent over programs of the previous era as policing and formal social control measures altered the landscape in many low-income black and brown communities (Anderson, 1990; Chambliss, 1994; Hall et al., 1978; Herbert, 1997; Hinton, 2016; Johnson, 1985; Thompson, 2010)

The heavy presence of police officers emerged as the primary social service provider for many low-income, black, and brown residents, extending into almost every facet of urban life

(Anderson, 1990; Hall et al., 1978; Herbert, 1997; Hinton, 2016). Research shows that law enforcement extended its arms into assisting community groups, offering recreational programs, and working with and throughout many urban schools–primarily schools with a high percentage of Black students (Hinton, 2015; Meiners 2007; Nolan, 2011; Sojoyner 2016; Thompson, 2010; Wun 2016; Vaught 2017). As many scholars have documented, one of the major assumptions guiding these efforts was fear of urban youth's behavior, where many were labeled as delinquent before any legal violation (Ferguson, 2000; Hinton, 2016; Rios, 2006; Ward, 2012). This law enforcement directed approach to addressing youth behavior served as a means to manage, rather than ameliorate, the underlying social, political, and economic circumstances that undergird manifestations of crime and violence in many of the urban communities where youth resided (Anderson, 1990; Hinton, 2015; Massey and Denton, 1983; Wilson, 1987).

In a large sense, reform directed by law enforcement emanates from domestic social policies and programs beginning as early as the 1940s, two decades prior to the upheaval of President Ronald Reagan's aggressive War on Drugs in the 1960s (Alexander 2010; Hinton, 2016). These collective efforts illuminate the decade-long process that not only preemptively criminalized many urban youth, but also evolved many urban school districts into critical sites of discipline and police contact (Hinton, 2015; Meiners 2007; Nolan 2011; Sojoyner, 2016; Thompson, 2010; Winn 2011; Wun, 2016; Vaught, 2017). While it may be unfair to characterize these as the sole product for the rise of the contemporary carceral state throughout America's most power social institutions, it is accurate to note that many of these policies and programs enacted in urban communities did not result in the long-term changes and solutions to social harm among youth that was hoped for. It was particularly clear that very little progress was made

in many low-income urban communities where failing public schools were most pervasive (Anderson, 1990; Anyon et al., 2014, 2016; Sojoyner, 2016; Ward, 2002).

Zero Tolerance Policies

Despite national data showing stable and declining school violence, concern over youth crime and violence in the 1980s served as a key driving force for Congress to pass the Gun-Free Schools Act (GFSA) of 1994 (Birkland and Lawrence 2009; Dozinger, 1996; Eisenbraun, 2007; Heitzeg, 2009; Howell, 2009; Noguera, 2015; Skiba 2001). (Figures 5 and 6 illustrates the percentage of students in grades 9-12 who reported 1) having been in a physical fight during the previous 12 months on school property and 2) carrying a weapon at least 1 day during the previous 30 days on school property from 1993 to 2003). The GFSA required all federally funded schools to 1) enact stricter discipline policies mandating expulsions of students for possessing a firearm on school property, and 2) subsequently report the student to local law enforcement (Atkinson, 2005; Heitzeg, 2009). See Appendix A for text of the GFSA.

Figure 5

Percentage of students in grades 9-12 who reported having been in a physical fight during the previous 12 months on school property: 1993-2003
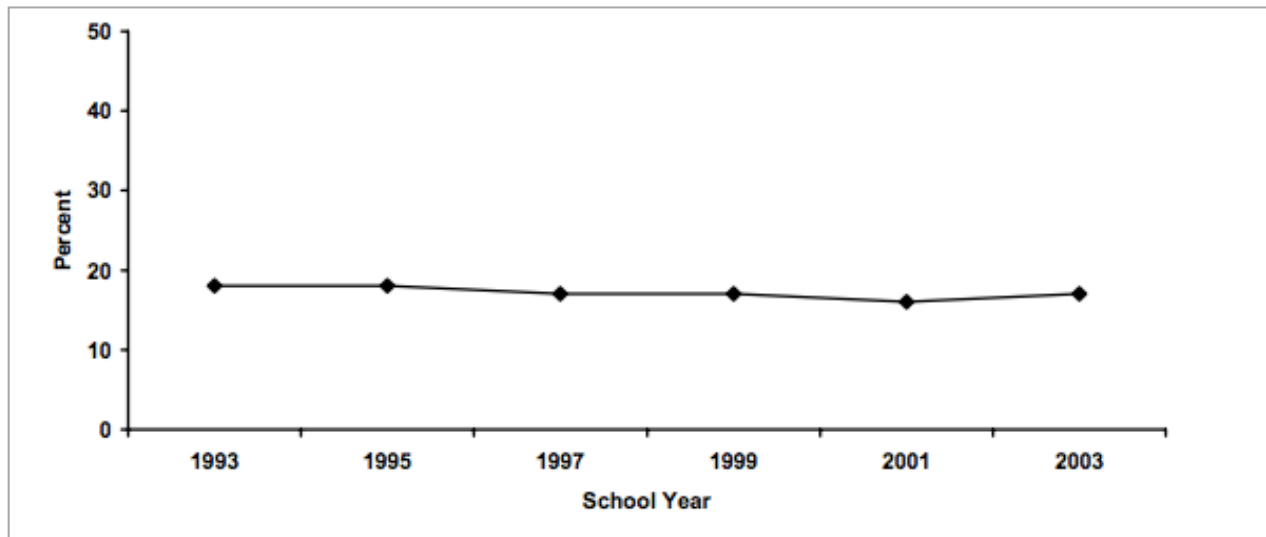
Source: Reprinted from DeVoe et al. (2005). Indicators of school crime and safety, U.S. Departments of Education and Justice. Washington, D.C. Note. The data are drawn from a nationally representative sample of students in grades 9-12, from the Youth Risk Behavior Survey of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

Figure 6

Percentage of students in Grades 9-12 who reported carrying a weapon at least 1 day during the previous 30 days on school property: 1993 to 2003
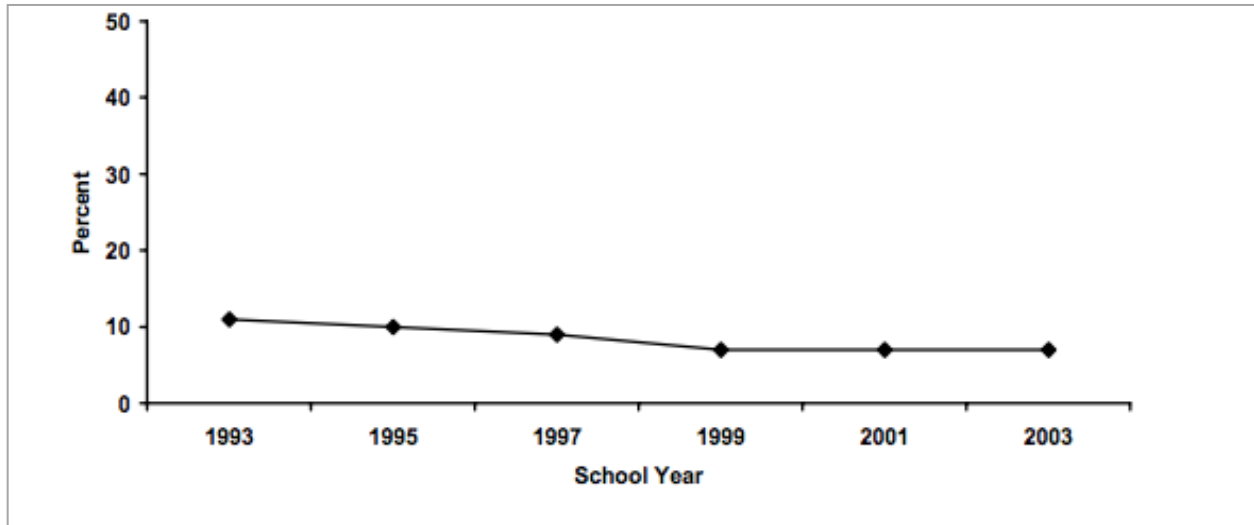
Source: Reprinted from DeVoe et al. (2005). Indicators of school crime and safety, U.S. Departments of Education and Justice. Washington, D.C. Note. The data are drawn from a nationally representative sample of students in grades 9-12, from the Youth Risk Behavior Survey of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

The GFSA provided the impetus for zero tolerance policies, borrowing rhetoric from the War on Drugs that largely characterized many urban Black youth as dangerous "super predators" and "delinquents" that needed to be dealt with as such (Heitzeg, 2009; Hinton, 2016; Ward, 2016;). While there is no formal definition of the term, zero tolerance policies require states to enact laws mandating harsh predefined consequences for specific violations of school rules without any regard to the situational context, mitigating circumstances, or the seriousness of the students' behavior (APA, 2006; Heitzeg, 2009; Kaufman, Chen, Choy, Ruddy, Miller, Chandler, Chapman, Rand, & Klaus, 1999). At the core of these laws are punishing disruptive and/or violent behaviors at school through punitive measures such as exclusionary discipline (i.e., long-term out of school

suspension or expulsion, arrest, and referral to juvenile or adult court) rather than using preventive or alternative methods that focused on correcting behavioral infractions and keeping students in the classroom (Heitzeg, 2009). One of primarily goals of this zero-tolerance approach was to improve school climate for students and teachers by deterring students from misbehaving, removing those students who misbehave or engage in misconduct at school, and reducing the subjectivity of punishment by enforcing stricter measures (Civil Rights Project, 2000, Hoffman, 2014). (Figure 7 illustrates the proportion of states with mandated zero-tolerance expulsion laws for various school disciplinary offenses from 1989 through 2007). As shown, after passage of GFSA, mandatory expulsions laws for firearms and weapons increased dramatically (Curran, 2016). In addition, laws regarding assault and drug offenses slightly increased, though not at the same degree as weapons and drugs. Research shows that these trends were similar for other exclusionary disciplinary measures (Curran, 2016).

Zero tolerance policies became widespread following several school shootings that occurred between 1990 and 1999, including the 1999 at Columbine High School in Littleton, Colorado and many others in places such as Peral, Michigan and Moses Lake, Washington (Addington, 2009; Birkland & Lawrence 2009; Frymer, 2009; Howell, 2009; Skiba, 2000; Welch & Payne, 2010). Following these incidents, several other states and school districts across the county adopted "zero-tolerance" laws as rationale for tougher approaches in disciplining students and addressing ongoing concerns over school safety for students and teachers (Howell, 2009; Skiba, 2000; Welch & Payne, 2010).

Figure 7

Proportion of states with mandated expulsion laws for various school disciplinary offenses:

1989-2007
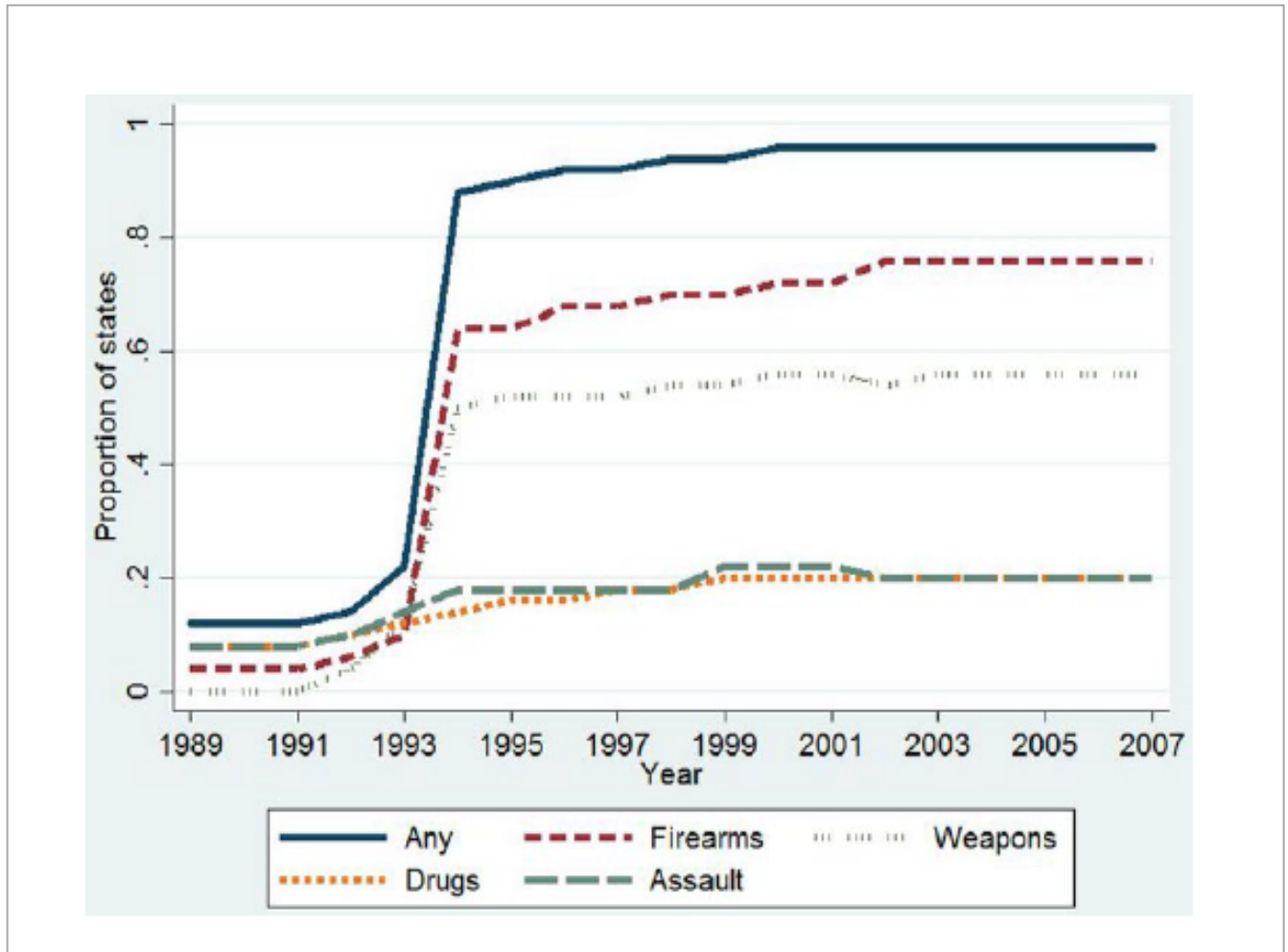
Source: Reprinted from Curran, F. C. (2016). Estimating the Effect of State Zero Tolerance Laws on Exclusionary Discipline, Racial Discipline Gaps, and Student Behavior. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *38*(4), 647–668.

Ironically, the amplified demand for stricter discipline policies and enhanced security measures (i.e., security cameras, metal detector entrances, stationed patrol cars, random searches, and flying helicopters) were largely motivated in part and parcel by the school-shootings that

occurred in affluent, white suburban schools (Heitzeg, 2009; Noguera, 2015). However, zero tolerance policies were adopted and enforced in many urban schools with low academic achievement, and high percentages of student of color and low-income students (American Bar Association, 2001; Ferguson, 2000; Kaufman et al., 2000; Noguera, 2008; Wald & Losen, 2003; Welch & Payne, 2010). As a result, many researchers have documented the impact of zero tolerance policies–and its expanded initiatives that increased law enforcement surveillance and security measures–on the poorest, most vulnerable, and predominantly black and brown student population for punishment (Hinton, 2016; Noguera, 2015; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019).

Not long after these mass shootings many states go above and beyond the federal mandate by passing laws that required expulsion or other means of school exclusion for the possession of all weapons, drugs, and other serious violations on or around school grounds (Advancement Project et al., 2005; Birkland and Lawrence 2009; Skiba 2000, 2002; Wallace et al., 2008). National data from the U.S. Department of Education–National Center for Education Statistics (1997) showed that most public schools reported having zero-tolerance policies toward serious student offenses in the 1996-97 school year. (Figure 8 shows the percentage of U.S. public schools that have adopted zero-tolerance policies for various student offenses from 1996 to 1997). During this period, data shows that roughly 94% of schools reported zero-tolerance policies for firearms, and 91% for weapons other than firearms (U.S. Department of Education–National Center for Education Statistics, 1997). Data also shows that public schools reported using a number of other measures to increase security and safety (U.S. Departments of Education and Justice, 1998). A national report on school safety by the U.S. Departments of Education and Justice revealed that 96% of U.S. public schools in the 1996-97 school-year required visitors to

71

sign in before entering the school building, 80% had a closed campus policy that prohibited most

students from leaving the campus for lunch, another 50% controlled access to their school

buildings (U.S. Departments of Education and Justice, 1998). Other approaches reported by

schools included drug sweeps, random metal detector checks on students, and the use of metal

detectors daily.

Figure 8

Percentage of U.S. public schools that have adopted zero-tolerance policies for various student

offenses: 1996-1997
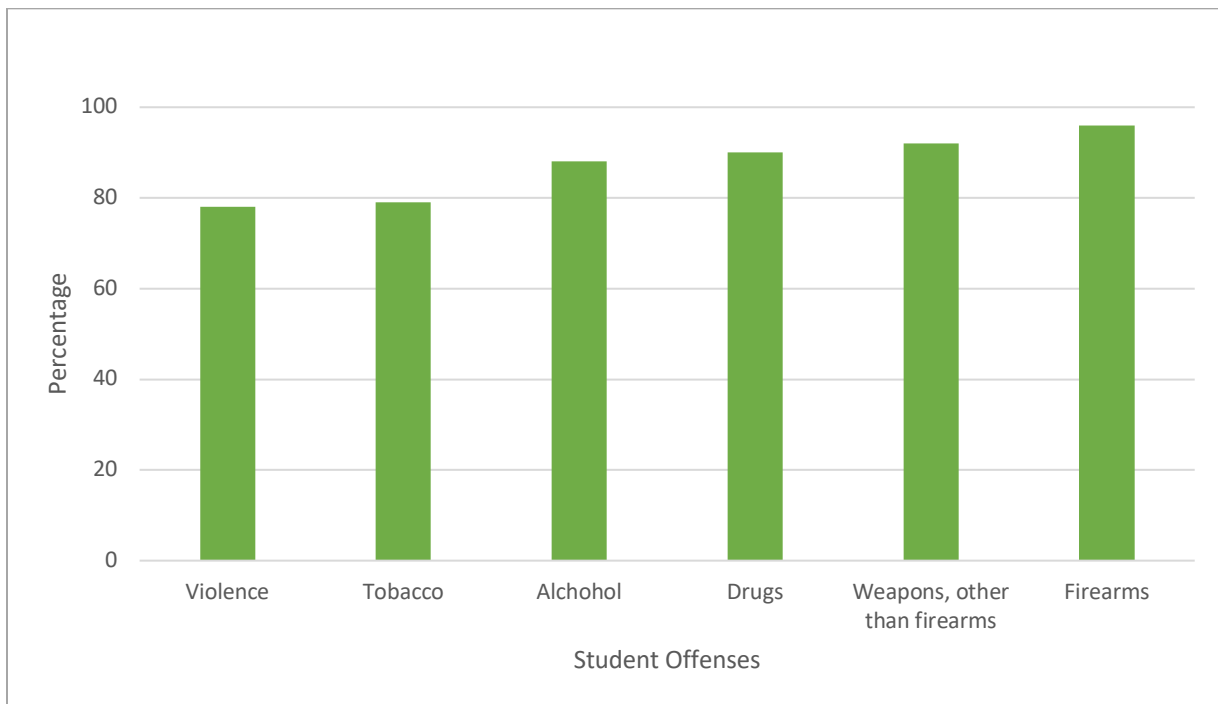
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics. Fast Response Survey system,

"Principal/School Disciplinarian Survey on School Violence, " FRSS 63, 1997.

This expanded set of requirements were intended to strengthen the safety of students and teachers at school. However, after the implementation of zero tolerance laws throughout many schools, it became clear that this stricter approach to school discipline was becoming a rapid-response to increasing acts of student misbehavior and/or perceived misconduct (Gregory et al., 2010; Skiba, 2000). National data showed that 94% of U.S. public schools enforced zero-tolerance policies for weapons or firearms and another 87% for alcohol, which reflected slight increases in previous years (Skiba, 2000). Roughly 79% of schools have mandatory suspensions or expulsions for violence or tobacco infractions (Skiba, 2000). These approaches to student behavior included punishment for paper clips, scissors, nail files, and plastic knives as weapons (Civil Rights Project, 2000). Also, several brands of Aspirin and Midol received treatment as drugs under zero tolerance policies (Skiba, 2000). The overreliance of exclusionary discipline for many minor behavior infractions that posed no threat to school safety became common. This included truancy and dress code violations (Civil Rights Project, 2000; Epstein et al., 2017; Gregory et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2010; Losen & Skiba, 2010; Morris, 2007; Morris & Perry, 2017; Skiba et al., 2002). A statement by the American Bar Association (2001) notes how zero tolerance policies have "become a one-size-fits-all solution to all the problems that schools confront. It has redefined students as criminals, with unfortunate consequences. . . and, at great cost to society and to children and families, do little to improve school safety." (p. 1)

It would be unfair to characterize zero tolerance policies as having done nothing to improve school safety for all students and teachers. Many proponents of zero tolerance policies have argued that exclusionary discipline is necessary to keep schools safe. (Steinberg, Allensworth, & Johnson, 1999; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019). However, a bulk of research suggests zero tolerance policies have made little progress in improving school safety

and reducing rates of school violence that it had hoped to address (Skiba, 2001). Research suggests that zero tolerance policies have proliferated in lieu of supporting evidence of their efficacy, and improvements towards school safety and security (Skiba, 2001). The American Psychological Association (APA) commissioned an extensive Zero Tolerance Task Force (2008) concluding that zero tolerance policies have not helped to achieve the goals of effectively reducing the need and reliance for disciplinary actions. The study also found that schools with higher exclusionary discipline rates have lower school climate ratings (APA, 2008). The implementation of zero tolerance policies in schools have not been shown to improve school climate or school safety, and the increased use of exclusionary discipline has not proven to be an effective means of improving student behavior, reducing disruptions, or addressing school violence (Jackson, 2002; Na & Dottfredson, 2011; Skiba & Peterson, 1999). In fact, researchers have documented relatively stable trends in school violence over the past few decades, suggesting that the need for zero tolerance policies to keep students safe at school may be misguided (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019; Welsh & Little, 2018). (Figure 9 shows the percentage of students ages 12–18 who reported various school crimes, or criminal victimization, during the previous 6 months, by type of victimization for the years 2001 to 2017). According to research, the overall percentage of students who reported all categories of crime, theft or violence, at school decreased from 2001 to 2017. (National Center for Education Statistics, 2019).

A large body of evidence has documented the impact of the rise of zero tolerance approaches on pushing students out of schools and into carceral institutions (Heitzeg, 2009; Kim, Losen & Hewitt, 2010; Mallett, 2016; McNeal, 2016; Skiba et al., 2014). This connection has led some scholars to describe the impact of zero tolerance policies as the "school-to-prison pipeline"

(Brown, Losen & Wald, 2002; Fabelo, 2011; Ferguson, 2000; Noguera, 2008; Wald & Losen, 2003;). Although certainly important, a growing body of scholarship has argued for a reconceptualization of the school-to-prison pipeline (STPP)   framework, one that captures the historic and systematic nature of both how schools push out students into prisons, but also how prison pulls in students from schools (Meiners, 2011; Nolan, 2011; Sojoyner, 2016). As Erica Meiners (2011) notes, "linkages between schools and prisons are less a pipeline, more a persistent nexus or web of intertwined, punitive threads" (pp. 31-32). Furthering Meiner's (2011) critique, Sojoyner (2016) argues, "rather than a funneling or pipeline system that transfers students from schools to prisons, particular forms of enclosures have been developed with particular aims" (p. XIV). According to the Advancement Project (2005),

 Zero tolerance has engendered a number of problems: denial of education through increased suspension and expulsion rates, referrals to inadequate alternative schools, lower test scores, higher dropout rates, and racial profiling of students…… Once many of these youths are in "the system," they never get back on the academic track. Sometimes, schools refuse to readmit them; and even if these students do return to school, they are often labeled and targeted for close monitoring by school staff and police. Consequently, many become demoralized, drop out, and fall deeper and deeper into the juvenile or criminal justice systems…In this era of zero tolerance, the consequences of child or adolescent behaviors may long outlive students' teenage years. (p. 12)

Figure 9

Percentage of students ages 12–18 who reported various school crimes, or criminal victimization, during the previous 6 months, by type of victimization: 2001-2017
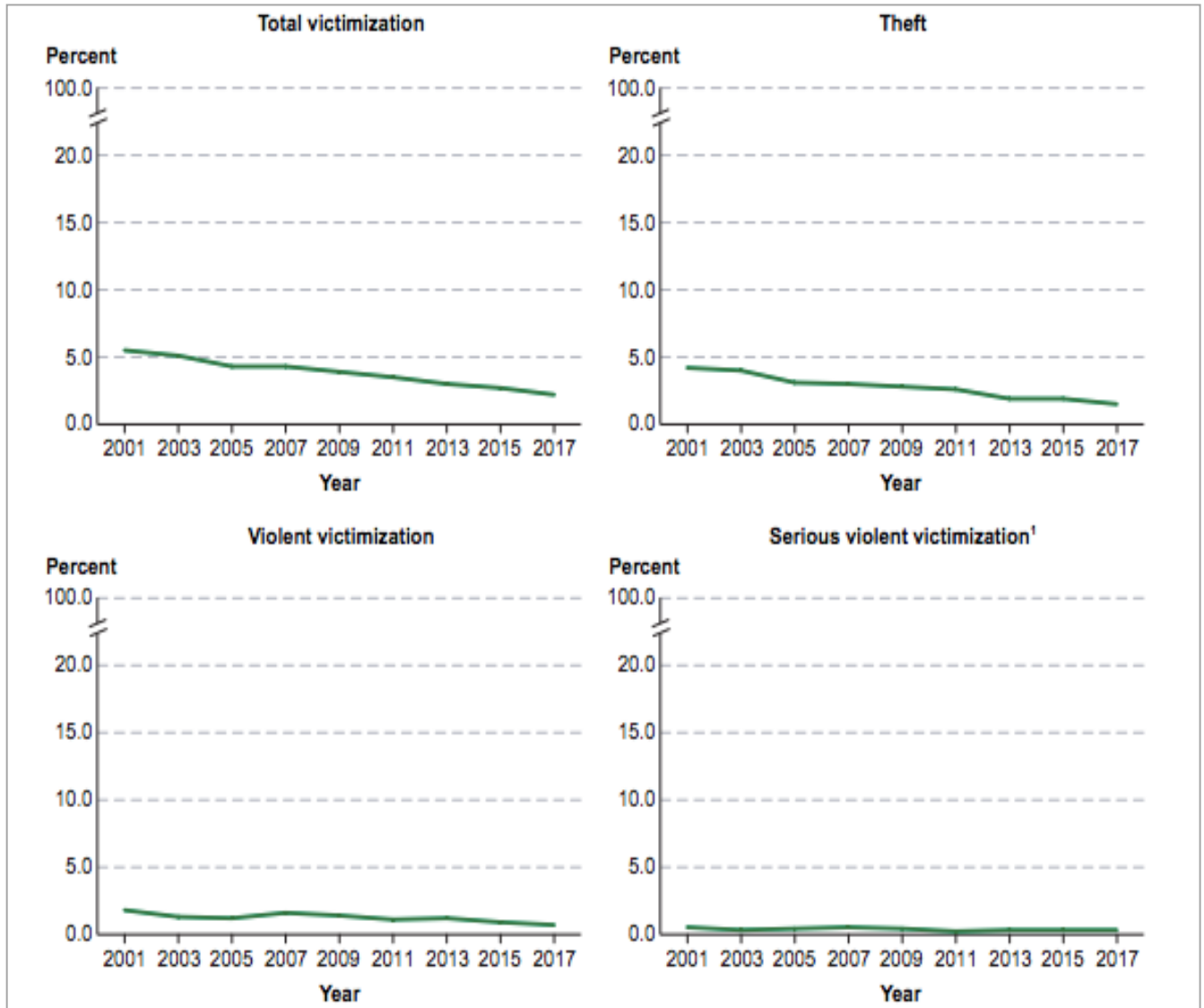
Source: Reprint from Musu, L., Zhang, A., Wang, K., Zhang, J., and Oudekerk, B.A. (2019). Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2018 (NCES 2019-047/NCJ 252571). National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Dept. of Education, and Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Dept. of Justice. Washington, DC.

Note. Detail may not sum to totals because of rounding and because students who reported both theft and violent victimization are counted only once in total victimization. As noted by Zhang et al. (2019), "total victimization" includes theft and violent victimization. "Theft" includes attempted and completed purse-snatching, completed

pickpocketing, and all attempted and completed thefts, with the exception of motor vehicle thefts. Theft does not include robbery, which involves the threat or use of force and is classified as a violent crime. "Serious violent victimization" includes the crimes of rape, sexual assault, robbery, and aggravated assault. "Violent victimization" includes the serious violent crimes as well as simple assault. "At school" includes in the school building, on school property, on a school bus, and going to and from school.

The exclusionary nature of zero tolerance policies have contributed to a host of negative consequences. This includes but is not limited to: poor academic performance (Wallace et al., 2008; Lewis et al., 2010), greater frequency of dropping out (Balfanz, Byrnes, & Fox, 2013; Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010; Losen & Martinez, 2013), long-term social and emotional consequences (American Psychiatric Association Zero Tolerance Task Force, 2008; Cameron & Shepard, 2006; Raffaele Mendez, 2003), and dysfunctional teacher-student relationships (Losen & Martinez, 2013). Researchers have also noted that the increased use of zero tolerance policies have reinforced and exacerbated the problem of racial discipline disproportionality, particularly on the lives of the poor, Black students who are often the target of exclusionary discipline (Gregory et al., 2010; Losen & Martinez, 2013; Wallace et al., 2008; Welch & Payne, 2010; Welsh & Little, 2018; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019).

Many of these disciplinary encounters are often the result of minor, non-criminal violations of school rules (e.g., disobedience, defiance, talking back to a teacher, and dress code violations) that rely on a high degree of subjectivity (Epstein et al., 2017; Gregory et al., 2010; Morris, 2007; Morris & Perry, 2017; Skiba et al., 2002). In fact, racial disproportionately in exclusionary discipline is more likely to be found in these minor, non-criminal violations of school rules (Losen & Martinez, 2013). Data show that U.S. Department of Education (2014) show that 95 percent of out-of-school suspensions are for minor, nonviolent behaviors. Examples include being disruptive, disobedient, tardiness, profanity, and dress-code violations. In

California, nearly half of its suspensions in the 2011-12 school year were for "disrupting school activities or otherwise willfully defying the valid authority of school staff," referred to as willful defiance (California Assembly Bill No. 420, 2014, p. 92; U.S. Department of Education, 2014). This discretionary definition includes disciplinary infractions that range from talking back to a teacher, not following directions, wearing a hat to class, or simply forgetting to bring materials to class (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019). Beset with such discipline, it is not surprising that literature has focused on the relationship between these hardships and how they influence students' academic and developmental outcomes (Balfanz et al., 2013; Gregory et al., 2010; Lewis et al., 2010; Losen & Martinez, 2013; Raffaele et al., 2003; Wallace et al., 2008). Also important is the impact on increased likelihood of being not only suspended or expelled, but also cited and arrested by school police officers (Fabelo et al., 2011).

Consequences of Exclusionary Discipline and School Policing

Studies exploring the effects of exclusionary discipline place those students who are punished at risk for disadvantages across a range of social, behavioral, academic and health outcomes (Carter et al., 2014; Gregory et al., 2010; Losen & Gillespie, 2012; Rosenbaum, 2018). Students who are suspended or expelled miss valuable instruction time, have poorer grades and performance on cognitive tests, and are more likely to be repeatedly suspended, dropout of school in both the short and long term, and have involvement with the criminal justice system (Arcia, 2006; Balfanz et al., 2015; Davis & Jordan, 1994; Eitle & Eitle, 2004; Losen and Gillespie, 2012; Rosenbaum, 2018; Shollenberger, 2015; Skiba, 1999). For suspended students who have contact with the criminal justice, they are more likely to be arrested both during the month of suspension and within a year of suspension (Monahan, VanDerhei, Bechtold, &

Cauffman, 2014; Hemphill, Toumbourou, Herrenkohl, McMorris, & Catalano, 2006). Within a year of being suspended, students are also more likely to engage in antisocial behavior, including talking back to the teacher, disruptive classroom behavior, and truancy (Hemphill et al., 2013; Hemphill et al., 2006). Other studies have found that as a result of out-of-school suspensions, students experience increased contact with the criminal justice system and in some cases, direct placement into the juvenile justice system for non-violent misbehavior (Fowler, 2011; Losen and Gillespie, 2012). These disparities are consistent with claims that exclusionary discipline funnels students from schools into prisons through the "school-to prison-pipeline" framework (Ferguson, 2000; Noguera, 2008; Wald & Losen, 2003). Although certainly important, this framework has ignored the historical nature that marks exclusionary discipline long before schools and prisons existed (Meiners, 2011; Nolan, 2011; Sojoyner, 2016).

Research that examines the collateral consequences of punitive schools highlight the fact that inequalities likely extend to all students (Chesney-Lind & Mauer, 2004). If a range of disadvantages exists for students in direct contact with exclusionary discipline, then disadvantages also exist in all students impacted by these punitive schooling environments (Perry and Morris, 2014). Research shows that schools that rely and overuse exclusionary discipline practices– including metal detectors, security guards, or high suspension/expulsion rates– produce unique individual risk factors for all students. This includes anger, apathy, disengagement and culture of fear and coercion (Contenbader & Markson, 1998; Davis and Jordan, 1994; Gregory et al., 2010; Jenkins, 1997; Sander, 2010; Wildhagen, 2012). These consequences for all students disrupt student learning, increase student misbehavior, and widens the racial achievement gap (Gregory et al., 2010). Students attending these schools also are more likely to have greater mistrust of the public education and criminal justice system (Gregory et al.,

2010). Furthermore, greater police presence in schools increases the probability that students will have contact with officers as a result of disciplinary actions (Na & Gottfredson, 2011).

Recent literature suggests that Black students, regardless of their interaction with punishment, experience the effects of exclusionary discipline in schools (Perry & Morris, 2014). These same disadvantages also apply to Black youth experiences outside of walls of schools. As Victor Rios (2011) describes, Black youth experience "the combined effect of the web of institutions . . . that collectively punish, stigmatize, monitor, and criminalize young people in an attempt to control them" (p. 40). This "youth control complex" permeates not only in schools, but also in neighborhoods environments of similar punitive control-oriented structures. One important feature shaping the lives of many Black youth is the increased presence of law enforcement in schools and communities. Research suggests that the consequences of policing extends into key domains of social life, and have broader implications for students' academic achievement, educational trajectories, and traditional pathways of upward social mobility more broadly (Legewie and Fagan, 2019). Further research is needed to explore the relationship between these features and school policing.

Increased Presence of Law Enforcement in Schools

The implementation of zero tolerance laws has not only led to an increase in stricter disciplinary actions and policies (and its associated consequences), but also to an increased presence of law enforcement throughout many schools across the country (Advancement Project et al., 2018; Hinton, 2015; Meiners 2007; Heitzeg, 2009; The Labor/Community Strategy Center, 2013; Thompson, 2010). Recent data for the 2013-14 school year shows that 29% U.S. public schools have sworn police officers (U.S. Department of Education, 2019). (Figure 10 shows the

80

percentage of U.S. public schools that reported sworn police officers in school in the 2013-14 academic year). The self-reported percentage of schools with police, along with the number of arrests, across each state can be found in Appendix B.

Dating back to the early 1940s, a growing number of school districts have employed full-time police officers known as school resource officers (SROs) or their own school security units and organized school police forces (Advancement Project et al., 2018; Heitzeg, 2009; James & McCallion, 2013). In 1953, the first SRO was assigned to schools in Flint, Michigan. The goal of the SRO program focused on "improv[ing] community relations between the city's youth and the local police department" (Mbekeani-Wiley, 2017). As research notes, SROs are often used alongside zero tolerance and harsh school discipline policies (Welsh & Payne, 2010). One of the earliest examples of law enforcement in schools was in Indianapolis Public Schools (Advancement Project et al., 2018). From 1939 to 1952, a special investigator was hired to serve the school district (Advancement Project et al., 2018; Brown, 2006) This position was renamed as supervisor of special watch-men and later evolved into Indianapolis Public School Police (Advancement Project et al., 2018). The underlying assumption guiding these collective efforts throughout schools was to prevent and address crime and disorder on school grounds (Heitzeg, 2009; James & McCallion, 2013; Noguera, 2015).

Figure 10

Percentage of U.S. public schools that reported sworn police officers: 2013-14
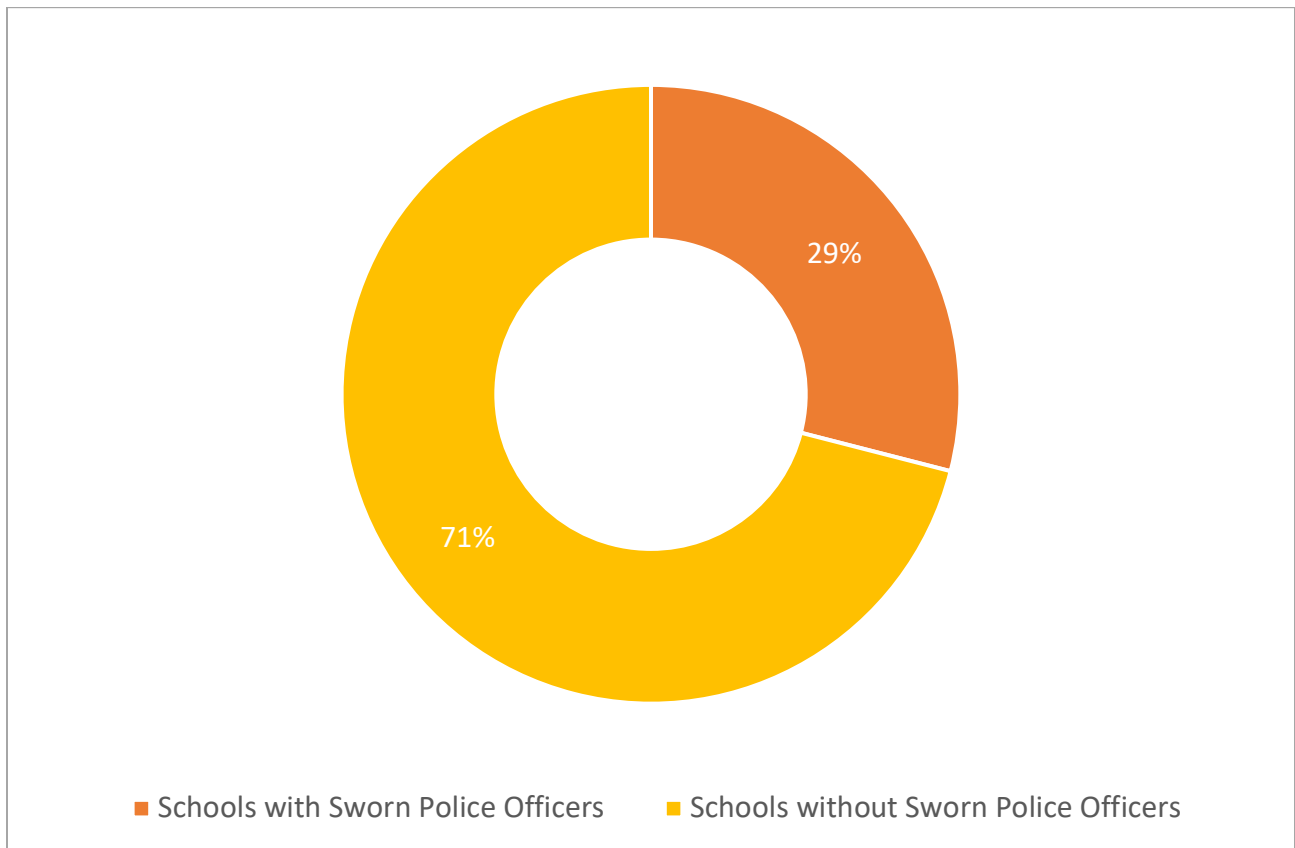
Source: U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights. (2019, May). Civil Rights Data Collection—School Climate and Safety.

Similarly, the Los Angeles School Police Department dates back to 1948, when the district developed its own school security unit designed to patrol campuses for property protection after integration (Brown, 2006; French-Marcelin and Hinger, 2017; The Labor/Community Strategy Center Archives). In fact, the first daytime LASPD officer patrolled school campuses in 1966, an explicit response to the Watts Uprising and federal law enforcement efforts to control future student violence and crime (Advancement Project et al., 2018). During this period, a growing number of student-led social movements against discrimination and school

segregation occurred in Black schools, demanding educational equity regarding culturally-relevant curriculums and schools (Advancement Project et al., 2018; Sojoyner, 2016, 2017). Many scholars have documented that direct action from law enforcement were often the responses to these acts of organizing and social justice (Advancement Project et al., 2018; Sojoyner, 2016; The Labor/Community Strategy Center, 2013). Research also notes that the various programs implemented by the city that sought to repress organizing in Black schools (Sojoyner, 2017). An example was a program called Police Role in Government, piloted in 1969 (Sojoyner, 2013). Taught by officers of the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD), a major tenet of this program was to provide students with educational enforcement skills on how to become "proper, subservient citizens" (Sojoyner, 2017; p. 522). The implementation of the program throughout many Black schools in Los Angeles reduced instructional time, and placed the locus of blame on Black individual and cultural failure and on correction or "fixing" of the behavior of urban Black students (Sojoyner, 2017; pp. 61, 123-126). The role of law enforcement in Los Angeles continued to expand into urban schools and communities, and the lives of many Black students.

By 1972, several urban school districts across 40 states imported some form of policing in schools. (Advancement Project et al., 2018). Not long after, the National Advisory Commission on Criminal Justice Standards recommended posting a full-time officer to every junior and senior high school in districts with over 400 employees (The Labor/Community Strategy Center Archives). LAUSD employed school police officers in every high school and two-thirds of every middle school by 1987 (The Labor/Community Strategy Center Archives). During this time, the Drug Abuse and Resistance Education (DARE) program was piloted in many schools in Los Angeles to teach classes and perform random security measures (i.e., drug

searchers) on school campuses (Sojoyner, 2016). Furthering the relationship between law enforcement and LAUSD, the DARE program was accompanied by a truancy program in the early 1990s called Abolish Chronic Truancy (ACT). This new program provided the Los Angeles County District Attorney's office with oversight over disciplinary matters and those related to school absence (Sojoyner, 2017). Together, these programs have had devastating consequences for the poorest, most vulnerable, and predominantly black and brown student population of Los Angeles (Sojoyner, 2016, 2017)

To understand an important driver to why the increased law enforcement has become rampant in so many schools, it is important to examine the influence of President Bill Clinton's Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act (Na and Denise, 2011). When the act passed in 1994, the act created the Office of Community Oriented Policing Services (COPS) within the Department of Justice that profoundly increased the federal funding for policing in schools and communities (Advancement Project et al., 2018; Na and Denise, 2011). As the largest crime bill to date, COPS has spent nearly $300 million on the infrastructure of school policing (Advancement Project et al., 2018). While public concerns about the urban youth, control, and order dominated the thinking in the 1990s, policing and law enforcement strategies in schools became increasingly common after the 1999 Columbine High School shooting. Immediately after the school shooting, COPS created national grants awarding schools more than $750 million for the hiring of thousands of school police officers (Advancement Project et al., 2018). A report on school safety revealed that U.S. public schools reported responding in the following ways during 1990s school shooting incidents: 60 percent of public schools had police or other law enforcement representatives stationed 30 hours a week or more at the school in a typical week and 78% had some type of formal school violence prevention or reduction programs (U.S.

Departments of Education and Justice, 1998). Other approaches included an increase in school uniforms and the use of police or other law enforcement representatives placed at schools for a few hours per week (U.S. Departments of Education and Justice, 1998). Nearly two decades later, the Department of Justice awarded more than $143 million in grants through the COPS office for hiring school police officers in 2014-15 (Advancement Project et al., 2018).

With the continued increase in the presence and funding of police in schools at its highest, the trend has become clear that many officers were found largely in high-poverty schools (i.e., where at least 75 percent of students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches) and where at least half of the student population was nonwhite (Na and Denise, 2011; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019). According to recent national data, roughly 51% of high schools with high African American and Latinx student enrollment have SRO's (Miller & Jean-Jacques, 2016). As research suggests, students of color, particularly Black and Latino students, are more likely to attend schools that employ some form of law enforcement in schools, and also rely on measures of exclusionary discipline (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019; Wayne & Payne, 2010). In other words, schools with more nonwhite students have more law enforcement, namely full-time SRO or private security guard on campus (National Center for Education Statistics, 2010; Lind, D, 2015). (Figure 11 shows the percentage of public schools with at least one full-time school resource officer, by students who receive reduced-price lunch for the years 2005 to 2010). This is not to say that there's only one type of school that has law enforcement on campus. Research does suggest that law enforcement is most likely to be in the poorest, least-white schools. (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, 2019). As illustrated in Figure 12, the poorest of students, those who receive reduced-price lunch, have more law enforcement in schools (National Center for Education Statistics, 2010; Lind, 2015).

Figure 11

Percentage of public schools with at least one full-time school resource officer, by students who receive reduced-price lunch: 2005-2010
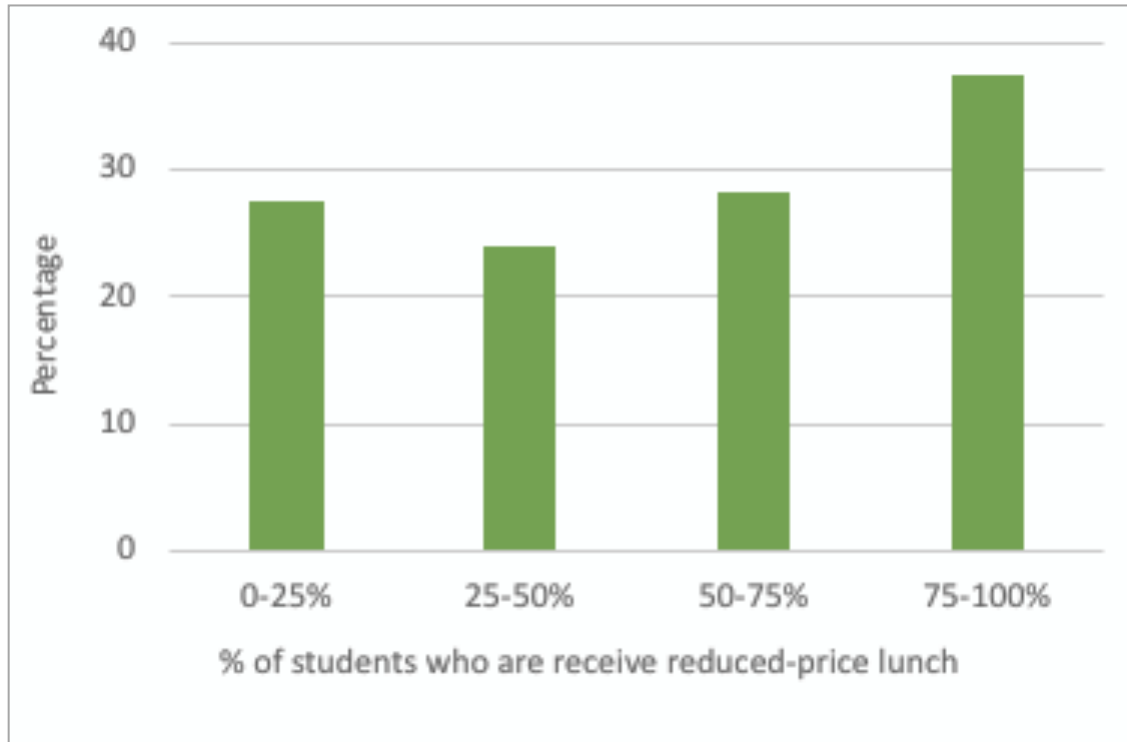
Source: Reprint from Lind, D. (2015, October). "Why having police in schools is a problem, in 3 charts." Vox.

Note. Data includes averages for the years 2005-6, 2007-8, and 2009-10

Figure 12

Percentage of public schools with at least one full-time school resource officer, by nonwhite students: 2005-2010
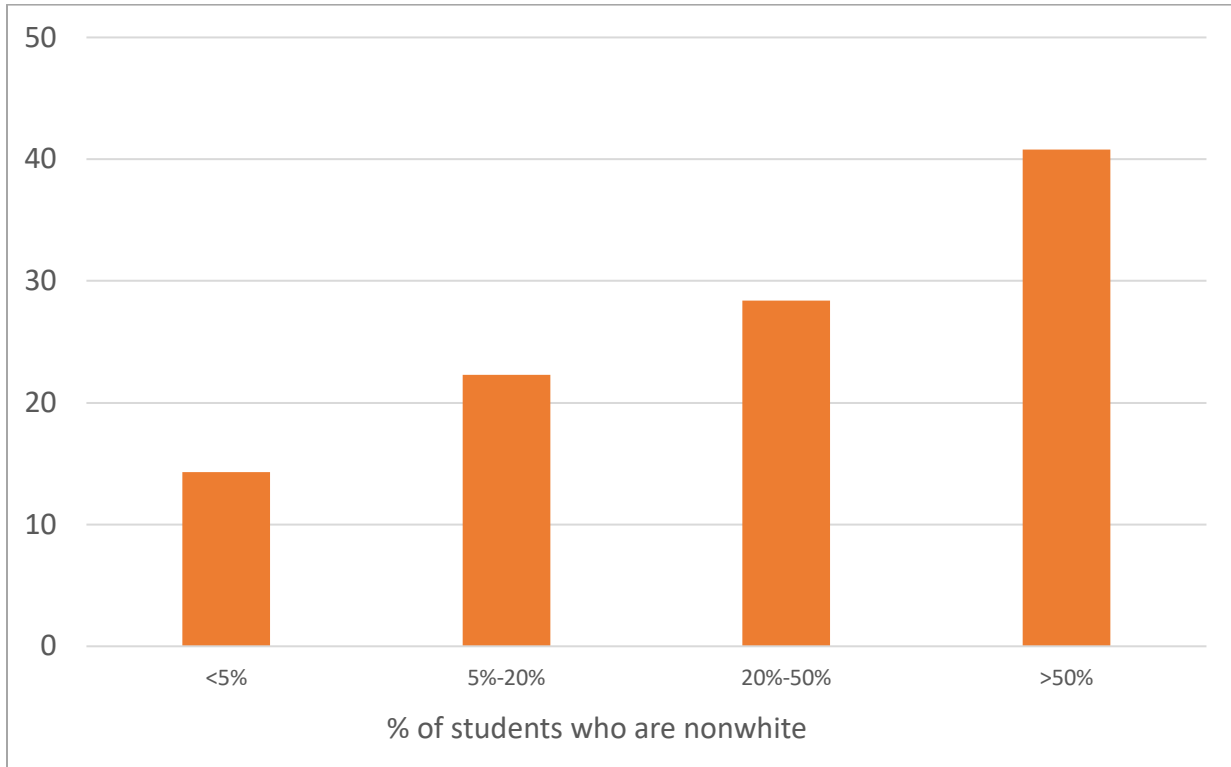
Source: Reprint from Lind, D. (2015, October). "Why having police in schools is a problem, in 3 charts." Vox.

Note. Data includes averages for the years 2005-6, 2007-8, and 2009-10

A growing body of studies have provided mixed evidence on the efficacy of SROs (Johnson, 1999; Theriot, 2009; Theriot & Orme, 2016; Wolf, 2014). For example, an early study by Johnson (1999) found that exclusionary discipline outcomes decreased and students reported feeling increased feelings of safety following the increased presence of SROs in schools. However, recent literature by Theriot (2009) found increased arrests for subjective charges in schools with SROs than in schools that did not have SROs, and socioeconomic status as the only predictor of arrest. As Figure 13 shows, students attending schools with more SROs were almost

five times as likely to face charges for disorderly conduct (Theriot, 2009). In other words, students were much more likely to be arrested for behavior that were considered "disruptive," but not violent at a school with more SROs. The study also found that schools with SROs experienced a 402.3% increase in arrests per 100 students (Theriot, 2009). Additional evidence suggests the presence of SROs was not statistically correlated with students' feelings of safety (Theriot and Orme, 2016).

Figure 13

Rates of arrests and charges for surveyed schools with school resource officers and schools

without them, controlling for socioeconomic status
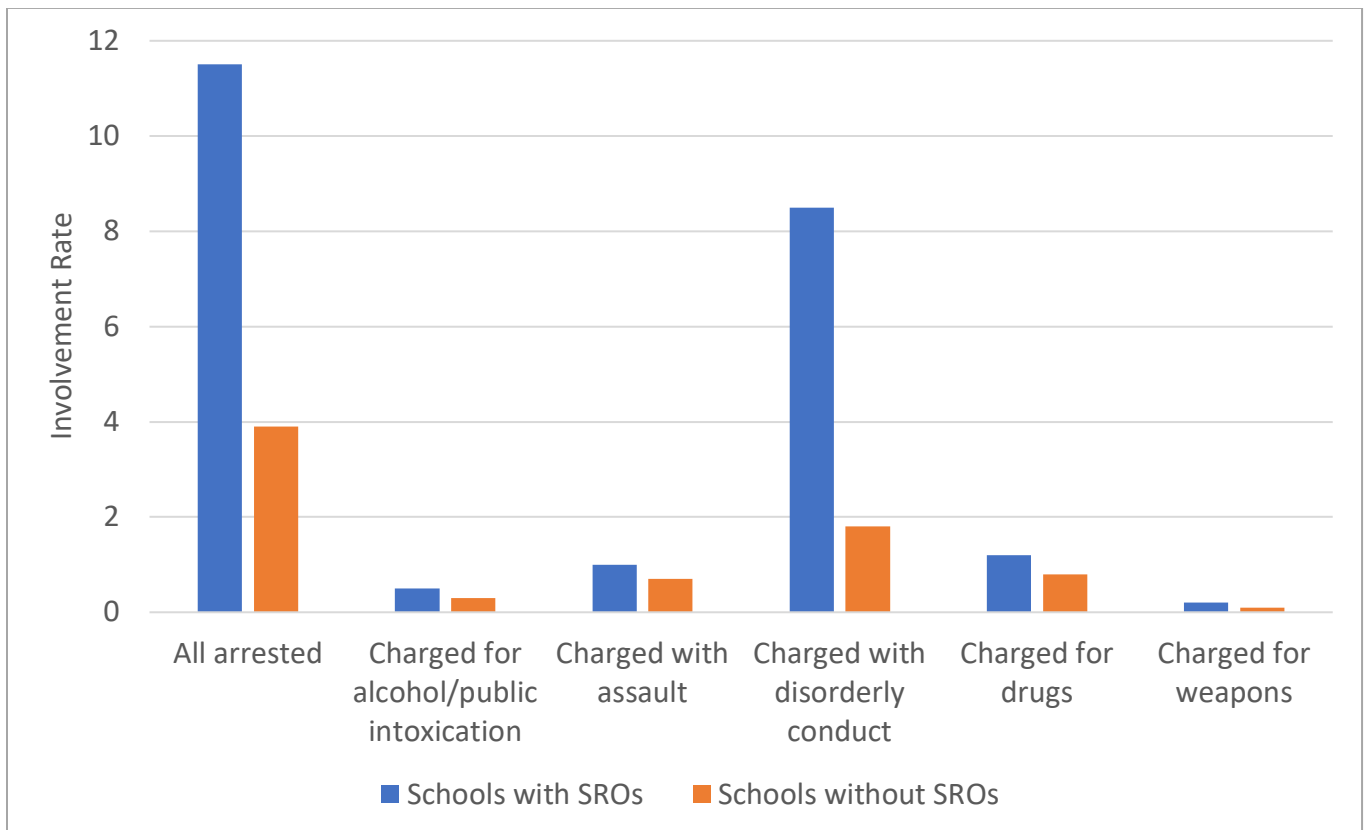
Source: Reprint from Theriot (2009). School Resource Officers and the Criminalization of Student Behavior.

Journal of Criminal Justice. *Note.* Data includes averages for the years 2005-6, 2007-8, and 2009-10

National data consistently show higher rates of and disproportionalities in arrests and other disciplinary infractions by school police for Black students (Welsh & Little, 2018). For instance, in 43 states and the District of Columbia, Black students are arrested at school and referred to law enforcement at disproportionately high levels (U.S. Department of Education, 2017, 2019). (Figures 14 and 15 shows the percentage distribution of students referred to law enforcement and subjected to school-related arrests for all race and ethnic student groups for the 2013-14 and 2015-16 academic years). During the 2015–16 school year, Black students represented 15 percent of the total student enrollment, and 31 percent of students who were referred to law enforcement or arrested (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). This represented a 16-percentage point disparity. Moreover, during the 2013–14 school year Black students had an 11-percentage point disparity, as Black students were 16 percent of the student enrollment and 27 percent of students referred to law enforcement or arrested (U.S. Department of Education, 2017). Male students, namely boys of color, are referred to law enforcement or arrested more than their female counterparts (U.S. Department of Education, 2017, 2019).

Black students are also disproportionately arrested and cited by school police officers at higher levels compared to their other racial and ethnic peers (The Labor/Community Strategy Center, 2013; Education Week Research Center, 2017; Allen et al., 2018). A recent report by UCLA's Million-Dollar-Hoods project revealed that Black students represented less than 9% of the student population in Los Angeles and comprised 25% of the total student arrests, citations, and diversions (Allen et al., 2018). The report also showed that Black students as young as eight are arrested in school (Allen et al., 2018).

Figure 14

Percentage distribution of students referred to law enforcement and subjected to school-related

arrests, by race: 2013-14
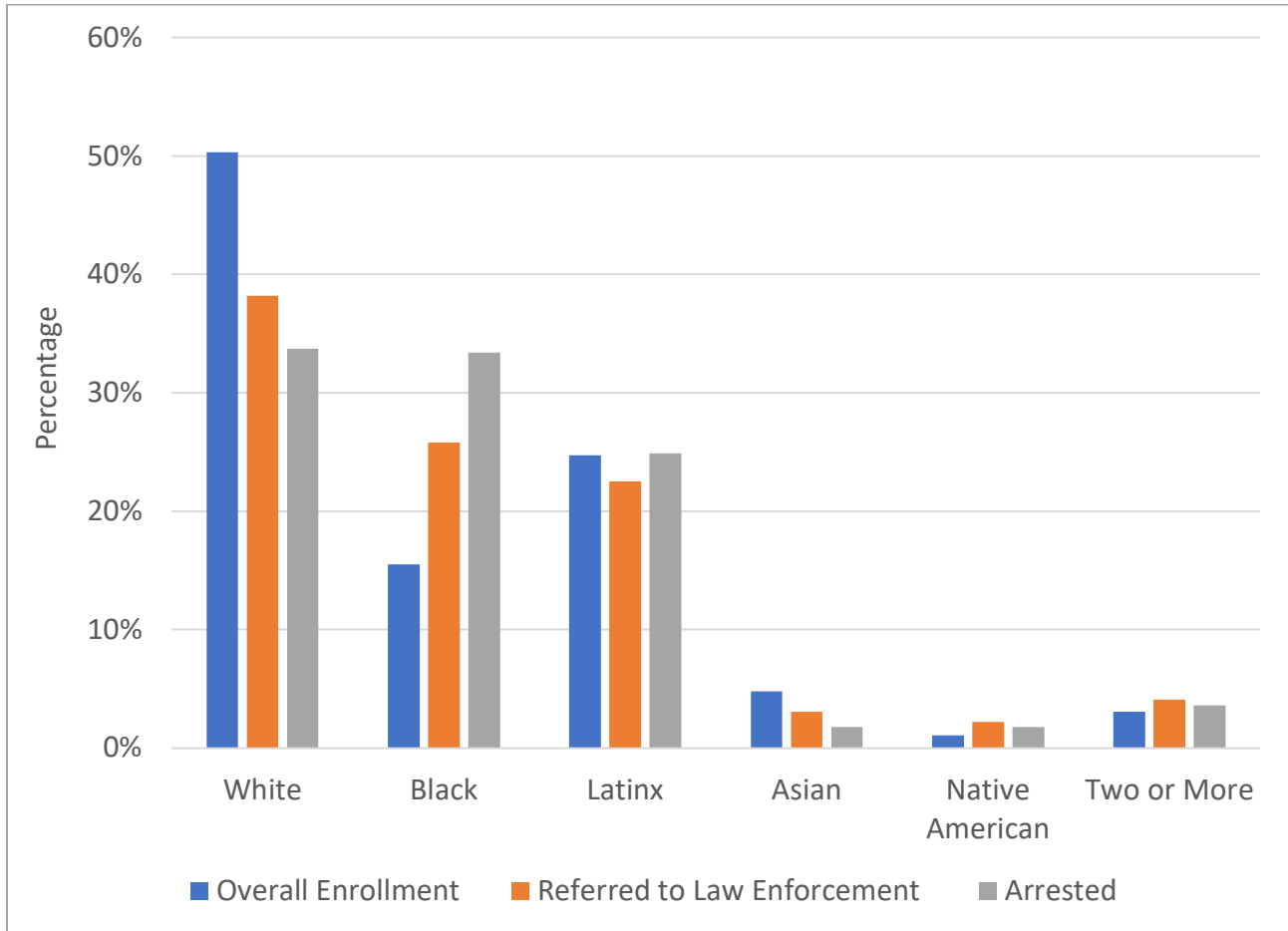
Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Civil Rights Data Collection, 2013–14. *Note.* Data

may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding

Figure 15

Percentage distribution of students referred to law enforcement and subjected to school-related arrests, by race: 2015-16
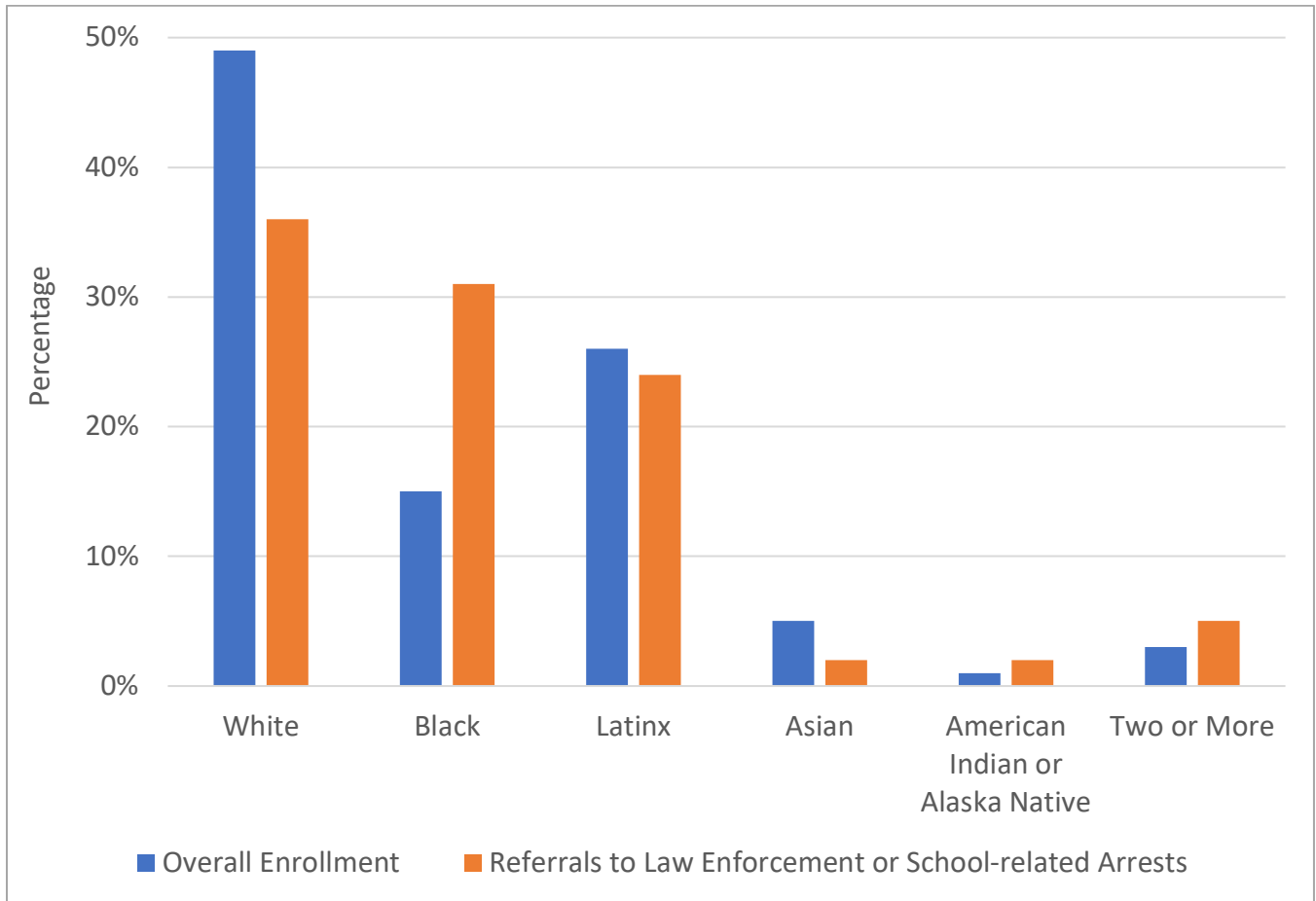
Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights, Civil Rights Data Collection, 2015–16. *Note*. Data may not add up to 100 percent due to rounding

Accompanying the increased presence of law enforcement is the increased role of police officers. Not only were police officers teaching courses, but many served as a safety expert, mentor, educator, and liaison to community resources (Finn et al., 2005; LASPD, 2014a; Kupchik, 2010). One of the ironies over the past few decades is that while vast financial resources have been allocated to the increasing infrastructure of law enforcement (e.g. officer

salaries, and community programs, etc.), the district has been faced with a "multi-billion-dollar structural deficits caused in part by rising pension costs and declining enrollment" (Noguera, 2018). As researchers have noted, the economic tool faced by the district, in spite of increased law enforcement and security measures, has resulted in an array of consequences facing many schools. Schools have documented the elimination of key electives such as visual and performing arts courses within urban communities (Sojoyner, 2016). Such disinvestment in schools have and will continue to worsen social and economic conditions in many urban communities of Los Angeles, in which policy trends and tensions of discipline policy reform have been developed and played out (Noguera, 2018). These reform efforts have posed collective, continuing, and cumulative challenges for many Black students and urban communities.

A growing body of research has also documented the disparate impact that school policing (and policing more broadly) has on Black students and other marginalized populations, including Latinx students, students with disabilities, and students who are lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, queer/questioning, intersex, and asexual (LGBTQIA). Contact with police broadly can affect students by impairing mental health and well-being, inducing trauma, eroding trust in the criminal justice system, and negatively impacting educational achievement, advancement, and subsequent attainment (Anderson, 1999; Geller, Fagan, Tyler & Link, 2014; Foster and Hagan, 2007; Haskins, 2014; Sewell & Jefferson, 2016). The invasive manner of police encounters and confinement may induce physical injury, physiological strain, mental health and a host of trauma-related symptoms (Brunson & Weitzer, 2009; Fagan, 2010; Geller et al., 2014; Levine & Small, 2008; Thoits, 2010; Unnever & Gabbidon, 2011). These health outcomes attaching itself not only to Black adolescents who are directly impacted by exposure and contact to policing and incarceration, but also to entire families and neighborhoods (Mauer and Chesney-

Lind, 2004). Studies focused on health, emphasize adolescents impaired mental health, behavior and well-being resulting from exposure and contact to policing and incarceration (Haskins 2016; Travis, Western & Redburn 2014; Wakefield & Wildeman 2014). A recent study found that racially marginalized adolescents--namely Black and Latinx--living in neighborhoods where police contact is invasive reported worse health outcomes (Sewell and Jefferson, 2016). More frequent intrusive and/or unlawful police encounters increased the likelihood of reporting trauma and anxiety symptoms for racially marginalized adolescents (Geller et al., 2014).

To the extent that students experience intrusive exposure and contact to policing and incarceration, research emphasizes the various ways trauma is expressed. This ranges from fear, stress, anxiety, depression, distrust, and developmental regression (Poehlmann, 2005; Wildeman Haskins & Muller, 2013). These symptoms of trauma have the potential to not only converge with pre-existing health outcomes, but also proliferate overtime as adolescents emerge into schools and throughout adulthood (Barnert, Abrams, Maxson, Gase, Soung, Carroll, & Bath, 2017; Heckman and Masterov, 2007; Heckman, Stixrud & Urzua, 2006; Surgie and Turney, 2017; Sharkey, 2013). Studies emphasizing educational outcomes considering the impact of policing and incarceration on decreasing adolescents' GPA, school readiness, and reducing chances of educational attainment (Foster and Hagan, 2007; Haskins, 2014). These findings point to the well-documented link between early childhood environmental conditions and adolescents' cognitive, social and emotional development for education achievement, advancement and attainment (Heckman and Masterov, 2007; Heckman et al., 2006). A recent study focused on emerging adulthood shows that living in concentrated incarceration areas is associated with lifetime diagnoses of depression and anxiety for non-incarcerated adults aged 18 and over (Hatzenbuehler et al., 2015). Several scholars have documented the negative health

outcomes for adolescents who experienced direct contact with the criminal justice system, suggesting increased symptoms of depression and suicidal thoughts (Barnert et al., 2017).

On a community level, high level of policing and incarceration create instability, which disrupts family and social networks within neighborhoods (Clear, 2007). Goffman's (2009) ethnographic work demonstrates how the constant threat of policing and incarceration weaken the entire ecosystems of already aggrieved urban, low-income communities and make residents more likely to experience unpredictability in their family and neighborhoods. Taken together, these studies highlight the individual and social costs of policing to individuals and communities, including a range of adverse outcomes for Black students and urban communities.

There is a need for further critical policy analysis and evaluation studies of disciplinary policy reform, namely school policing, on student, school, and community outcomes (Welsh and Little, 2018). This is especially the case for the nearly forty-five thousand, or 8.2%, Black students in LAUSD, and the urban neighborhoods where many students reside and/or attend school that are marked with a host of existing inequalities (LAUSD, 2018). It is equally important to better understand whether school policing is working to redress racial and spatial disparities, but also the larger question of why (Ispa-Landa, 2017). Though there is a robust school discipline literature, there is limited work on school policing, besides referrals to law enrollment and school-related arrests. Many districts have their own school policing force, whose arrests and disciplinary infractions are not always reported to schools. The importance of public access to this data in addressing persistent inequalities cannot be ignored. The federal mandate under Every Student Succeeds Act requires states and districts to collect data on school policing and disciplinary outcomes (Welsh & Little, 2018). There should be a greater focus on ensuring that school police forces across the Country report these data to the Office of Civil Rights. As

complete datasets become available, a clearer picture of the efficacy of school policing policies, and their relationship between disparities and a host of student-school-and community outcomes will slowly emerge. This dissertation takes a first step in accomplishing identifying school policing disparities, their key community-related correlates, and explaining the mechanisms influencing the racial disparities that are present at the neighborhood level.

Why Race and Place Matters

There is substantial evidence that discipline policy reform has not adequately addressed the ways in which race and geographical place intersect to influence arrest patterns and disciplinary infractions in American urban schools and neighborhoods (Welsh & Little, 2018). I contend that this neglect is one of the major reasons why the rapid wave of recent reforms in LAUSD have done little to improve racial and spatial inequality in exclusionary discipline, particularly at the hands of school police. A long tradition of sociological thought has argued that race and place often accompany large-scale social, political, and economic displacements (e.g., housing instability, policing, substance abuse, unemployment, and underemployment, etc.) (Dahrendorf 1959; Giddens 1973). By race and place, I refer to scholars examining the structural forces undergirding poor people and poor places more broadly. Among these scholars is William Julius Wilson (1987), whose well-known work, *The Truly Disadvantaged*, played an important role in shaping the inequality and poverty debate in America. As Wilson (1987) argues, concentrated poverty in urban areas was the result of joblessness, and subsequent deindustrialization and residential integration according to race and class. To Wilson, inequality according to race and place was the by-product of larger social structures that stemmed from

America's legacy of racial discrimination and fundamental transformations in the political economy.

Accompanying the outpouring of literature on the reproduction of structural disadvantages is research documenting the impact of these social structures on school policing and the character of neighborhoods. This is especially the case in urban areas where a host of socioeconomic disadvantage is concentrated, and where many Black students reside. Despite compelling evidence that policy and practice has not adequately addressed issues of issues of race and attributes of place, the majority of reform efforts devised at the federal, state, and local levels has failed to so. As argued by many scholars, this is not a matter of mere coincidence: a preference for race and place neutral policy reform allows for many urban students and a small number of urban spaces to be visible recipients and obvious manifestations of zero tolerance and harsh school discipline policies (Carter et al., 2017; Gregory et al., 2017; Skiba, 2015; Lipsitz, 2014, Hinton, 2014). This relationship is part and parcel of the larger processes referred to as the *racialization of space* and the *spatialization of race* (Calmore, 1995; Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2002; Hall et al., 1978; Herbert, 1997; Liptsiz, 2007).

John Calmore (1995) describes the term *spatialization of race*, whereby geography serves as an "index of the attitudes, values, behavioral inclinations and social norms of the kinds of people" who reside in a particular area (p. 1236). Due to the pervasive nature of adverse social and economic conditions that typically accompany many urban areas, it has been argued that, "to know where a person lives is virtually to know that person's race" (Carbado, 2004; p. 13). For the purposes of the study, *spatialization of race* influences the extent to which Black students are attached to many urban areas where zero tolerance and harsh school discipline policies remain prevalent; where these policies have led to increased opportunities for exclusionary discipline

and contact with law enforcement; and where the extent and impact of these policies and practices (and associated norms) have been concentrated (Clear 2007; Spatial Information Design Lab 2007; Sampson 2012; Hinton, 2016; Million Dollar Hoods, 2017). Research has shown that many Black students attend predominantly low-income, school districts where zero tolerance laws and harsh school discipline policies have been unevenly distributed. For instance, a study by Finn and Servoss (2014) examining three national surveys found that that two-thirds of Black students attended schools with the highest security levels, defined by the increased presence of SROS and security guards. Additional evidence shows that roughly 51% of high schools with high Black and Latinx student enrollment have SRO's (Miller and Jean-Jacques, 2016). According to recent analysis of federal Civil Rights Data Collection, the increased presence of sworn law enforcement officers in schools are largely found in high-poverty schools (i.e., where at least 75 percent of students are eligible for free or reduced-price lunches) and where at least half of the student population is nonwhite (U.S. Department of Education, 2013-2014). This research suggests that students of color, particularly Black students, are more likely to attend schools in districts that employ some form of school security and sworn law enforcement that often relies on exclusionary discipline, and more recently in LAUSD, forms of non-exclusionary measures (Wayne & Payne, 2010)

　　　Racialization of space, on the other hand, refers to policies and the demographic composition of geographical spaces that many Black students inhabit. Given that many Black students are attached to urban areas where poverty is concentrated, alongside a variety of the social and economic issues, these larger processes shapes their differential treatment and disparate exposure to zero tolerance and harsh school discipline policies and practices. Research has consistently documented the disproportionality of Black students' subject to a range of

exclusionary disciplinary practices, including office disciplinary referrals, suspensions, expulsions, and school-related arrests (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Carter et al., 2014; Eitle & Eitle, 2004; Noguera, 2003; Raffaele et al., 2002; Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba, et al., 2014). National data from the U.S. Department of Education's Office (DOE) for Office of Civil Rights (OCR) show that Black students are 3.8 times more likely to receive one or more out-of-school suspensions than their white counterparts; 1.9 times more likely to be expelled from school without educational services; and 2.2 times more likely to receive a referral to law enforcement or a school-related arrests (U.S. Department of Education, 2016). National data consistently show higher rates of and disproportionalities in arrests and other disciplinary infractions by school police for Black students (Welsh & Little, 2018) Black students are disproportionately arrested and cited by school police at higher levels compared to their other racial and ethnic peers (Allen et al., 2018; Education Week Research Center, 2017; The Labor/Community Strategy Center, 2013). A recent report by UCLA's Million-Dollar-Hoods project reveals that Black students as young as eight are arrested in school. (Allen et al., 2018). Additional evidence has found that the implementation of zero tolerance policies at the district-level increased the rate of expulsions for Black students compared to students from any other race or ethnicity (Hoffman et al., 2012)

Furthermore, data show that zero tolerance and harsh school discipline policies are not applied equally to Black students. Black boys and girls are often subject to exclusionary discipline for minor, non-criminal violations of school rules that often involve a high degree of subjectivity (Blake, Butler, Lewis, & Darensbourg, 2011; Crenshaw, Ocen, & Nanda, 2015; Morgan, Salomon, Plotkin, & Cohen, 2014; Morris, 2007; Skiba et al. 2011; Smith-Evans & George, 2015; Wun, 2016, 2018). In a longitudinal study of nearly one million middle school students by Fabelo et al., (2011), researchers found that Black students were more likely to be

disciplined for "discretionary" offenses compared to their white and Latinx counterparts. Examples of these offenses included tardiness, leaving class early, and dress code violations. The study also revealed that white and Latinx students were more likely than Black students to commit behavioral infractions that led to mandatory expulsions, despite similar rates of removal from classes for mandatory offenses (e.g., possessing drugs or weapons) among all students. Moreover, a recent case study by Morris and Perry (2017) found that Black girls were disciplined primarily for offenses such as disruptive behavior, dress code violations, disobedience, and aggressive behavior. The study revealed that the behavior of African American girls is perceived as misbehavior far more often compared to other girls for disciplinary outcomes that largely rely on school officials' subjective interpretations of behavior (Morris and Perry, 2017). Wun (2018) documents how African American girls are framed as "the problem" and subject to exclusionary discipline for mundane behaviors such as "getting up to throw away trash" and "talking back."
 These extent of this research point to how discretionary decision-making is closely connected with higher and disproportionate rates of exclusionary discipline for Black students. These studies also suggest that zero tolerance and harsh school discipline policies may have exacerbated the discipline gap between Black students and their white counterparts (Hoffman, 2014; Skiba et al., 2011).

Existing studies have also shown that dark-skinned African Americans receive harsher punishments at several stages in the justice process (Gyimpah-Brempong and Price 2006; Pizzi, Blair and Judd 2005; Viglione, Hannon, and DeFina 2011), and more recently is related to the likelihood of being suspended in school (Hannon, DeFina and Bruch 2013). However, virtually all existing studies examining colorism have treated darker-skinned African American girls as a homogeneous group, and ignored their interracial diversity within and across phenotype (Irizarry

2015). Colorism is defined as the "allocation of privilege and disadvantage according to the lightness or darkness of one's skin" (Burke and Embrick 2008: p. 17). This is a significant limitation because not all darker-skinned African American boys and girls are perceived as possessing the same phenotypic features that are prototypical of their racial group, referred to as phenotypic racial stereotypicality (Blair, Judd, & Chapleau, 2004; Blair, Judd, Sadler, and Jenkins 2002; Davies, Hutchinson, Osborne, & Eberhardt, 2016; Kahn, Unzueta, Davies, Alston, & Lee, 2015). In social literature, researchers have gone beyond broad categories and singular notions of race and gender to examine aspects of phenotypic racial stereotypicality, which includes colorism and Afrocentric facial features (i.e., dark skin, wide nose, coarse hair, dark eyes, and full lips) (Bennett and Plaut 2018; Blair et al. 2002; Maddox 2004; King and Johnson 2016). Despite the apparent overlap, previous studies have linked Afrocentric facial features with longer and harsher sentences in the criminal justice system (Blair et al. 2004; Eberhardt., Davies, Purdie-Vaughns, & Johnson, 2006; Gyimah-Brempong and Price 2006; King and Johnson, 2016; Viglione et al. 2011).

As many contemporary race scholars suggest, one way to understand the role of race in discretionary discipline is through the social, cultural, and political processes by which certain behaviors and categories of discipline are racialized (Brubaker, Lovemen, and Stamatov 2004; Omi and Winant 1986). In other words, many behaviors are imbued with both racial and spatial meanings, often shaping perceptions, decision-making, and subsequent punishment. Research in this area also note the role of these racial and spatial associations influence decision-makers' responses to behavior and social problems (Beckett 1997; Gilens 1995, 1996; Jenkins 1999; Katz 1989; Quadagno 1994). This is especially the case with social problems related to crime, disorder, and drugs. From this perspective, discipline policies and practices enforced by police

may be shaped by the cultural construction and racial coding of punishment and those students who engage in misbehavior. As a result, one might assume that race-blind/neutral policies may reflect the meaning and association of certain behaviors or ways of enforcing punishment in certain places with Black students and other racially margined populations. (Beckett 1997; Duster 1997; Lusane 1991; Manderson 1997; Musto 1987; Reinarman and Levine 1997; Steiner 2001; Tonry 1995). Also important is the discretion among school police and their varied roles, from serving as a safety expert, mentor, educator, and liaison to community resources (Finn et al., 2005; LASPD, 2014a; Kupchik, 2010).

The high rates of and disproportionalities in exclusionary discipline outcomes among Black students has been attributed to implicit stereotypes and biased discretionary decision-making, among many other explanations (Carter et al., 2014; Dovidio, Glick, & Rudman, 2005; Hodson, Dovidio & Gaetner, 2004; Kunesh & Noltemeyer, 2015; Piquero, 2008; Morris, 2007; Weinstein, 2002; Weinstein, Gregory, & Strambler, 2004). Implicit stereotypes are defined as unconscious beliefs about particular traits associated with specific social groups (Kahn, Goff & Glaser, 2016). Stereotypes affect what information individuals attend to, how information is interpreted, what information is recollected, and how individuals engage with others, which is often in a manner that reinforces prior beliefs (Heilman & Eagly, 2008). For example, Ferguson's (2000) ethnography of school discipline suggests that patterns in negative teacher-student interactions are fueled by white teachers' reliance on stereotypes to interpret the behavior of African American students. A more recent study by Okonofua and Eberhardt (2015) found that teachers are more likely to perceive African American students as "troublemakers," which in turn lead to harsher of disciplinary action, perceptions of misbehavior as part of a pattern, and an

increased likelihood of future discipline (e.g., suspension or arrest) compared to white students with the same disciplinary record.

Indeed, a common misperception is that Black students are more likely to be subjected to exclusionary discipline in predominately low-income, high-poverty school areas. According to a recent analysis of the OCR data by the United States Government Accountability Office (GAO) (2018), Black students were overrepresented in out-of-school suspensions throughout high-poverty schools by 24.2 percentage points compared to their peers from other racial/ethnic backgrounds; American Indian students are the only other population who are overrepresented at 0.1% percentage points (GAO, 2018). Morever, in low-poverty schools, Black students are overrepresented in out-of-school suspensions by 12.2 percentage points compared to their peers from other racial/ethnic backgrounds (GAO, 2018). In the context of policing, scholars would refer to the overrepresentation of Black students in low-poverty schools as "racial incongruity," where racial demographics of the space deems persons *out of place* and subject to consequences (Anderson, 1990; Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2002; Hall et al., 1978; Herbert, 1997; Johnson, 1983). Perhaps less visible and obvious have been the spaces that have presumptively and disproportionately enforced zero tolerance and harsh school discipline policies to Black students in the segregated, non-minority, predominantly white, and undergoing gentrification spaces (Carbado, 2016; Rausch and Skiba, 2004). As Johnson (1983) states, methods of punishment often "instruct officers to become familiar with their beat and question persons who do not belong" (p. 226). Research also suggests that policing according to racial incongruity is "an important part of police patrol behavior" (Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2002; Hall et al., 1978; Johnson, 1983).

Taken together, the structural processes of r*acialization of space* and the *spatialization of race* give social meaning to the spatial dimensions of school policing policies and practices attached to Black students, and the embedded racial dimensions of these policies and practices attached to the spaces that Black students inhabit. Such an approach magnifies the power and depth of exclusionary discipline and school policing as a primary terrain of historical and structural processes according to race and place; ultimately shaping the treatment of many Black students, and also other racial marginalized groups. If we are to gain a better understanding of the complexities underlying discipline disparities, policy and practice needs to adequately address the ways in which race and geographical place intersect to influence school policing disparities (i.e., arrest patterns and disciplinary infractions) in American neighborhoods and schools.

In what follows, I describe a brief history of how Los Angeles became the center of policing and incarceration in order to fully locate the origins of urban crisis throughout many of its neighborhoods. I pay particular attention to the extent to which urban neighborhoods were comprised by the larger carceral regime of mass incarceration–and its host of consequences–of the later twentieth century. The section lays bare the ways that historical legacies of racial discrimination, significant changes to the law, and fundamental transformations in the political economy accompanied the rise and impact of mass incarceration. This social, political, and economic landscape of Los Angeles, according to race and class, has important ramifications for its school system, in which policy trends and tensions of disciplinary policy reform have been developed and played out. Los Angeles is home to a series of discipline policy reforms that have been undertaken in LAUSD. One of the primary goals of the wave of recent reforms was to address the high rates and disproportionality in school policing, particularly facing Black

students. Such racial disparities arise out of large-scale social, political, and economic displacements at the neighborhood level in which many Black students and schools are subject to zero tolerance laws and harsh school discipline policies and practices. A particular focus of the succeeding section that follows is on the community of South Central, the area where the students in this study attend school and/or reside.

4

A BRIEF HISTORY OF LOS ANGELES

The story of school policing in Los Angeles is intertwined with another important story–the origins of urban space. The trajectory of this section follows the history of space across Los Angeles. While this includes changes to neighborhood demographics, a spatial focus of Los Angeles centers attention on the processes through which structural conditions and the political economy are not only constituted according to race and class, but also comprised by the emergence of the carceral state. Therefore, I examine mass incarceration as a mechanism for maintaining modernization of urban space in Los Angeles, namely the community of South Central. One of the largest black newspapers of the early-twentieth century *California Eagle,* referred to this community as the "black belt of the city" (Robertson, 2010).

I acknowledge that Los Angeles is far more complex than the story of urban decline. Los Angeles is one of the country's most racially fragmented metropolitan areas (Delmelle, 2019). For generations, distinct sub-regions have facilitated very different prospects and challenges of inclusion and exclusion. It was characterized by contradictions of disinvestment and reinvestment, and the polarization of the rich and poor has and continues to intensify throughout the city (Delmelle, 2019). Los Angeles is now marked by a high growth of underemployment and underemployment, a rapid wave of gentrification and redeveloped community, and persistent isolation facing poor Black and predominately Latinx neighborhoods (Delmelle, 2019, Measure

of America, 2017). This has posed collective, continuing, and cumulative challenges that have prevented many urban residents of the city from experiencing a superior quality of life and overall social mobility. The story that I recount here forefront these challenges, with recognition that the spatial story of Los Angeles forms no singular or straight-forward path. The story is unfinished, continually contested, and its meanings are far-reaching with social, economic, political significance.

The story of Los Angeles begins and ends with a story about policing and incarceration. The staggering rise and enormous costs of society is undeniable. Those who govern, and have governed Los Angeles, face the troublesome fact that Los Angeles is the carceral capital of America (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). This is largely explained by its operation of the largest jail system in the United States, which imprisons more people than any other nation on Earth (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). On any given day, 17,000 people are confined in the L.A. County jail system, comprised of 7 jail facilities (Los Angeles Almanac, 2020; Lytle-Hernandez and Allen, 2018). If counted as a city unto themselves, "caged L.A." would comprise one the County's largest municipalities, and one of its most impoverished.

Amid the largest jail system in the U.S. and the growing number of incarcerated individuals is a vast number of parents, children, and loved ones. In the winter of 2018, I traveled around L.A. County to capture the full measure of human caging. One of my first stops was in the neighborhood of South-Central Los Angeles to talk with a woman I'll call Tamika. Nearly every Black male in her family had been arrested and incarcerated in L.A. County, she shared during an interview. Her fountain of knowledge about carceral state's far reaching consequences was evidenced by her experience of being caged alongside her incarcerated loved ones. As another South-Central resident put it, "I feel like I've been behind bars with them."

These are just two examples of the countless stories that I've collected as part of a larger study to understand the L.A. County residential experience. For Tamika and many others, their stories are not just about the financial expenses or emotional weight of having an incarcerated loved one, but also the relentless perils of disadvantages that come with living in a neighborhood that is impoverished and regularly discriminated against." A vast majority of residents I spoke to must contend with the heavy police presence and surveillance as part of their daily lives. Navigating this, along with "the poverty, the discrimination, the crime, the violence, and the fact that there are so many people without money, without jobs, without homes, without an education, and even on drugs—all at once—is the real challenge," another resident shared.

It's no surprise that the largest number of arrests occur in L.A.'s most impoverished neighborhoods (Lytle-Hernandez and Allen, 2018). In 2017, an estimated 306,534 arrests were made in L.A. County (Los Angeles Almanac, 2020). Of those, a total of 110,941—or roughly 36%— were booked into the County jail system (Los Angeles Almanac, 2020). Indeed, while the total number of arrests in Los Angeles city and county have decreased in recent years, the number of homeless persons being arrested has skyrocketed, even outpacing the rapid increase in the total homeless population (Dupuy, Allen, & Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). Unemployed persons comprise the plurality (43%) of all arrests in the City of Los Angeles while the arrest rate for homeless persons is more than 10 times that of the city's sheltered population (Zavala, Teng, Lytle-Hernandez, & Kochaphum, 2018).

Whereas popular discourses contend that serious crime in poor communities begets higher arrests in those areas (Pager, 2007), the most common charges against residents of L.A.'s poorest zip codes are: Failure to Appear, Possession of a Controlled Substance, and Supervision Violation (Lytle-Hernandez and Allen, 2018). In other words, poor people are being arrested for

addiction, not violence; poverty, not physical harm (Lyle-Hernandez, 2017; Perkinson, 2010). Similarly, the top charges leveled against African Americans booked into the L.A. County Jail are: Supervision Violation, Possession of a Controlled Substance, and Driving on Suspended License (Dupuy, Lee, Tso, Bryan, and Lytle Hernandez, 2019). No other charge types have more directly contributed to the contemporary carceral regime in L.A. County than those connected to so called drug and poverty crimes (Hinton, 2016; Lyle-Hernandez, 2017; Perkinson, 2010).

The disproportionate caging of poor, non-white persons in L.A. today emerges from the region's deep history of conquest race. Los Angeles is colonized land, home to the Tongva-Gabrielino people (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). The evolution of the region's carceral regime is rooted in Spanish, followed by Mexican and U.S. occupation of the Tongva Basin region, or what we now call L.A. County. Yet despite what its native inhabitants had hoped for, these invasions did little to build safety nets of protection. Instead, these efforts focused on normalizing criminalization and imprisonment (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017).

Professor Kelly Lytle-Hernandez's *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human Caging in Los Angeles, 1771-1965* is the most influential in steering explanations about how criminalization and imprisonment advanced the settler occupation of Tongva Basin. To Lytle-Hernandez (2017), outright native elimination, immigrant exclusion, and black disappearance was the ultimate end game. Arriving in the summer of 1781, Spanish colonists cleared the native Tongva-Gabrielino people from life and land, casting them as outsiders—with no rights—to their home in Los Angeles (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). And no rights were given to Tongva-Gabrielino people. With the Spanish colonists making clear of their conquest and subjugation, laws purportedly enacted for the protection of Native people facilitated their criminalization (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). Native people suffering the cumulative consequences

of these laws were vigilantly categorized as vagrants, while remaining vulnerable to various forms of routine violence (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). By the close of the Spanish colonial era, in the period of Mexican rule, there were more jails than ever before, as arrest rates rose and human caging became a common experience (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017)

For Los Angeles, incarcerating the homeless and unemployed is a historical norm (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). In fact, it is arguably one of the most important parallels between the early Mexican period and present-day carceral regime in the region, encompassing the overreliance of public order charges (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). Examples of these charges include: vagrancy, disorderly conduct, and public drunkenness. This provides a telling story about how public order charges have always defined the meaning and significance of incarcerating homeless and unemployed populations across eras.

Following the early decades of settler occupation in the Tongva Basin, local authorities established a new form of imprisonment. As the region began to take the form of predominantly Anglo-American in the early twentieth-century, what followed was a "tramp panic" facing the homeless and underemployed (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). White male itinerants became the face of carceral state's unprecedented enforcement of public order charges facing homeless and unemployed populations (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). The wave of bureaucratized and intensified arrests was expectedly high, with public declarations describing the region infested by vagrants, comprised primarily of "tramps" and "hobos" (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). The sweeping provisions of the California Anti-Vagrancy Act (1872) operated in part as a tool to criminalize every "common beggar," "common prostitute," and "common drunk" as a vagrant (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). In fact, the law made it easy to not only arrest those who lived their lives in public, especially those without secure employment or housing.

A central way that white male itinerants escaped the disproportionate brunt of incarceration was through the emerging influx of Mexican-Americans and African Americans in the 1920s. During this period, the African American population steadily increased, from 100 in 1880, to 1,258 in 1890, to 2,131 in 1900, to 15,579 in 1920, and to 38,893 in 1930 (De Graaf, 1970). African Americans residents never constituted more than 3.14 percent of the city's total population throughout these years (De Graaf, 1970). (Figure 16 shows both the total population, African American population, and Percent of population comprised of African Americans in Los Angeles from 1890 to 1930).

Figure 16

Total population, African American population, and percent of population comprised of African Americans in Los Angeles: 1890-

1930

	Total Population	Negro Population	Percent of Population Composed of Negroes
1890	50,395	1,258	2.50
1900	102,479	2,131	2.08
1910	319,198	7,599	2.38
1920	576,673	15,579	2.71
1930	1,238,048	38,898	3.14

Source: Reprint from De Graaf (1970). The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890-1930, Pacific Historical Review, 39 (3). *Note.* Data comes from U.S. Bureau of the Census, Population of U.S. at Eleventh Census: 1890, Vol. I, 451, 452; Twelfth Census of U.S: 1900, Vol. I, 120-121, 134; Thirteenth Census of U.S: 1910, Vol. II, 163; Fourteenth Census of U.S: 1920, Vol. II, 294; Fifteenth Census of U.S. Population, Vol. II, 69.

The catalyst for the drastic population changes in the early 1900s grew out of the Great Migration (De Graaf, 1970). During the Great Migration of 1915-1929, thousands of African Americans moved to the City of Los Angeles and became entangled in what historian Robert Fogelson (1967) described as a "dispersed metropolis par excellence." What attracted many African Americans (and other migrants) to Los Angeles during this period was mainly economic prosperity. This included access to better housing, investment in land, and employment opportunities (De Graaf, 1970; Robinson, 2010). Many African Americans were either relegated to service jobs (i.e., janitors, porters, waiters, or house servants), or assumed the role as horsemen (and later as chauffeurs). Only a few African Americans worked as conductors, as motormen, or in the retail industry sector, where they faced competition from European and Mexican immigrants—a result of hiring discrimination.

Also important for many of the African Americans who moved into the city was the social climate and overall quality of living. The most often cited benefit of living in Los Angeles was the opportunity and availability to purchase and rent property. This served as an important factor in the success of many families (Sides, 2003). Indeed, almost 40 percent of African Americans in Los Angeles County owned their homes in 1910 (Sides, 2003). Shortly after the mass migration of residents, the City of Los Angeles became the highest rate of black homeownership population in the nation due to the availability of real estate (Sides, 2003; Flamming, 2005).

Despite several opportunities of economic and social mobility in Los Angeles, the experiences of African American residents were viewed as "half free and locked in struggle– fighting to maintain and extend basic human rights" (Flamming, 2005, p. 3). As Fogelson (1993) shared: "exploited economically, separated residentially, isolated socially, and ignored politically

111

[African Americans] remained entirely outside the Los Angeles community between 1885 and 1930" p. XVIII). Part of this could be explained by the clear division by the city's color line according to race/ethnicity, and economic class divisions on the neighborhood level (Redford, 2017). The combination of institutional processes, policies, and practices enforced many racial and class barriers. As researchers suggest, these features have a long history of racializing space (Lipstiz, 2009). In Los Angeles, this could be seen through practices such as zoning laws and restrictive covenants that contributed to segregated neighborhoods in the first half of the twentieth century (Redford, 2017).

African Americans lived across a range of residential neighborhoods in Los Angeles. The communities of these neighborhoods, however, had restrictive covenants that forbade certain racial groups from certain areas (Redford, 2017). Commonplace by the 1920s, restrictive covenants either specified who could live in or own the property with racial clauses (i.e., ''Caucasian only'' or "Blacks not allowed" (Redford, 2017). Unlike many other large American cities where covenants characterized neighborhoods as "ghettos" or "slums," the use of covenants in Los Angeles protected and maintained neighborhoods with a majority white population, and neighborhoods with a large, vibrant diversity of racially and ethnically residents (Flamming, 2005; Sides, 2003). As a result, the idea of a black ghetto or slum was transformed from a neighborhood for only poor African American residents to a neighborhood of racial confinement tightened by restrictive covenants where most African Americans in the city resided (Redford, 2017; Sides, 2003).

Los Angeles has been a pioneer of this mutually reinforcing process of disadvantage. In the early 1920's, accompanying the expansion of African American was high rates of imprisonment. Imprisonment of African Americans attached itself to housing instability, hyper-

policing, crime, concentrated poverty, substance abuse, police brutality, unemployment, underemployment, and so on. This fueled a multifaceted, intergenerational facilitation of inequality. Behind this was also what urban historian Eric Monkkonen (1988) described as "a social world of astonishing residential fluidity." In other words, the city became characterized by its remarkable increase in other ethnic communities (Redford, 2017). By the 1930s, for instance, Los Angeles was home to the nation's largest Mexican-American and the largest Japanese American populations (Fogelson, 1967). The majority of these residents were pinned up in racial separation and class segregation, similar to African Americans (Redford, 2017). As a result, residents experienced very different prospects and challenges of inclusion and exclusion that undergird the social fabric of the city, defined simultaneously by racial and class barriers.

Amid new panics pertaining to race that challenged the settler fantasy of the region, the invention of laws and institutions defined largely by race and geographical place exploded. Indeed, L.A. County's model of disproportionate caging of poor, non-white communities has remained unchanged: a disproportionate number of a large number of African Americans were caged, and continue to be caged, in the region's jails and prisons relative to their population . Also important was the disproportionate number of African American women being arrested and locked up across the city, particularly for prostitution-related public order charges (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). During the late 1920s, African American women made up less than 2% of the city's population but roughly 26% of prostitution arrests and 27% of vagrancy arrests related to sex (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017; Kooistra, 2003). As a set of historical relationships, this caste system took particular interest in those who were poor and Black, geographically separating them by the causes and consequences of enduring racial stratification.

The majority of African Americans in LA lived in South Central during the early 1900s. South Central was the heart of the African American community, notable for its Black residents, Black newspapers, Black churches, and Black owned businesses. However, South Central as a larger community was neither ghetto nor slum (Flamming, 2005). The community was predominantly white, with a large population of Japanese and ethnic Mexican residents. Many African American residents lived in relatively tight areas of the community, consisting of a few streets and neighborhoods. These areas included a stretch of thirty blocks down Central Avenue and southern parts of the city in Watts (Flamming, 2005). As researchers suggest, the use of covenants complicated the notion of a "black belt" in Los Angeles; ultimately revealing that the intertwined history of how class segregation and the practice and consequences of racial residential segregation occurred hand in hand (Redford, 2017).

Encompassing large stretches of blocks in the South-Central community was Black Los Angeles, the heart of Black life, labor, and love. These areas included predominantly Black neighborhoods, which were not only defined by many negative social and economic conditions, but also housing predominantly poor residents. Entire poor neighborhoods and poor families in Black L.A. were forced to navigate a constellation of interrelated and reinforcing of disadvantages–all while trying to live, love, and labor.

The lesson of Black L.A. is that poor people are more likely to end up in the county's jails and prisons, and these experiences are tied to the socioeconomic disadvantaged in poor neighborhoods

Unsurprisingly, imprisonment in Los Angeles is unequally distributed by neighborhood. What can be observed is its geographically concentration among the most impoverished Black areas, as it has been since its inception. This geographically concentrated nature of imprisonment

stands out and also gives a measure of its full impact on the region. Large areas of Los Angeles remain relatively untouched by incarceration. By contrast, a small band of neighborhoods in the South-Central community are highly affected and bear the disproportionate brunt of the region's carceral state.

Not only is incarceration spatially organized and concentrated, but the incommensurate impact on entire neighborhoods cannot be minimized. Indeed, residents of many South-Central neighborhoods paid the most in money bail and collectively spent the most jail time in recent years (Bryan, Allen, Lytle-Hernandez, and Dooley-Sammuli, 2017). For many, jail time means extreme emotional stress, family strain, health challenges, and a loss in wages (Mauer and Chesney-Lind, 2004). The reach of the carceral state goes beyond those who are incarcerated, extending to parents, children, and loved ones–what some researchers have called collateral consequences (Mauer and Chesney-Lind, 2004). Through it all, entire neighborhoods suffer from increased vulnerability to debt, violence, concentrated poverty, ill health, unemployment, and reduced educational and social opportunities (Sampson and Morenoff, 1997).

The carceral state has, in effect, become an inescapable reality for many African Americans. Escaping the direct involvement with the carceral state does not mean escaping the larger tapestry of mass incarceration. African Americans are more likely to be individually poor and live in poor neighborhoods. As a result, they are much more likely than any other group to be disproportionately subjected to a constellation of institutional disinvestment, crime, violence, joblessness, criminal justice sanctions, poor health, concentrated poverty, underperforming schools, and other forms of disadvantage later in life—what sociologist Robert Sampson (2012) refers to as "compounded deprivation."

In other words, poor people and poor communities suffer the troublesome entanglements of incarceration and its host of interrelated disadvantages. And the lack of sensible well-meaning policies and laws ensues this self-reinforcing process, and fashioned the reality of incarcerating many African Americans and impoverished neighborhoods into common sense. And these effects seep through across generations and compounds with other neighborhood disadvantages to produce sizable and enduring consequences overtime. There are a host of proven barriers to children's healthy development and increased likelihood of growing up with an incarcerated parent. A study from Child Trends found that one in nine Black children has had a parent or guardian in prison or jail (Murphey and Cooper, 2015). This figure is about twice as high as that for white children; and for black adolescents ages 12 through 17, the statistic is nearly one in seven (Murphey and Cooper, 2015). Predictably, these are tightly linked realities that have implications for social mobility and long-term prospects. In other words, if born in such generational disadvantage, incarceration and its collateral consequences are conditions always hovering overhead and shaping future outcomes.

Los Angeles underwent rapid changes from the 1930s on. By the end of the 1930s, the African American population in the city reached 63,774, larger than any other major city (Flamming, 2005). Out of the fourteen assembly districts, the 62nd district, which ran along Central Avenue, accounted for close to 70 percent of the African American residents (Flamming, 2005; Sides, 2003). The Central Avenue district increased its population of African Americans and became less diverse across other races and ethnicities. As it grew, it also became less middle-class in terms of social and economic condition (Flamming, 2005). (Table 4 hows the African American population of Los Angeles County and City from 1900 to 1950).

Table 4

African American population of Los Angeles County and City: 1900 to 1950

Year	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950
Los Angeles County						
Total Population	170,298	504,131	936,455	2,208,492	2,785,643	4,151,687
African Americans	2,841	9,424	18,738	46,425	75,209	217,881
Los Angeles City						
Total Population	102,479	319,198	576,673	1,238,048	1,504,277	1,907,358
African Americans	2,841	7,599	15,579	38,894	63,774	171,209

Source: U.S. Census Office (1901). Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900. Census Report Vol. 1. Population. Part 1, Washington, D.C, p. 531; de Graaf, L. B.(1962). "Negro Migration to Los Angeles, 1930 to 1950," Ph.D. dissertation, UCLA, p. 227.

Increased discrimination, racism, and white flight played an important role in further confining the growth of the African American populations to certain neighborhoods. The combination of these features, alongside the concentration of socioeconomic disadvantage (i.e., employment discrimination, residential exclusion, high crime, social segregation, and growing congestion and structural deterioration of housing) tempted many researchers to classify some parts of Los Angeles as a "slum-ghetto" (Drake and Cayton, 1945). The *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* in 1968 defined slum-ghetto as "areas within a city characterized by poverty and acute social disorganization and inhabited by members of a social

or ethnic group under conditions of voluntary segregation" (p. 6). Some researchers argued that the "predominance of single-family dwelling units...in contrast to the appearances of most other ghettos, left most writers to conclude that the city had no extensive black slum." Despite the mixed observations of the city, features of both the ghetto and slum were evident. The primary causes of these features, as described above, were attributed to the influx of a "lower class" of southern migrants into the city (Bond, 1936). These dynamics would later come to characterize certain areas in the city as emerging slum-ghettos (Sides, 2003; Redford, 2017). However, the Los Angeles ghetto would not formally develop until another decade of residential segregation, a major depression, and the in-migration of populations of color to urban areas (Redford, 2017). But as Gilbert Osofsky (1968) writes, "by all standard measurement of human troubles in the city, the ghetto has always been with us—it has tragically endured" (p. 255, 245).

One of the notable features of the next few decades, between 1940 and 1970, was the nationwide trend that became known as the "Second" Great Migration. But for Los Angeles, it was a distinct period as the city paralleled what other major cities had experienced during World War I (Flamming, 2005). This included intense overcrowding, racial animosity, social restriction, deterioration, and political tensions. Despite the formation of slum-ghettos, a vibrant African American community, alongside an already significant Mexican American population, emerged. The African American population grew from 63,744 in 1940 to 763, 000, in 1970. Like years before, the African American population was predominantly concentrated and confined to South Central (Felker-Kantor, 2018). (Figure 17 shows the spatial concentration of African Americans in the Central Avenue area in the year 1940).

Figure 17

Spatial concentration of African Americans in the Central Avenue, 1940
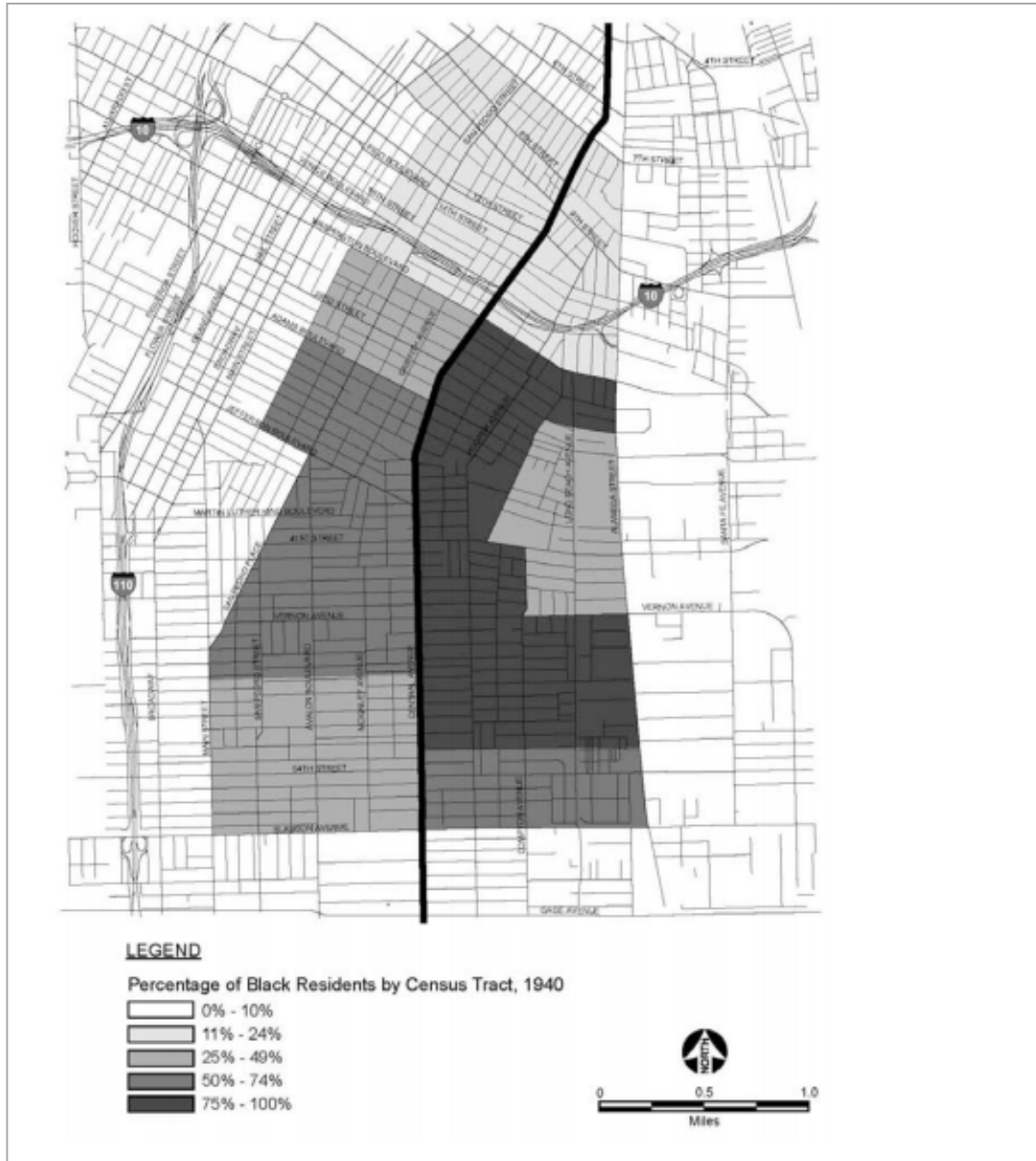
Source: Reprint from Grimes, T (2008). National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation

Form. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service

However, a major geographic shift occurred in the 1950s. Many middle-class, or upwardly mobile, African Americans began to move out of segregated neighborhoods of South Central and into the Westside. This area became known as the West Adams district, a direct expansion of not only the West Jefferson neighborhood, but also what many have called certain areas of South Central as "Black Los Angeles" (Flamming, 2005; Hunt & Ramon, 2010). (Figure 18 shows the spatial distribution of the African American population in Los Angeles at the onset of the 1950s, with the size of each dot representing the African American population).

Amidst this expansion, several dynamics were involved, including but not limited to: the judicial repeal of restrictive housing covenants, the expansion of Los Angeles' African American middle class by way of increased white-collar service jobs, and the combination of white flight and the growth of white suburban developments outside the city (Flamming, 2005). As a result, many businesses and community institutions followed residents' relocation to West Adams. Some researchers suggest that the movement of affluent white and black businesses were halted due to the increasing violence against African Americans by the Los Angeles Police Department. By the 1960s, West Adams was predominantly African American; however, many middle-class residents began their transition to the south of the city into neighborhoods like Inglewood, Carson, and Gardena. Some even moved westward into more exclusive areas such as Baldwin Hills. Along Central Avenue district was the disappearance of the earlier decades multi ethnic/racial resident population. The area comprised of a 95% African American population. The city of Watts was also virtually comprised of an all-African American population. This population growth was tied to the post-World War II's white resistance to black neighborhoods.

Figure 18

Spatial distribution of African Americans in Los Angeles, 1950

Source: Reprint from Grimes, T (2008). National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation

Form. United States Department of the Interior National Park Service

As black neighborhoods in Los Angeles expanded through the 1960s, the increasing rise in incarceration for African Americans coincided with the ensuing of increasing racial divisions, class subordination, and a series of black protests. The 1927 killing of Sam Faulkner by an LAPD officer was one of the first of many incidents that sparked intense protest from African American residents of Black L.A; ultimately, demanding protection from unequal encounters between police and residents, and safety of defenseless black bodies. But African Americans were not so much protesting as pushing back, counterattacking, and most of all, resisting the compounded structural disadvantages and pervasive racism that often accompanied their impoverished living conditions.

Triggering the unprecedented boom in human caging of African Americans was one of the worst incidents of civil unrest in U.S. history: the 1965 Watts Rebellion in Black Los Angeles. Like so many urban protests, the 1965 Watts Rebellion began and ended with incarceration, whereby mass criminalization and increased encounters of police brutality and violence against African American residents became the solution for social tensions. In short, the six days of violence that erupted in Watts took more than thirty lives and unleashed the emergence of a carceral regime that was kin to urban life. The rapid growth of mass incarceration caged an unprecedented number of African Americans, giving rise to the War on Crime which primed the pump for the Age of Mass Incarceration. These nationwide mechanisms reduced upward mobility and solidified racial inequalities for African Americans.

What caused this rise? The public debate around this question is not as productive. While crime may appear as the obvious answer (though crimes were on a decline), many others pursue the blame game on African American culture or behavior rather than recognizing and addressing

the complex structural conditions and those related to the political economy that have led to devastating realities faced by African Americans and poor communities.

In light of the unrest, the consequences of the Watts Rebellion deepened disadvantages in the region, curtailing the upward mobility of many poor and Black residents. Cuts in social spending, increased rates of joblessness, declining affordable housing and home values, the flight of middle-class African Americans made the entire L.A. county almost unrecognizable. And the changing landscape particularly brought devastating effects to the lives of families, relatives, friends, and children in Black L.A. The Watts Rebellion would go down as the region's and nation's deadliest urban uprising of the twentieth century, that is, until the 1992 Los Angeles Rebellion. Indeed, race, policing, and protest became inseparable as the region advanced its carceral state.

To provide further background, what emerged in the 1960s was the southward expansion of the Central Avenue district, and Watts expansion northward. The two predominantly African American communities joined to create a seven-mile stretch in South Central, running between Main Street and Alameda Blvd (Sides, 2003). Many neighboring communities also emerged as locations for African American residence and homeownership, including Compton, located south of Watts. Alongside this expansion was intensified "get tough" policing and punitive crime policies in response to the urban uprising of the 1960s. These practices served as a defining feature of African American residents in a city that would still be characterized by its racial separation and class segregation from 1970 on.

After the 1980s, the African American population growth stalled (Flamming, 2005). This change is evident from the steady decline of African Americans in the City of Los Angeles from the 1980s on. During the 1980s, the African American population of South Central decreased by

almost 70,000, whereas the Latinx population of South Central increased by approximately 78,000 (Sides, 2003). One notable feature of the 1980s was the rise of African American unemployment and poverty rates for residents of South Central. These disparities were fueled by plant closures. In fact, during 1970 and 1990 the number economic class-gap between the poorest quintile and wealthiest quintile of African Americans increased significantly, while the middle three quintiles decreased (Grant, Oliver, & James, 1996). One relevant explanation of these disparities, besides purely economic, can be described by William Julius Wilson (1996) as the emergence of "jobless ghetto" and "ghetto-related behavior." Existing research points to how environments like areas in Los Angeles led to a wave of violence, increase gang-affiliation, a crack explosion–all of which worsened the already troubled relationship between community and police in South Central (Sides, 2003). These relations were strained differently in the 1990s than they were by events like the Watts riot of 1965. The 1992 riot, in response to the beating of Rodney King, left a devastating toll of deaths, injustices, and financial costs in property damage.

Another important feature of the 1990s is what researchers describe as the "Third" Great Migration or Return Migration (Flamming, 2005). Four million African Americans moved from the North and West to the South (Flamming, 2005). By 2000, the Latinx population of South Central outnumbered the African American population, 57 percent to 38 percent respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2001; Sides, 2003). One explanation of this decline of the African American population growth is the expanded housing opportunities outside of South Central (Flamming, 2005; Sides, 2003). This included outlying suburbs such as Orange and Riverside counties. From 2005 to 2009, the Latinx population of South Central almost doubled the African American population, 62% to 32% respectively (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). Data shows that Latinx population increased by 16.7% whereas the African American population decreased by

16.4% from 1990 to 2005-2009 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1992, 2001, 2011). This trend has

continued to widen, as the Latinx population increased by 30.8% whereas the African American

population decreased by 29.9% from 1990 to 2018 (U.S. Census Bureau, 1992, 2001, 2018).

(Table 5 shows the African American population in South-Central Los Angeles from 1990 to

2018). (Figures 19 through 24 illustrates the changes to South-Central Los Angeles according to

percentage of Latinx and African American populations from 1990 to 2005-2009, by 2000

census tracts).

Table 5

African American population of South-Central Los Angeles: 1900 to 2018

Race/Ethnicity	1990	2000	2005-2009	1990 to 2018 % Change
Non-Hispanic White	3.50%	2.60%	2.70%	0.70%
Latinx	45.60%	56.90%	62.30%	79.40%
Non-Hispanic Black/African American	48.50%	37.40%	32.10%	18.60%
Non-Hispanic Asian/Pacific Islander	1.90%	1.60%	1.60%	0.40%
All Other Races, Non-Hispanic	0.60%	1.60%	1.30%	0.90%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 1992, 2001, 2011; 2018

Figure 19

Spatial distribution of Latinx population in South-Central Los Angeles, Mapped on 2000 Census

Tracts: 1990
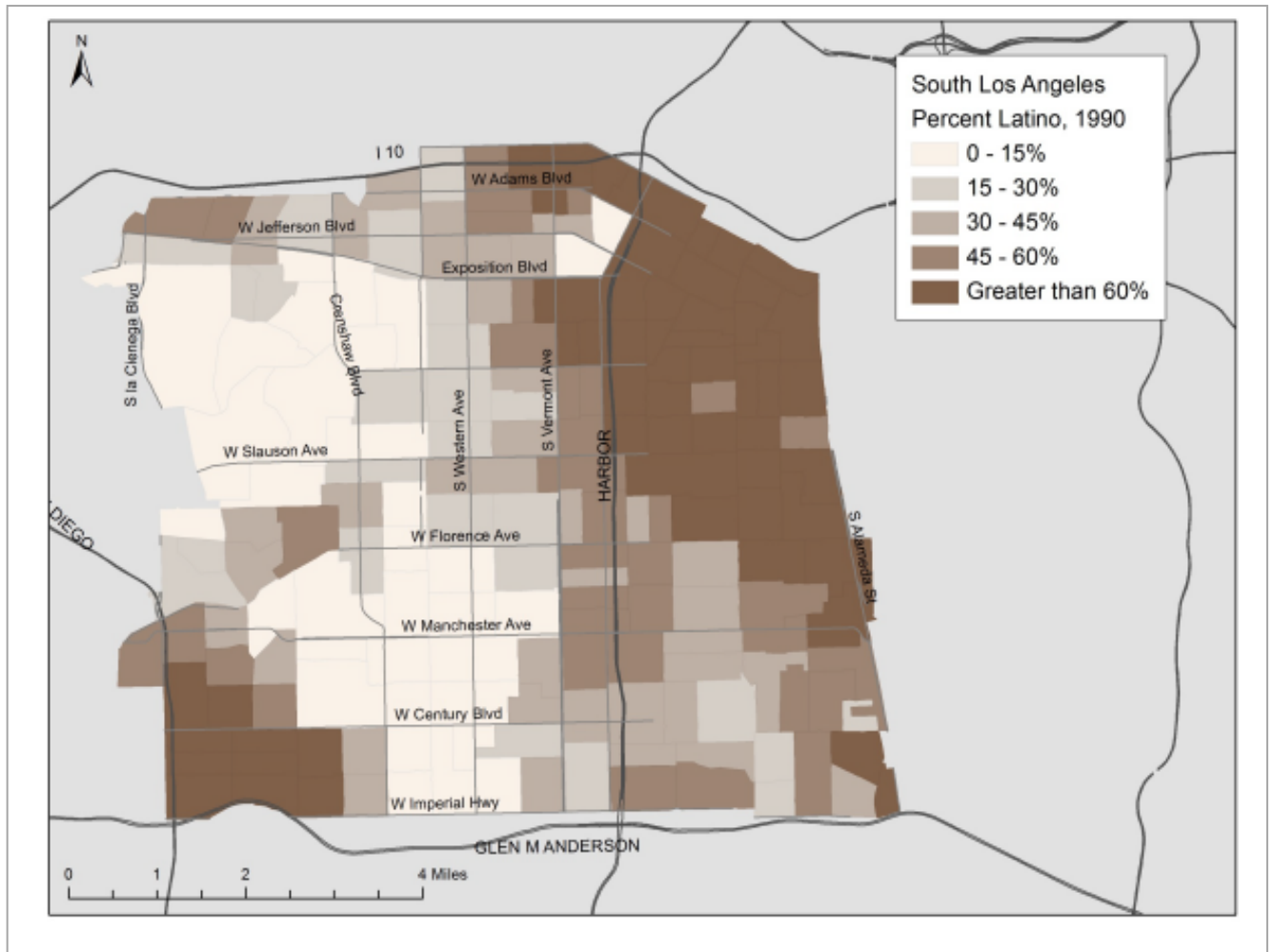
Source: Reprint from Sanchez and Ito (2011). Changing Demographics of South LA: Prepared for Community

Coalition. USC Program for Environmental & Regional Equity.

Figure 20

Spatial distribution of Latinx population in South-Central Los Angeles, Mapped on 2000 Census

Tracts: 2000
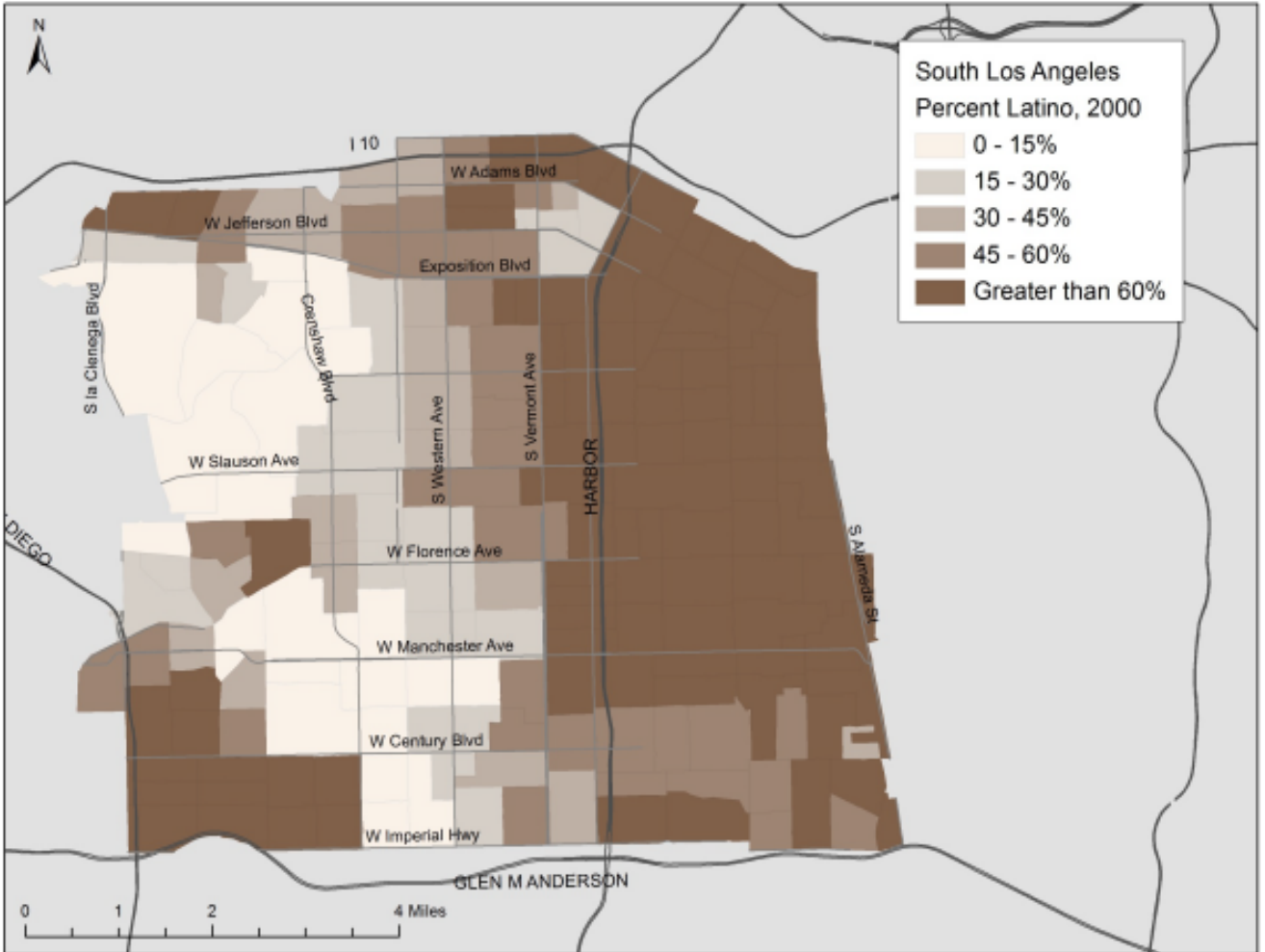
Source: Reprint from Sanchez and Ito (2011). Changing Demographics of South LA: Prepared for Community

Coalition. USC Program for Environmental & Regional Equity.

Figure 21

Spatial distribution of Latinx population in South-Central Los Angeles, Mapped on 2000 Census

Tracts: 2005-2009
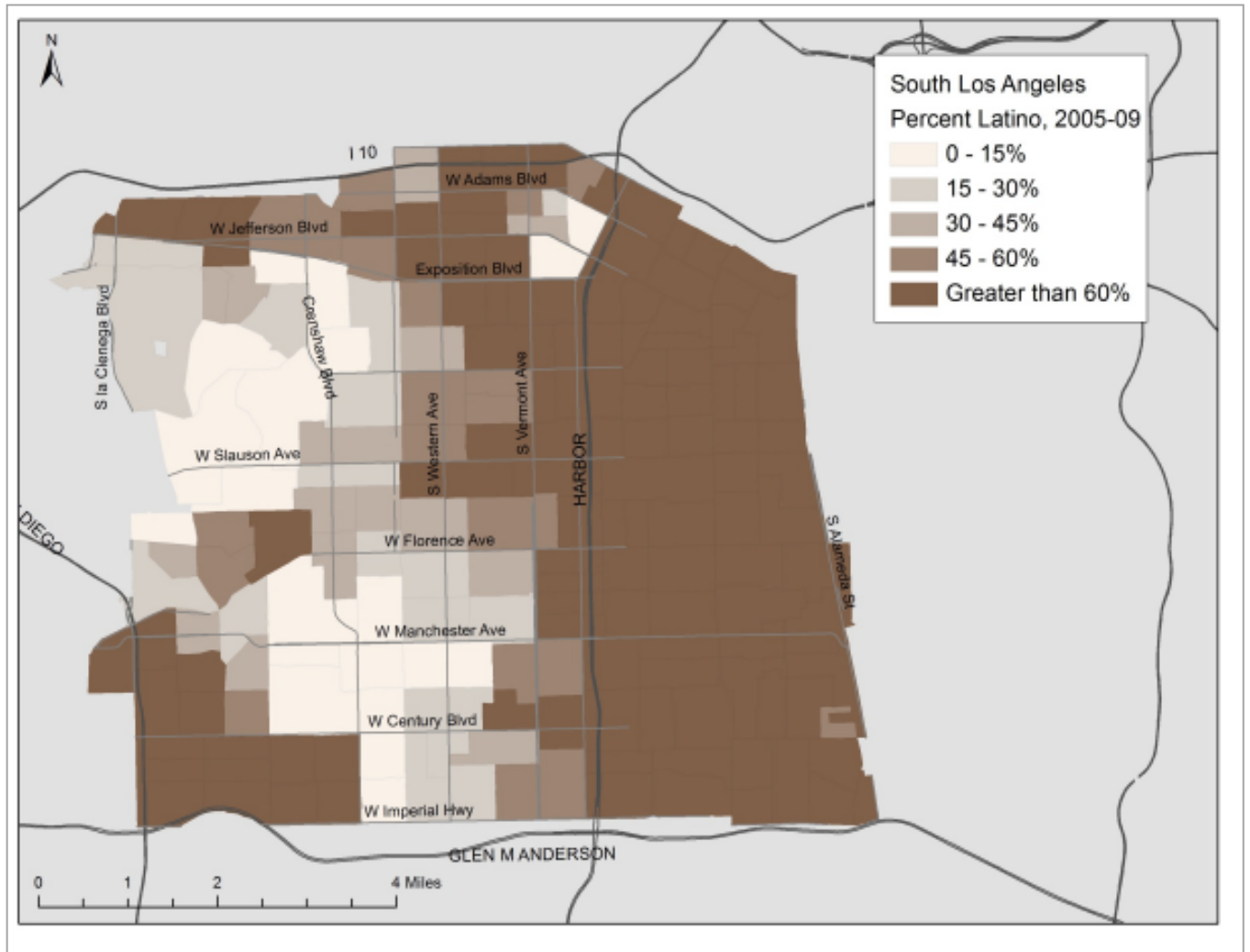
Source: Reprint from Sanchez and Ito (2011). Changing Demographics of South LA: Prepared for Community

Coalition. USC Program for Environmental & Regional Equity.

Figure 22

Spatial distribution of African American population in South-Central Los Angeles, Mapped on

2000 Census Tracts: 1990.
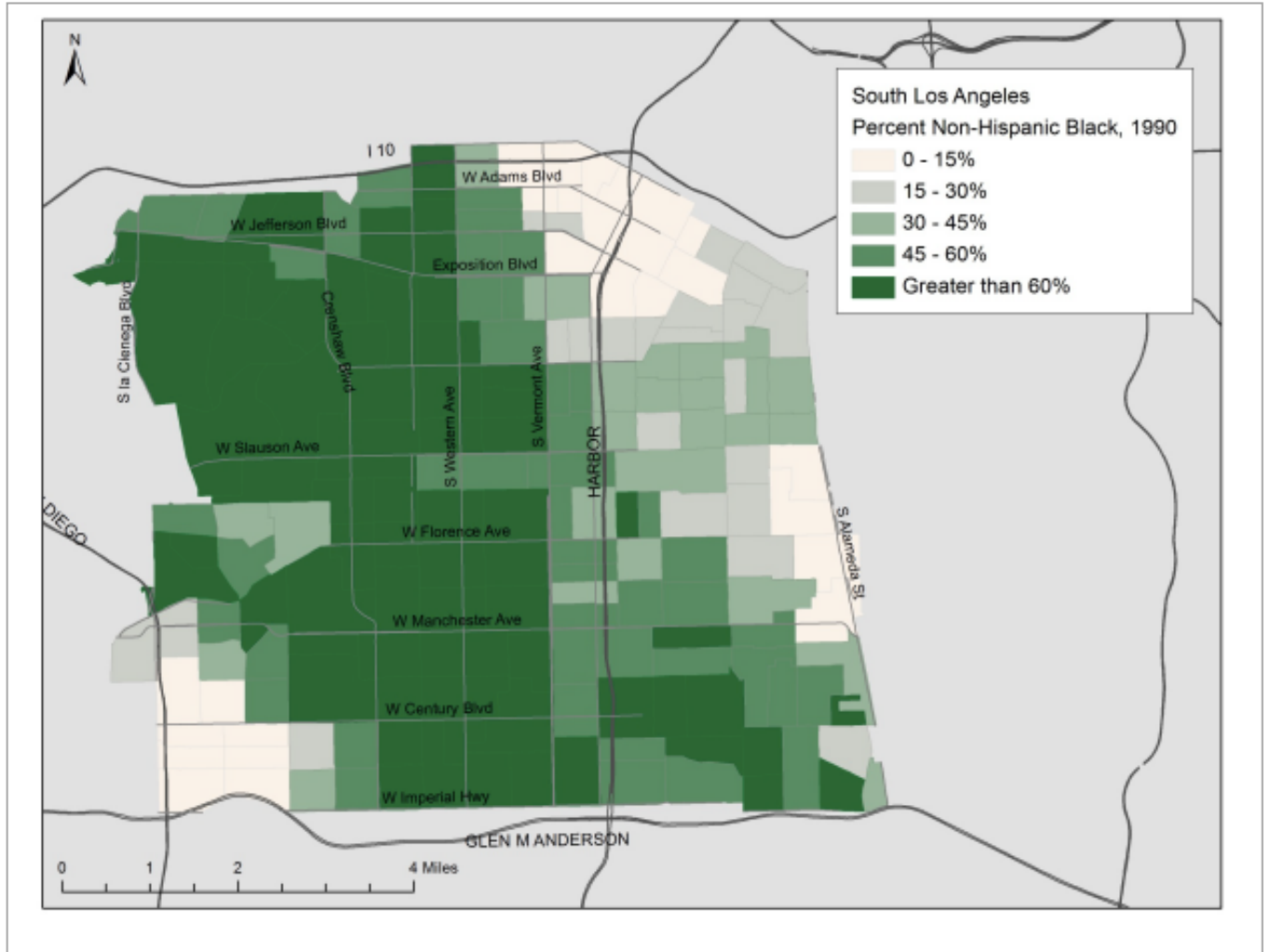
Source: Reprint from Sanchez and Ito (2011). Changing Demographics of South LA: Prepared for Community

Coalition. USC Program for Environmental & Regional Equity.

Figure 23

Spatial distribution of African American population in South-Central Los Angeles, Mapped on

2000 Census Tracts: 2000
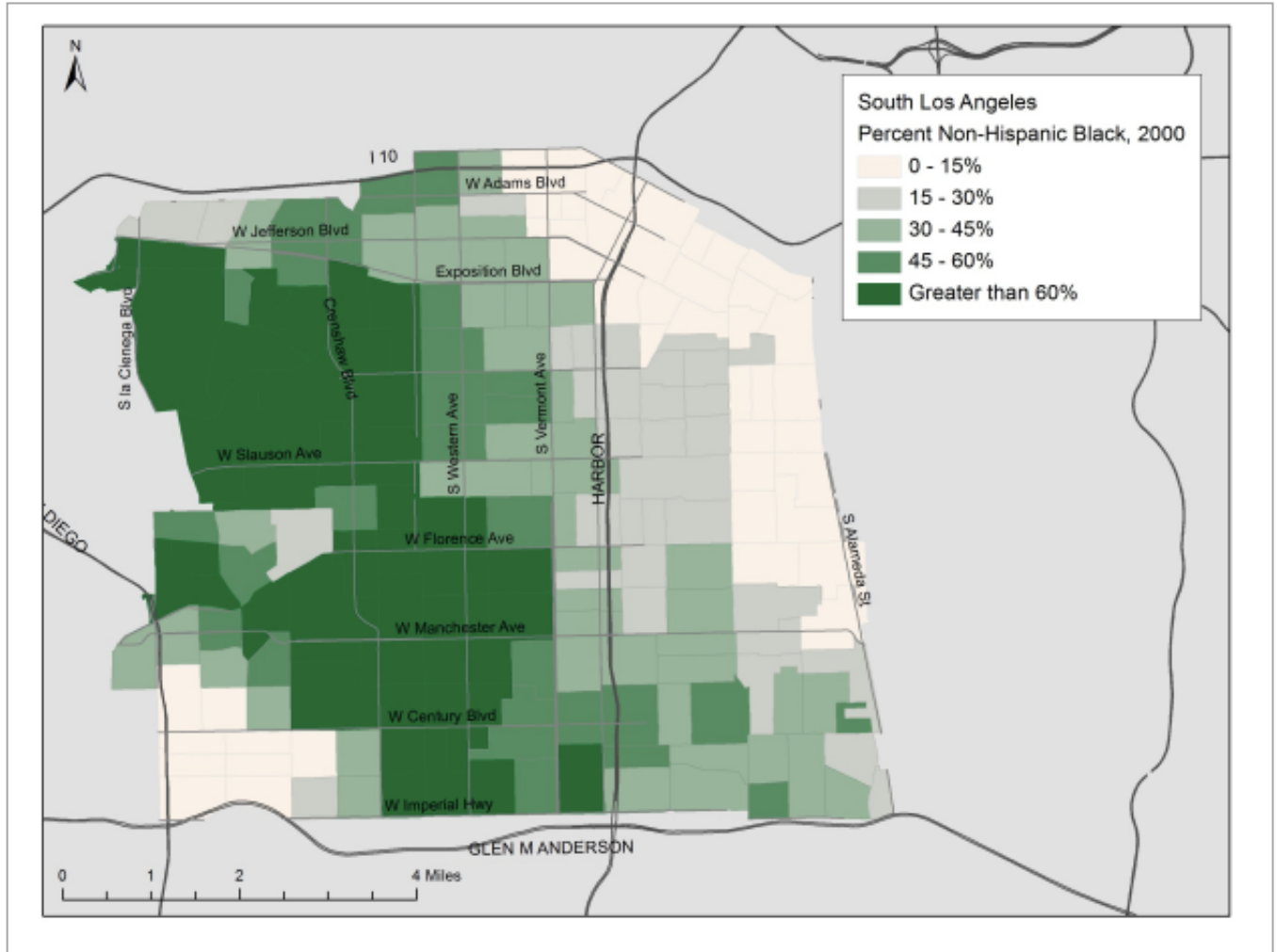
Source: Reprint from Sanchez and Ito (2011). Changing Demographics of South LA: Prepared for Community

Coalition. USC Program for Environmental & Regional Equity.

Figure 24

Spatial distribution of African American population in South-Central Los Angeles, Mapped on

2000 Census Tracts: 2005-2009
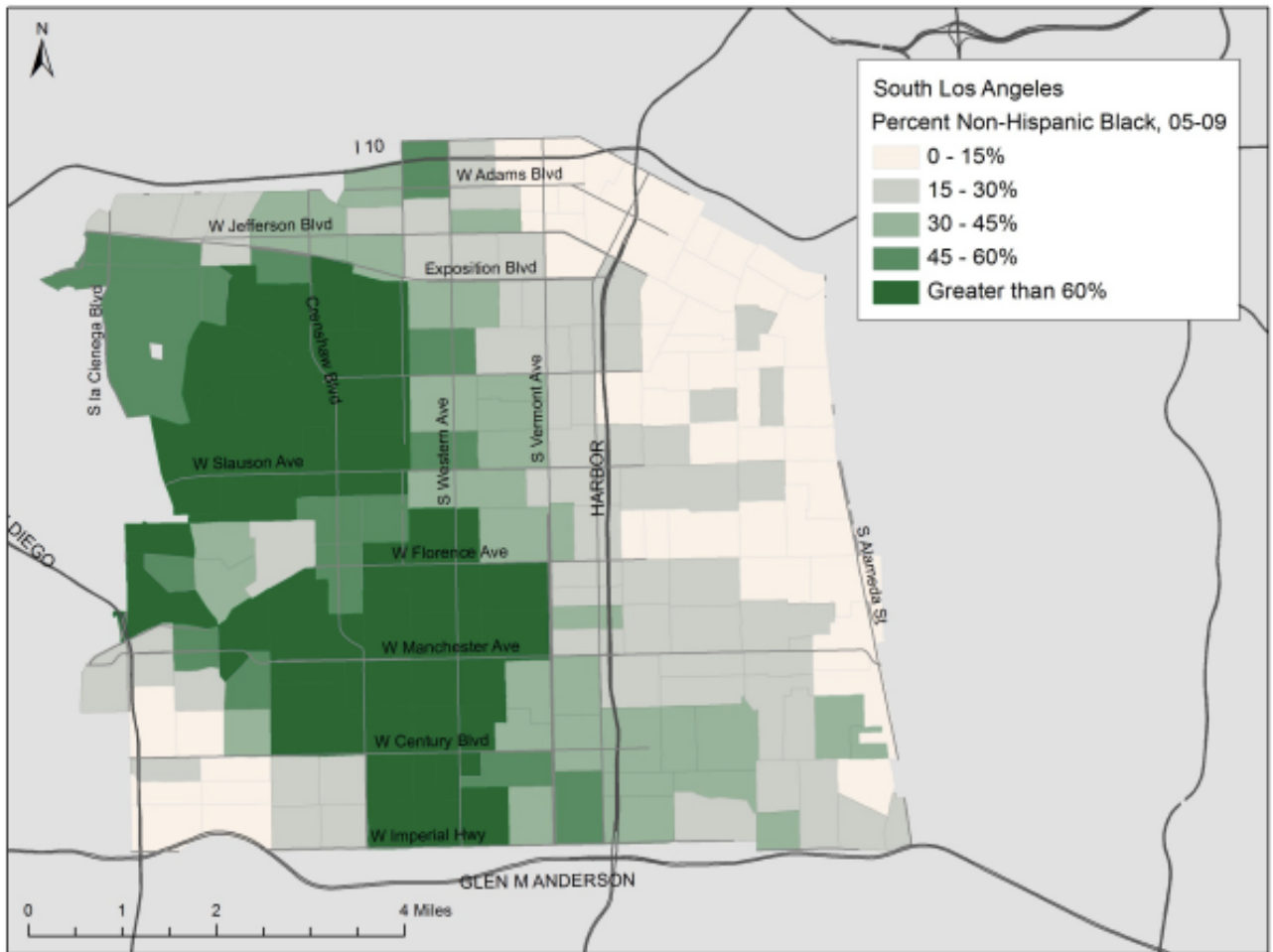
Source: Reprint from Sanchez and Ito (2011). Changing Demographics of South LA: Prepared for Community

Coalition. USC Program for Environmental & Regional Equity.

Los Angeles has historically ranked among the most racially fragmented metropolitan areas in the United States (Delmelle, 2019). The demographics of the city and its neighborhoods have continuously shifted and continue to do so. In fact, the city is now the 10th largest segregated metropolitan area in the country (Salviati, 2018). Notable in having maintained and perpetuated increasing spatial clusters of wealth, education, and racially based poverty as a result of institutional processes, policies, and practices, the history of the city reveals distinct trajectories and neighborhood ecologies (Delmelle, 2019). In particular, South Central today is predominantly Latinx and the City of Los Angeles have seen an increased Asian immigration population (Mapping Los Angeles, 2020). Many pockets of South Central resemble the mixed neighborhoods of pre-World War II Los Angeles (Sides, 2003; Redford, 2017). Indeed, as the 2010 census data show, 60% of African Americans residing in Los Angeles reside in neighborhoods where few whites are present (Rothstein, 2017). A report by the Social Science Research Council's Measure of America (2017) program, "A Portrait of Los Angeles County", describes many of the South-Central community neighborhoods as either "Struggling LA" and "Precarious LA." These areas of Los Angeles County consist of the lowest "American Human Development Index" scores on a range of critical issues, including health, education, living standards, environmental justice, housing, homelessness, violence, and inequality. A more recent study on spatial distribution of neighborhood types in Los Angeles characterizes many of these same areas as a combination of "Black high poverty," "Hispanic and black, high poverty," "mixed race, average socioeconomic status," and "older homes, blue collar, white and Hispanic" (Delmelle, 2019).

As result of contemporary globalization, contradictions of disinvestment and reinvestment and the polarization of the rich and poor has and continues to intensify throughout

the city (Delmelle, 2019). Los Angeles is now marked by a high growth of underemployment and underemployment, a rapid wave of gentrification and redeveloped community, and persistent isolation facing poor Black and predominately Latinx neighborhoods (Delmelle, 2019, Measure of America, 2017). Recent research by Measure of America (2017) shows that in two distinct sub-regions referred to as, "Struggling LA" and "Precarious LA" score the lowest on a range of critical issues, including health, education, income, living standards, environmental justice, housing, homelessness, violence, and income inequality. (Figure 2 documents the American Human Development Index scores in the Five Los Angeles Counties). All of these features contribute to the persistence of deeply entrenched social and economic disparities present throughout the city, particularly the urban community of South Central. Similarly, Elizabeth Delmelle's (2019) categorizes Los Angeles into nine distinct neighborhood types. Neighborhoods described as "Struggling LA" and "Precarious LA" by Measure of America (2017) report are characterized as: "Black high poverty," "Hispanic and black, high poverty," "mixed race, average socioeconomic status," and "older homes, blue collar, white and Hispanic" (Delmelle, 2019). (Figure 3 shows the spatial distribution of neighborhood types in Los Angeles in 2010).

Important measures of well-being in Los Angeles that are often not included in research on neighborhood types are those related to policing and incarceration. Los Angeles County operates the largest jail system in the United States. Los Angeles County is the carceral capital of America (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017). Los Angeles operates the largest jail system in the United States, which imprisons more people than any other nation on Earth (Lytle-Hernandez, 2017; Lytle-Hernandez & Allen, 2018) . In fact, it is impossible to conceive of the carceral regime in the region without conceiving of its disproportionate Black and Brown profile. African

Americans comprise just 8% of the L.A. County population but roughly 30% of Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) arrests, 29% of the L.A. County jail admissions, and 34% of the juvenile hall and youth camp (Fang, 2018; Los Angeles Almanac, 2020; Lytle-Hernandez & Allen, 2018). In fact, a recent by the Children's Defense Fund (2018) reports that "nearly all justice-involved youth in L.A. County are youth of color," namely Black and Latinx (p.6). Black girls are the most overrepresented racial and gender subgroup for all justice-involvement in L.A. County.

Incarceration has emerged as a common feature of urban life and functions as an impediment to racial equity across the region (Alexander, 2010). Many residents of Los Angeles experiences far reaching direct and indirect consequences, which impacts their own social, emotional, and economic viability. It would be wrong to conclude from this that their neighborhood environment does not play an important role. Incarceration does not exist independent of larger social structures of inequality, expressed vividly through where one resides–in their neighborhood. The accumulation of socioeconomic disadvantage tends to go together with incarceration (Sampson and Loeffler, 2010; Lytle-Hernandez and Allen, 2018)).

This social landscape has important ramifications for Los Angeles' school system, in which policy trends and tensions of disciplinary reform have been developed and played out. Indeed, the areas marked by social and ethnic stratification disinvestment and concentrated socio-economic disadvantage are the same areas experiencing the disproportionate brunt of the city's experiment to restructure exclusionary discipline facing its students (Lytle-Hernandez and Allen, 2018). This has formed the city's social landscape in which policy trends and tensions of school reform have been developed and played out. The series of recent policy reform related to school policing have posed many challenges for many Black students. The intersection of

educational policy reform and this broader socio-economic, cultural, and political dynamic—according to race and place—plays a powerful role in shaping opportunities and destinies of Black students and urban communities.

There is a growing consensus that if urban neighborhoods of Los Angeles are to experience social and economic progress, investments must be made in its human capital and to ensure their growth and well-being. The important role of human capital in supporting economic and social development of Los Angeles is a long-standing theme, although there continues to be dispute how investments should be made. Many scholars have explored the idea of social capital whereby social relationships, as well as individual attributes, play a critical role in economic activity and human well-being. In context of education, these relationships promote and strengthen values and norms that support student achievement and often serve as an essential ingredient of school success (Coleman, 1998; Noguera, 2003). Transforming education so that Black students and urban communities in Los Angeles are provided with quality family, community, and out-of-school academic and social support is essential to supporting economic and social development of the city (Coleman, 1988). However, the sweeping school reform efforts in Los Angeles can be characterized as unfulfilled promises that lack evaluation of their efficacy. This is especially the case for the city's recent wave of discipline policy reform, which was intended to improve high rates and racial disproportionality in school policing; spurring concern around its mismatch between theory of action and its ability to adequately address the root causes of discipline disparities. These concerns are part of a long history of what appears to be failed reform. With little progress in urban neighborhoods where exclusionary discipline numbers and rates are substantially higher for Black students, Los Angeles needs a strategy to address the structural root causes and consequences of punishment, namely racial and spatial

135

discipline disparities in school policing. Yet, despite the evident need for improvement, racial inequity in disciplinary outcomes and larger educational opportunities across urban neighborhoods in Los Angeles has been difficult to achieve.

Part of this perceived failure is that contrary to the discourse of equity that frames Los Angeles' reform efforts to restructure exclusionary disciplinary practices, current policies are disproportionately concentrated in urban communities which have the potential to exacerbate existing inequalities and create new dynamics of inequality with important implications for many Black students and the city as a whole. Also important is the recognition that future reform efforts to improve these discipline disparities must adequately address race and place by way of social and economic conditions confronting Black students, families, and their urban neighborhoods. Understanding the historical legacies of race, place, and the fundamental transformations in the political economy that accompanied mass incarceration in Los Angeles is essential to the story of school police. This has important implications for addressing the research questions for this study: how discipline policy reform interacts with race and space to 1) influence arrests patterns and discipline infractions, and 2) shape Black students' experiences and responses to school policing according to attending school or residing in high concentration neighborhoods.

5

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The following section discusses the theoretical traditions that guide my analysis. First, I address how policy reform interacts with race and space to influence arrest patterns and disciplinary patterns. In doing this, I draw on sociological theories of structural racism (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Feagin and Elias 2013), as well as Carmichael and Hamilton's (1967) concept of *institutional racism.* I also draw upon Uri Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986) ecological framework on child development, which describes how micro-level behavioral phenomena are related to structural conditions and to the political economy. These forces combine to undergird racial and geographical inequalities that are present at the neighborhood (meso) level. The meso level of analysis refers to the social relations in between the individual and institutions (e.g. schools), or the arrangement and consequences of micro- and macro-levels, respectively (Sewell, 2016; Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986). Second, I address students' experiences and responses to school policing. Accordingly, I explore the utility of "infrapolitics" (Scott, 1985) to examine Black students' individual acts of resistance struggle according to where they reside. These approaches illuminate the dynamics of structural power, and interactional processes in between micro- and macro-levels that are tied to the interlocking racism, class anxieties, and prevailing gender ideologies present in many poor, urban neighborhoods (Desmond 2014; Desmond and Wilmers,

2019; Kelley, 2004; Marx, 1977; Sewell, 2016: Sojoyner, 2017; Tilly, 2005; Tomaskovic-Devey, 2014).

An Institutional Racism Approach to Understanding Racial Disparities in School Policing

Policy reforms that often appear to be race-neutral interact with race and space to shape racial disparate and disproportionate arrests patterns and disciplinary infractions. There is a consensus by many race scholars that racial inequality is "institutionalized," through structural and systemic processes that inflict disparate racial consequences (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Caldone, 1995; Emirbayer and Desmond 2015; Feagin 2000; Jung 2015; powell, 2007; Ture and Hamilton 1967). Through a structural analysis, patterns of racial disparities in discipline and arrests can be tied to inequality that may be attributed to the way racism operates within the larger society, or "the racial ideology of a racialized social system" (Bonilla-Silva 2010, p. 218).

As opposed to a definition of racism that focuses on individual animus (Allport, 1954), Carmichael and Hamilton's (1967) concept of *institutional racism* argues that racism arises through institutions of society's "acts, decisions, or policies which: (a) occur at the community level through the operation of established and respected forces in society, and (b) . . . rely on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices" (pp. 4–5). This reality reflects the central role of race in influencing the operation of meso-level institutions (e.g., neighborhoods), that influence how laws, policies, and practices are implemented. When such an analysis is combined with the notion of the racial state – a political system historically rooted in the racial project of White supremacy, individual animus and race neutral policies can be seen in a new light (Golash-Boza, 2016, p. 131; Ray, 2019; Sewell, 2016). The arrangement and consequences of institutional racialization processes occurring at macro- and micro-levels, or in

"large-scale and small-scale ways," (Omi & Winant, 2015, p. 111) are carried out at the meso-level to reinforce, challenge, and retain racial hierarchies and orders.

The application of *institutional racism* to a study of school discipline and policing in racially marginalized communities, makes it possible to analyze institutional processes and conditions that not only circumscribe certain communities (Jackson, 1985; Massey and Denton, 1993), but also perpetuate and maintain racial disparities in school policing, among other "harmful ecological environment" conditions or "institutionalized forms of resource deprivation" (Sewell, 2016).

In contemporary urban contexts, political economic processes pertinent to residential segregation and ethnoracial separation lie at the heart of ghetto formation of communities. Race theory scholars describe how these institutional processes contribute to the concentration of many racially marginalized groups into ethnoracial segregated neighborhoods. The concentration of racially marginalized groups within a given area is a precursor to the concentrated socio-economic disadvantage (Massey and Denton, 1993). Many residentially segregated areas are often characterized by higher rates of poverty, crime, neighborhood violence, unemployment and underemployment, low wages, and access to quality health services and education (Noguera, 2003; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997; Sharkey, 2013; Travis, Western and Redburn, 2014; Wilson, 1987). The result of these conditions can include a vast array of enduring risk factors, obstacles, and social pressures for neighborhoods and its residents (Noguera,1999). This is especially the case for African Americans who are often residents and recipients of the community arrangements of institutional racism, and become victims of institutional policies and practices. It is also important to note the distinction made by scholars that racially marginalized individuals are not merely a product of their environments (Noguera, 1999).

At the root of the presence of institutionalized forms of concentrated socioeconomic disadvantage is residential segregation and ethnoracial separation which contribute to racially marginalized populations'—specifically, African Americans—vulnerability to over-policing, surveillance, and increased police interactions (Carbado, 2002). Researchers have pointed to the ways social control mechanisms of policing are linked to the constellation of socioeconomic disadvantage, particularly low-level and more crimes. Often perceived as "war zones" that require ongoing police presence, the presence of crime in residential segregated communities, or ghettos, often fuels tough on crime policies and practices (Anderson, 1999; Hinton, 2016). In fact, living in a high crime area has been correlated with the likelihood of being stopped by the police for suspicion (e.g. stop and frisk) and increased contact with the criminal justice contact (Fagan, 2009) In the words of Devon Carbado (2004), "the more economically and politically powerless a community, the greater that community's vulnerability to law enforcement contact" and exposure to criminal justice mechanisms (p. 13).

Race, space, and the presence of institutionalized forms of concentrated socioeconomic disadvantage may also be important in the distribution of arrests and disciplinary infractions for racially marginalized students residing in urban communities. Existing evidence shows that a small number of Black communities in Los Angeles bear the disproportionate brunt of school policing. Black students residing in these communities often experience the greatest share of indirect and direct consequences of police contact (Lerman and Weaver, 2004). These relationships between youth and police officers are part and parcel of larger structural processes guiding the interactional processes of structural racism, and its connection to racial identity, class, and geography.

Many scholars have highlighted aspects of institutional processes that shape aspects of race and space, referred to as the *racialization of space* and the *spatialization of race* (Calmore, 1995; Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2002; Huebert, 1996; Liptsiz, 2007). As described by John Calmore (1995), geography serves as an "index of the attitudes, values, behavioral inclinations and social norms of the kinds of people " who reside in a particular residential area (p. 1236). Due to the pervasive nature of residential segregation it has been argued that, "to know where a person lives is virtually to know that person's race" (Carbado, p. 13). In the context of policing, scholars sometimes often refer to these processes as "racial incongruity," which determines interactions with police according to race and space (Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2002; Johnson, 1983). As Johnson (1983) states, methods of policing (i.e. policing manuals) often "instruct officers to become familiar with their beat and question persons who do not belong" (p. 226). Research also suggests that policing according to racial incongruity is "an important part of police patrol behavior" (Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2002; Johnson, 1983). These structural processes link racial identity and geography to produce and maintain social meanings attached to both race and space.

Existing literature provides conceptual leverage and evidence to suggest that many Black students, on the one hand, are attached to urban spaces where discriminatory law enforcement and school discipline practices remain prevalent; where policies have led to opportunities for increased contact with law enforcement and the formal justice system; and where the extent and impact of law enforcement policies, practices and norms have been concentrated (Clear 2007; Hinton, 2016; Sampson 2012; Spatial Information Design Lab 2007). The demographics of the spaces that many Black students inhabit, on another hand, shapes differential treatment and disparate exposure to school discipline and law enforcement strategies. Institutional racism

draws attention to the important role of discipline policy reform on both the spatial dimensions of policing attached to Black students and the embedded racial dimensions of policing attached to the spaces that Black students inhabit. Such an approach magnifies the power and depth of institutional dynamics of school policing as a primary terrain of historical and structural processes according to race and space; ultimately shaping the treatment of racially marginalized groups. It also pushes back against explanations that have been offered by scholars in the field that have treated the effects of policy reform efforts as distinctively connected to school discipline (i.e., suspension), and the lives of Black, Latinx, and male students, and students eligible for special education (Anyon et al., 2016; González, 2009; Hashim et al., 2018; Sumner et al., 2010).

In terms of assessing the differential racial treatment to school policing, I use Goldberg's (2009) "relational racisms" to describe the prejudice and discrimination according to the racialized characteristics of people and places. These processes operate through structured relationships and interactions of inequality, racism, and power relations. They also serve as precursors to the growing congestion and structural deterioration of communities, and residential segregation of racially marginalized groups (Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1993). Relational racisms give "rise to normative prescriptions designed to prevent the subordinate racial group from equal participation in associations or procedures that are stable, organized, and systemized" (Wilson, 1976, p. 34). Understanding the root-cause of these processes requires a focus on children and youth's behavioral phenomena–observed at the micro level–are related to structural conditions and to the political economy

Environmental Forces Shaping Children Behavior in Poor, Urban Communities

Scholars have long identified the extent to which discipline, punishment and social control are tightly linked realities within the daily lives of Black youth, functioning as impediment to racial equity across the United States (Davis, 2003; Garland, 2001; Rios, 2006; Wacquant, 2002). This connection spans over decades throughout U.S. history, yet remains persistent across America's most powerful social institutions such as schools (Foucault, [1977] 1995; Simon, 2007; Rios, 2011). National data from the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (2016) show that Black students are 3.8 times more likely to receive one or more out-of-school suspensions than their white counterparts; 1.9 times more likely to be expelled from school without educational services; and 2.2 times more likely to receive a referral to law enforcement or a school-related arrests. In many school districts throughout the United States, Black students are more disproportionately subject to a range of exclusionary disciplinary practices compared to their counterparts, including office disciplinary referrals, suspensions, expulsions, and school-related arrests (Carter et al., 2014; Skiba et al., 2014; Bradshaw et al., 2010; Eitle & Eitle, 2004; Noguera, 2003; Raffaele Mendez, Knoff, & Ferron, 2002; Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). A particular concern exists within Los Angeles Unified School District, home to the largest school police force in the nation. From 2014 to 2017 Black youth comprised 25% of the total youth arrests, citations, and diversions, despite representing less than 9% of the student population (Allen et. al, 2017) Boys of color made up 76% of all LASPD youth involvement (Allen et. al, 2017).

Beset with such discipline and punishment, it is not surprising that a growing body of literature has focused on the relationship between these hardships and how they influence Black youth's academic and developmental outcomes. Examples include, but are not limited to: academic achievement, dropping out of school, and contact with the criminal justice system, and

life chances more broadly (Balfanz, Byrnes, & Fox, 2015; Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010; Shollenberger, 2015). At the root of these hardships and outcomes are the profound influence of environmental factors—and its relations to structural and cultural conditions, and to the political economy—on youth behavior (Noguera, 2002). What is less understood is how the combination of these forces influence the way in which urban, Black youth come to perceive, experience, and respond to school policing. Also important is how those reactions influence their behavior in school and compounds with existing challenges presented to students according to the neighborhood where they reside, particularly in poor, urban neighborhoods.

Drawing upon Uri Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1986) ecological framework on child development, I clarify the processes through which environmental factors influence the behavior and development of children and youth. A precise focus on the ways in which individuals, institutions, and the arrangements of society (e.g., neighborhoods, families, etc.) interact to influence children development calls attention to the collective structural conditions and to the political economy that undergirds racial and geographical inequalities at the meso-level. Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986) is concerned with the emergence and continuity of "forces emanating from multiple settings and from the relations among these settings" (p.817). For Bronfenbrenner (1979, 1986), children and their development are shaped by ecological systems, or multiple environments, at multiple levels. This includes the individual (mirco), organizational (meso), and institutional (macro) levels. For example, institutional racism applied at the meso level can trickle down to shape the behavior and development of children at the most basic micro level from which all other levels are derived. For the purposes of this section, Bronfenbrenner's framework provides a set of fundamental tools of thoughts and strategies for how a child's

development is filtered through–and changed by–institutional policies, processes, and practices at the micro, meso, and macro levels .

Seeing behavioral phenomena as constitutive of ecological systems helps us better understand the formation, everyday functioning, and relations to structural conditions and to the political economy that undergirds racial and geographical inequalities that are present at the neighborhood (meso) level. This conceptualization of youth behavior within larger structure conditions and to the political economy helps to consider distinct trajectories and neighborhood ecologies in urban communities that shape the ways many children grow and develop. Furthermore, incorporating political economic processes can provide insight on how neighborhood conditions influence the stability, change, and the institutionalization of racial and geographical inequality. The contemporary urban contexts are formalized in the political economy through processes of unemployment, economic deprivation, racism, police harassment, crime, health care deficiencies, residential segregation, gentrification, and educational demise. All these conditions influence disproportionate arrests patterns and disciplinary patterns, and can shape urban students' experiences and responses to school policing. In the following section, I describe the structural conditions and political economic forces shaping the behavior of children in many poor, urban communities.

The Role and Influence of Structural Conditions and Political Economic Changes on Urban Youth Behavior

Scholarly accounts about the behavior of children in poor, urban communities are dominated by two explanations: a) one related to structural conditions and the political economy,

b) and the other to cultural forces. Both explanations undergird racial and geographical inequalities that are present at the neighborhood level.

Structural Explanations

The first explanation posits a relationship between the political economy, and children's behavior in poor, urban communities. Classical accounts of this relationship grew out of the confluence of non-racial, economic factors informed by the work of sociologist William Julius Wilson (1996). In the post–Civil Rights Act era, Wilson (1996) describes how economic restructuring had a significant effect on the disappearance of heavy industry, workforce displacement, and the distribution in the level of education and training required to obtain employment. The sharp decline from manufacturing to the service sector in the 1970s and 1980s produced racially differential consequences for blue-collar and low-skilled workers, precipitating increased employment rates and gaps in earnings according to level of education Danziger, Sandefur and Weinberg 1994; Jencks and Peterson 1991; Massey and Denton, 1993; Tabb, 1970). These structural changes in the global economy profoundly shaped the growing joblessness and declining work opportunities for Black residents with less education, many of whom were concentrated in poor, urban communities. The number of poor, Black residents grew dramatically, and their unemployment and underemployment becoming a common feature of Black life during the early 1980s recession.

Although many of these shifts can be attributed to the deindustrialization and globalization of the economy, changes in class structure and social geography of many urban areas ushered in a period of workforce displacement and subsequent segregation. The flight of many American companies seeking cheaper land and labor triggered a widespread movement of

146

millions of workers across the country, particularly African Americans. Some researchers suggest that this "spatial mismatch" between workers and jobs influenced not only the accessibility of employment opportunities, but also organizational resources and social networks needed to navigate and prevent joblessness and the disappearance of work.

Residential segregation followed workforce displacement, contributing to the decline in the proportion of non-poor residents, the absence of middle-class residents, and the decline in the presence of working- and middle-class African Americans. Consequently, many urban neighborhoods were severely deprived of resources and networks essential for maintaining social organization (Lichter 1988; Massey and Denton 1994). This includes income to sustain neighborhood services and community institutions, and conventional role models for neighborhood children. As research suggests, the higher the quality and stability of organizational resources, the less illicit activities such as drug abuse/trafficking, crime, prostitution, poverty, violence, dropping out of school, and the formation of gangs can take root in poor, urban neighborhoods. The decline of resources, in addition to employment opportunities and overall neighborhood deterioration, are manifestations of investment strategies under de facto segregation. Decades of persistent disinvestment across measures of inequality have characterized poor, urban neighborhoods; while money have been circulated into white, suburban, or gentrified neighborhoods (Kelly, 1998). The ideological construction of urban areas as dangerous, violent, and crime-ridden gives what George Lipsitz calls "the possessive investment in whiteness" its salience and power (Kelly, 1998). Such processes are products of a racial political economy that have created both the modern urban "ghetto" –or what others refer to as the jobless ghetto or the permanent underclass–and the postwar suburbs (Kelly, 1998).

The growing constellation of socioeconomic disadvantage in urban areas greatly increased the multiple effect on risk variables, particularly those related to urban youth behavior (Noguera, 2002). Scholars point to increased degree of social integration and low-levels of informal social control as the product of impoverished conditions in poor, urban neighborhoods. Put differently, many urban residents were not only subject to social interactions that often promote negative social outcomes (i.e., dropping out of school, selling drugs, engaging in violence, unemployment in the formal labor market, etc.), but experienced feelings of limited control over their immediate environmental conditions. These concerns included the environment's potential negative influence on their urban children.

A number of studies have documented how conditions of poor, urban neighborhoods assist in developing generations of urban children who are apathetic to their environment. As Massey and Denton (1993) explains, the economic and social marginality of these areas are severely reinforced by the spatial and racial concentration of socioeconomic disadvantage (Small and McDermott, 2006; Wacquant and Wilson 1993; Wilson, 1987, 1996); ultimately contributing to the development and crystallization of ghetto-related cultural traits and behavior among urban youth. Examples include disrespect for authority, indifference towards educational progression and attainment, violence, severe isolation, and hopelessness toward upward mobility (Wilson, 1996, 1987; Anderson, 1999). From this standpoint, urban youth are viewed as merely products of their neighborhood environment; their behavior largely shaped by the degree and extent of neighborhood inequality. Therefore, "holding an individual responsible for his or her behavior makes little sense since behavior is shaped by forces beyond the control of any particular individual" (Noguera, 2002, p. 146).

Cultural explanations

While structuralists argue that transformations in the U.S. political economy and labor force composition explain urban youth behavior as well as their poverty, a second prevalent explanation holds that their behavior explains their neighborhood disadvantage. Culturalists de-emphasize the importance of environmental conditions and consider individual behavior as a product of socialization–including beliefs, values, and norms. This socialization occurs within a broader context of structural opportunities according to race and class, among other factors. However, it is important to note that this does not undermine the role of individual choice and agency among urban youth.

From this perspective, researchers suggest that the behavior of urban youth is synonymous with a common, debased culture which defines poor, urban neighborhoods. As Robin Kelley states, what defines these areas are "members' common behavior--not their income, their poverty level, or the kind of work they do." This common behavior is best understood through the examination of William Julius Wilson's (1987) "concentrated poverty" and Robin Kelley's (1997) "culture wars." Culturalists accounts on poverty are dominated by the argument that many urban residents are entangled in a "culture of poverty" which has the effect of warranting illicit and high-risk behavior. This argument rests in monolithic interpretations of urban culture, which serves as the rationale and motivation for their children and youth behavior; ultimately rendering invisible a wide array of complex social actions and cultural practices.

According to research, there is a wide range of behaviors that characterize the urban youth residing in areas of concentrated poverty. For instance, what can be observed in many of these urban areas are youth not only engaging in law-abiding activities, but also those who may be considered "criminals," gang-affiliated, homeless, etc. These behaviors exist alongside other

common labels of urban residents such as welfare recipients, single mothers, absent fathers, alcohol, and drug abusers, and even those residents with jobs who may engage in immoral behavior. A single picture of a culture of poverty would deny the complexity of concentrated poverty and the behavior of many urban youth, particularly African Americans. Robin Kelly (1997) explains this reality as "culture wars," defined as an "ongoing battle over representations of the Black urban condition, as well as the importance of the cultural terrain as a site of struggle" (p. 6). Kelly explains how the culture of poverty is often driven largely by moral panic, formalized through ideologies and responses by institutions and individuals about urban youth who are "out of all proportion to the actual threat offered (Hall, 1978). Kelly (1997) argues that this produces fears and loathing of Black culture. Research has documented the cultural and ideological warfare that continues to wage over Black youth viewed as "social problems" of the poor, urban neighborhoods. This includes placing the locus of blame on Black individual and cultural failure, and on correction or "fixing" the behavior of Black students to restore a moral social order (Hinton, 2016; Sojoyner, 2016, pp. 61, 123-126). The resulting social discourse established a direct relationship between the surveillance of many poor, urban youth, the need to control and discipline their behavior, and the policing of black masculinity. The "cultural wars" help explain the micro-, meso-, and macro-level inequalities according to economic and structural conditions, and the constraints to progress among urban Black youth while continued deterioration of neighborhoods conditions for urban black residents continues to persists.

One constraint points to the important role of masculinity and its relationship with social relations in between micro- and macro-levels among urban Black youth. According to Pedro Noguera (2003), "the processes and influences involved in the construction of Black male identity should be at the center...because it is on the basis of their identities that Black males are

presumed to be at risk, marginal, and endangered in school and throughout American society."

These various constructions have their roots in literature on Black males beginning in the late 1980's. A bulk literature in the late twentieth forefronts the "plight of Black men," as "endangered species," and being viewed as "criminals" (Cater, 1993; Hutchinson, 1994; Madhubuti, 1990, Majors & Billson, 1992). A strong line of research suggests that African Americans arouse suspicions of criminality and criminality recalls images of African Americans (Eberhardt et al., 2004). Although previous literature cannot prove racial animus or explicitly held stereotypes, these findings suggest that race-neutral processes develop out of actions and inactions of institutional forms of racial bias, rooted in conceptions of Black masculinity. These associations served as gateways to explain how their "incarceration, conviction, and arrest rates have been at the top of the charts in most states for some time." Also important is the fact that "Black men lead the nation in homicide, as both perpetrators and victims."

The reality of the presumptions of criminality relies on viewing "culture and community as more than responses to, or products of, oppression (Kelly, 1997). As Pedro Noguera (2003) reminds us, a change in the behavior of urban youth can only be accomplished through cultural change at the micro, meso, and macro levels—efforts that are beyond expanding social opportunities or even policy transformations. Such efforts must also involve countering and transforming cultural patterns and what some have called oppositional behavior that oftentimes undermine (out of fear) the importance many urban youth, namely African Americans, attach to education and life circumstances (Fordham and Ogbu, 1996). There is a wide body of research on opposition behavior showing that Black students' engagement and responses to behavior that is rooted in an intentional critique of their circumstances. This is done through a variety of social

actions, including actively resisting succumbing to stereotypes and managing their identities while achieving academically (Ginwright, Cammarota, and Noguera, 2006; Noguera, 2002) .

Political Forces

As explained earlier in this section, decades of policies have encouraged and facilitated neighborhood arrangements of concentrated socioeconomic disadvantage facing many poor, urban residents. As Wilson (1987) argues, policy decisions have worked to trap many Black residents in increasingly poor, urban neighborhoods throughout working-class inner-cities. Prominent among these are Federal Housing Administration (FHA) policies that denied opportunities to working-class Black residents while at the same time subsidized and safeguarded white suburbanization (Wilson, 1987). In the 1940s and 1950s, early action of FHA had a significant effect on poor, urban neighborhoods by withholding mortgage capital and decreasing its neighborhood attractiveness for purchasing homes. These processes contributed to traditional and reverse redlining which largely occurred at the expense of property devaluation and impediments to economic asset accumulation suffered by many Black residents and business owners concentrated in poor, urban neighborhoods (Liptsiz, 1998). The opportunity of quality housing was eliminated, precipitating the construction of massive federal housing projects throughout many poor, urban neighborhoods.

Researchers suggest that FHA's policies were motivated in part by negative racial stereotypes, racial bias, and outright discrimination by private lending companies. Also important is FHA's history of providing slower rates of appreciation for black-owned homes and low ratings to black or mixed-race/income neighborhoods (Oliver and Shapiro, 1995). These forces combined to stratify the demand for housing in poor, urban neighborhoods (Emerson,

Chai, and Yancey 2001; Farley, Fielding, and Krysan 1997; Krysan and Farley 2002; Krysan, Mick, Cooper, Reynolds, and Forman, 2009), thereby contributing to spatial and racial inequalities in lending practices. Many other scholars suggest that negative racial stereotypes drive whites' lower ratings of neighborhood quality under the presence of poor, Black residents, which ultimately sustain and reinforce patterns of residential segregation (Farley, Steech, Krysan, Jackson and Reeves, 1994). Moreover, "research on implicit and unconscious racism and stereotyping (Blanton and Jaccard 2008; Quillian 2006, 2008) suggests that racial bias serves to reinforce the separation of ethnoracial groups, even in the absence of explicit attitudes endorsing the myth of racial inferiority (Hofmann, Gschwendner, Castelli, and Schmitt, 2008). Implicit and unconscious endorsements of racial inferiority, then, also inform how institutional gatekeepers control the supply of mortgages and respond to racially contingent demands for housing; thereby contributing to spatial and racial inequalities at the neighborhood level (Sewell, 2016).

Many federal policies exacerbate rather than alleviate the inequities and economic stresses of residents of poor, urban neighborhoods (Liptsiz, 2011; Wilson, 1987). Among these include highway and transit policies responsible for increased job infrastructures in the suburbs and gentrified areas; the racial politics of the federal supported program of "urban renewal" and the building of parking and highways, which wiped out many viable low-income and predominantly Black neighborhoods; labor market policies to combat inflation and safeguard the decline in wages, thereby making it more difficult for the low-income workers to support their families (Wilson, 1987). Also, of great importance is the 1980s "New Federalism" agenda that outlined the shared power between the federal government and the states. Proponents insistence on its localized responses to urban social issues by way of returning the power to the people,

resulted in drastic competitions of resources and disinvestment in the local urban economy of

basic programs (Liptsiz, 2011; Wilson, 1987). As George Liptsiz (2011) describes, policies

"delocalized decision making about urban life in order to create new circuits for investment

capital of generating massive returns" to more profitable places (p. 88). The reality of this

disinvestment of resources in poor, urban neighborhoods made it difficult to generate the

political support to combat the already existing escalation of social dislocation and neighborhood

inequalities, such as joblessness, violence, crime, drug trafficking, and failing schools (Liptsitz,

2011; Wilson, 1987).

For this reason, efforts to understand the behavior of youth in poor, urban neighborhoods

must include the role of policy decisions as additional rationale and motivations behind their

behavior. Previous research has linked policies to various structural, cultural and individual

arrangements, attaching many urban youths to neighborhoods that bear the fate of concentrated

disadvantage and racial stigma. As explained earlier, when economic shifts deprive Black

residents of work opportunities and increases rates of poverty, a constellation of socioeconomic

disadvantage inevitably becomes more concentrated in neighborhoods where Black residents

reside. The devastating consequences that follows are spatially concentrated, as described by

Massey and Denton (1993), ultimately "creating uniquely disadvantaged environments that

become progressively isolated" (p. 2). The historical isolation is a common feature for poor,

Black residents; and compounds other meso-level arrangements that are formularized through

not only policies, but also processes of redlining, mortgage financing, negative racial stereotypes,

and racial bias. All of these forces contribute to high-risk behavior among urban youth that often

result in school police involvement —whether it be "public disturbance," engaging in violence,

trespassing, carrying or selling drugs, or vandalism. Therefore, in recognizing the structural and

cultural forces that shape urban youth behavior, it is also important to acknowledge how these features are profoundly constrained and shaped by political transformations that create and promote racialized space that accompanies the inequalities present in many poor, urban neighborhoods.

An Infrapolitics Perspective on Black Students' Reactions to School Policing

This study also explores the utility and appropriateness of infrapolitics (Scott, 1985) and sociopolitical development (SPD) theory (Watts, Williams, & Jagers, 2003) as methodological tools to examine and disrupt the prevailing narratives by which African American students' experience and respond to school policing (Kelly, 1994; Scott, 1985). Infrapolitics asserts that it is impossible to understand experiences to oppression without the subtle, situated scripts of a groups' individual actions and responses, which are often relegated and misunderstood as frivolously rebellious (Kelley, 1994). The infrapolitics model centralizes the circumspect struggle waged daily by marginalized groups to survive racial, gendered, and class-based discrimination within society (Scott, 1985). The model thus asserts that it is impossible to understand narratives to discrimination and larger structural oppression without the subtle, situated scripts of a marginalized group's infrapolitics. In the case of African American students, these scripts are often relegated and misunderstood as frivolously rebellious (Kelly, 1994). Building on the wide body of research on oppositional behavior of Black students, research suggests that dominant, macro-level experiences and responses to racial discrimination do not fully illustrate how marginalized populations develop their repertoires of resistance, or what these repertoires consist of (Scott, 1990). This study explores the role of community-based, social justice program involvement on African American students'

development of their own context-specific repertoires and responses to school policing, pushing back against particular mainstream explanations. Often overlooked are the day-to-day, micro-level experiences and responses of African American students. Also important is opportunities for African American students [who directly experience the oppressions surrounding education inequity that scholars seek to understand] to determine actions that will address existing harms" (Brion-Meisels & Atler, 2018, p. 430; Caraballo et al., 2017; Gutiérrez, 2008; Paris & Winn, 2014).

A growing body of work describes the theoretical, methodological, and practical elements of participatory action research with youth (YPAR), and its long-standing contributions and implications on several areas of present and future education research (Caraballo et al., 2017; Lesko & Talburt, 2011; Mirra, Garcia, and Morrell, 2016; Morrell, 2004; Rodriguez & Brown, 2009; Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012). YPAR engages in rigorous research inquiries by centering youth interests, perspectives, and identities (Morrell, 2004; Kamler, & Comber, 2005), providing youth with the tools for critical inquiry (Fine, Tuck, and Zeller-Berkman, 2008; Fox, Mediratta, Ruglis, Stoudt, Shah, and Fine, 2010), and engaging them as assets for social action (Caraballo et al., 2017; Flicker, Maley, Ridgelet and Skinner, 2008; Livingstone, Celemencki, and Calixte, 2014; Lesko & Talburt, 2011; Morrell, 2004). In one of the first YPAR studies in education, McIntyre (2000) emphasizes the importance of "engaging in a process that positions youth as agents of inquiry and as 'experts' about their own lives" (p. 126). Existing research reveals several ways YPAR projects offer unique opportunities to improve youth outcomes in educational contexts (Ozer, 2016; Ozer & Douglas, 2013). This includes, but are not limited to: increased student engagement, motivation, socio-political awareness, attendance, literacy and math preparation, graduation, and academic achievement scores (Cammarota & Romero, 2009;

Ozer & Douglas, 2013; Voight & Velez, 2018; Yang, 2009). According to Morrell (2004), "although they are the population with the most at stake in schools, youth are rarely engaged in conversations about the conditions of schools or school reform. . . Simply put, youth do not often participate as researchers or experts in dialogues concerning the present and future of urban education" (p. 156). A recent review of YPAR research notes the important role of collaborative inquiry with practice (i.e., action) with and by youth who directly experience the structural oppressions that scholars endeavor to understand (Caraballo et al., 2017).

Although an increasing number of studies have made significant contributions to YPAR and education, many of these publications utilized YPAR to explore critical research and reform on the inequitable educational experiences facing youth (Caraballo et al., 2017; Brion-Meisels & Alter, 2018). Specifically, researchers have emphasized the engagement of centering youth voices in education debates, often with a particular focus on school reform (Kelly, 1993; Noguera, 2007) and education policy (Bertrand & Ford, 2015). These debates and subsequent results have often been historically waged between and among policy makers, researchers, and practitioners. However, this promising body of research suggests that input from youth can yield actionable results of what traditional schooling and policy initiatives perpetuate (Caraballo et al., 2017; Gutiérrez, 2008; Paris & Winn, 2014). For example, Noguera (2017) examined the role of 150 high school students' schooling perspectives on strengthening reform efforts across several critical areas in education. Related to school discipline reform, Noguera (2007) found that many "students recognize the need for safety and order in school, and many of the students interviewed wanted to see disruptive students dealt with in a firm manner" (p. 208). He further concluded that "it is rare for a school to seek student input on matters related to discipline even though their buy-in is essential if schools are to succeed in creating an environment that is conducive to

learning" (p. 208). Beyond studies engaging youth in various form of education reform, YPAR has been utilized to foster sociopolitical skills (Cammarota & Romero, 2011; Ozer & Douglas, 2013; Zaal & Terry, 2013), increase motivation to change their schools and communities (Ozer & Douglas, 2013), support the development of critical thinking skills (Kirshner, Pozzoboni, & Jones, 2011), enhance participatory action behavior (Ozer & Douglas, 2013), reimagining of school curriculum and pedagogical approaches (Cook-Sather, 2009; Wright, 2015), college readiness (Knight & Marciano, 2013), elevation of youth voices in school-based decision making (Chou, Kwee, Lees, Firth, Lorence, Harms,…Wilson, 2015; Kirshner et al., 2011; Mitra, 2008), and reframing students' academic experiences and their identities (Caraballo & Hill, 2014; Cook-Sather, 2009; Morrell, 2008; Payne, Starks, & Gibson, 2009).

Despite this compelling evidence, there is limited scholarship on the extent to which YPAR can and should be used to analyze major discipline reform efforts and offer explanations for why these efforts have largely failed to bring about the dramatic changes in arrest and disciplinary infractions that have been promised. What, then, is the best way to address this problem through the use of YPAR? Several scholars have contributed to the theory of method for YPAR, emphasizing the importance of critically engaged social action and activist research collaborations by youth and scholars for conducting education research. This collaborative, dialogical, and joint activity, "emphasizing youth leadership, in partnership with adults, frames youth themselves as assets and actors, contributing to growth and change in adults, institutions, systems, communities and society" (Fox et al., 2010, p. 634). This collaborative process encompasses mixed methods data collection, ranging from "surveys, logistic regressions, ethnography, public opinion polls, life stories, testimonies, performance, focus groups, and varied other methods" (Fine, 2008, p. 215). As researchers have made clear, action research is

not a method, but rather a "radical epistemological challenge to the traditions of social science…[on] where knowledge resides" with the common goal "to interrogate the conditions of oppression and surface leverage points for resistance and change" (Fine, 2008, p. 215).

Integrating the importance of YPAR under the theoretical frame of infrapolitics, I acknowledge that African American students' repertoires around their experiences and responses to school policing are not monolithic. Rather, they are inextricably embedded within and across their day-to-day experiences in their schools and communities. Given the context of the community-based program context of the participants of this study, many are encouraged to put such repertoires into action. Acknowledging the degree of heterogeneity within African American students' experiences and responses to school policing, necessitates an intersectional approach (Choo and Ferree 2010; Collins 2000; Crenshaw 1989, 1985). This yields a fuller comprehension of the inter- and intra-racial and gender experiences, responses, and solutions to school policing among African American students (Monroe, 2013). It also begs a series of essential connections about the historiography of African American boys' and girls' unique disciplinary experiences, and the protest it engenders against controlling images and oppressive standards of masculinity and femininity (Carby 1992; Sudbury 2002; Weinbaum 2013).

The unique experiences of Blacks girls

In short, critical scholarship by several feminist of color, such as Critical Race Feminism (CRF), intersectionality, and Black Feminist Thought (BFT), provides an intersectional examination of the structures of power and domination that reproduce inequalities in disciplinary outcomes and prop up the racial regime with respect to gender, class, sexuality, and even geographical space (Collins 1986, 2000; Crenshaw 1989, 1995; Wing 2003;). Investments built

on the legacies of slavery, heteronormativity, Black masculinity, anti-Blackness, cis-hetero-patriarchy, the consequences of whiteness, and the specific needs of African American boys and men (Collins 1986, 2000; Crenshaw 1989, 1991; hooks 1984) have silenced the violence enacted upon African American girls and women (Collins 1986, 2000; Harris 1993). Also important is the controlling images of black masculinity and femininity as (a) nurturing and sexless (e.g., Mammy or Matriarch); (b) emasculating, overly aggressive, masculine, and strong (e.g. Sapphire); (c) hypersexualized (e.g. Jezebel); and (d) conniving, loud, disobedient, and refusing to work despite bearing children (e.g. The Welfare Queen) (Collins, 2005; Hancock, 2004; Mullings, 1994; Scott, 1982).

What remains are racialized and gendered forms of discrimination and long-standing barriers to protection; thus, positioning African American girls and women in need of discipline, punishment, and social control. As described by Evans-Winters and Esposito (2010), a combination of ''theories and practices that simultaneously study and combat gender and racial oppression" are essential for explaining the dominant narratives and marginalization of African American girls' disciplinary experiences (p. 10; Annamma, Ayon, Josep, Farrar, Greer, Downng, and Simmons, 2019; Spillers 1987).

Research has consistently documented the disproportionality of African American students' subject to a range of exclusionary disciplinary practices, including office disciplinary referrals, suspensions, expulsions, and school-related arrests (Bradshaw et al., 2010; Carter et al., 2014; Eitle & Eitle, 2004; Skiba et al., 2014; Raffaele Mendez & Knoff, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002). Yet, scant attention has been paid in this research to the intersections of race and gender (Crenshaw et al., 2015). The focus has been concentrated on African American and Latino boys, who are more often disciplined and excluded from school compared to all other racial and ethnic

groups (Gregory et al., 2010; Ferguson, 2001; Howard, 2014; Monroe, 2006; Noguera, 2003; Nolan, 2011; Rios, 2011). Although certainly important, this focus on a single social identity has ignored the ways in which gender intersects with race to influence how school discipline may differ between African American boys and girls. This gap in research has increasingly become more of a focal point around the disparate and disproportionate experiences of African American girls in school discipline (Blake, Butler, Lewis, and Darensbourg, 2011; Blake, Butler, and Smith, 2015; Crenshaw et al., 2015; Mendez & Knopf, 2003; Morris & Perry, 2017; Wun, 2018).

Studies reveal that African American girls are at higher risk to experience exclusionary discipline than girls from any other racial/ethnic backgrounds and most boys (Blake et al., 2015; Blake et al., 2011; Crenshaw et al., 2015; Epstein, Blake, and Gonzalez, 2017; Hines, 2017; Mendez & Knopf, 2003; Morris, 2012; Morris & Perry, 2017; Wun, 2018). National data show that African American girls are suspended over five times as often as white girls and twice as often as white boys (U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Additionally, African American girls represent 31 percent of all girls referred to law enforcement and 43 percent of all female school-based arrests, despite comprising only 17 percent of the female student population (U.S. Department of Education, 2014).

African American girls are often subject to exclusionary discipline for minor, non-criminal violations of school rules that often involve a high degree of subjectivity (Crenshaw et al., 2015; Blake et al., 2011; Morris, 2007; Morgan, Salomon, Plotkin, & Cohen, 2014; Smith-Evans & George, 2015; Wun, 2016, 2018). A recent case study by Morris and Perry (2017) found that African American girls were disciplined primarily for offenses such as disruptive behavior, dress code violations, disobedience, and aggressive behavior. The study revealed important intersectional vulnerabilities associated with gender, suggesting that the behavior of

African American girls is perceived as misbehavior far more often compared to other girls for disciplinary outcomes that largely rely on school officials' subjective interpretations of behavior (Morris and Perry, 2017). Wun's (2018) research provides a critical analysis of anti-Black discipline in educational spaces where African American girls are framed as "the problem" and subject to exclusionary discipline for mundane behaviors such as "getting up to throw away trash" and "talking back". These findings point to the reality that African American girls face unique disciplinary experiences in schools that are attached to the intersections of race and gender.

The unique experiences of Black boys: Masculinity and Misbehavior

It is important to acknowledge and understand the role that masculinity plays in the relationship Black boys have with schools. According to Pedro Noguera (2003), "the processes and influences involved in the construction of Black male identity should be at the center of school performance because it is on the basis of their identities that Black males are presumed to be at risk, marginal, and endangered in school and throughout American society." These various constructions have their roots in literature on Black males beginning in the late 1980s. A bulk of literature in the late twentieth century forefronts the "plight of Black men," as "endangered species" and being viewed as "criminals" (Carter, 1993; Hutchinson, 1994; Madhubuti, 1990, Majors & Billson, 1992). These associations served as gateways to increasing mechanisms of social control and punishment, connected to the carceral state.

The study of Black masculinity shifted before the beginning of the twenty-first century. A portion of literature shifted the focus of Black males to the hidden structural forces of the socially constructed Black deviant instead of viewing Black males as solely victims to the

environments they inhabit (Carter, 1993; Hutchinson, 1994; Majors & Billson, 1992). These ideologies were furthered in research examining Blackness and popular culture. As a result, instead of focusing on stereotypes of Black males from the previous decades, research began to examine the historical constructed trajectory of Black masculinity in relation to larger structures of power (Dyson, 1996, 2001; Watkins, 1998). Hill (1999) asserted that when boys and men are unable to assert their masculinity through the traditional routes of power, they are more likely to resort to crime, violence, and sexual prowess. While a portion of literature centered on these outcomes, an additional line of research involved that by Black feminist scholarship. The focus highlighted key origins of Black masculinity: white patriarchal and heteronormative white standards. These structures were legitimized in the Black community as models that silenced the voices of Black women and girls and non-heteronormative Black men (Davis 1981; Painter, 1992). The ideologies ensured the alienation of Black boys and girls who do not need these norms, and the acceptance of those who do ascribe to such norms. In the end, the constructions of Black masculinity were imposed by one of higher status and guised as tools of oppression. What surfaced was the adoption of specific masculine types of behaviors of and by Black boys; one that portrayed a hyper-masculine persona that is extremely territorial and prideful, tough both physically and emotionally, hypersexual, heterosexual, and homophobic. All of these behaviors served to reproduce the larger structures of power and oppression of Black boys, privileging hyper-masculine and heteronormative performances of masculinity

Centering the construction of Black male identity into the schooling context, some research has emphasized "school connectedness" and "caring and trusting relationships" between students and institutional actors in schools (Gregory et al., 2010). According to McKown and Weinstein (2002), elementary school students who are members of academically stigmatized

groups, such as Black boys and girls with regard to math, are more susceptible to teacher expectancy effects than students who are members of non-stigmatized groups, such as white boys and girls with regard to math. Caton (2012) conducted several one-on-one interviews with Black boys that dropped out of high school within the previous year. The boys that were interviewed stressed the need for strong teacher-student relationships and highlighted the difficulty they found with building relationships with teachers who focused more on discipline information about the students' previous misbehavior than their academic achievement (Caton, 2012). In a qualitative study conducted by Payne and Brown (2010), they found that the Black boys felt that their schools were not a nurturing and supportive environment and their teachers did not genuinely care about their academic development and discriminated against them through discipline. Researchers have found that Black boys were more cooperative in the classroom when they felt as though their teachers cared for them and held them to high academic standards (Gregory and Weinstein, 2008; Wentzel, 2002). The combination of support and structure is asserted to be a key factor in soliciting student cooperation (Arum, 2003; Zimmer-Gembeck and Collins, 2003). The Harvard Civil Rights Project (2000) argues that misbehavior can be prevented if students feel like valued and respected members of a nurturing community in their schools.

Understanding the importance of teachers and other school personnel, such as school police officers, establishing caring relationships with African American males is an untapped resource to mitigating classroom control and respect. Too often school personnel approach Black boys from a position of fear and not care. The position of fear or intimidation plays out in how Black boys are treated by school personnel. As a result, the students internalize the feeling of being treated as deviants and react negatively to school personnel and schooling overall. Just as

students feel a sense of belongingness in spaces that are nurturing and supportive, Black boys often feel rejected in educational spaces due to lack of Black male figures to identify with and the treatment that they are faced with from school police officers and other school staff (Caton, 2012).

Sociopolitical Development and African American Students' Responses to School Policing

While the above literature suggests that the unique repertoires to school policing among African American boys and girls, the following section uses sociopolitical development (SPD) theory to explore how empowerment and social action repertoires are created through the uniqueness of their responses. More specifically, SPD is employed to understand the phenomena by which processes of growth, analytical skills, emotional faculties, and capacity for action in sociopolitical systems evolve within a person and community's psyche (Watts et al., Jagers, 2003). SPD emphasizes understanding specific social, cultural, and political forces; and how these aspects contextualize individual experiences of oppression within a society. SPD also centralizes the ideas of oppression, liberation, and human rights. By highlighting these ideas, SPD pushes beyond empowerment, which is effectually defined by level of consciousness, and into transformative social practices, or levels of action, that combat systems of oppression. It is important to understand SPD as a process by which one becomes more aware of their oppressive context, and how this awareness elevates into action (Watts et al., 2003).

This process is buttressed by assertion that the intentional and intergenerational miseducation of African American students, which serves as the starting point of SPD (Watts et al., Jagers, 2003). Thus, the cultural components of SPD are of utmost integrality to this study, due to their acknowledgement of the tensions, complications, and failings based on investments

built on the legacies of slavery, heteronormativity, Black masculinity, anti-Blackness, cis-hetero-patriarchy, the consequences of whiteness, and the specific needs of African American boys and men (Crenshaw 1989, 1991; Collins 2000, 2005; hooks 1984; Collins 1990). SPD alleviates this tension through an active investment in and creation of institutions with race, gender, culture, and the various student social action as the norm. The Frereian concept of critical consciousness is also a major component as students' responses to school police through SPD. Here, I build upon Freirian frames, which underscores the importance of counter hegemonic knowledge and direct action for African American student development. Also important is the liberation and ideology phase of SPD, which mirrors the goals and impacts of the study. Though the proposed means of liberation may be different within and across African American boys' and girls' experiences with school policing, they are all linked by a core premise that radical change must be realized in order for the effects of school policing to be mitigated and/or eliminated entirely (Watts, Griffith, & Abdul-Adil, 1999). By marrying liberation with ideology, SPD succeeds in its cyclical feedback loop between paradigm and praxis, two often disparate entities that the study also seeks to reconcile.

Taken together, infrapolitics and SPD theory helps to push past the limitation of isolating African American students' responses to school policing; and instead are rooted in a socio-political and cultural context, with respect to race and gender. Using these frames forefronts heterogeneous responses to school policing. This allows room for a spectrum of stories among African American boys and girls. By centering both infrapolitics and SPD as guiding theoretical traditions to understand students' responses to school policing, this portion of the research study has the potential to elevate the unique relationship of Black boys' and girls' responses to school

policing, and how this connects to these larger structure conditions and to the political economy

in Los Angeles.

6

FINDINGS

Although the programs that train school personnel on restorative justice practices and clarifications to the role of school police officers has drawn much interest among policymakers, researchers, and practitioners, very little attention has been paid to the way school policing shapes, and is shaped by, race and local neighborhoods (Gregory et al., 2017; Skiba, 2015; Losen et al., 2015; Gregory et al., 2010; Welsh & Little, 2018;). In this dissertation, I investigate the racial disparities and spatial concentration of school policing in Los Angeles, key correlates that are implicated in this inequality, and Black students' experiences and responses to school policing (according to attending school or residing in high-concentrated neighborhoods). My findings are consistent with previous literature and the theoretical framework guiding this study.

Racial Disparities in Arrests and Disciplinary Infractions

Do discipline policy reform affect racial disparities in arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD? An examination of the descriptive statistics for LASPD student arrests and disciplinary infractions from 2014 to 2017 reveals that disparities following discipline policy changes to the role of school police officers did have a racial effect. Black students in LAUSD are disproportionately arrested and cited by LASPD compared to any other race or ethnic student

group. (Table 6 is a summary of the number of student arrests and citations by LASPD, the total

student enrollment of LAUSD, and the percentage of students arrested and cited, by

race/ethnicity for the years 2014 to 2017.) A total of 1,180 Black students were arrested and cited

by LASPD in the 4 years following the change in discipline policy that limited school police

officers' role to handling serious safety issues with students instead of daily disciplinary

interventions. What can be observed is that after the first year of implementation, arrests and

citations for Black students sharply declined from 585 in 2014 to 342 in 2015. However, the

number of arrests and citations slightly increased to 392 in 2016, and slightly decreased to 291 in

2017. This fluctuation trend, rising and falling within a plateau, for Black students is consistent

for both Black male and female students' contact with school police. (Tables 7 and 8 shows the

number of male and female student arrests and citations by the LASPD, the respective gender

student enrollment in LAUSD, and the percentage of male and female students arrested and

cited, by race/ethnicity from 2014 to 2017.)

In 2014, Black students are 11 times more likely to be arrested and cited than white

students (see Table 6). By 2017, the black-to-white ratio in student arrests and citations declined

to 7:1. The latino-to-white ratio in arrests and citations remained stable at roughly 3:1 from 2014

to 2017. For all other students, the percentage of arrests and citation also remained notably

constant at roughly 0.07, or an average of 34 students per 10,000 student population.

Examining racial and gender differences for Black students (the group who are

disproportionately arrested and cited by LASPD), I find that Black boys are 10 times more likely

to be arrested and cited in 2014 (see Table 7). By 2017, the black boy-to-white boy ratio in

student arrests and citations declined to 5:1. Black girls, on the other hand, were 9 times more

likely to be arrested and cited than white girls in 2014, and 5 times more likely in 2017 (see

Table 8). Black girls are 11 times more likely to be arrested and cited in 2016, the highest

percentage of any student group from 2014 to 2017 (including Black boys).

Table 6

Number of Student Arrests and Citations by the Los Angeles School Police Department, Los

Angeles Unified School District Student Enrollment, and Percentage of Student Arrested

and Cited, by Race/Ethnicity: 2014 - 2017

Year	Student race/ethnicity	Number of LASPD arrests and citations	Number of LAUSD students	% of students arrested and cited
2014	Black	585	56,908	1.03
	Latinx	1,460	476,605	0.31
	White	54	63,375	0.09
	All Other	36	49,795	0.07
2015	Black	342	54,983	0.62
	Latinx	918	470,552	0.20
	White	37	63,934	0.06
	All Other	24	50,868	0.05
2016	Black	393	52,590	0.75
	Latinx	1,102	468,879	0.24
	White	43	63,362	0.07
	All Other	38	48,790	0.08
2017	Black	291	49,450	0.60
	Latinx	1,131	435,635	0.26
	White	54	57,692	0.09
	All Other	36	45,919	0.08

Table 7

Number of Male Student Arrests and Citations by the Los Angeles School Police

Department Los Angeles Unified School District Male Student Enrollment, and

Percentage of Male Student Arrested and Cited, by Race/Ethnicity: 2014 - 2017

Year	Student race/ethnicity and gender	Number of LASPD male arrests and citations	Number of LAUSD male students	% of male students arrested and cited
2014	Black boys	398	28,843	1.42
	Latino boys	1,148	244,602	0.47
	White boys	46	33,272	0.14
2015	Black boys	267	27,865	0.96
	Latino boys	783	241,393	0.32
	White boys	31	33,565	0.09
2016	Black boys	306	26,653	1.15
	Latino boys	945	240,535	0.39
	White boys	36	33,265	0.11
2017	Black boys	209	25,061	0.83
	Latino boys	923	223,480	0.41
	White boys	50	30,288	0.17

Table 8

Number of Female Student Arrests and Citations by the Los Angeles School Police

Department, Los Angeles Unified School District Female Student Enrollment, and

Percentage of Male Student Arrested and Cited, by Race/Ethnicity: 2014 - 2017

Year	Student race/ethnicity and gender	Number of LASPD male arrests and citations	Number of LAUSD male students	% of male students arrested and cited
2014	Black girls	187	28,065	1.42
	Latina girls	312	232,003	0.50
	White girls	8	30,003	0.15

2015	Black girls	75	27,118	0.98
	Latina girls	135	229,159	0.34
	White girls	6	30,369	0.10
2016	Black girls	87	25,937	1.18
	Latina girls	157	228,344	0.41
	White girls	7	30,097	0.12
2017	Black girls	82	24,389	0.86
	Latina girls	208	212,155	0.44
	White girls	4	27,404	0.18

The data presented in Tables 7 and 8 are illustrated in Figure 25 and 26. These plots represent the percentage of Black, Latino, and White male and female students arrested and cited by LASPD in the years after discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers. The trend lines in Figures 25 and 26 provide a visual summary of the disparities in the rate of arrests and citations by LASPD from 2014 to 2017. For Black boys and girls, who are the two most disproportionately overrepresented student groups, the percent of arrests and citations rises and falls within a plateau. In other words, the percentages started with a sharp decline from 2014 to 2015, then slightly increased in 2016, and ended with a slight decrease in 2017.

Figure 25

Percentage of Black, Latino, and White male students arrested and cited by LASPD after

discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers: 2014 – 2017
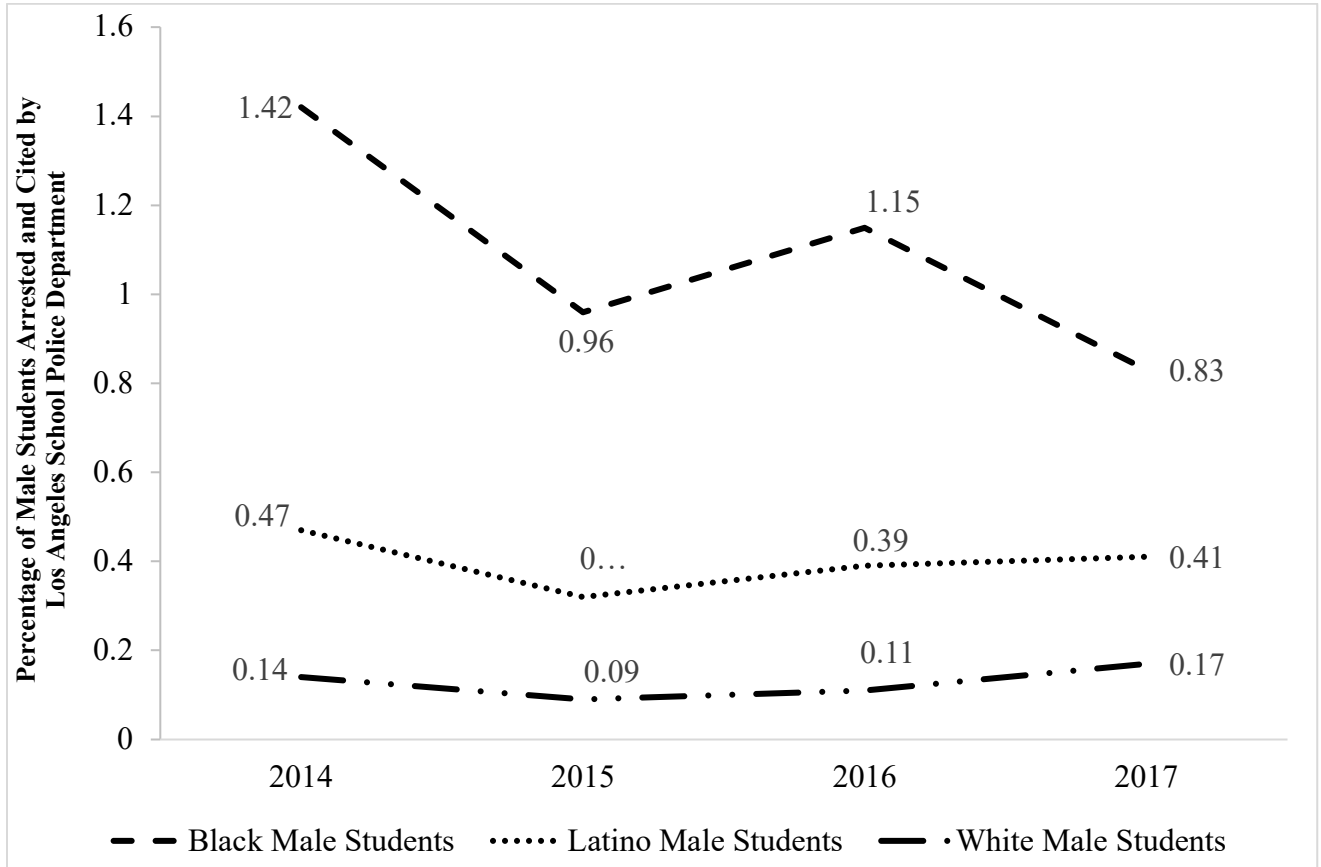
Figure 26

Percentage of Black, Latina, and White female students arrested and cited by LASPD after

discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers: 2014 – 2017
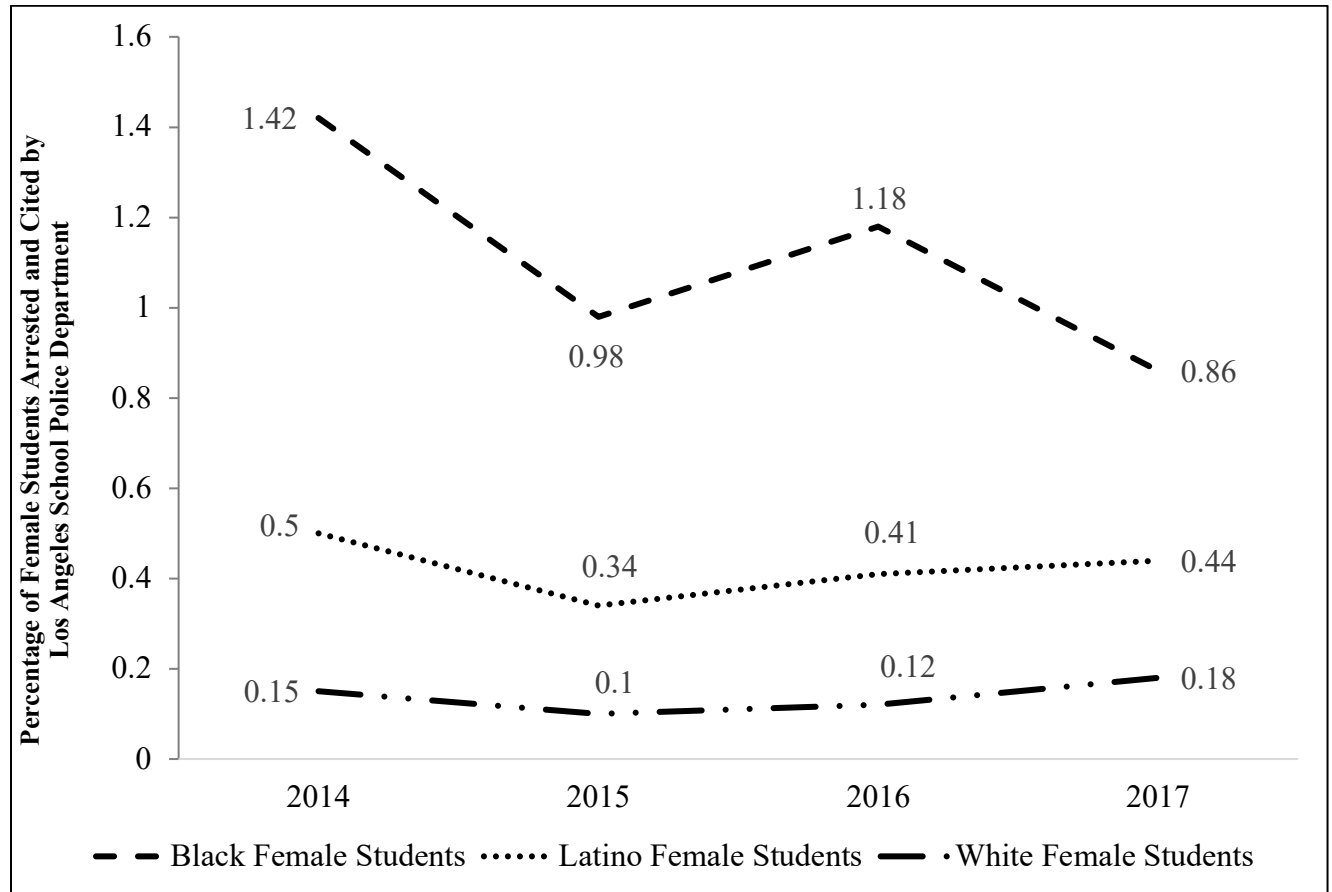
Disaggregating LASPD student data according to involvement types, Black boys are 11 times more likely to be arrested and 8 times more likely to be cited than white boys in 2014 (see Figures 27 and 28). By 2017, the black-to-white ratio in arrests and citations of boys declined to 7:1 and 3:1, respectively. Black girls, on the other hand, are 26 times more likely to be arrested and 28 times more likely to be cited than white girls in 2014. (Figures 29 through 30 shows arrest and citation rates of male and female student involvement with Los Angeles School Police Department over time, by race/ethnicity.) This is more than double than the black-to-white

disparities of boys. By 2017, the black girl-to-white girl ratio in arrests significantly increased to

37:1, whereas the black girl-to-white girl ratio in citations significantly decreased to 13:1.

Figure 27

Arrest rate of male student involvement with Los Angeles School Police Department over time,
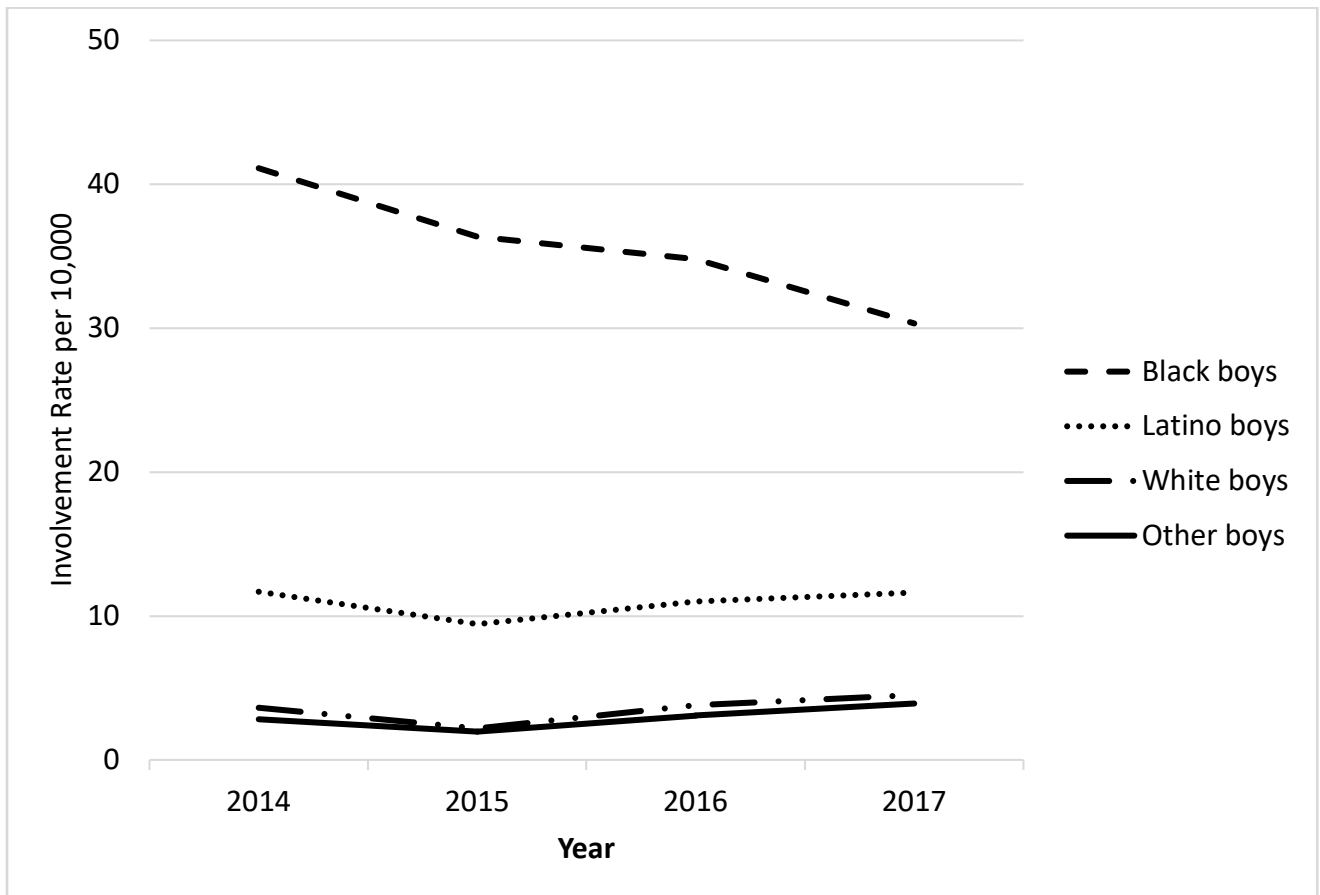
by race/ethnicity

Figure 28

Citation rate of male student involvement with Los Angeles School Police Department over time,
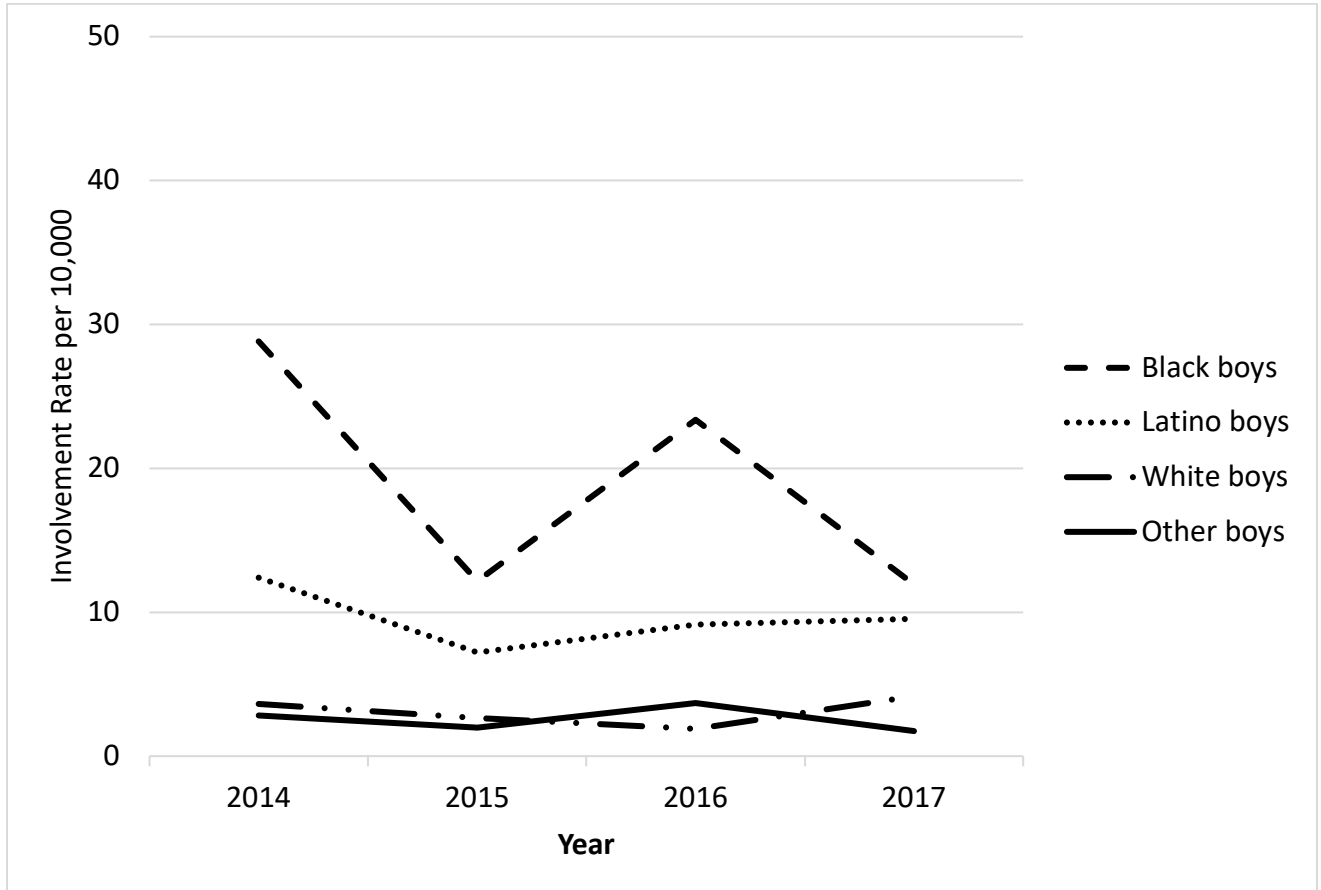
by race/ethnicity

Figure 29

Arrest rate of female student involvement with Los Angeles School Police Department over time, by race/ethnicity
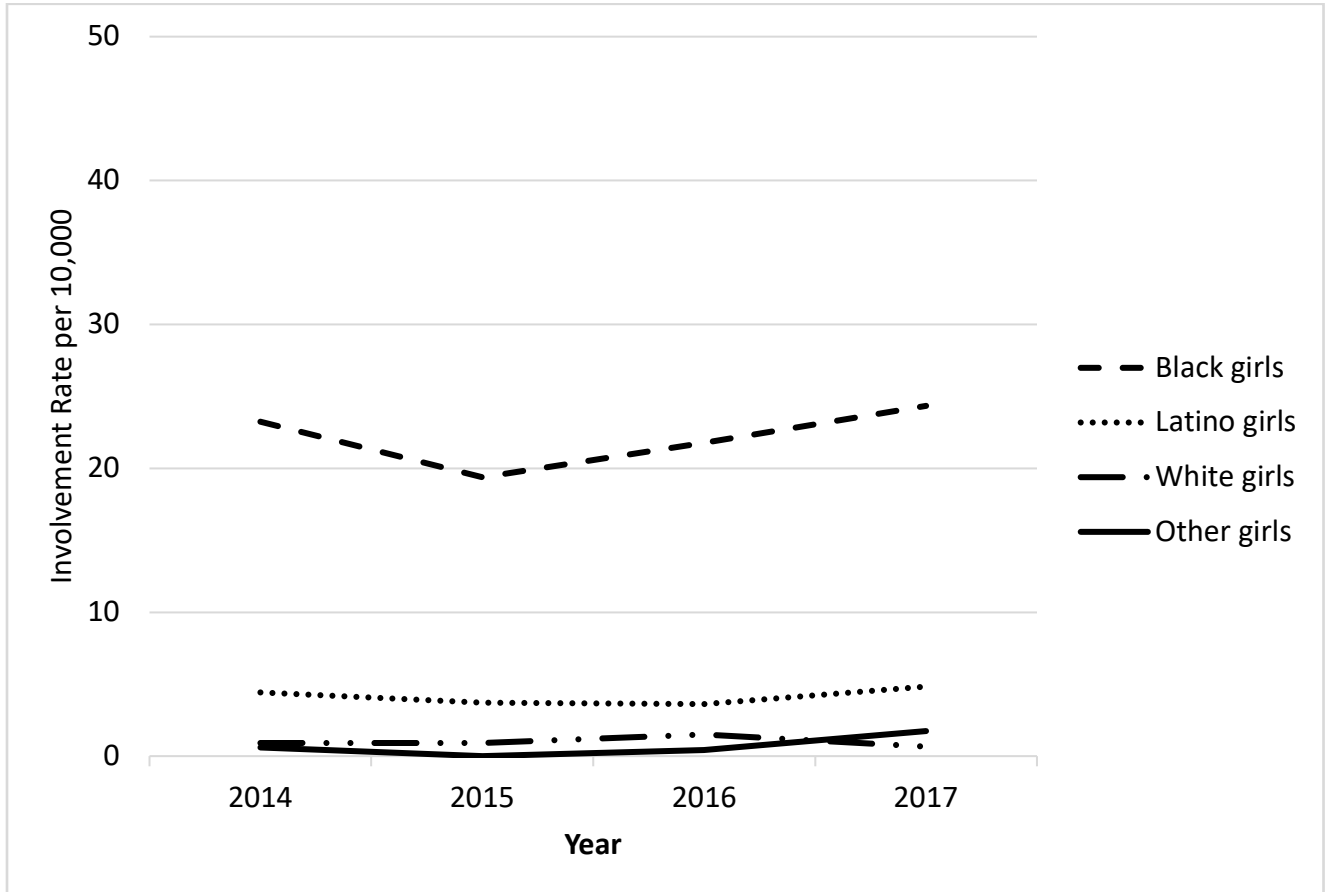
Figure 30

Citation rate of female student involvement with Los Angeles School Police Department over time, by race/ethnicity
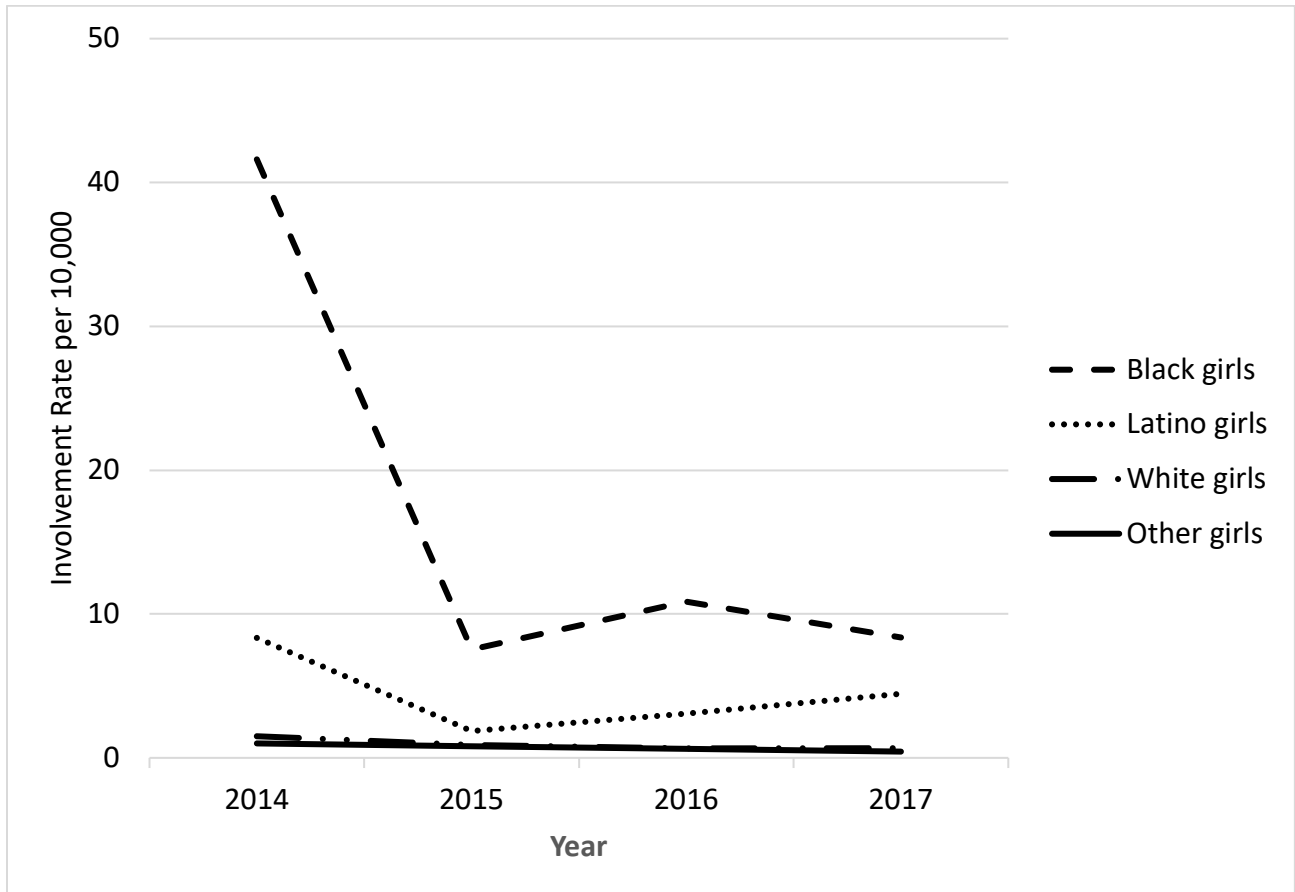
Between 2014 and 2017, the charges of LASPD student involvement for Black boys and girls significantly differed. Of the LASPD student arrests, battery, trespassing, and robbery were the top three charges for Black boys. For Black girls, battery, robbery trespassing, evading/resisting, or assault with a deadly weapon were the top three LASPD student arrest charges. (Tables 9 and 10 show the highest percentage, or top, LASPD student arrest charges of Black boys and girls: 2014-2017.) Whereas the top three charges for Black boys represented an average of 53% of all Black boys' arrests, the highest (or top) charge of batter for Black girls

178

represented an average of 54% of all Black girls' arrests from 2014 to 2017. The pattern for

LASPD student arrests for Black boys and girls represents the disproportionate enforcement of

battery charges. As shown in Table 11, these charges can include any of the following according

to data from the LASPD Record Management Unit.

Table 9

Highest Percentage Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD) Student Arrest Charges of

Black Boys: 2014-2017

Year	Highest Charge	Percent of Black arrests	Second Highest Charge	Percent of Black Arrests	Third Highest Charge	Percent of Black Arrests
2014	Battery	29%	Trespassing	14%	Robbery	12%
2015	Battery	26%	Robbery	14%	Trespassing	13%
2016	Robbery	20%	Battery	19%	Trespassing	14%
2017	Battery	23%	Trespassing	16%	Robbery	15%

Note. To determine the highest charges of LASPD youth arrests for Black boys, aggregated variations of the same

charge type were created. Examples include: Public Disturbance (415, 314.1, 372, 409); Battery (243(A), 243(B),

243.1, 243.2, 243.3, 243, 242); Trespassing (602, 647(H), 555, 626, 419); Cannabis (11357-11362); and

Vandalism/Property Damage (594, 591.5, 603, 4600(A), 23110, 23110B).

Table 10

Highest Percentage Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD) Student Arrest Charges of

Black Girls: 2014-2017

Year	*Highest Charge*	*Percent of Black arrests*	*Second Highest Charge*	*Percent of Black Arrests*	*Third Highest Charge*	*Percent of Black Arrests*
2014	Battery	61%	Evading/Resisting Arrest	6%	Assault with a DW*	5%
2015	Battery	48%	Trespassing	11%	Assault with a DW	7%
2016	Battery	52%	Robbery	12%	Assault with a DW	10%
2017	Battery	56%	Trespassing	8%	Assault with a DW	7%

*In 2014, the third highest charge was tied with the following two charges: Shoplifting/Theft and Threat to Police Officer.

Note. To determine the highest charges of LASPD youth arrests for Black girls, aggregated variations of the same charge type were created. Examples include: Public Disturbance (415, 314.1, 372, 409); Battery (243(A), 243(B), 243.1, 243.2, 243.3, 243, 242); Trespassing (602, 647(H), 555, 626, 419); Cannabis (11357-11362); and Vandalism/Property Damage (594, 591.5, 603, 4600(A), 23110, 23110B)

Table 11

Los Angeles School Police Department Charge Code, Charge Description, and Crime

Classification for Highest Percentage of Black Student Arrests: 2014 – 2017

Arrest Charge Code	Charge Description	Crime Classification
PC242	Battery	Battery
PC243(A)	Battery on person	Battery
PC243(B)	Battery on PO/emergency personnel	Battery
PC243(C)	Battery on PO/emergency personnel with injury	Battery
PC243(D)	Battery with serious bodily injury	Battery
PC243(E)(1)	Battery on cohabitant former spouse	Battery
PC243.2(A)	Battery on school person / property	Battery
PC243.5(A)(1)	Assault/Battery on school property	Battery
PC243.6-F	Battery on school employee with injury	Battery
PC243.6-M	Battery on school employee	Battery
PC243.8(A)	Battery on sports official	Battery

Source: LASPD Record Management Unit. Note. This list contains charge codes used in the analysis of LASPD student arrest data from 2014 to 2017. *The acronym "*PO" stands for Probation Officer.

Examining LASPD student citations, a common pattern stands out. Public disturbance disproportionately represents the highest charge for both Black boys and girls from 2014 to 2017. **(**Tables 12 and 13 show the highest percentage, or top, LASPD student arrest charges of Black boys and girls: 2014-2017.) Although public disturbance charges have significantly decreased (with the exception of years 2016 to 2017 for Black girls), the data reveals that Black boys and girls are cited by LASPD for disturbing the peace. (Table 14 shows the Los Angeles

School Police Department charge code, charge description, and crime classification associated

with the highest percentage of Black student citations: 2014 – 2017.)[6]

Table 12

Highest Percentage Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD) Student Citation Charges

of Black Boys: 2014-2017

Year	_Highest Charge_	_Percent of Black arrests_	_Second Highest Charge_	_Percent of Black Arrests_	_Third Highest Charge_	_Percent of Black Arrests_
2014	Public Disturbance	64%	Vandalize/ Property Damage	9%	Underage Tobacco Sale	7%
2015	Public Disturbance	43%	Gambling	10%	Trespassing	9%
2016	Public Disturbance	41%	Cannabis Possession/Sale	15%	Gambling	10%
2017	Public Disturbance	34%	Cannabis Possession/Sale	15%	Vandalize/ Property Damage*	10%

*In 2017, the third highest charge was tied with the following two charges: Shoplifting/Theft.

Note. To determine the highest charges of LASPD youth citations for Black boys, aggregated variations of the same

charge type were created. Examples include: Public Disturbance (415, 314.1, 372, 409); Battery (243(A), 243(B),

243.1, 243.2, 243.3, 243, 242); Trespassing (602, 647(H), 555, 626, 419); Cannabis (11357-11362); and

Vandalism/Property Damage (594, 591.5, 603, 4600(A), 23110, 23110B).

---

[6] Due to the overall low number of LASPD student diversions, I do not report these data for Black boys and girls. Overall, the data shows that highest charges that are receiving diversions are battery and public disturbance, which align with the highest percentage changes for Black boys and girls.

Table 13

Highest Percentage Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD) Student Citation Charges

of Black Girls: 2014-2017

Year	*Highest Charge*	Percent of Black arrests	*Second Highest Charge*	Percent of Black Arrests	*Third Highest Charge*	Percent of Black Arrests
2014	Public Disturbance	90%	Vandalize/Property Damage	3%	Theft/Shoplifting	3%
2015	Public Disturbance	86%	Trespassing	14%		
2016	Public Disturbance	21%	Battery	21%	Cannabis Possession/Sale	19%
2017	Public Disturbance	62%	Cannabis Possession/Sale	14%	Trespassing	10%

In 2015, there is no third highest charge.

Note. To determine the highest charges of LASPD youth citations for Black girls, aggregated variations of the same

charge type were created. Examples include: Public Disturbance (415, 314.1, 372, 409); Battery (243(A), 243(B),

243.1, 243.2, 243.3, 243, 242); Trespassing (602, 647(H), 555, 626, 419); Cannabis (11357-11362); and

Vandalism/Property Damage (594, 591.5, 603, 4600(A), 23110, 23110B).

Table 14

Los Angeles School Police Department Charge Code, Charge Description, and Crime

Classification for Highest Percentage of Black Student Citations: 2014 – 2017

Arrest Charge Code	Charge Description	Crime Classification
PC626.7(A)	Interfering with school activity	Disturbing the peace
PC626.8(A)(1)	Disrupt school activities	Disturbing the peace
PC626.8(A)(2)	Reenter after being asked to leave	Disturbing the peace
PC626.8(A)(3)	Person disrupts school activities	Disturbing the peace
PC405(A)	Lynching/riots taking from custody	Disturbing the peace
PC415(2)	Disturbance - noise	Disturbing the peace
PC415(3)	Offensive words in public place	Disturbing the peace
PC415.1	Fight/challenge in public place	Disturbing the peace
PC415.5(A)(1)	Fight/challenge fight at school	Disturbing the peace
PC415.5(A)(2)	Disturbing peace at public school	Disturbing the peace

Source: LASPD Record Management Unit. Note. This list contains charge codes used in the analysis of LASPD student arrest data from 2014 to 2017.

Spatial Concentration in Arrests and Disciplinary Infractions by the Los Angeles School Police Department

Did discipline policy reform affect the spatial concentration in arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD? Also, how large and varied are these disparities for Black students? An examination of the spatial analysis for LASPD student arrests and disciplinary infractions from 2014 to 2017 reveals that disparities following discipline policy changes to the role of school

police officers did have neighborhood effect. LASPD student arrests and disciplinary infractions are distinctly concentrated by neighborhood..

The basic spatial pattern and distribution of concentration for all students involved with LASPD is stark. Large areas of the city, namely in the San Fernando Valley region, remain relatively untouched by LASPD student arrests and disciplinary infractions; while a small group of "high concentration" neighborhoods, namely Westlake, and Eastside and Westside South-Central, are highly affected and bear the brunt of student arrests and disciplinary infractions. (Figure 31 shows the spatial concentration of the percentage of LASPD incidents (e.g., arrests, citations, and diversions) involving students in the years that followed discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers, by neighborhood: 2014 – 2017). These patterns are consistent for Black students involved with LASPD. (Figure 32 shows the spatial concentration of the percentage of LASPD incidents involving Black students in the years that followed discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers, by neighborhood: 2014 – 2017). The highest concentration neighborhoods are Eastside and Westside South-Central. Disaggregating the data by gender for Black students, these patterns remain the same (Figure 33 shows the spatial concentration of the percentage of LASPD incidents involving Black male and female students in the years that followed discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers, by neighborhood: 2014 – 2017).

Examining the South-Central area more closely, I find that a band of neighborhoods in the urban community of South Central produce the disproportionate share of LASPD student involvement, for all student racial/ethnic groups and for Black students only. These include neighborhoods such as Florence-Firestone, Vermont-Slauson, and South-Park. Overall, the general pattern of LASPD concentration reveals very little differences in the years following

discipline policy changes to the role of school police officer, and paints a picture of stability across the same neighborhood types overtime.

Figure 31

Spatial Concentration of Percentage of LASPD Incidents Involving Students in the years that followed discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers, by neighborhood: 2014 – 2017

Figure 32

Spatial Concentration of Percentage of LASPD Incidents Involving Black Students in the years

that followed discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers, by neighborhood:
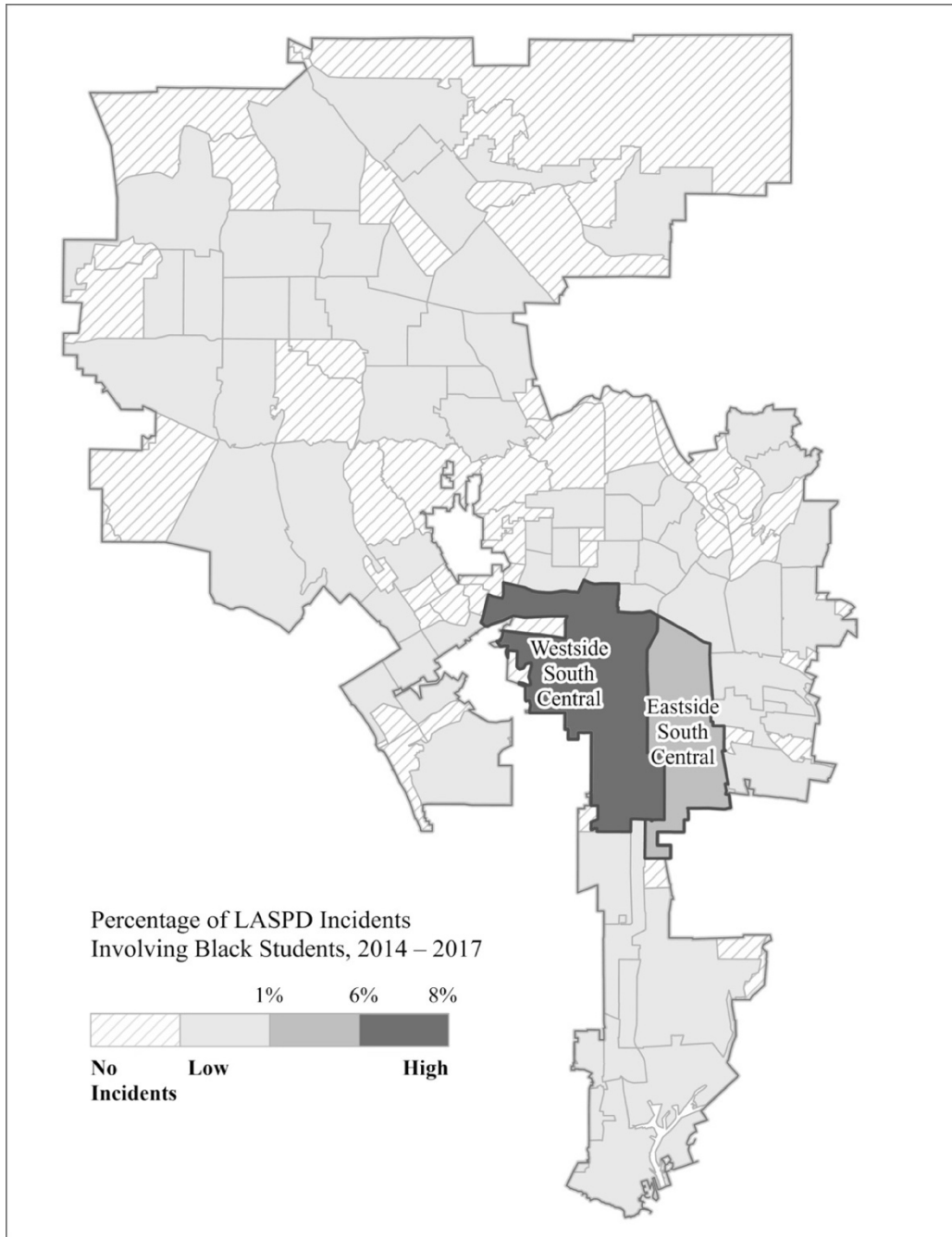
2014 – 2017

Figure 33

Spatial Concentration of Percentage of LASPD Incidents Involving Black Male and Female

Students in the years that followed discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers,

by neighborhood: 2014 – 2017
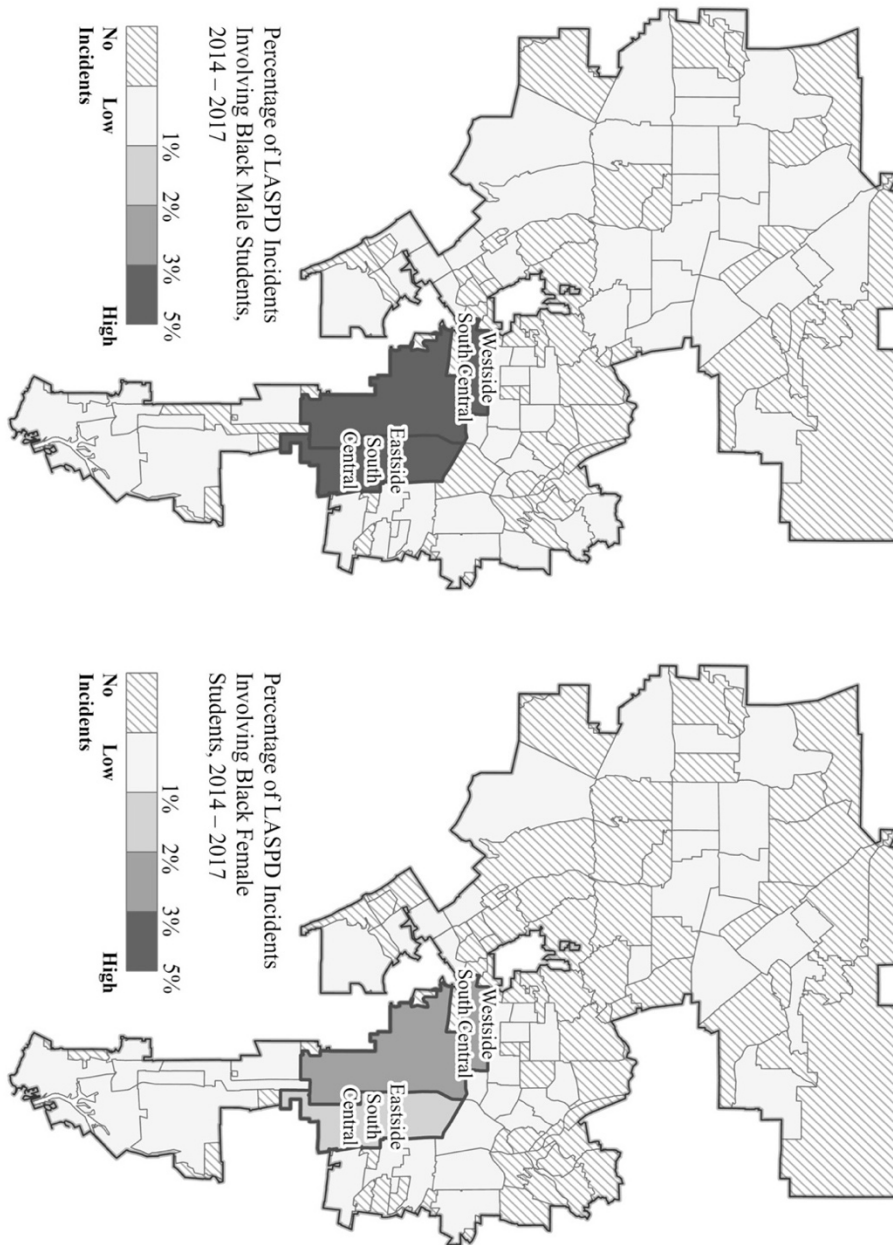
Although LASPD student arrests and disciplinary infractions for all populations and Black students only are predominantly concentrated in urban neighborhoods in the Eastside and Westside South-Central Los Angeles (see Figures 31 and 32), there is a spatially scattered cluster of areas in the city that are subject to disproportionate rates of student arrests for Black boys and girls. (Tables 15 and 16 display the highest rates of Black male and female student arrests and disciplinary infractions by the LASPD, the population of Black male and female youth, and the number of Black male and female student LASPD involvement, by zip code for the years following discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers 2014 – 2017.) Black male and female students share four of the same top five zip codes with the highest rates of arrests and disciplinary infractions by the LASPD. These zip codes (and their corresponding neighborhoods) include: 90272 (Pacific Palisades), 90058 (Vernon), 90046 (Hollywood Hills West), and 90066 (Mar Vista). (Figure 34 displays the spatial concentration of spatial concentration of LASPD Black male and female student involvement rates per 100 Black male and female youth in the years after discipline policy reform to the role of school police officers, by zip code: 2014 – 2017.)

Table 15

Highest Rates of Black Male Student Arrests and Disciplinary Infractions by the Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD), Population of Black Male Youth, Number of Black Male Student LASPD Involvement, by Zip Code: 2014 - 2017

Zip Code	Corresponding Neighborhoods	Number of Black Male Student Arrests, Citations, and Diversions	Population of Black Male Youth	Rate of Black Male Students Arrested, Cited, and Diverted per 100 Black male youth
90272	Pacific Palisades	11	9	122.22
90058	Vernon	17	26	65.38
90046	Hollywood Hills West	32	50	64.00
90049	Brentwood	9	26	34.62
90066	Mar Vista	37	110	33.64

Note. The rates of arrests were calculated using 2010 Census Data of Black youth male ages 5-17 within a 5-Digit Zip Code Tabulation Area. For population data, see *IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota.* Neighborhoods are defined based on the corresponding zip codes within L.A. Times Neighborhoods. The entire population make-up within the racial/ethnicity profiles of neighborhoods are not shown.

Table 16

Highest Rates of Black Female Student Arrests and Disciplinary Infractions by the Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD), Population of Black Female Youth, Number of Black Female Student LASPD Involvement, by Zip Code: 2014 - 2017

Zip Code	Corresponding Neighborhoods	Number of Black Female Student Arrests, Citations, and Diversions	Population of Black Female Youth	Rate of Black Female Students Arrested, Cited, and Diverted per 100 Black female youth
90058	Vernon	11	41	26.83
90066	Mar Vista	20	103	19.42
90028	Hollywood	9	57	15.79
90046	Hollywood Hills West	7	45	15.56
90272	Pacific Palisades	2	16	12.50

Note. The rates of arrests were calculated using 2010 Census Data of Black youth male ages 5-17 within a 5-Digit Zip Code Tabulation Area. For population data, see *IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota.* Neighborhoods are defined based on the corresponding zip codes within L.A. Times Neighborhoods. The entire population make-up within the racial/ethnicity profiles of neighborhoods are not shown.

Figure 34

Spatial Concentration of LASPD Black Male and Female Student Involvement Rates per 100

Black Male and Female Youth in the years after discipline policy reform to the role of school
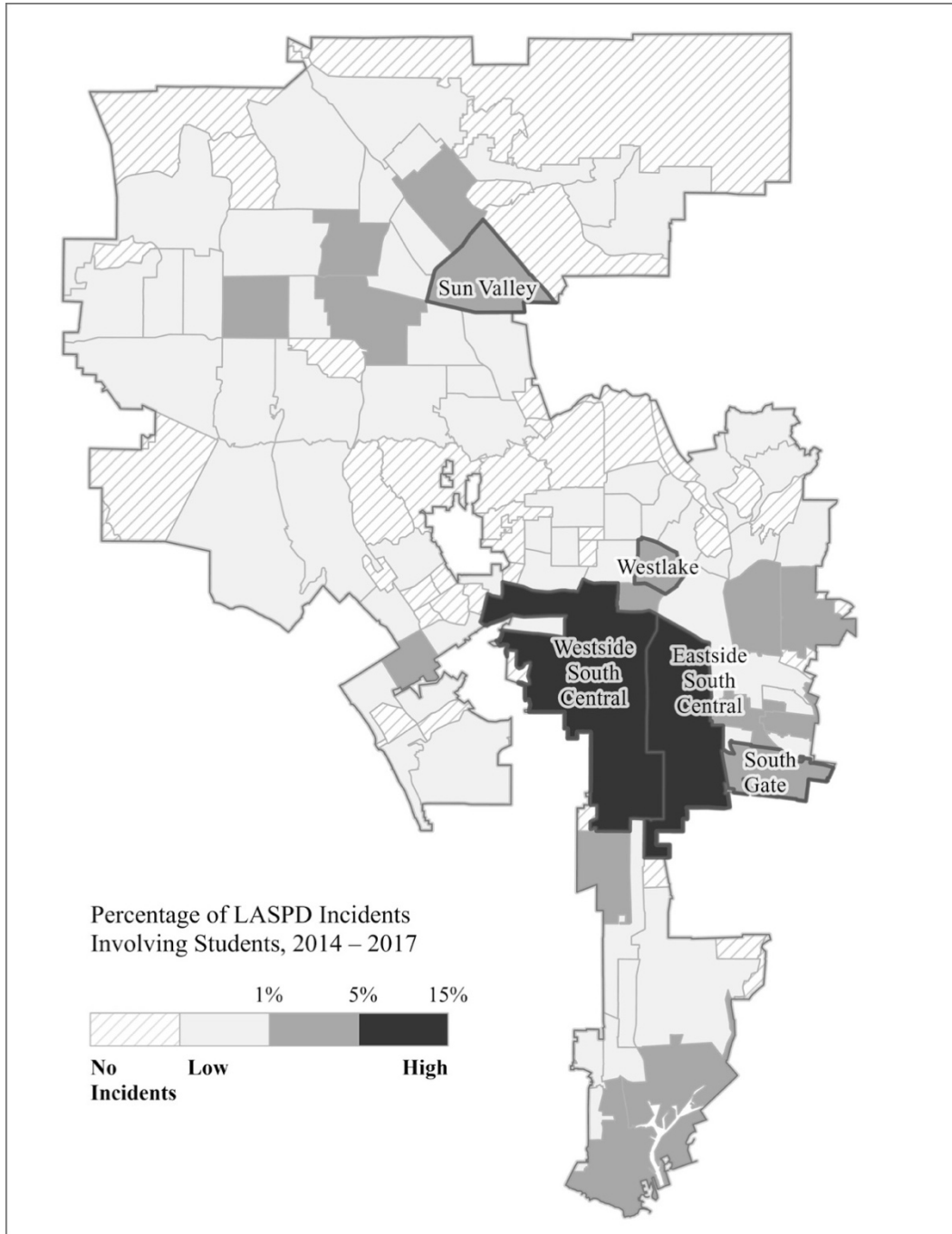
police officers, by zip code: 2014 – 2017
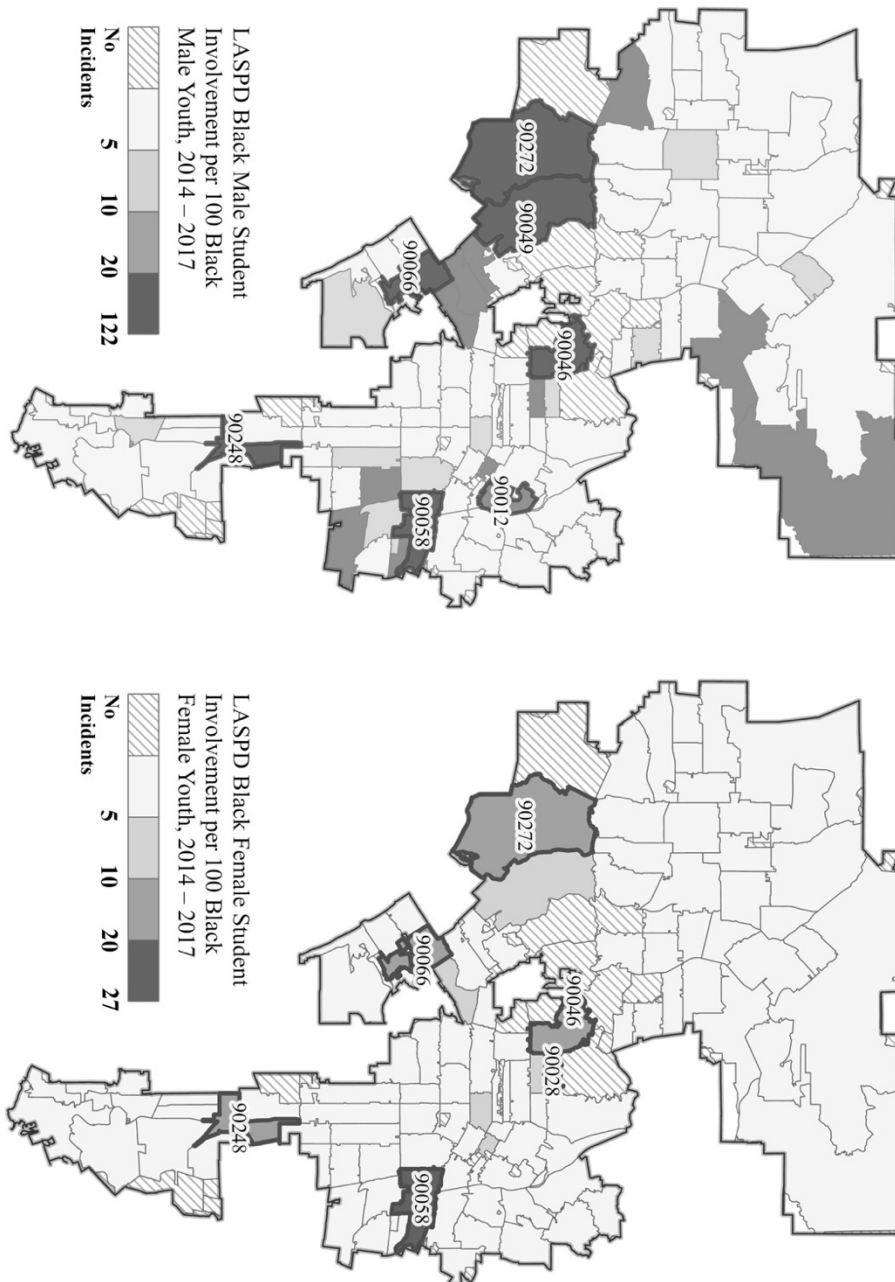
Associations Between School Policing and Community-level Features

What are the key correlates of the racial and neighborhood disparities in school policing facing Black students? For instance, how does differences in community-level features relate to racial and neighborhood disparities in school policing? An examination of the descriptive and spatial analyses for LASPD Black student arrests and disciplinary infractions from 2014 to 2017 reveals important neighborhood characteristics that explains their disproportionate experiences with school police.

My findings display two important features. First, higher rates of Black male and female student arrests and disciplinary infractions occur in neighborhoods that are predominantly white. For Black male students, high rates are found in neighborhoods where the total white population ranged from as low as 51.3% (Mar Vista) to as high as 86.6% (Pacific Palisades), with the exception of one neighborhood that is predominately Latinx at 92.6% (Vernon). For Black female students, the highest rates of arrests and disciplinary are found neighborhoods where the total white population ranged from as low as 41.0% (Hollywood) to as high as 86.6% (Pacific Palisades). All neighborhoods associated the highest rates of arrests and disciplinary for Black female students are predominantly white, with the exception of Hollywood which was 42% Latinx followed by 41% white; none of these neighborhoods have more than 4% of Black residents.

Also connected to the areas that represent the highest rates of Black male and female student arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD are high percentages of residents 25 and older with four-year degrees and high median household income of neighborhoods. (Table 17 displays neighborhood characteristics of highest shared rates of Black male and female student arrests and disciplinary infractions by the LASPD, the racial/ethnic population breakdown of

neighborhoods, the median household income of neighborhoods, and the % of residents 25 and older with four-year degree, by zip code for the years 2014 to 2017.)

Table 17

Neighborhood Characteristics of Highest Shared Rates of Black Male and Female Student Arrests and Disciplinary Infractions by the Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD), Race/Ethnicity of Neighborhood, Median Household Income of Neighborhood, and % of Residents 25 and older with four-year degree, by Zip Code: 2014 - 2017

Zip Code	Corresponding Neighborhoods	Race/Ethnicity of Neighborhood	Median Household Income of Neighborhood (and scale for L.A. County)	% of Residents 2 and older with four-year degree (and scale for L.A. County)
90272	Pacific Palisades	Black (0.4%) Latinx (3.2%) White (86.6%) Asian (5.5%) Other (2.3%)	$168,009 (High)	70.9% (High)
90058	Vernon	Black (0.0%) Latinx (92.6%) White (2.1%) Asian (0.0%) Other (5.3%)	$81,279 (High)	18.2% (Average)
90046	Hollywood Hills West	Black (2.7%) Latinx (5.8%) White (84.9%) Asian (3.9%) Other (2.7%)	$108,199 (High)	58.8 (High)
90066	Mar Vista	Black (3.5%) Latinx (29.1%) White (51.3%) Asian (12.8%) Other (3.4%)	$62,611 (Average)	42.3% (High)

The second finding is that the highest number of Black male and female student arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD occur in the same three zip codes (and corresponding neighborhoods). This includes: 90003 (Florence in Eastside South Central) , 90044 (Westmont in Westside South Central), and 90011 (Historic South-Central in Eastside South Central). (Table 18 shows the highest number of Black student arrests and disciplinary infractions by the LASPD and its corresponding neighborhood, by gender and zip code for the years 2014 to 2017.) These neighborhoods with the highest number of Black male and female student arrests and disciplinary infractions are predominately Black and/or Latinx, and represents neighborhoods with the highest population of Black residents. They are also home to low percentages of residents 25 and older with four-year degree and majority low median household income of neighborhoods associated with the zip codes that represent the highest rates of Black male and female student arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD. (Table 19 shows the neighborhood characteristics of the highest number of Black male and female student arrests and disciplinary infractions by the Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD), the race/ethnicity of the neighborhoods, median household income of the neighborhood, and percentage of residents 25 and older with four-year degree, by zip code: 2014 – 2017.)

Examining the connection between LASPD student and LAPD youth involvement, I find that LASPD high concentration neighborhoods for Black male and female students are also home to the highest percentage of LAPD youth arrests from 2014 to 2017. The neighborhoods of

Westmont (90044) in Westside South Central, Florence (90003) in Eastside South Central, and Vermont Square (90037) in Westside South Central represents the top three highest neighborhoods for Black boys, with a total of 202, 195 and 121 arrests respectively. For Black girls, Florence (90003) in Eastside South Central, Hyde Park (90043) in Westside South Central, and Westmont (90044) in Westside South Central represents the top three neighborhoods with the highest percentages of LAPD Black girl arrests, with 47, 47, and 46 arrests respectively. It is important to note that Hyde Park is home to one of the highest percentages of African American residents in L.A. County at 66 percent (Mapping Los Angeles, 2020).

In sum, while the highest rates of Black female and student arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD occur in predominantly white neighborhoods, the highest number of student arrests and disciplinary infractions occur in predominantly Black and Latinx neighborhoods throughout Eastside and Westside South Central (see Figure 32). The high concentration neighborhoods are connected to an array of socioeconomic disadvantages according to race and social class. It is important to note that I do not claim any occurrences of causality from the analyses presented, but these relationships are consistent with my theoretical framework and make conceptual sense given the social landscape of Los Angeles. Los Angeles is marked by a rapid wave of gentrification and redeveloped communities, a high growth of unemployment and underemployment, and the persistent isolation facing poor Black and predominantly Latinx neighborhoods (Delmelle, 2019; Rothstein, 2017; Measure of America, 2017). This social landscape has important ramifications for Los Angeles' school system, in which discipline policy trends and tensions of school policing have been developed and played out; ultimately disproportionately shaping the experiences of many urban, Black youth throughout the city. Given this, in the succeeding section, I focus solely on Black students'

experiences and responses to school policing in high concentration areas, where the highest number of Black student arrests and disciplinary infractions occur (see Figures 32 and 33).

Table 18

Highest Number of Black Student Arrests and Disciplinary Infractions by the Los Angeles School Police Department (LASPD) and Corresponding Neighborhood, by Gender and Zip Code: 2014 - 2017

Zip Code	Neighborhood	Number of Black Female Student Arrests, Citations, and Diversions	Rate of Student Involvement, per 100 Black Female Youth	Number of Black Male Student Arrests, Citations, and Diversions	Rate of Student Involvement, per 100 Black Male Youth
90003	Vernon	39	2.12	107	5.78
90044	Mar Vista	49	1.46	133	3.97
90011	Historic South Central	43	4.46	60	6.53

Note. The rates of arrests were calculated using 2010 Census Data of Black youth male ages 5-17 within a 5-Digit Zip Code Tabulation Area. For population data, see *IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota.* Neighborhoods are defined based on the corresponding zip codes within L.A. Times Neighborhoods. The entire population make-up within the racial/ethnicity profiles of neighborhoods are not shown.

Table 19

Neighborhood Characteristics of Highest Number of Black Male and Female Student

Arrests and Disciplinary Infractions by the Los Angeles School Police Department

(LASPD), Race/Ethnicity of Neighborhood, Median Household Income of Neighborhood,

and % of Residents 25 and older with four-year degree, by Zip Code: 2014 - 2017

Zip Code	Corresponding Neighborhoods	Race/Ethnicity of Neighborhood	Median Household Income of Neighborhood (and scale for L.A. County)	% of Residents 2 and older with four-year degree (and scale for L.A. County)
90003	Florence	Black (28.1%) Latinx (69.8%) White (0.4%) Asian (0.4%) Other (1.3%)	$29,447 (Low)	2.8% (Low)
90044	Westmont	Black (57.5%) Latinx (39.3%) White (1.3%) Asian (0.7%) Other (1.2%)	$31,572 (Average)	5.7% (Low)
90011	Hollywood	Black (10.1%) Latinx (87.2%) White (1.2%) Asian (1.0%) Other (0.6%)	$30,992 (Low)	3.2% (Low)

Note. The rates of arrests were calculated using 2010 Census Data of Black youth male ages 5-17 within a 5-Digit Zip Code Tabulation Area. For population data, see *IPUMS NHGIS, University of Minnesota.* Neighborhoods are defined based on the corresponding zip codes within L.A. Times Neighborhoods. The entire population make-up within the racial/ethnicity profiles of neighborhoods are not shown.

In Their Own Words, Through Their Lived Histories: Black Students' Experiences with School Policing

How do Black students who reside in high concentration areas of arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD experience school policing? How do these experiences differ among Black boys and girls? I discuss the major themes that emerged from my qualitative analyses of 120 Black students across 11 high schools in Los Angeles. First, I present students' experiences with school policing. The next section presents students' responses to school policing. I separate Black students' experiences and responses on the basis of key themes that emerged from the interviews.

School Policing Starts Young

As shown in Table 20, approximately 84% (n=101) of my sample of 120 students reported being stopped and questioned by school police on either school grounds or outside of school grounds. Of these stops and questioning, 50% (n=51) of students were searched and 28% (n=25) frisked by a school police officer. A total of 66% (n=67) of the students who were stopped and questioned (n=101) resulted in an arrest and 29% (n=30) in a citation by a school police officer. In addition, 70% (n=71) of the students who were stopped and questioned (n=101) reported the use of excessive or physical force. The elements of force include: physical restraint, handcuffs, and various verbal communication (e.g., involving threats, shouting, or cursing). Finally, approximately 80% (n=96) of all 120 students reported being stopped, questioned, and/or arrested by a school police officer before entering high school. Below are the reflections of students' contact with school police over the course of their K-12 educational journey.

Table 20

Sample of Black Students' Encounters with the Los Angeles School Police Department

Total Students	% of Stops and Questionings	% of Stops Resulting in Search	% of Stops Resulting in Frisk	% of Stops Resulting in Citation	% of Stops Resulting in an Arrest	% of Stops with Force (Any)
120	84% (101)	50% (51)	28% (25)	29% (31)	66% (67)	70% (71)

Source: Author's calculators based on self-reported information in oral history interviews. All students attended or resided in high concentration neighborhoods of school policing in Los Angeles.

"I was harassed at school by police at 7, and handcuffed at around 10 or 11," a Black student who attends school in a high concentration neighborhood of South Los Angeles shared. A Black student who lives in a high concentration neighborhood of South Los Angeles explained:

> As far as the school police in my school, there were times when I was probably 11, definitely before my teens, and that's the first time I remember being harassed by police officers and not doing anything, hanging out at the school playing ball or whatever. Police came up, asking questions like…all the kids would be in the school playing basketball.

A Black student who lives in a high concentration neighborhood of South Los Angeles shared some of their experiences.

> For me, it's not that they stopped and pointed the finger….but it's how they did it. I didn't deserve to be grabbed and put in handcuffs for being at a fight. I wasn't the one fighting nor was I the only one watching. It was not fair and uncalled for….and let's not forget that this happened even though I was in the sixth grade, my first experience with

the school police people...from there, my experiences at school and around the neighborhood have never been the same when it comes to them.

 Another Black student reflected on their experience with school police.

 I have to be honest. I'm use to the police being in my neighborhood, rolling down my block and doing what they do….I mean I learned very young of what policing means to me and those who look like me...I also learned to not trust all of them because of what they've done to those around me…I even had my own shared of experiences....but these don't compare to my first experience with school police. It was nothing like the neighborhood police...it felt more evasive. I was 12. I was arrested...all while at school, it just didn't feel right because to me school was the safest place I knew.

Another Black student spoke about the relationship between their early experiences with school police and safety concerns:

Imagine being put in handcuffs in front of all your friends at schools for something so minor….being placed in the back of the police car….being pulled out of the auditorium with the entire school looking at you...Imagine what that had to feel like. Imagine this happening to you in seventh grade. The police in my neighborhood made it feel unsafe. And now we had school police at the front door of our door, in our classrooms, and walking around the yard, interrupting school activities for what they call making schools safer….learning or school wasn't safe. Imagine how all this played out on how I viewed myself, how focused I was able to be, motivated in school, and how I became a target for everything that didn't pertain to good behavior and academics.

A Black student expressed their perceptions and experiences regarding the daily interactions with school police.

> I'm forced to greet and fellowship with police in my school on a daily basis...It's a norm, they come up to you, ask you questions, follow you as if they are some school monitor, then they turn around and try to be your friend, ask you about family, then ask you about other kids in school. I'm one of the lucky ones where I haven't had to pay a fine or be arrested... I mean I'm not perfect, it's just I always have gotten the pass...but best believe my everyday encounters with them have played a huge role on how I've viewed school and how I had another thing to navigate in order to make it...they say we supposed to make it out of our hood to get away from the police and other stuff...I guess now we have to make it out of schools with the same stuff like our neighborhoods.

The young ages at which school policing begins is the central concern shared in the oral history interviews of these Black students. In urban high-concentration areas where the brunt of school policing is located, various levels of contact occurred frequently and also began at an early age for many Black students. Many students described individual encounters, stops, questioning, and arrests by the police more than once and before the age of 10. Recent research shows that students as young as six years old are arrested or cited by Los Angeles School Police (LASPD) (Allen et al., 2018; Community Rights Campaign, 2013). An examination of 2014-17 data from LASPD shows that in those years, one and four of those arrested were elementary-or middle school-aged (Allen et al., 2018). As a 2013 report by Community Rights Campaign of the Labor/Community Strategy Center puts it, "Los Angeles had led the country in criminalizing students," especially among Black students. Data show that Black students made up 25% of the

total LASPD arrests, citations, and diversions despite representing less than 9% of the student population in Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD).

Despite the prominence of recent reform that implemented restorative-based approaches to misbehavior and clarified the role of law enforcement in schools so that LASPD officers handle serious safety issues instead of daily disciplinary interventions, a particular question remains: To what extent are these efforts working to counter discipline disparities? For some, the downward trend of arrests and disciplinary infractions for all racial and ethnic groups, and claims of improvements in school safety might conjure up potential evidence of progress. For others, persistent high rates of and disproportionalities for Black students are indicators of continued racial inequity in school policing. While there appears to be emerging consensus of the gap in evidence on the efficacy of these policies, surprisingly few studies have directly taken on the task of exploring the role race and geographical space plays in interaction with discipline policy and practice. For example, as shown in the previous section, school policing is disproportionately concentrated in neighborhoods of South-Central Los Angeles. Little is known about the consequences of attending a school and/or residing in a high concentration neighborhood, and how these dynamics shapes the political, cultural, and social lives of Black students.

"I Just Want to Go (Back) to Class"

Among the 120 students interviewed in the study, 98 (n=82%) of the sample reported school police encounters involving some form of a delay in arriving to class, interruption to classroom learning, or exclusion from attending school. The distribution of these 98 encounters by broad categories and location is shown in Table 21.

Table 21

Percentage Distribution of School Policing Impact on Black Students' Learning Experience by

Category and Location

Impact of School Policing Encounter	Location of School Policing Encounter	
	School Grounds	Off-campus
Delay	35%	6%
	(34)	(6)
Interruption	13%	0%
	(13)	(0)
Exclusion	26%	9%
	(27)	(9)
No Impact	8%	2%
	(8)	(2)
Total	82%	17%
Number of responses	81	17

Note. Percentages may not sum to 100% due to rounding

The most common Black student reported impact of school policing to their learning experience, irrespective of location of encounter, are delay in arriving to class and interruption to classroom learning. Examining the content of the 98 interviews and those in the larger sample, I document the depth and complexity of the reported impact of school policing to Black students' learning experience according to residing or attending school in a high concentration area.

A Black student who lives in a high concentration neighborhood of South Los Angeles talked about their experience of being pulled out of the classroom by a school police officer:

It was my Algebra 2 math class during my 10th grade year...It was a normal day, I woke up, got dropped off to school, arrived to first period on time, said what's up to the school

police when I saw him in the hallways…when two period later, he comes storming into the class and pull me out of the class, asking me to bring my bag. He started asking me all these questions about drugs, asking me where I was before school, and even searched my bag…I ended up missing my quiz, and when I asked my teacher to retake it, she said I couldn't because she was worried that other students would share the answer…I never wanted to leave, but I didn't have any other options…this is literally a norm in our school…and the school police really be after the wrong people.

Concern about unexcused, out-of-class time due to school police-student contact was expressed by many students. While some told stories about the school police entering their classrooms to disrupt their learning, several other discussed encounters that led to them marked as tardy or simply preventing them from making it to class. A Black student who attended school in a high concentration neighborhood of South Los Angeles described their interactions with school police after lunch period.

It's typical at my school for students to be huddled or separated in groups by race or sports or even a club, but whenever there's too many Black students "lingering" around after the first bell, the same thing also happens. If it's not a school security guard approaching us, it's the school police….and the first thing they ask is "what's that smell…" or if you do decide to leave to class before he actually arrives, he decides to follow the same two students out of our group…either me or Tony. Why? Well for me, I had my share of involvement with the police when I was in middle school and that stuff followed me into the high school, so whenever I walk too fast, or seen running, or looking for my friends to walk to class with when the bell rings, I'm always stopped….and these stops don't be about nothing…they just be snooping, looking for

something to do, someone to police. I do my best to be short, but nine times out of ten, they are the reason that I am late to class.

The reflections about school police interrupting Black students' academic experiences ranging from hold ups due to direct encounters to various indirect ways due to the presence of school police. Expressing their views on this matter, a Black student who lives in a high concentration neighborhood of South Los Angeles shared: "I've never been arrested by our school police officer, but he sure does paint a picture about our school and our neighborhood about how supposedly unsafe it is and the need to say things in a tone that is demeaning and not healthy for any learning environment. We don't come to school for that. We come to school to learn, but most of the Black students here, we also come to school to be smothered by a school police officer during passing periods, at lunch, and after school. He's everywhere, and I don't need that type of energy in my school life."

Another Black student pointed out "in their school, I don't see the school police as much…but when we do, it's for something serious….and the entire campus knows about it, and guess who's left feeling all types of way? The Black students. Why do I have to come to school to see my people get handcuffed and tossed around…I get enough of that in my neighborhood…the school police stuff stays with me…and sometimes it's hard to go back to doing school, when the reality is that I could be next."

Returning back to class, or "back to doing school, " was especially a concern for those students who reported that they were arrested or cited by a school police offer. Some students shared that they did not always get immediately suspended or expelled from school because the school personnel were not aware of their school police involvement. In other words, the school police did not always report student incidents to the students' respective school. There can be a

host of reasons why this is the case; one in particular is the fact that some incidents happen after school. However, for some students, if the incident occurred on school grounds and during school hours or instruction time, students usually returned back to school after serving their school police disciplinary infraction and the school's infraction. If arrested and booked into juvenile hall, as one Black student shared, "I didn't return back to school until a few weeks later after the judge decided that probation was the next step." If handcuffed only, one Black student explained, "the school decided to suspend me even though the school police didn't find anything on me." While the consequences that came with an arrest or citation was a huge concern for many students, the transition back to school was even more worrisome. This view was shared by a Black student who attended school in a high concentration neighborhood of South Los Angeles.

> I'm used to what goes down in these schools over here and the neighborhoods. It's all the same to me. I get swooped up. I go to court. I pay the fine, maybe even do some community service. I see my P.O. and all that….that's easy...the biggest challenge is going back to school. I love school but school don't love me, especially once you've been handcuffed or arrested or you have to leave class to see your P.O [probation officer]…All this comes with negative perceptions that I'm on the wrong path for good…so everybody starts to treat you different. The teacher don't care. Admin don't care…and everybody who don't know me is afraid of me. It's weird. I mean this didn't all happen because my history with school police, it started way earlier based on where I live. I just wish I wasn't judged so much by being from the hood...they put expectations on you at school.

"They Look at Me Like a Criminal"

The interviews highlight two significant aspects of the school police perceptions of Black students in high concentration areas: (1) the cumulative character of students' individual behavior according to racial, cultural, or deficit perceptions; and (2) the accumulated historical experiences of Black students and urban communities perceived by school policing.

When asked to describe school police perceptions of their neighborhood or school and its relationship to their encounters with school police, 106 (n=88%) of the total sample of 120 Black students in high concentration areas either discussed a version of these two categories. A Black student in a high concentration area shared that where they live is often viewed as an index of assumptions about race and its associated behavioral inclinations and social norms.

> When I tell people where I live, it's like "Oh, you live there. You must be a bad kid." Then they automatically assume that I go to the worst school in the neighborhood…which I do, but then it's like they expect me to have bad grades and expect me to be in trouble all the time. This is the story of my life...the story of all the black kids in my neighborhood.

Similarly, another Black student who lived in a high concentration area expressed similar views about the association of their neighborhood with its racially stereotypical characteristics of the students who are assumed to live there.

> My neighborhood is known for everything that's bad that you can think of. This is the hood, and my school is known for being in the hood. People say we're the ratchet ones, that we have a fight every day. But I think it really is just a stigma because being inside of my school shows that there is not a fight here every day. You kind of do see these things in my neighborhood but I really think it's people just trying to again put a bad

209

name on South Central…which gives us a bad reputation at school that screams young,

black and criminal...we have to remind ourselves that we are young, black and gifted.

These two students' perceptions demonstrate how race and space have the potential to label

students as "bad," which also preemptively defines these bad behaviors based on these features.

The student describes how bad means "criminal," or what previous researchers also describe as

"delinquent" or "pre-delinquent." These perceptions were commonplace and consistent among

Black students in high concentration areas, particularly those who attended schools in urban

neighborhoods. In Los Angeles, Black students attending school or residing in high

concentration areas were also attached to neighborhoods conditions of segregation, namely the

highest proportion of Black residents. This also meant that these Black students attended

segregated schools with the highest proportion of Black students. Put differently, Black students

in areas with high concentrated levels of arrests and disciplinary infractions were entrenched

with the social tax of racial segregation: bad neighborhood, bad school, bad student, and bad

prospects. While this is not true for all Black students, it was the case for most of the students

that were interviewed.

When asked about these prospects, Black students in high concentration areas

consistently described school policing behavior as reflecting and reinforcing the socially created

concepts of blackness and criminality within racially segregated neighborhoods. One Black

student shared the following experience:

They started putting police in our schools a few years ago because of certain fights and

things that black kids do…but I feel like they're doing that to portray a bad image of our

school and a bad image of our community in general. And I don't feel like they're now

looking out for the safety of everybody. It's like to belittle people of color and especially

African American students.

Another Black student expressed their views of school police and role in defining what behaviors of Black students are criminalized and punishable.

Sometimes the police do not just show up alone, but they come with their gun and they bring the police with the dog to make sure nobody has weed or anything on campus…pretty much every day after school you're going to see a police officer standing at the door or up the street to make sure nobody's about to fight or anything like that. So, they just stand there doing what normal police do, and it's kind of annoying because it's really not that serious. In their minds, they think we are going to keep fighting and they think we are carrying weed.

These students describe how race and space impact the behavior and practices of school police officers, whom one student characterizes as attending to "black" problems–assumed behaviors of fighting or carrying weed–at the expense of the safety of all students within schools. The perceived problems held by school police officers were the result of the negative reputation of the students' bad neighborhood and bad neighbors, as referenced earlier. The comment by the above student about school police officers "think[ing] we are going to keep fighting" is representative of many of the encounters shared by students. While I did ask any student about the charges that were held against them, many students did however share the charges associated with the contact with school police. The most common charge reported by students who had direct contact with school police was battery and public disturbance. These charges were oftentimes for incidents of fighting on or nearby school grounds, which serves as one rationale for the need of "safety" measures on school campus. As one Black student shared, "they hit me

211

with a battery charge all because I choose to defend myself from getting jumped…" Another Black student shared, "I didn't think that I would be ever be charged or have something on my record for fighting….I mean everyone fights, we do it at the same place, and it just so happened that I was the one who got caught..mind you, they didn't find out until after the fight." While fighting do not represent the totality of student charges by LASPD, they played an important role in lives of the students in this study.

As one Black student indicated, "Black kids have a target on their back that goes with us everywhere." Another Black student shared, "we do one thing like fighting or sometimes even just being at the spot where the fight goes now, and its over for us…they don't look at us at the same as before when we walk through them school doors." This target is often driven by a combination of previous behavior, and a host of stereotypes connected to race and space; ultimately affecting the way Black students are perceived and treated in high concentration areas.

"They Police Us in School, and Police Us in our Neighborhoods"

Most Black students in high concentration areas are not only subject to the presence of police in their schools, but also in their neighborhoods. The relationship between their experiences with LAPD in their neighborhoods and LASPD in their schools (and surrounding community) was heavily discussed by the students in the study. A major part of the interviews with students was to clarify when students were discussing policing in schools (with LASPD) and out of school (with the LAPD). I refer to all students' experiences with LAPD as neighborhood policing to differentiate the unique features of these regimes.

The increased surveillance, heavy police presence in urban communities, and the resulting culture of social control that many Black students described demonstrated how

212

neighborhood policing (including school policing) helped shape race and space, serving to maintain *racialized spaces*. Black students described these processes as the number of ways their race in urban, high concentration areas takes on further consequences (apart from their school experiences) because these areas are embedded by a constellation of racialized features (Calmore, 1995 George Lipsitz, 2007*;* Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2004; Herbert, 1997). Like many other Black students residing in high concentration neighborhoods, one student discussed being stopped by their neighborhood police two times, once at the age of 8 and another at 10. On the first occasion, the student was outdoors playing with confetti party poppers (e.g., "TNT pop its") in an urban, high-concentration neighborhood of the South-Central community. The student was surrounded by an army of officers, grabbed by the t-shirt, pinned against a wall, and then questioned. On the second occasion, the student was questioned and later arrested while playing football in the neighborhood park. While roughly 80% (n=96) of all 120 students reported being stopped, questioned, and/or arrested by a school police officer before entering high school, 88% (n=105) students shared being stopped and questioned by LAPD before entering middle school. Roughly 20% (n=17%) reported being arrested by LAPD. These results suggest that many Black students in high concentration areas are exposed to policing in their neighborhoods and in their schools. This compounded punishment poses cumulative consequences for many Black students.

By the time many Black students in high concentration areas are enrolled in middle school, they know a great deal about policing norms and practices in high-concentration areas. Based on their encounters and observations, one student articulated how Black students were "the target" of over policing and normal "patrolling and sweeping." Black students were presumed "gang-affiliated" or violating the law based on suspicion of criminal activity. They

also knew that "certain behavior at certain times and in certain areas of the neighborhood," especially by Black students were "stigmatized by the police [and]…gave a sign or invitation for cops to engage with them in whatever way they wanted." As one student stated, "you just kind of expect it... whether you're sitting on the curb, walking home from school, playing at the park…one on one involvement with the police is a part of living here…and it starts when we're young, I would say when people start to look as us as adults, so like 6 or 7..."

For some students, the reason for these encounters was simple: "it's their way of policing…policing focused on Black kids go together like glue." As a Black student puts it,

It's about race…and we all know it…you can't ignore the fact that the police single out us Black kids for questioning in my neighborhood… "What are you doing over here?" Why are you running from me" "What's in your bag?" It's these types of things that we have to deal with on a daily basis if you're Black in my neighborhood…we can't even move without being policed…I still remember the day when I was seven years old and they surrounded me, it was a lot of [police]…then they grabbed me by my shirt and threw me against a wall...I didn't do anything wrong but run from them…I mean what kid wouldn't run if they see all these police cars coming at you fast.

For other Black students in high concentration areas, the reason for these encounters was much more complex than just race alone.

It's not just about being Black. We know race is a social construct. For me, it's also about being Black and being literally outside in one area of my neighborhood at the wrong time and with the wrong people. It's something about being present in my hood and in this area that make the cops stop us and harass us….it doesn't matter what you're doing or if you're alone or in a group…that's just how policing is for us…especially in my

neighborhood with all of its history, violence, crime and locking up of people. I mean locking us up is the goal and is part of living here. It's something we have to navigate around…seriously I can't even count the number of times that I've been stopped and questioned based on being here or being in its surrounding area. It's too many….

There are deep fears being expressed in this passage in which the criminalization of Black students is only one concern among many. These fears haunt the everyday experiences of Black students and are representative of how policing works in urban, high-concentration neighborhoods to shape both race and space. On one hand, Black students are attached to spaces where the extent and impact of policing practices and norms have been concentrated. The racial demographics of urban, high-concentration neighborhoods, on another hand, shapes differential treatment and disparate exposure to policing practices. These methods of policing are part and parcel of a larger process referred to as the *racialization of space,* which in our case, refers to the demographic composition of the spaces that many Black students inhabit (Lipsitz, 2014). These processes in part explain a horrific cycle that keeps some neighborhoods trapped in a negative loop of concentrated disadvantage (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton, 1983; Johnson, 1985, Carbado, 2004; Capers, 2009; Crawford, 2009; Baas, 2001; Herbert, 1997; Hall, Critcher, Jefferson, Clark, & Roberts, 1970; Sampson, Raudenbush, and Earls, 1997). In particular, a small number of urban spaces have been visible recipients and obvious manifestations of social characteristics such as active discrimination, poverty, unemployment, crime, racial isolation, and high levels of incarceration. As my analysis shows, arrests patterns and disciplinary infractions for Black students are also key characteristics concentrated in urban, high-concentration neighborhoods, particularly in Los Angeles.

Black students are not only subject to the bulk of youth arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD, but they are in a pit of concentrated disadvantage throughout urban segregated neighborhoods and schools that contributes to how policing shapes race and space (Wilson 1987; Massey and Denton, 1983). As one Black student in a high concentration area stated,

> The police in our school just give Black students the feeling that we're going to do something wrong at a point, that we're expected to do something wrong at a point just like how it is back where we live… sometimes they can communicate with students but it's like sometimes they just have that demeanor, like that face like "I'm here for business. Don't do nothing dumb." …and this means something different for the Black, Latinx and white students…Black kids get involved with the police at our school for being Black and being in poverty and also being from poverty places… I know they're going through stuff and it's like they can't just go and say, "I'm going through this right now so that's why I'm doing this." So, it's kind of hard for them…but the support is not there, not from the police, not from teachers, and definitely not from the school…I mean it's there but in other places like focusing on other ways to make our school feel unsafe and jail-like…just look around…there's literally a police station right by our school…they don't care about us, they don't care about our school.

The comments above point to a lived contradiction in the lives of black youth: the student recognizes that Black students in urban, segregated schools and neighborhoods are overpoliced and under-protected. Like the student in the above passage, many others also find themselves in direct path of police contact while at the same time suffering from a host of negative social forces like poverty. Yet, there are limited resources to improve conditions for safety that

surround this path to police contact. Many of the students are all too familiar with the limited distribution of resources to poor, more segregated communities in Los Angeles which has profoundly shaped their well-being, quality of life, and exposure and contact to policing. When asked to describe explanations to their experiences with school policing, one student stated,

> LAUSD's funding is unequal for the schools or it might be equal but it's not equitable and it's like we don't have what we need...why give money to police the poorest and Blackest communities when you can give money to teach us. It does not make sense, or does it?

Similarly, another Black student expressed views about the unequal funding in the district whereby urban communities suffer the devastating consequences.

> What we need is not more school police officers…not police in schools or where we live. We need more counselors, more money, better buildings, cleaner bathrooms, newer textbooks, better classes like the fun and creative one….teachers that want to teach us, staff that care….we as Black students and our schools and communities need love.

> One of the ironies over the past few decades is that while vast financial resources have been allocated to the increasing infrastructure of law enforcement (e.g. officer salaries, and community programs, etc.), the district has been faced with a "multi-billion-dollar structural deficits caused in part by rising pension costs and declining enrollment (it is estimated 100,000 children have left for charter schools" (Noguera, 2018). As researchers have noted, the economic tool faced by the district, in spite of increased law enforcement and security measures, have resulted in an array of consequences facing many schools. Scholars have documented the elimination of key electives such as visual and performing arts courses within urban communities (Sojoyner, 2016). Such disinvestment in urban schools have and will continue to

worsen social and economic conditions in many urban communities of Los Angeles, posing collective, continuing, and cumulative challenges for many Black youth and urban, high concentration communities

"It's All the Same, But Different in So Many Ways"

For many Black students in high concentration areas, the sense that they are not cared about arguably transitions into assumptions that they are not doing well, a set of beliefs fueled by widespread norms and failures to address the way Black students are situated across the wider arena of social inequality. Previous research suggests that racial isolation, or residential segregation–alongside its other concentrated disadvantages–allows these inequalities to be structured based on race and space (Wilson, 1987, Massey, 2001, Lipsitz, 2015). The policies and practices guiding how and what we police perpetuates and reinforces notions of racial and spatial difference, which in turn shape unequal outcomes and experiences in police contact for Black students. One Black student in a high concentration area shared,

> Like I mentioned before with drugs, only really Black kids get in trouble with the police
>
> for it...because they assume that we use it and sell it given where our school is, that is, in
>
> a majority Black and Latino community…The Asians or whites don't and they are the
>
> ones that are selling it the majority of the time in the school. Ditching or sometimes just
>
> walking down the hallway or in the around the school, the Black kids [and] the Latinx
>
> kids. What else? Backpack searches, "You got a sharpie? Oh, we're taking this. Don't
>
> ever bring a sharpie to school," again, the Black kids or the Latinx kids. Fighting, the
>
> Black kids get arrested…dressing a certain way or wearing certain colors, the Black
>
> kids…and I feel like there's certain students that are gang-affiliated or want to be gang

affiliated or police think they are gang-affiliated at our school that they're the main

people that get referred to and in trouble a lot with the police…again, that's the Black

kids, and some Latinx kids but they are from other communities… and I forgot to

mention how Black kids that argue with certain teachers end up getting the police called

on them… sometimes we are just asking questions or other times kids just don't

understand because the teacher ain't really teaching. It's like the administration know like

okay maybe you're the problem because it's only like two teachers, but they are still

quick to call police on us…I wish they were that quick when it came to other more

important things like getting us to college or actually teaching us.

The student carefully differentiates Black students' experiences with police from their racial and

ethnic counterparts. On the one hand, the student confirms and puts into question the social

created norms and stereotypes associated with Black students in urban segregated

neighborhoods. Black students are fundamentally defined based on their associations with

misbehavior, crime, and criminality, or as the student explains is connected to assumptions as

gang-affiliated, as a drug dealer/user, and a larger threat of violence. But on the other hand,

Black students' minor, non-criminal behavior– that are often subjective in their interpretation–

were deemed as worthy of police-involvement. In short, whether minor, non-criminal behavior,

or criminal, Black students are subject to differential treatment by comparison to their non-Black

peers. In the following narrative, a Black student in a high concentration area discusses this

differential treatment with police in schools.

Well, recently there was a fight in my school but it was weird to me because it really

wasn't serious compared to any other fight that I've seen. They had to call the police and

they arrested the girl. So, it's like they kind of blow things out of proportion…as with

most things are when it comes to doing things in our school and neighborhood, but then

again, it's kind of like the normal thing to do to Black kids…and they think they can

show us that if [they] can get arrested, we can too. Later that school year, I got arrested

for the same thing…I got pushed, so I pushed the student back, which was not only

considered a fight, but as the officer told me, "my actions was violent.

This student's statement demonstrates their experiences of "fighting" as a physical act of

violence that was criminalized, despite its minor, non-serious and non-criminal circumstances.

Like many others, the student references the stereotypes and norms about racialized spaces as an

invitation for certain scrutiny by the police. These norms associate a particular type of

misbehavior and criminality by police with both Black students and the spaces they inhabit. The

simple fact is that the vast majority of Black students who are involved with the police in high

concentration areas are not engaged in serious, criminal activity. This aligns with a long line of

research on racial disciplinary infractions that documents how Black boys and girls are often

subject to exclusionary discipline for minor, non-criminal violations of school rules that often

involve a high degree of subjectivity (Skiba et al. 2011; Wun, 2016a, 2018; Crenshaw et al.,

2015; Blake et al., 2011; Smith-Evans & George, 2015; Morris, 2007; Morgan, Salomon,

Plotkin, & Cohen, 2014). In a longitudinal study of nearly one million middle school students by

Fabelo, Thompson, Plotkin, Carmichael, Marchbanks and Booth (2011), researchers found that

Black students were more likely to be disciplined for "discretionary" offenses compared to their

white and Latinx counterparts. As one Black student indicated, "the trouble is being put upon us

by police, by who we are and by where we live...but from the outside looking in it looks like we

are troubled Black kids or troubled Latino kids." In most of the cases, the perceived suspicion

and subsequent disciplinary action is "blown out of proportion" for Black students. These circumstances are especially unique for Black boy and girls in our study.

One of the biggest assumptions and stereotypes described by Black boys was being labeled as a gang member. For many, these traits led to led to a host of consequences with school police. As one Black boy shared, "I go to [Loyola} high school and I guess my school is like located in the 60's- that's like a gang in the area so yeah basically it's like right in the middle of the neighborhood…and I can't count how many times the school police made comments about me and the gang." Another black boy stated: "They think I am gang affiliated before anything else, I guess when you to school or live in a place that is known for gang bangin', bad test scores… it becomes a normal for many of the Black students here to be connected with those things before anything else." A Black boy provided further context regarding these stereotypes, "don't get me wrong, some of the students are gang-affiliated at our school and they're the main people that get in trouble a lot by school police officers for reasons that are appropriate and for reasons that are pure blank unfair and discriminatory." Another Black student shared, "It don't matter what I'm affiliated with or where I'm from or who I'm connected to, but the same stuff gets thrown at me by school police and other staff...stuff like 'you're being a bad student…and why are you setting a bad example for your community?

For Black girls, contact with school police is much different than Black boys, as their experiences are connected both to race and gender, among other features. One Black girl stated,

> I could be doing the exact same thing as a non-person of color is doing, but once I do it I get labeled as aggressive, sassy, or too loud. But a white girl could be smoking her Juul [drugs] in the bathroom.

Many other Black girls described how they "get called in and harassed by the school police more for like tiny things, what you would call as not serious or even an informal misdemeanor….I can even wear my hair a certain way, or be walking with lots of boys, especially Black boys…But with boys it will be like fights, weapons… bigger issues." Another Black girl stated,

> It's funny because the dress code is implemented but there's a point in the year when people no longer care. We're fine with that. We don't really want to wear uniform but what is being dress checked or some of that, what is not considered good is when girls wear like spaghetti straps or shorts. You see that a lot of black girls or like Latina girls, when they wear that, they're like, "You have to go to the dean," or "Go get changed," or "Wear something else." And maybe it's because our body types, maybe it's because we look different because I've seen white girls wear it and they never say anything, so we're just like, "Okay." Oh, and don't let me get started about once we are out of school, police and the teachers give us that look, and gain some type of "after school hours" authority to police us. So yeah again, it doesn't make sense because sure you're like -- whenever we wear it, it's like, "We have a uniform policy." But you never implement it in the first place. But when it comes to a white girl, it's like, 'Who cares?'

These experiences of Black girls connect with the politics of Black girls' multiple marginalized identities, and are connected to a history of slavery, and controlling images of black masculinity and femininity (Collins, 2000, 2005). These controlling images refer to the depictions of Black girls and women as (a) nurturing and sexless (e.g., Mammy or Matriarch); (b) emasculating, overly aggressive, masculine, and strong (e.g. Sapphire); (c) hypersexualized (e.g. Jezebel); and (d) conniving, loud, disobedient, and refusing to work despite bearing children (e.g. The Welfare Queen) (Collins, 2005; Hancock, 2004; Mullings, 1994; Scott, 1982). These controlling images

guide dominant narratives of Black girls, which are part of larger structures of power and control. The resulting social discourse establishes a direct relationship between the surveillance of African American girls and women, the need to control and discipline their behavior, and the policing of black female sexuality (Carby, 1972).

It is important to note that not all Black girls and boys are subject to these norms, stereotypes, and subsequent punishment. Differences also exist for those Black girls and boys who are in "regular courses" versus "AP courses," those with high GPAs versus low GPA, and especially across gender in high concentration areas. One Black student explained that the Black students who are receive the most interactions with school are "the kids who are in the regular courses…mostly Black males or even Latino males..[and] the kids who have low GPA or not like college bound and you know this based on who the counselor chooses to call out of class or get chosen to go on field trips or attend the college little meetings and stuff." As another student puts it,

> The minorities at our school, the Black and Latino students, those are the students who get disciplined by the school police more and they are the same ones that the teacher or the policemen don't care for, both inside and outside the class…who feels like they have been left out of the system and who don't get the help they need…so for them to be arrested or anything else, it just reflects as a parallel to the same friction that you see back in our hood and in South Central.

How school police have contributed to the racialization of space is expressed by the comments from the student. Their comments align with previous research that documents how exclusionary discipline approaches (and other law enforcement practices) are targeted in poor places, and among the most disadvantaged students.

"It's bigger than just the role of school police officers" – A Critique of Reforms

At the root of both Black boys' and girls' experiences with school police in urban neighborhoods of Los Angeles is what almost all the them reference as either failed race-neutral policies, and/or institutional racism towards the most disadvantaged and vulnerable Black youth. As one Black student states, "we got to look at how everybody at the school treats us, from the teachers and staff and how they push us to get suspended or referred and what not, it's something in the water." Another Black student shares,

> I've witnessed and faced the changes within our school, and there's definitely a different feel within our schools and our neighborhoods…but through these changes with restorative justice practices and having conversations about our actions that try to keep us in the class…I shouldn't be forced to interact with law enforcement while I'm learning…and this shouldn't filter into my walks from school to home, or the presence of school police around where I live…mind you, we already have a heavy presence of [LAPD] officers here. I interact with officers on a daily… this is a relationship that I don't want or care for because they are racially biased..[and] it's triggering to me… like it prevents me from being my full self or just doing basic things in life..it's unfair and nowhere we go, we ain't safe…the school police tried to accuse me of something I didn't do while waiting at the bus stop, like bruh can I get home, it's not school hours.

Another Black student adds,

> "I've been here for going on four years now, and I can admit that everything hasn't been bad…like there has been some changes in regards to not getting students second chances and other routes besides being handcuffed or just kicked out a school for some days…but

let me say this, whatever policies that's going on now, they still ain't work…and

whatever policies that went done when I first started as a freshman, they didn't work

either…not for us Black students…you can just write something up and think everything

is going to be on the same page…come to our school and I'll show you how the school

police are doing more than what we need them to do…I don't need a mentor or a fake

ally…just do your job when called upon, and stay out of my everyday business without

following me or asking me questions or even intervening on an issue that doesn't even

need a police involved. It's all a mess given that I want is my degree in hand.

Many Black students discussed discipline policy reforms throughout their schools in LAUSD.

Specifically, the role of police officers and the effectiveness of non-exclusionary disciplinary

policies and practices were explicitly discussed and critiqued. These policies, observed in the

above students' school, appear to align with recent policy reform that limits the role of school

police officers in everyday disciplinary sanctions (LAUSD, 2013, 2014). One of the above

students' also mentions how these reform efforts fail to address the root causes of their

experiences with school police and larger exclusionary discipline disparities. Another Black

student states, "restorative discipline and school police don't go together, and all the changes

that I see are good but it's for show, like fake progress, it's fake news." Understanding the root-

causes of students' daily experiences and interactions with school police requires a focus on the

complex ways their race and space interact with not only individual social interactions, but also

larger structural conditions embedded within policies. As one student describes,

And I do think it is a part of something larger, like a hidden meaning behind what they

are doing… I'm not just saying that all schools or all officers or all communities or

something like that, but I think that, some officers are trying to like abuse their power and

use it amongst certain people or minorities because they might have racial prejudice or something like that toward aspects of race and identity and people culture and upbringing that is beyond their control.

Another student states,

Black students get treated differently and we experience it differently too….so any plans to address these differences should be different from the rest of the student body. Having a conversation about my behavior or even setting up a plan on what can be done differently works for some people…also the fact that school police just walks around and talks with kids also works for some…but when it comes to my experience here it's all contradictory. These so-called policies need to focus on what actually go through on the daily basis which these policies are actually contributing to…the fact that many of us are stuck in areas that have historically not had money, been punished, and blamed, and filled with so much violence, it's surprising that no one has created "real" programs to address these issues. Instead, we suffer from these add-on type strategies that try to fix us as the "problem" which to me is action for trying to change who I am…blackness and the fact that we are from Black neighborhoods, when really the problem are these large things that we have to go through daily, which we all know is racism within the teachers, the police, the curriculum, the fixes in district, and all the policies that never really touch me and my peer…those that look like me and those that live where I do.

These larger structural factors describe by the above students points to the decades of research that describe racial inequality as "institutionalized," through structural and systemic processes that inflict disparate racial consequences (Bonilla-Silva 1997; Feagin 2000; Ture and Hamilton 1967; Caldone, 1995; powell, 2007; Emirbayer and Desmond 2015; Jung 2015). As student's

consistently made connections between school policing and the host of disadvantages occurring in their urban neighborhood and schools, these patterns of inequality can be tied to the way racism operates within the larger society, or "the racial ideology of a racialized social system" (Bonilla-Silva 2010, p. 218). One student discusses these processes "racist officers who are part of a racism system that is dominated by racism…I mean Black youth have always been on wrong side of the history of our country…that why we have to write our own." Although not all students were able to recognize that a definition of racism that focuses on individual animus (Allport, 1954), many students articulated the larger structures guiding school policing. This reality reflects the central role of race in influencing the operation of meso-level institutions (e.g. schools and police departments), that influence how laws, policies, and practices are implemented.

The application of *institutional racism* to a study of discipline policy reform and school policing in urban, high concentration neighborhoods makes it possible to analyze institutional processes and conditions that not only circumscribe certain communities (Jackson 1985; Massey and Denton 1993), but also perpetuate and maintain racial disparities in school policing. Also important is the maintenance of other "harmful ecological environment" conditions or "institutionalized forms of resource deprivation"(i.e., school funding, curriculum) as many of the students pointed out (Sewell, 2016). In the words of Devon Carbado (2004), "the more economically and politically powerless a community, the greater that community's vulnerability to law enforcement contact" and exposure to criminal justice mechanisms (p. 13; Lerman and Weaver, 2014). In the succeeding section, I describe how these features shape Black students' responses to school policing.

The Protective Role of Social Justice Community Involvement: Black Students' Responses to Policing in High Concentration Areas

How do Black students who reside in high concentration areas of arrests and disciplinary infractions by LASPD respond to school policing? To what extent does community-based, social justice program involvement relate to Black students' responses to school policing? An essential theme shared by Black students in high concentration areas was the important role of community-based, social justice involvement on their responses to school policing. The aim of this section is to identify some of the individual and programmatic mechanisms through which community-based, social justice involvement fosters adaptive responses to school policing. In particular, I was interested in knowing if there were differences across and within more and less-exposed Black students in high concentration areas. A more-exposed student is defined as being actively involved in a community-based organization for at least two years of programming, whereas a less-exposed student requires involvement of just one year. My final sample included 51% (n=61) more-exposed students and 42% (n=50) less-exposed students. A total of 7% (n=9) of students did not mention years of community-based, social justice involvement during their interviews. Key characteristics of more-exposed and low-exposed students are presented in Figures 35 and 36, which show 1) the percentage of more-exposed and less-exposed Black students according to community-based, social justice involvement (Figure 35), and 2) the proportion of more-exposed and less-exposed Black students who are involved in community-based, social justice programs (Figure 36).

Figure 35

Percentage of more-exposed and less-exposed Black students according to community-based,

social justice involvement
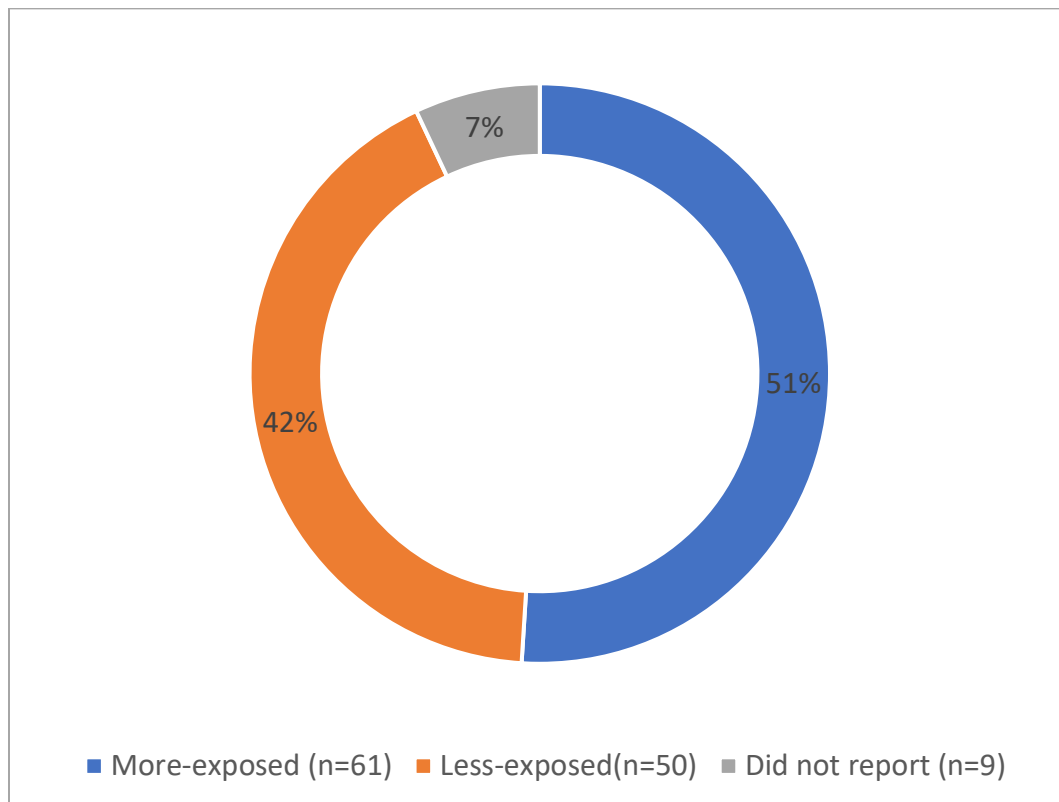
Note. Because students in this study were recruited from two community-based, social justice organizations, I focus

on their involvement within these organizations: Black Scholars Alliance and Youth4JusticeLA.

Figure 36

Proportion of more-exposed and less-exposed Black students who are involved in community-based, social justice programs
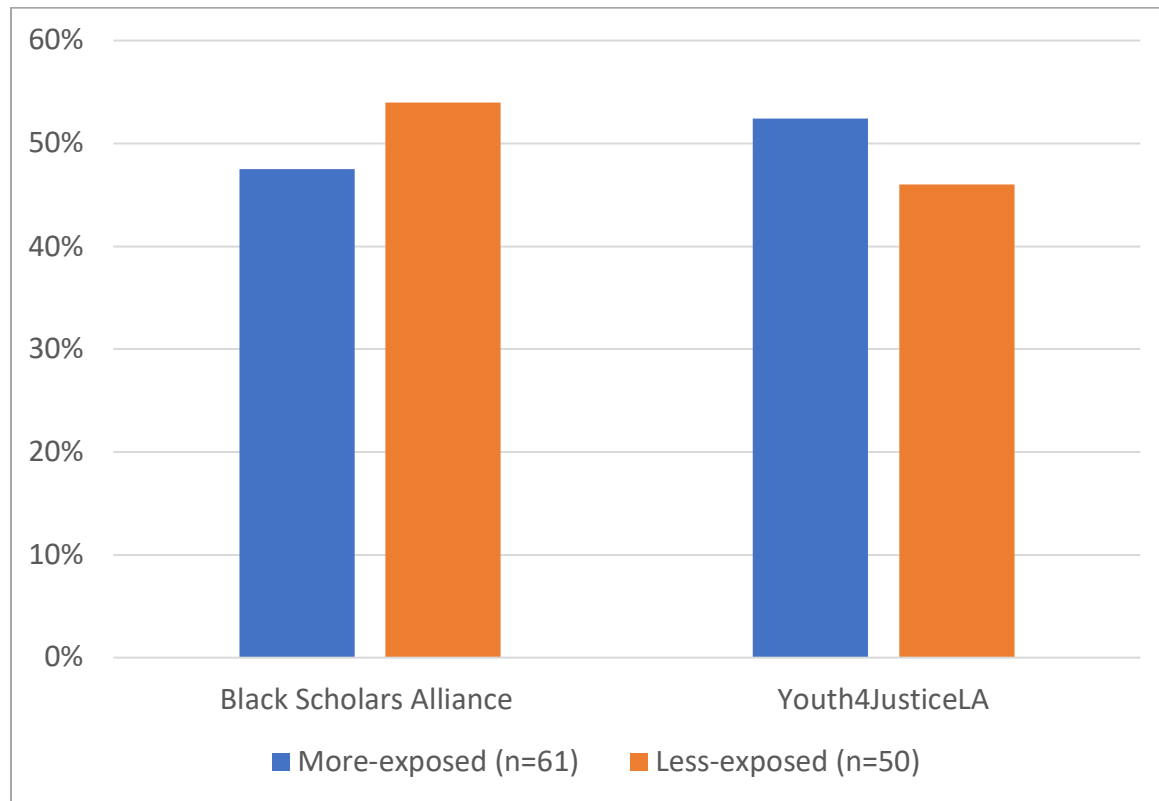
Note. The 9 students who did not report the duration of their community-based, social justice involvement is not reported.

In general, the qualitative analysis confirmed my hypothesis that Black students in high concentrated areas were engaged in different processes of responding to school policing across involvement levels (i.e., more and less-exposed). As a result, these responses were facilitated by students' racial identity, critical consciousness, and academic engagement meanings. As described below, there are distinct variations in the responses to school policing across more and less-exposed students, suggesting the important role of community-based, social justice

involvement for bolstering important cultural knowledge and tools that interact to promote healthy functioning and academic engagement.

Descriptive Patterns

The responses to school policing reflect Black students' community-based, social justice program involvement. (Table 22 shows the percentage distribution of students' responses to school policing according to more-exposed and less-exposed program involvement.) For more-exposed Black students, the most common responses to school policing are careful situational assessments and resigned acceptance. Careful situational assessments for more-exposed students provides an opportunity for students to critically identify the underlying root causes of their contact with school police, often identifying an array of structural and interpersonal factors. These assessments determine students' social action, which is a common theme among the vast majority of more-exposed Black students. In resigned acceptance situations, more-exposed Black students accept their school police contact without any other response listed in Table 22. Part of the rationale behind this is that many more-exposed Black students believe that they cannot change their experiences with school police due to larger historical, structural, and cultural forces connected to race and geographical place.

For low-exposed students, the most common response to school policing are resigned acceptance and verbal retort. In resigned acceptance situations, the majority of low-exposed students accept their school police contact. However, unlike more-exposed students, they recognize that they cannot change these experiences with little to no knowledge about the underlying causes besides interpersonal biases and discrimination. In the second most common response, verbal retorts and lectures about the cause of their school police contact are more likely

among low-exposed Black students. The depth of Black students' responses to school policing, and the number of ways in which they cope with these encounters, are described in the succeeding section.

Table 23

Percentage Distribution of Black Students' Responses to School Policing by Community-Based, Social Justice Program Involvement

	Community-Based, Social Justice Program Involvement	
Response to School Policing	More-Exposed	Low-Exposed
Careful Situational Assessments	57% (35)	12% (6)
Resigned acceptance	20% (12)	38% (19)
Withdrawal/exit	11% (7)	2% (1)
Verbal retort	8% (5)	36% (18)
Physical counterattack	2% (1)	8% (4)
Response unclear	2% (1)	4% (2)
Total	100%	100%
Number of responses	61	50

More-exposed Students: A Structural Perspective to School Policing

There were distinct ways more-exposed Black students conceptualized their responses to school policing and the important role of community-based, social justice involvement. In the following narrative, a more-exposed student in a high concentration neighborhood describes,

> I don't like really know how to handle it...like there's no one right way in how I handle racial discrimination and school policing...I kind of brush it off cause like I had the kind of mentality during my earlier high school years to react to everyday racial interaction until recently where it wasn't negatively affecting me so I really didn't care as much as I should have. For me, my day-to-day at school means not talking to teachers and like avoiding staff who I know don't treat students in the right way or just don't mess with me because of what I wear, how I talk, where I'm from, my race, and every stereotype that you can think of…and also the school police officer at my school…put it this way, if you work hard enough, get the grades, stay committed to your activities, and play your cards right in the school by navigating these relationships that are most of the times based on deficits about us, you'll make progress, excel and might even get into your top college…

This student's statement demonstrates their efforts to navigate school policing. It reflects their desire to avoid the consequences associated with discrimination in order to succeed academically and become competitively eligible for admission into a top college or university. This academic self-efficacy and agency behavior towards college was consistent among 70% (n=63) of more-exposed students. Another student describes,

> Because at the end of the day there's only so much like you can do but just like get through it. I'm like that's what I do. It's like keep it pushing, academically and on the social level. You just keep going and like living through these like experiences is giving

me like confidence. Because I know my capabilities and I know who I am and so that just

gives me the strength to just keep moving...our history tells us that many marginalized

and people of color were used to facing these biases and unequal mindset about how

others viewed them...and guess what? They persevered and created opportunities like

[Youth4JusticeLA] for us to combat these problems, learn about ourselves, and help us

like excel in whatever domain and persevere...all through its social justice focus in all

that it offers, from community organizing, workshops…to mentorship.

Moreover, this student clearly values the programmatic features of community-based, social

justice organizations, and links it to variations in responses to school policing. Having been

involved in Youth4JusticeLA for more than 2+ years, this student has a clear understanding of

the relationship between the curriculum of community-based social justice organizations, its

application to their real-world experiences, and opportunities to persevere through school

policing in pursuit of success.

Another more-exposed student highlighted the important role of the Black Scholars on

their academic journey:

with all of the school policing that I've experienced and witnessed, you know, and other

biased and discriminatory stuff that I had to deal with here…and from teachers and other

staff, I feel like that is better preparing me and protected me for when I get to college

because I know where I'm going have to possibly experience when I get to college and I

now I know to handle it better with me actually coming to both summer programs of

[Black Scholars Alliance].

Similarly, another student adds by saying:

I don't let it phase me because at the end of the day I know myself and my people better

because of [Black Scholars Alliance], I know what I want to be and what I want to

accomplish. Right. And I know what I'm up for when I reach college... I'm just gonna

keep on going through college like I did high school…I feel prepared and I am much like

a stronger person.

This protective mechanism of Black Scholars Alliance and Youth4JusticeLA led to the vast

majority of more-exposed students to reap an array of benefits from their involvement. These

benefits included increased knowledge about Black history, and asserting and affirming the

legitimacy of their intellect, academic success, and everyday realities of school policing and

racial discrimination in their schools and communities. Below, a more-exposed student discusses

their change in beliefs about the relationship between their identity and academic engagement.

This process proved critical to students' development and growth during their community-based,

social justice involvement.

with the knowledge that I have now after this past summer experience, I would have

approached my experiences with racial discrimination and school police a little

differently...back then, like my motto was just to prove them, the naysayers, wrong…by

getting a good grade in the class or like pass the tests, like the AP test that's, what I did.

But like if something happened, like being stopped and questioned by an officer or even a

racial interaction with my teacher that could lead them to calling the police on me…I

would look at myself and where I had come from...you know me being low-income or me

being Black and all the negative things that came with that. I would think I was wrong.

Maybe "I should have not been there" or "hung out with those people" or "said what I

said in that tone" or "wore that item of clothing." Now I see the larger problem, and it's

not me. It's not my race. It's not where I'm from, and it's not even the people that inflict

oppression on me and people that look like me. I know there are like larger structural

things at play that guide personal experiences with the police in my schools.

This student, among many others, describes a protective process of community-based, social

justice involvement that benefits them from holding positive beliefs about their own identity.

Also important is not placing the blame on individual and cultural failure and on correction or

"fixing" of the behavior of Black students, but on larger structural forces that undergird

discrimination according to race. Roughly 90% (n=55) of more-exposed students attributed the

assessment of school policing as not only racialized, but as part of a larger structural problem

associated with their blackness, gender, and assumptions about their social class status. This

systemic or structural explanation behind students' experiences with school policing is attached

to a unique set of responses of activism and collective social action at the school and community

levels.

"Being Unapologetically Black"

Where more-exposed students drew on their structural knowledge about school policing,

they also gained further information through their school and community involvement that

fought against these larger barriers. As one more-exposed student explains,

Um, it's really frustrating sometimes and you can easily get caught up just being angry.

But ways that I've taken action against my experiences with school policing was

informing my peers on what's going on and how they could resist it and know their rights.

And I do this through various programs and clubs in my school that has a large black

body of students. Sometimes I attend PTA meetings to directly talk to teachers with my parents sitting there. The list goes on.

Another student describes,

Our school banned durags and many of my peers, including myself, experienced so many encounters with police and teachers that were very racial... And we as a black community, knowing that this was an attack of our racial identities and culture, we really protested that and we had a bunch of meetings with the principal and the school board and our principal's black and most of our teachers are black, most of our counselors are also black actually. But um, you know, there's some oppressors look like you, and maybe have the wrong stereotypes and ideas about the meaning of attitude of other cultural pieces..so for us it was about protesting the larger problem and that's the simple fact that... um, a black person can't peacefully walk around or study in their comfortable attire without being policed because anything we do or wear is criminalized due to its attachment to everything negative and based on where we come from... they'd tell them to take it off, but let a white person wear a durag, who is probably not even capable of growing waves, but you know, they won't even be told anything. Just walk around with it all day because that's happened multiple times. So we pushed for people to address their not only racial biases, but many discussions about how our school was a reflection of certain norms that did not have positive benefits for many black students

These two students' experiences demonstrate the importance and application of the cultural knowledge and tools embedded in community-based, social justice involvement. One of the more-exposed students was knowledgeable about how "larger structural problems" guided their everyday school experiences. Also important was more-exposed students' position to take action.

This included mobilizing their community to engage in critical discussions about underlying root causes that are shaping the inequalities facing many Black students. This action is reflective of the sociopolitical development and critical cultural consciousness to which the more-exposed students had access to as a part of their community-based, social justice involvement.

For roughly 92% (n=56) of more-exposed students, collective social action (e.g., activism and community involvement) surrounding school policing and various forms of racial discrimination was a central theme. Addressing these topics of injustices in schools were also important motivating factors for their success, whether that was college-going behavior and aspirations or simply graduating high school.

Another central theme from more-exposed students was educating others. About 84% (n=47) of the 62 students who engaged in collective action also mentioned how:

> my participation in raising awareness about the things we go through as Black students at my school and in the surrounding community, especially by the school police, is so much bigger than me...yet it is our responsibility to show and inform everybody about all the ways that the system is designed against us...and yet still we prevail as not just Black success stories but simply success stories, bringing with us all the oppressions we had to navigate to get to this point…

This relationship between collective action and educating others is connected to more-exposed students' reports of what I call critical cultural consciousness meanings. This measure includes a set of five programmatic features of community-based, social justice involvement, all of which were present in the student interviews: a) knowledge and awareness of Black history, (b) makes identity central, (c) promotes systemic social change, (d) encourages collective action, and (e) acknowledges and analyzes power in social relationships. The specific items that made up the

subscales of these five categories are listed in Appendix C. Students received a score of either 0 (category not checked, or never mentioned during an interview), or 1 (category checked, or student mentioned once or several times during an interview) for each item on this measure. All neutral responses were not included. A score was derived for each of the critical cultural consciousness categories by calculating the mean score of the items that made up each category. Thus, students received a score between 0 or 1 for each of the critical cultural consciousness categories, with a higher score indicating the programmatic outcomes from students' community-based, social justice involvement, and the potential role on their connection to responses to school policing. (Figure 37 shows the mean proportion of more-exposed and less-exposed students who endorsed each category of critical cultural consciousness meanings).

The responses to the critical cultural consciousness meaning measure are not ranked in any order, as each item is critical to constellation of cultural knowledge and tools that interact to promote healthy functioning of students (i.e., responses to school policing) of students. As shown in Figure 37, more-exposed students most often endorsed identity central, (99%) and social change (94%). On the other hand, less-exposed students most often endorsed Black history (84%) and identity central (81%). In other words, greater involvement in community-based, social justice involvement appears to be connected to positive racial identity development and social action, which fuels students' critical responses to school policing. This also appears to positively shape more-exposed students' academic engagement. .

Figure 37

Mean proportion of more-exposed and less-exposed Black students endorsing the five critical

cultural consciousness meanings
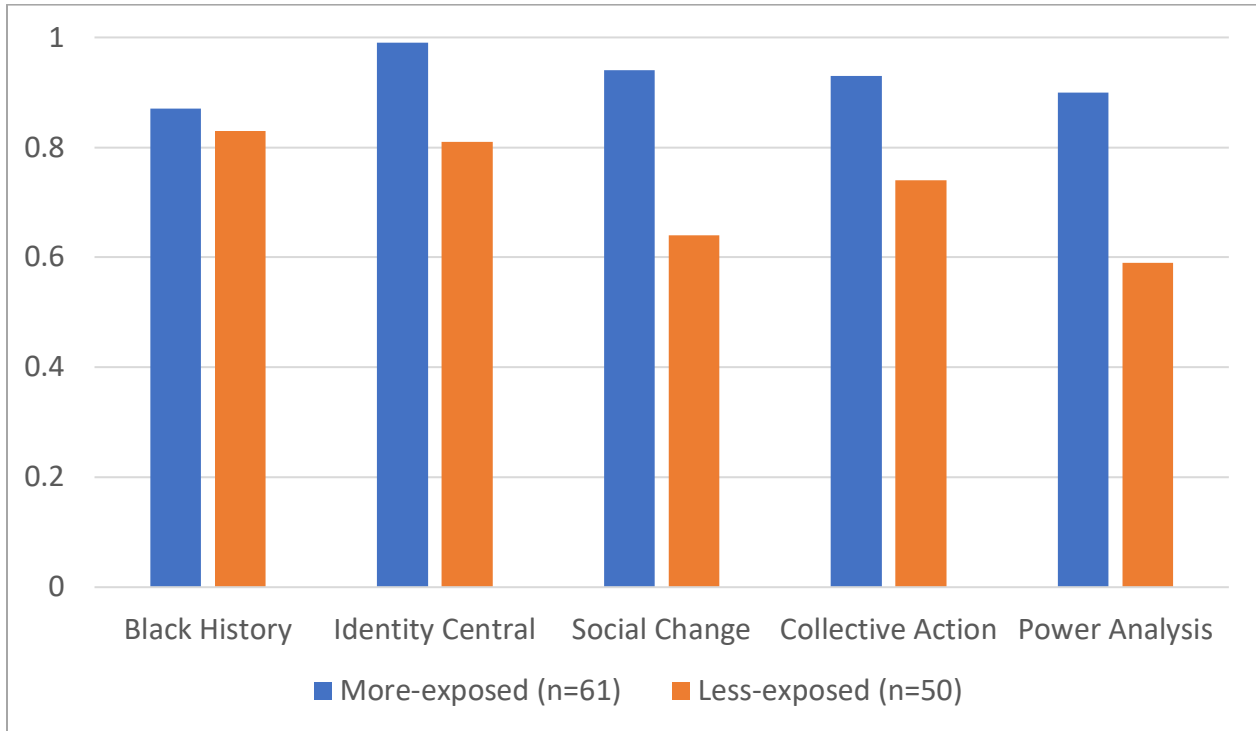
It is important to note that more-exposed are not completely shielded from the

consequences associated with school policing. A more-exposed student describes the process of

navigating around its potential academic effects.

> Though I see these discriminatory acts differently than before, I must say that they do
>
> impact some things like who I am able to ask for help or write a letter of recommendation
>
> for when preparing to apply to college or other summer opportunities and even
>
> scholarships... The work I do is to protect my success, like so it won't rely on these
>
> broken and tainted relationships from what I have to go through..I mean every
>
> experience, the handcuffing incident to the random searches [with school police] that has
>
> happened had some harm to me in some type of way, the teachers or staff or school

police who basically are part of the system that is racially bias...luckily I have [Black Scholars Alliance] to make up this void...I established relationships with faculty and instructors and staff who have seen my full worth and academic abilities..oh and affirmed my Blackness in positive ways over these past years...so me carrying on with my life, my pre college life is my way of affirming myself and knowing that I have a backbone to progress forward.

In sum, interviews with more-exposed students supported my hypothesis that community-based, social justice program involvement can facilitate the responses to school policing. This was a result of distinct cultural knowledge and related tools that are accumulated over 2+ years of community-based, social justice program involvement. Specifically, these tools include critical cultural consciousness meanings that work to promote critical responses to school policing and increase academic engagement. In other words, these findings suggest that increased community-based, social justice program involvement with Black students in high concentration areas may serve as a protective mechanism to the negative effects associated with school policing, while also creating a culture of racial identity development and critical cultural consciousness that encourages academic engagement.

Race, Gender, and the Important Role of Community Involvement on Academic Engagement with Low-exposed Students

Despite differences in school policing responses by low and more-exposed students, both groups highlight the invaluable role that community-based, social justice program involvement has played on their racial identity development, critical cultural consciousness, and responses to school policing. For example, one low-exposed Black girl describes,

I mean don't be wrong, the doubts I have about myself to some degree impacts my day to day but luckily a select few of us get approvals and affirmation and a life-long toolbox from [Black Scholars Alliance] that who we are is good enough in this world...and that there's a healthy way of navigating racial discrimination, among others circumstances...I'm a work in progress, on a journey to see beyond this mindset and for me, it's like double the work because racial experiences are different than those of Black boys... as a Black girl, you see we experience discrimination cause of our race and the fact that I'm a female and how our behavior and body are overly criticized and surveilled when we don't fit into the stereotype box of these identities...There are so many levels to this, to my doubts...I'm still learning more and more about myself and how we are treated.

This student highlights the interaction of race and gender in responding to school policing. Similar to the above students, many other low-exposed Black girls demonstrate a level of reflection about their identity development and critical cultural consciousness meanings as a result of community-based, social justice program involvement. Although these experiences among low-exposed students capture the unique experiences of Black girls who are subject to school policing experiences, they also show how race and gender shapes their responses. This was documented in the 93% (n= 33) of the interviews with low-exposed Black girls. In fact, Black girls were able to navigate around some of the consequences associated with school policing through a process of de-emphasizing their racial identity. Also important was availing the important role of their gender identity. As one low-exposed Black girl notes, "the discrimination and policing in schools we as girls face is harsh, it's not the same as any other student group...and many of us don't understand why... but when I look at it beyond my race

which could be one explanation to the oppression, and see my experiences through me being a black girl, I feel like I have to fight against much more stereotypes and prove others wrong not just one level but on two…"

The critical knowledge from community-based, social justice involvement about the unique history and schooling experiences (e.g., policing) faced by many low-exposed Black girls provided them with what one student referred to as a reflection towards understanding their "girl power" and "Black girl magic." This knowledge facilitated more positive academic engagement behavior among low-exposed Black girls, compared to low-exposed boys. For instance, one low-exposed Black girl notes,

> For me personally, I've made a path for myself and I have found a supportive community within my school. So, I have essentially separated myself from any administrator or educator that attempts to push a negative image of myself onto me...I feel that even though I have somewhat internalized negative views of myself, simply because of the continued discrimination that attempts to demoralize me. I feel empowered because at the same time I'm learning about myself, my identities—my unique identities— and how they play out, so I feel that I am incredibly capable of pushing through, graduating, going to college and incredibly capable of gathering the right resources.

Similarly, another low-exposed Black girl adds,

> I get to embrace the beauty and power of being a black girl, in the midst of it all, the police policing my school in the way that they do...it kind of made me want to strive harder to prove them wrong, um, because I know that that is deficit thinking that they have of my culture, of black people and black girls...it just makes me want to succeed more that way when they see me in a position of power, they can really have nothing to

say. Well, they can have something to say, but it really won't matter towards what I'm doing because of my connectedness to who I am and what I'm able to aspire to be and accomplish. I would like to prove the stereotypes that they have and biases that they hold wrong because at the end of the day, I just don't want to show them that black people and black girls can't succeed. Like even though we have so many restraints and, um, we are oppressed, like we still can succeed. But it's showing our strength without giving too much attention to society's expectations or meeting their needs...and strength is what we have as Black girls, what these experiences have given us...I'm already thinking about building relationships with the key people here at school who will help get me where I want to be next, and thinking about how to get other students involved around social justice work related to my experiences.

Whereas many low-exposed Black girls were able to pull together efforts that supported positive academic engagement, there was no mentioning among low-exposed Black boys about positive academic engagement. The majority of low-exposed Black boys pointed to the academic harms of school policing. In other words, direct and indirect experiences with school policing posed negative consequences to their ability to perform and build social ties towards success. As one low-exposed Black boy mentioned, "It's hard to think of anything beyond my day to day experiences because the racial tension that is here is a given...I'm worried my experiences from last week….the fight and later arrest…. will affect if the teachers' level of patience to not kick me out by doing something minor." The pattern of "just hanging on day by day" persisted among low-exposed Black boys, making their response to school policing as simply preemptively expecting and preparing for future punishment.

On the other hand, by virtue of Black girls' processes of identity development, particularly what appeared as motivation from their multiple marginalized identities, they distinctly responded to school policing differently than their low-exposed Black boy counterparts. For both girls and boys, they drew on their racial identities in different ways to cope and respond to school policing. The difference here is that community-based, social justice program involvement helped low-exposed Black boys prepare for school policing and its associated harms to their academic engagement; whereas Black girls recognized the importance of negotiating their identities and critical cultural consciousness meanings for more engaging in more positive academic behavior. The combination of hypervisibility of their multiple marginalized identities, tied to their adaptive behavior to defy stereotypes, facilitates a different kind of response to school policing among low-exposed Black girls.

When comparing low-exposed and more-exposed students' responses to school policing, I found that more-exposed students were able to articulate more knowledge of root causes (i.e.., structural forces) underlying school policing and engage in more social action at the school and community levels. The more-exposed students also possessed a commitment to educating others about aspects of structural racism and policy changes. As mentioned, there was a level of heightened confidence among more-exposed students that made them feel comfortable leading social and community engagement, which included mobilizing students, school personnel, and community members about the racialized nature of Black students' schooling experiences.

These efforts were connected to more-exposed students' positive academic behavior. This ultimately served to motivative the vast majority of more-exposed students to aspire and take the steps towards applying and enrolling in college. This was a path to gain further education and continue social change efforts among more-exposed students. One explanation to

these efforts is the programmatic features of community-based, social-justice programs, namely the two connected to this study. Although I highlight five features under critical cultural consciousness meanings, there are a host of other features that aided more-exposed students' responses to school policing. However, the result is the same: more-exposed students had been equipped— by university faculty, community organizers, and through personal experiences— to see and respond to aspects of racial oppression as a product of larger structural forces underlying inequalities at the school and neighborhood levels. They were also provided with the space to increase their racial identity development and critical cultural consciousness meanings.

When more-exposed students activated their knowledge and resources, less-exposed students benefited from their responses to school policing. In other words, more-exposed students encouraged their peers, including less-exposed students, who also sought to address school policing and other injustices facing Black students. Moreover, more-exposed students and low-exposed Black girls were able to safeguard themselves from the negative academic consequences associated with school policing. That is, although these experiences were indirectly and directly felt, school policing did not hold much power from before (i.e., when they were a low-exposed student with less community-based, social justice involvement). Many more-exposed students and low-exposed Black girls tapped into the broader array of responses that positively reaffirmed their identities, and positive academic behavior. In contrast, the low-exposed students appeared to place less emphasis on academic engagement. However, it is important to note that this approach to school policing did not mean that low-exposed suffered academic consequences, but simply that their approach to school policing was different than more-exposed students. For many low-exposed students, they could not help but to "prove others wrong" by overcompensating. Also important was their reflections of feeling helpless, prior to

their community-based, social justice involvement, in navigating the terrain of school policing and college preparation.

In sum, greater community-based, social justice involvement (and the various resources associated with it) leads to not only increased racial identity development and critical cultural consciousness meanings, but also more critical responses to school policing. These responses point to larger structural conditions connected to high concentration neighborhoods. They are also connected to students' psychological well-being and positive academic behavior. The goal of these findings is not to argue that all Black students of the same more or less-exposed group are categorized according to these relationships, but rather to illustrate how variation in community-based, social justice involvement plays out in the lives of Black students in high concentration areas. I link these variations to the unique programmatic features and social justice context of the two community-based organizations that guides Black students' responses to school policing. These responses play an important role in thinking about recommendations and concrete solutions to discipline policy reform and school policing for school reformers and practitioners. These solutions emerged from collaborative roundtable discussions with students, families, and community members, which I will discuss in next sections.

7

DISCUSSION

The enormous human costs of school policing to Black students and to high concentration areas of Los Angeles is undeniable. Those students and the small number of neighborhoods across Los Angeles face enormous obstacles that no past discipline policy reform, namely efforts related to school policing, seems to have achieved addressing the underlying root causes of these disparities. This dissertation offers an analysis of race, space, school policing that seeks to revive the promise of Los Angeles as a place of safety, and educational and social upward mobility. My analysis suggests contention within the efficacy of Los Angeles' disciplinary policy reform, framing a contest that takes place not just across a racial divide, but literally across the modernization of urban space. This lens not only offers 1) an important and thoroughly historicized understanding of the relationship between structural conditions and processes in the political economy that have contributed to greater inequality among Black students and a few urban communities of South-Central Los Angeles, and 2) the failure of school policing policies to adjust to these processes. Also important is challenging the standard narrative that marginalizes instead of emphasizing Black students' experiences and responses to school policing. In my understandable zeal to document how Los Angeles disciplinary policies concretely produce highly geographically segmented and racially polarized outcomes in school policing arrests and disciplinary infractions, it is too often overlooked that Black students coped

and responded to schooling policing and its interrelated features of urban decline and decay, and fashioned politics and social action (e.g., how they fought back, survived , and made community) with the ambition of making their schools and neighborhoods safer places of educational and social mobility.

What I have done in this dissertation is highlight these narratives together, arguing the importance of viewing contemporary features of school policing in Los Angeles as connected to larger processes referred to as the *racialization of space* and the *spatialization of race* that plague the larger society (Calmore, 1995; Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2016; Liptsiz, 2007, 2011). These features give social meaning to the spatial dimensions of school policing policies and practices attached to Black students, and the embedded racial dimensions of these policies and practices attached to the spaces that Black students inhabit. Such an approach magnifies the power and depth of school policing as a primary terrain of historical and structural processes according to race and place; ultimately disproportionately shaping the treatment of many Black students (and also other racial marginalized groups), and a small number of communities (Anderson, 1990; Carbado, 2004; Hall et al., 1978; Johnson, 1985). As my dissertation argues, if we are to gain a better understanding of the complexities underlying school policing disparities, policy and practice needs to adequately address the ways in which race and geographical place intersect to influence disparities (i.e., arrest patterns and disciplinary infractions) in American neighborhoods and schools.

While the answer to this inquiry is not singular or a straight-forward one, there appears to be emerging consensus of the gap in evidence on the efficacy of LASPD's policies. Specifically, there is little critical examination of the genesis of these policies, of whose interests they serve, of their social implications, or of their meanings for students and communities. Importantly, the

249

racial and spatial inequalities in school policing that I document here are not guaranteed.

Structural conditions and processes in the political economy that have contributed to greater

inequality among Black students and urban communities is shaped by the social forces and

structures of power in cities (Lipman 2002). These features allow space for human self-activity

and agency to reshape not only school policing relations, but also policies (Lipman 2002;

Pretecelle, 1990).

From my knowledge, recent LASPD policies have gained prominence among

policymakers and practitioners at all levels of the school system, operating out of a shared belief

that the policies will improve school safety and reduce school policing disparities. This shared

belief is bolstered by language of restorative-justice and implied resoluteness of LASPD's

policies. For example, a recent LASPD (2014) report detailing the roles and responsibilities of

school police officers' states,

> As a general guideline, police officers do not respond to routine school discipline matters
>
> unless there is an immediate nexus to student and or staff safety. Where possible, LASPD
>
> officers should strive to support opportunities for students to receive effective mentorship,
>
> learn from their mistakes, and to promote fair and proportionate responses to student
>
> behavior that maximize the student's continued engagement in the educational setting….The
>
> LASPD is committed to work in partnership with the District, student and parent groups,
>
> community organizations, and additional stakeholders to continue to meet the goals and
>
> objectives of the SCBOR by identifying best practices for positive student outcomes related
>
> to school-based interactions with campus law enforcement officers. To that end, we will
>
> continue to review data on campus-based enforcement practices to further enhance positive
>
> student outcomes…The goal of officers assigned to LAUSD campuses is to respond to
>
> matters pertaining to school safety, not to enforce school discipline or punish students. These

guidelines are intended to prevent the use of citations and arrests where possible, for minor

offenses of the law that would more appropriately be handled by school administration.

These offenses of the law will be referred to school-site interventions to promote a reasonable

and graduated response to positive student outcomes (p. 2).

Racial disproportionality and unequal school police-student contact are more likely to

persist and be maintained if there are not clearer roles and responsibilities of school police

officers. As previous research suggests, police officers often have enormous discretion in

enforcements methods, and their decisions are also often unreviewable (Carbado, 2016). While I

do not know if this is the case with school policing, but if it is, the fact multi-faceted role and

responsibilities of officers makes their decision-making even more difficult. As the LASPD

(2014) report states,

> If the criminal offense requires mandatory notification to law enforcement, but does not rise
>
> to the level of a serious and immediate threat to school safety, it may, at the discretion of the
>
> officer, and based on the totality of the offense, be referred back to school administration or
>
> designated school official for resolution (p. 2)

Also important is the subjectivity and race-neutral nature of LASPD policies and practices. If

policies state that LASPD "will continue to review data on campus-based enforcement practices

to further enhance positive student outcomes," then there should be information about what

previous data has revealed about the school policing outcomes. This information should include

and address the persistent high rates and disproportionalities facing Black students in Los

Angeles.

As research suggests, explicitly acknowledging race, racism, its perceived influence on

punishment can lead to improved outcomes when tied to actual policy reform and practice

(Carter et al., 2014; Howard, 2010). Despite changes to LASPD's policies throughout LAUSD,

my analysis serves to legitimate the current state of school policing that operates in opposition of actual policy, which limits the role of law enforcement from being responsible for daily disciplinary interventions with students to handling serious safety issues only (U.S. Departments of Justice and Education, 2016; LAUSD, 2013, 2014). This ultimately helps to develop the city as a concentrated expression of school policing inequalities (and its associated consequences) according to race and geographical place.

In an effort to examine the efficacy of LASPD's policies and practices, I have investigated the spatial concentration of school policing outcomes, the possibility that a host of socio-economic disadvantages is implicated in this concentration, and Black students' experiences and responses to such inequality in urban, high concentration neighborhoods throughout Los Angeles. The story of school policing in Los Angeles explored here reveals several critical issues related to previous research and contemporary policies and practices.

First, my work complements the structural racism's theoretical argument and proposes a modified framework for thinking about the relationship between discipline policy reform and school policing inequalities according to race to space. Discipline policy reform, with respect to school policing, needs to be understood expansively as a system or set of historical relationships. As descried by students, an example of these relationships aligns with literature on "relational racisms" (Goldberg, 2009). As Wilson (1976) notes, relational racisms give "rise to normative prescriptions designed to prevent the subordinate racial group from equal participation in associations or procedures that are stable, organized, and systemized" (p. 34). Many Black students described how these school policing reform efforts fail to address the underlying root causes that are driving their unequal and harsher contact with school police officers. Understanding these root causes requires a focus on the ways their race and space interact with

not only individual social interactions, but also larger historical and structural conditions embedded within policies.

These features arise through institutions of society's "acts, decisions, or policies which: (a) occur at the community level through the operation of established and respected forces in society, and (b) . . . rely on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices" (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967, pp. 4–5). When such an analysis is combined with the notion of the racial state – a political system historically rooted in the racial project of White supremacy– individual animus and race neutral policies can be seen in a new light (Golash-Boza 2016, p. 131; Ray, 2019; Sewell, 2016). As research suggests, the arrangement and consequences of institutional racialization processes occurring at macro- and micro-levels, or in "large-scale and small-scale ways," (Omi and Winant 2015, p. 111) are carried out at the meso-level to reinforce, challenge, and retain racial hierarchies and orders. My findings reveal the stark neighborhood, or meso-level, inequalities of school policing according to race, gender, and social class. These inequalities are evidenced not only by LASPD student data, but also the stories shared by Black students in high concentration areas.

Recent school policing reforms suffer from race and class reductionism fueled by decades of zero tolerance laws and stricter disciplinary actions. In this case, race and class reductionism refers to failure to address and resolve which structures of racial and spatial inequalities that have been interwoven with political, economic, and cultural hierarchies and social institutions. Research has shown that these school policing policies and practices have served, and continue to serve, as attacks on poor (namely Black) students and poor (namely Black) neighborhoods. Reform has been reduced in these efforts to an increased presence of law enforcement— throughout many schools and assigned to patrol their surrounding communities—that often

involve everyday encounters with police officers. These encounters can lead down two pathways: 1) mentorship and knowledge sharing from school police officers' role as safety experts, educators, liaisons to community resources, or 2) formal infractions in the form of a citation, arrest, or even the direct transportation into the criminal justice system (Finn et al., 2005; LASPD, 2014a; Kupchik, 2010)). Ironically, the burden of school policing encounters in Los Angeles not only falls on Black students, but also is concentrated throughout a few urban neighborhoods where the majority of the city's African American population resides. Historically, the school policing infrastructure that emerged after the unanimous 1954 Brown decision included patrolling school campuses for property protection (Brown, 2006; French-Marcelin and Hinger, 2017; The Labor/Community Strategy Center Archives), and later to control future violence, crime, and student protests (Advancement Project et al., 2018). These features of school policing profoundly shaped the poor neighborhoods, and many poor students in Los Angeles (Sojoyner, 2016, 2017).

Specifically, neighborhoods with the largest concentrations of school policing are places with the highest percentages of African Americans, concentrated poverty, racial/ethnic segregation, and low levels of education and income (Delmelle, 2019; Measure of America, 2017). In fact, the percentage of Black residents in these neighborhoods are some of the highest in the city: ranging from 28.1% to 79.6% (Los Angeles Times, 2019). These high concentration neighborhoods are also subject to the disproportionate concentration of LAPD youth arrests. The analysis here suggests that school policing is very tightly connected with a host of policing and socioeconomic disadvantage in urban, high-concentrated areas (Wilson, 1987). Research refers these areas as "high-poverty black neighborhoods" (Delmelle, 2019). These results are consistent with a long line of work arguing that spatial clustering of "concentrated disadvantage"

exacerbates features of discipline and punishment (Baas, 2001; Capers, 2009; Carbado, 2004; Crawford, 2009; Hall et al., 1970; Herbert, 1997; Johnson, 1985; Massey and Denton, 1983; Sampson et al., 1997; Wilson 1987). What I appear to observe, then, is mutually reinforcing social processes of race and geographical space: "poor people and poor places" work together to influence school policing disparities, among many other policing and socioeconomic disadvantages in urban areas.

Once we engage a broader, more historical view of the shape of the current-day school policing regime, several developments become clear. One example is the long struggle for racial equity in educational opportunity facing Black students represents an engagement with and challenge to the deep racial inequalities built into discipline policy reform, school policing, and the political protest behind it. Grassroots and community efforts throughout Los Angeles, and other cities, pushed against long-standing discrimination and segregation; demanded educational equity culturally-relevant curriculums and schools; and most recently, for disciplinary reform efforts that adopted suspension bans, programs that train educators on restorative justice practices, and clarified role of school police officers (Sojoyner, 2016; Hashim et al., 2018). All of these efforts were either direct responses to the disproportionate outcomes facing Black students, or calls for shifts in the framing of equitable educational opportunity across neighborhoods in Los Angeles.

It is understandable that historical attention has focused on the evolution of disciplinary policies and that research has concentrated on the extent to which Black students have been disproportionately affected by school policing outcomes. However, in doing so literature has undertheorized and understudied an entire dimension of the Black students' struggle for racial equity–it's complex, long-term engagement with the structural racism and the expression of

racial inequalities in local urban neighborhoods across Los Angeles. For instance, one cannot

ignore the criminalization of subjective student behavior, and arrests and citations for minor,

noncriminal infractions of school rules in Los Angeles, and across the United States (Platt, 1977;

Thompson, 2010; Hinton, 2016; Nanda, 2011). My findings reveal that these student behaviors

are disproportionately punished for charges related to public disturbance, evading or resisting

arrests, and trespassing. Research connects these charges to a long history of criminalizing poor

people and poor places. Researchers also refer to these processes as reactive broken windows

policing, or order maintenance policing, which emphasizes on the enforcement of punitive

practices on low-level, non-serious infractions to preserve public order and deter more serious

crimes (Carbado, 2016; Nolan, 2011). This rhetoric can be found in LASPD's description of

officer's roles and responsibilities,

> Where possible, LASPD officers should strive to support opportunities for students to receive
>
> effective mentorship, learn from their mistakes, and to promote fair and proportionate
>
> responses to student behavior that maximize the student's continued engagement in the
>
> educational setting…. If the criminal offense requires mandatory notification to law
>
> enforcement, but does not rise to the level of a serious and immediate threat to school safety,
>
> it may, at the discretion of the officer, and based on the totality of the offense, be referred
>
> back to school administration or designated school official for resolution. (pp. 1 and 2).

The questions of what deems as a "serious and immediate threat to school safety" and which

students are likely to be "referred back to school administration or designated school official for

resolution" are important for contemporary school policing practices. Also important are what

student behavior are perceived as "mistakes" and likely to receive mentorship and other non-punitive

methods by school police officers. All these questions emphasize the need to move away from race-

neutral policies, which not been connected to positive outcomes facing Black students. In the end,

256

the history of school policing in Los Angeles represents one of the most sustained racial and spatially-inflected contests within the education of Black students.

An additional development is clear as well. The importance of an urban political economy and structural framework for the study of school policing. This is especially the case when examining the concentrated nature of school policing as well as Black students' disproportionate experiences with school policing. Such frameworks help to situate and explain students' shifts in ideology, responses, and strategy within larger structural forces underlying the current-day policy regime. For example, the failure of restorative justice practices may explain policy shifts towards clarifying school police officers' roles with students. The failure of school police officers' clarified role may explain the shift to Black students' social action and community engagement as both practical and ideological solutions. Moreover, the geographically concentrated nature of student arrests and disciplinary infractions in local urban communities–all under disciplinary reform efforts–helps to explain the popular conception that these neighborhoods constitute an internal colony within the American economy. In general, the persistence high number and disproportionalities in school policing disparities for Black students and the failure to lift impoverished neighborhoods out of concentrated deprivation helps to explain the Black students' adoption of survival strategies and liberation politics in these high concentration areas. The findings presented in this dissertation emphasizes the important role of community-based, social justice programs for bolstering important cultural knowledge and tools that interact to promote critical responses to school policing, healthy functioning, and positive academic engagement. Previous literature on school policing, or exclusionary discipline more broadly, does not fully explain the extent and manner of the human costs associated with school policing, namely the relationship between human self-activity/agency and inequalities that are

interwoven with larger structural conditions and the political economy. This context is far more important than researchers have to date suggested to not only the evolution of school policing in Los Angeles, but also current-day approaches to measure the efficacy of such policies and practices. Further research on these dimensions is needed, and attention to understand how these developments shapes spaces that have presumptively and disproportionately enforced policing to Black students in segregated, non-minority, predominantly white, and undergoing gentrification spaces (Carbado, 2016; Rausch and Skiba, 2004).

The second critical issue has to do with how school policing reform in Los Angeles is represented and conceived in previous literature, as well as by actual school police officers and within the national imagination. Dominant constructions of the developments of school policing from the 1940s to present are two-fold, divided by either explicitly or implicating treating the recent efforts as a retreat from those efforts advanced at the onset of its developments. On one hand, the rise of school policing emanates from domestic social policies and programs beginning as early as the 1940s that focused on addressing youth behavior as a means to manage, rather than ameliorate, the underlying social, political, and economic circumstances that undergird manifestations of crime and violence in many of the urban communities where youth resided (Anderson, 1990; Hinton, 2015; Massey and Denton, 1983; Wilson, 1987). However, on the other hand, the rapid wave of reform over the past decade represents a period focused on equity and limited school police-student contact to restructure school policing policies and practices away from those enforced in earlier decades. According to this interpretation, the restorative turn of school police officers in Los Angeles led to a downward trend of arrests and disciplinary infractions for all racial and ethnic groups, and claims of improvements in school safety. While this evidence might conjure up potential evidence of progress, which is not entirely inaccurate,

this dominant interpretation of recent reform efforts is one seriously misleading. One cannot ignore the persistent high rates of and disproportionalities of arrests and disciplinary infractions among Black students. Perhaps one of the most significant ironies over the past decade is that a rapid wave of school policing policy reform succeeded very limited evidence on its efficacy and social implications to reduce policing disparities for Black students. Also important is the geographically concentrated nature of student arrests and disciplinary infractions in urban neighborhoods across Los Angeles. One reason why this dominant agenda has prevailed may be due to how the city's political regime, including the district and actual school police force, have shaped the public conversation about school policing. By framing current policies in language focused on all students, and labeling any criticism an endorsement of the LASPD's uptake of diversions as part of a restorative justice agenda, very little research has provided a counter discourse. These policies have instead imposed a definition of safety for many Black students and across many urban neighborhoods, and provided clarity to the disconnect between policies and practices. As researcher suggests, these policies are part of a dominant political coalition that determines social relations, or in other words: "state their capacity to recognize social problems, impose their legitimate definition and solutions, which will in turn contribute to structuring the way people, as well as other economic and political actors, think of those problems and define their actions (Preteceille, 1990; p. 45; Lipman, 2002; Ozga, 2000). This insight analyzes the structural conditions and political economy of school policing policies in Los Angeles by stressing the "political," rather than the "economy." My argument is not just that race and space may explain features in school policing politics, or even that race and space are important for every dimension of school policing. Rather, the internal dynamics of school policing political coalitions, and their interactions with other aspects of the day-to-day responsibilities and

259

presence of school police officers (i.e., how they think about "the problem," and define their every action), is so important that the question of how does discipline policy reform interact with race and space should always be part of school policing investigations.

Los Angeles helps us see the weaknesses of understanding school policing strictly in terms of a national and district-wide narrative. Part of this narrative documents how school policing officers help to increase school safety so that students are in positions to learn. In an interview with many LASPD leadership, one school police officer said, "teachers are not going to stop someone who brings a knife to school, or an outsider who comes on campus…and they shouldn't…we help to ensure that teachers can do what they do so that we can do what we do…we wear the hat of trying to resolve the issue" In this sense, school police officers are front line enforcers of discipline and punishment. As research has documented, school police officers also serve as mentors and life coaches to students (LASPD, 2014a; Finn et al., 2005; Kupchik, 2010). These roles ultimately aid in opportunities for school police officers to build familiarity and trust with students to improve safety in the school and surrounding communities. However, such a narrative is incomplete. In Los Angeles, school police officers have been engaged in everyday interactions with students to not only develop trust and build relationships, but also gather details about student incidents through informal mentoring, life-coaching, and community events (LASPD, 2014a). On one hand, these efforts have also supported students from engaging in potential misbehavior and addressing individual behavioral. A school police officer described several programming across elementary, middle, and high schools, including but not limited to: Ready and Able for Middle School (RAMS) Mentoring Program, Anger Management Program for Students (AMPS), mental health evaluation partnership, Building Blue Bridges summit to improve school police relationships with Black and Brown students, etc. Relevant to

the high concentration neighborhood focus of this study, a school police officer shared how they are mentoring a high school student on why they need to come to school. Another officer described a story about being an accountability partner with a student who they decided not to arrest, by "asking them to show me their grades…"

On the other hand, school police officers' roles have not changed since recent policy changes in Los Angeles, and in fact, have relied on what one school police officer described as "high level of discretion" to engage in forms of racialized and spatialized practices to initiate and enforce contact with students. This ultimately undermines their limited role with students for handling serious safety issues only (U.S. Departments of Justice and Education, 2016; LAUSD, 2013, 2014). In an interview with many LASPD leadership, one officer stated, "the posture of LASPD has not changed….there has been no significant shifts in the way we conduct policing on campuses….however, options have changed that have allowed us to refer students to engage in restorative justice practices and non-punitive alternatives for minor acts…" The blending of these practices often facilities placing the locus of blame on the student, on race or cultural failure, and on correction or "fixing" of the behavior of students (Sojoyner, 2017; pp. 61, 123-126). A school police officer stated the following when talking about a Black student with a history of school policing interactions: "you need to go to jail because I know you and know what you need." Another school police shared a similar sentiment, "We know the kids who are prone to trouble." To end this topic of conversation, a school police officer in leadership confirmed these statements, "he knows the kids so well." The high discretion in school police officers' roles allows them to preemptively punish students and justify such punitive treatment. Recent research by Rios et al., (2020) describes these processes as mano suave- mano dura, whereby officers regularly state a goal of interacting with individuals to build community and

261

trust, "the mano suave;" while also engaging in crime prevention practices through punitive measures, "the mano dura ." This dissertation work complements Rios et al. (2020) findings that reveals the limits of community policing programs aimed at improving relations with racialized communities. My findings add importance knowledge about the role of school policing as another model that uses punitive and courtesy police practices. My work speaks to Black students and high concentration neighborhoods in Los Angeles, the racially and spatially criminalized populations by which the school policing infrastructure are governed in modern society by both care and punishment. Future research is needed to examined the role multiple roles of school police officers and the impact on an array of student and neighborhood outcomes.

What is needed is a framework that emphasizes the interplay of race, space, ideology, and strategy. It is clear that the structural conditions and local political economies with their cultural, political, and structural constraints presented unique and specific versions of school policing. The school policing infrastructure emerged within these structural and local contexts present at the neighborhood level across Los Angeles. Policymakers responded to both the obstacles and opportunities of those neighborhood conditions. Certainly, there were local strategies of how-to police different neighborhoods. For instance, the creation of the LASPD Diversion Referral program, "a 'non-punitive' alternative method to the arrest and citation of LAUSD students, between the ages of 13 through 17, who may have committed one or more of the eight identified minor law violations on school grounds or when a student is going to or coming from school to home" (LASPD, 2014b). Initiatives such as the LASPD Diversion Referral program, in addition to the day-to-day school policing, carry striking differences from neighborhood to neighborhood.

In this effort, I have investigated the spatial concentration of school policing outcomes, and the possibility that a host of socio-economic disadvantages is implicated in this

concentration. In this case, Black students' experiences and responses to such inequality in urban, high concentration neighborhoods in Los Angeles were largely matters of local opportunities and barriers within highly differentiated urban political economies. In the end, my intention is to argue that we need to pay more attention to how school policing interacts with race and space, but also to specific political ideologies and their relationship to practical discipline policy reform and political strategies.

I hope this dissertation lends itself to discussions about discipline policy reform in Los Angeles, namely school policing, that don't consider race, space, and structural racism. We possess an extensive vocabulary to describe the features of modernization of urban space in Los Angeles: the racialization and deindustrialization of neighborhoods, urban decline, the increasing carceral state, the weakening of the working-class consciousness, and the politic racial orders in reform. That these processes disproportionately victimize African Americans in Los Angeles more than any other racial/ethnic group has been established. But there is a pressing need to move beyond the trope of the black ghetto and the paradigm of crisis. Rather, it is important to focus on the structural factors and solutions under which racial and spatial inequalities persist throughout the changing landscape of neighborhoods. Also important is to acknowledging how Black students and neighborhoods respond–in creative, productive, and at times at even halting and unsuccessful ways–to these conditions and associated changes to the political economy brought on by the rapid wave of reform and the host of decision-making driving policy changes. Only then can we get better grasp of how contemporary school policing have become an important fixture of both public education and urban neighborhoods today.

)

8

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH, POLICY, AND PRACTICE

In this effort, I have investigated the spatial concentration of school policing outcomes, the possibility that a host of socio-economic disadvantages is implicated in this concentration, and Black students' experiences and responses to such inequality in urban, high concentration neighborhoods in Los Angeles. I offer four implications from these findings. First, institutional racism underwrites the harmful meso-level consequences of school policing in urban neighborhoods, as codified in the racist relational structures of school police officers (Sewell, 2016). These biases, in the forms of prejudice and discrimination, reflect and perpetuate differential treatment according to the racial attributes of Black youth and urban neighborhoods (Goldberg, 2009). While I do not assume there is a reciprocal interaction, or feedback loop, between the racist relational structures and the negative neighborhood-level consequences of school policing, I suggest that the processes act as clustering mechanisms that tie many urban Black youth to disadvantaged urban neighborhoods (Massey and Denton 1993; Sewell, 2016). As Wilson (1976) states, relational racisms give "rise to normative prescriptions designed to prevent the subordinate racial group from equal participation in associations or procedures that are stable, organized, and systemized" (p. 34).

Accordingly, the second implication of this research article concerns the impact of racist relational structures on Black students' experiences with school policing in urban communities.

First, if racist relational structures tie many urban Black youth to disadvantaged urban neighborhoods, they will shape the concentrated nature of school policing in urban neighborhoods (alongside the arrangements of other disadvantages) and disproportionately produce the number of students who come into contact with school police. After all, recent data indicates little change in school arrest and disciplinary infractions, in places with the largest concentrations of black students and the highest rates of exclusionary discipline (Skiba, 2015; Steinberg & Lacoe, 2017a; Welsh & Little, 2018). In fact, despite the wave of discipline policy reform and the changes to school policing, our data show that Black students continue to be overrepresented in school arrest and disciplinary infractions in both urban, high-poverty neighborhoods (with a high percentage of African Americans) and predominantly white, and undergoing gentrification neighborhoods. While further testing is needed to discuss this relationship, our descriptive statistics help explain the high degree of stability and the structural dilemma of urban, high concentrated neighborhoods. Beset with such punishment, many of the Black youth attached to these neighborhoods face frequent negative encounters with school police and additional burdens in how they navigate and engage these punitive educational and neighborhood contexts. Unless the district adopts additional discipline policy reform that takes seriously the structural conditions underlying disparities, my evidence suggests that school policing will continue to produce spatial inequalities and consequences according to race.

The third implication is connected to the important role of community-based, social justice program involvement with Black students in high concentrated areas of Los Angeles. My findings suggest that such involvement serves as a protective mechanism against the impact and responses to school policing, which can have powerful implications for educators and school-university-community partnership program development. This work may also support

implications for future research in attaining a richer understanding of the complex relationship between the racial identity development, academic engagement, and responses to school policing (or other disciplinary or perceived discriminatory encounters in the schooling context).

The key lesson for research and practice is that Black students in high concentration areas benefit from their community-based, social justice program involvement. The duration of such involvement facilitates the cultural knowledge and tools that interact to promote healthy functioning (e.g., preparation for and responses to various forms of schooling). Also important are the extended benefits to Black students' racial identity development and academic engagement. Though these relationships are less evident among low-exposed students who have less community-based, social justice involvement, programs that yields increased critical cultural consciousness meaning seems difficult to criticize. This is especially the case when these outcomes are connected to academic engagement in the context of the low number of diversion programs being offered to those students who come into contact with school police. Also important is the context of schools where there are not enough school personnel to help students (namely those who come into direct contact with school police) transition back to into school, or enough school counselors and other college-support staff to help students become competitively eligible for admission into the top colleges and universities across the country.

Indeed, any effort to adopt such a program similar or beyond the scale of Black Scholars Alliance and Youth4JusticeLA would require the appropriate logistical, staffing, and social justice curriculum features to ensure that the academic and social benefits are met for students. Also important is the university-community-school component of the programs, which engages families, key school stakeholders, and community organizations in the process of preparing students to become competitively eligible for admission to flagship universities. This research

also points to the important nature of offering Black students with not only deep learning opportunities around issues such as school policing, but also opportunities to develop a sense of racial identity development and critical cultural consciousness. Given this, reform efforts to scale beyond Black Scholars Alliance and Youth4JusticeLA might consider expanding involvement with students before high school. This is especially relevant in the school policing context, given that 1) school police officers are present at elementary and middle schools, 2) recent research shows that one and four of those arrested by LASPD were elementary-or middle school-aged (Allen et al., 2018), and 3) the host of mentoring and community programming with school policers and elementary students. My hope is that the information presented in this article provides researchers, practitioners, and policymakers with the knowledge and tools that are useful to understand how a social justice framework and holistic approach to Black students' schooling experiences shape educational opportunity and life chances worldwide.

The fourth and final implication concerns the implementation of alternative policy initiatives from students who directly and indirectly experience the impact of school policing in urban, high concentration neighborhoods (Caraballo et al., 2017; Gutiérrez, 2008; Paris & Winn, 2014). Although historically waged between and among policy makers, researchers, and practitioners, a substantial body of action-based research has shown the positive influence of centering youth voices in education debates to improve schools (Caraballo et al., 2017; Morrell, 2004; Steinberg, 1996; Valenzuela, 1999), often with a particular focus on school reform (Kelly, 1993; Noguera, 2007) and education policy (Bertrand & Ford, 2015). Engaging students as experts and researchers in dialogues concerning schools, discipline policy reform, and the present and future of urban education (Morrell, 2004), I argue, can help to shape school policing policies and practices so that they reinforce the importance of learning and safety rather than the

fundamental operating logic of criminalization and punishment (Gilmore, 2007; Hinton, 2015; Meiners 2007; Nolan 2011; Sojoyner 2017; Thompson, 2010; Sojoyner, 2016; Winn, 2011; Wun, 2016; Vaught, 2017). An essential feature of including students in discussions and decision-making to improve schools is that " they occur regularly and that adults respond respectfully to what they hear…[and that] these conversations not be limited to students who have been hand-picked by adults… even if it means including students who are not models of ideal student conduct" (Noguera, p. 210, 2007). The collaborative, dialogical, and joint research activities waged by scholars and students honors their emic understandings of their communities, their schools, and their struggles and strengths.

Accordingly, this dissertation led to two roundtable sessions of solutions about school policing. These roundtables included: 1) a group of roughly 27 Black Scholars Alliance students, 25 families, and three staff members, and 2) a group of 10 Youth4JusticeLA students and two staff members. Together, students, families, staff members, and myself had a hand in creating the following proposed alternative policies and practices to school policing in high concentrated areas. These recommendations and solutions build on previous literature documenting students' steps to improving school discipline, policing, and safety (Noguera, 2009; The Labor/Community Strategy Center, 2013).

- LASPD should be held accountable for standing by the recent reform efforts as outlined in the School Climate Bill of Rights of 2013 that changed their role to handling serious safety issues instead of daily disciplinary interventions with students. For example, opportunities can be provided for students, parents, and/or community members to observe school police officers during school and non-school hours, and on and off school grounds. Such efforts can take the form of a school policing version of LAPD's

Neighborhood Watch Program, which will enlist the active participation of students, parents, and/or community members– in cooperation with law enforcement–to reduce racial and spatial disparities throughout the City. Monthly updates can be provided to the local schools and the LAUSD Board of Education.

- Require school police officers to wear body cameras to hold them accountable to any discretionary decisions and actions against students. Create a committee of diverse students, parents, and community members to review footage and report findings to district officials.

- Revise restorative justice practices to include repairing relationships for not only students who engage in misbehavior, but also school police, teachers, and other school personnel who implicitly assume that students are engaging in misbehavior. Audit and create restorative justice training for school police, teachers, and other school personnel to ensure deficit notions about Black students (and other marginalized groups) and their communities are being challenged. These efforts serve to question the appropriateness of school policing practices for Black students, which can lead to adopting more proactive responses to misbehavior. Such responses should be inclusive to all not only Black students (according to race, gender, sexual orientation, income, etc.), but also all neighborhoods

- Build community with students and neighborhoods by engaging in less community programming and more culturally relevant training to not only understand but address the social and economic conditions of impacting urban neighborhoods and the students who reside in them. The training should also acknowledge biases and assumptions about

students and neighborhoods. These biases and assumptions should be reviewed and evaluated quarterly to ensure these attitudes and beliefs are not affecting their action

- For every school police officer (410 sworn police officers and 135 non-sworn school safety officers and support staff in school buildings), ensure that there are just as many, if not more, school counselors and other resource-based school personnel. These changes would require reform that grant changes to budgets and the city's priorities.

- Require financial investment in the social landscape of urban, high concentration communities prior to any additional increases in LASPD's $53 million budget, or other related-policing and security measures as a means of strengthening school safety for students and teachers

- Implement a working community with students, teachers, parents, community members, school police officers, and other district-wide stakeholders to create long-term initiatives that address the consequences of racial/ethnic segregation, gentrification, concentrated poverty, low levels of education and income, etc.

- Limit the role of school officers to detain, arrests, and cite students (particularly for minor, non-criminal infractions), and instead rely on diversions to provide students with the necessary community-based services and resources to address the underlying root-causes of behavior.

- End all LASPD arrests for elementary and middle school students. Also, revise protocols to ensure that arrests and citations are not allowed for minor, non-serious behavioral infractions. Instead, students should always be offered the diversion process in lieu of an arrest or citation for such infractions. Examples include: disturbance and/or disruption;

truancy, loitering, fighting and/or physical conduct not involving serious bodily harm, verbal disruption, etc.

To some, a vague and nuanced vision for school policing is not realistic. In Los Angeles, this is especially the case as discipline policy reform embodies social, political, and economic interests that facilitates very different prospects and challenges of school policing (and its associated socioeconomic disadvantages) for Black students. Also important is the neighborhood arrangements of concentrated student arrests and disciplinary infractions. If Los Angeles and other school districts are to create a purposeful education, rooted in safety and learning, then they will need to turn away from school policing policies and practices that produce inequitable outcomes for Black students and across urban neighborhoods. Policies must explicitly address the importance of race and space as critical sources for the transmission of inequality. This yields new possibilities for treating the education and safety of Black students as a subject of urgency that should concern us all. If true racial equity exists for students, it is critical that we examine the efficacy of disciplinary reform at the intersection of race and place, and its intended goals for building positive, safe and inclusive school and neighborhood climates.

The limited scholarship to adequately address the intersection of race and space has been all too much a part of the failure of policies and their larger political and economic regimes to adequately address race and space in and across two of our country's most important institutions–schools and neighborhoods. That is why this gap is one that this dissertation has particular desire, and a special duty, to not only address, but rectify. We owe it to many Black students and urban neighborhoods across Los Angeles (and the many other cities) who have been

subject to the disproportionate arrests and disciplinary infractions, in the name of school

policing.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A
CURRENT PROVISIONS OF THE GUN-FREE SCHOOLS ACT

TITLE 20. EDUCATION
CHAPTER 70. STRENGTHENING AND IMPROVEMENT OF ELEMENTARY AND
SECONDARY
SCHOOLS
21ST CENTURY SCHOOLS
SAFE AND DRUG-FREE SCHOOLS AND COMMUNITIES
GUN POSSESSION

20 USCS § 7151 (2005)

§ 7151. Gun-free requirements
(a) Short title. This subpart [this section] may be cited as the "Gun-Free Schools Act".

(b) Requirements.
 (1) In general. Each State receiving Federal funds under any title of this Act [20 USCS §§ 6301 et seq.] shall have in effect a State law requiring local educational agencies to expel from school for a period of not less than 1 year a student who is determined to have brought a firearm to a school, or to have possessed a firearm at a school, under the jurisdiction of local educational agencies in that State, except that such State law shall allow the chief administering officer of a local educational agency to modify such expulsion requirement for a student on a case-by-case basis if such modification is in writing.
 (2) Construction. Nothing in this subpart [this section] shall be construed to prevent a State from allowing a local educational agency that has expelled a student from such a student's regular school setting from providing educational services to such student in an alternative setting.
 (3) Definition. For the purpose of this section, the term "firearm" has the same meaning given such term in section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code.

(c) Special rule. The provisions of this section shall be construed in a manner consistent with the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act [20 USCS §§ 1400 et seq.].

(d) Report to State. Each local educational agency requesting assistance from the State educational agency that is to be provided from funds made available to the State under any title of this Act [20 USCS §§ 6301 et seq.] shall provide to the State, in the application requesting such assistance--
 (1) an assurance that such local educational agency is in compliance with the State law required by subsection (b); and
 (2) a description of the circumstances surrounding any expulsions imposed under the State law required by subsection (b), including--

(A) the name of the school concerned;
(B) the number of students expelled from such school; and
(C) the type of firearms concerned.

(e) Reporting. Each State shall report the information described in subsection (d) to the Secretary on an annual basis.

(f) Definition. For the purpose of subsection (d), the term "school" means any setting that is under the control and supervision of the local educational agency for the purpose of student activities approved and authorized by the local educational agency.

(g) Exception. Nothing in this section shall apply to a firearm that is lawfully stored inside a locked vehicle on school property, or if it is for activities approved and authorized by the local educational agency and the local educational agency adopts appropriate safeguards to ensure student safety.

(h) Policy regarding criminal justice system referral.
 (1) In general. No funds shall be made available under any title of this Act [20 USCS §§ 6301 et seq.] to any local educational agency unless such agency has a policy requiring referral to the criminal justice or juvenile delinquency system of any student who brings a firearm or weapon to a school served by such agency.
 (2) Definition. For the purpose of this subsection, the term "school" has the same meaning given to such term by section 921(a) of title 18, United States Code.

Taken from Lexis-Nexus Academic (2006). United States Code Service.

U.S. And Statewide School Data of Schools with Police, Number and Percentage Of Arrests, and Number and Percentage of Referrals to Law Enforcement

Location	Total Student Enrollment	Percentage of Schools with Police	Number of Arrests*	Percentage of Arrests*	Number of Referrals	Percentage of Referrals
Alabama	738,773	45.899%	978	0.132%	2,174	0.294%
Alaska	129,232	22.016%	54	0.042%	539	0.417%
Arizona	1,101,791	18.263%	1,204	0.109%	4,566	0.414%
Arkansas	481,361	47.368%	557	0.116%	1,191	0.247%
California	6,252,490	17.827%	9,501	0.152%	22,628	0.362%
Colorado	879,529	22.568%	462	0.053%	6,275	0.713%
Connecticut	546,780	21.108%	1,990	0.364%	2,791	0.510%
Delaware	132,585	30.000%	134	0.101%	1,529	1.153%
Florida	2,720,743	47.773%	1,768	0.065%	16,747	0.616%
Georgia	1,735,891	38.990%	4,847	0.279%	6,530	0.376%
Hawaii	186,893	0.000%	769	0.411%	18,331	9.808%
Idaho	289,611	35.185%	114	0.039%	1,195	0.413%
Illinois	2,039,708	14.728%	4,640	0.227%	10,072	0.494%
Indiana	1,026,167	34.611%	2,063	0.201%	3,774	0.368%
Iowa	500,095	15.915%	744	0.149%	2,091	0.418%
Kansas	492,766	26.696%	3,452	0.701%	2,362	0.479%
Kentucky	685,999	35.653%	444	0.065%	818	0.119%
Louisiana	710,248	32.212%	852	0.120%	1,553	0.219%
Maine	175,259	19.089%	33	0.019%	698	0.398%
Maryland	882,334	33.404%	1,911	0.217%	3,308	0.375%
Massachusetts	949,053	31.687%	982	0.103%	2,031	0.214%
Michigan	1,568,911	16.571%	566	0.036%	3,995	0.255%
Minnesota	857,390	22.614%	1,302	0.152%	5,358	0.625%
Mississippi	494,297	48.171%	1,016	0.206%	1,897	0.384%
Missouri	903,854	37.623%	1,506	0.167%	4,322	0.478%
Montana	145,139	18.861%	226	0.156%	1,010	0.696%
Nebraska	306,864	12.989%	346	0.113%	1,874	0.611%
Nevada	453,380	10.648%	1,602	0.353%	937	0.207%
New Hampshire	187,269	28.898%	290	0.155%	1,201	0.641%
New Jersey	1,336,112	19.658%	946	0.071%	3,243	0.243%
New Mexico	338,093	13.279%	306	0.091%	2,064	0.610%
New York	2,733,087	45.171%	875	0.032%	7,773	0.284%
North Carolina	1,530,939	55.383%	239	0.016%	4,090	0.267%
North Dakota	104,393	18.527%	148	0.142%	484	0.464%
Ohio	1,767,544	24.965%	1,628	0.092%	2,709	0.153%
Oklahoma	685,922	30.377%	879	0.128%	2,641	0.385%

State						
Oregon	566,607	25.116%	468	0.083%	1,341	0.237%
Pennsylvania	1,742,477	21.389%	5,161	0.296%	13,293	0.763%
Rhode Island	140,870	24.315%	182	0.129%	455	0.323%
South Carolina	747,053	55.429%	1,956	0.262%	3,163	0.423%
South Dakota	135,257	26.068%	274	0.203%	909	0.672%
Tennessee	989,317	54.459%	1,219	0.123%	2,754	0.278%
Texas	5,176,574	27.574%	7,399	0.143%	16,151	0.312%
United States	49,959,586	28.993%	69,782	0.140%	222,541	0.445%
Utah	631,496	40.182%	299	0.047%	2,383	0.377%
Vermont	84,206	19.281%	60	0.071%	330	0.392%
Virginia	1,274,850	44.456%	851	0.067%	14,629	1.148%
Washington	1,071,711	15.051%	608	0.057%	3,151	0.294%
Washington, D.C.	76,276	69.307%	288	0.378%	364	0.477%
West Virginia	284,340	14.763%	55	0.019%	738	0.260%
Wisconsin	874,272	25.067%	1,578	0.180%	7,226	0.827%
Wyoming	93,778	32.213%	10	0.011%	853	0.910%
labama	738,773	45.899%	978	0.132%	2,174	0.294%
Alaska	129,232	22.016%	54	0.042%	539	0.417%
Arizona	1,101,791	18.263%	1,204	0.109%	4,566	0.414%
Arkansas	481,361	47.368%	557	0.116%	1,191	0.247%
California	6,252,490	17.827%	9,501	0.152%	22,628	0.362%
Colorado	879,529	22.568%	462	0.053%	6,275	0.713%
Connecticut	546,780	21.108%	1,990	0.364%	2,791	0.510%
Delaware	132,585	30.000%	134	0.101%	1,529	1.153%
Florida	2,720,743	47.773%	1,768	0.065%	16,747	0.616%
Georgia	1,735,891	38.990%	4,847	0.279%	6,530	0.376%
Hawaii	186,893	0.000%	769	0.411%	18,331	9.808%
Idaho	289,611	35.185%	114	0.039%	1,195	0.413%
Illinois	2,039,708	14.728%	4,640	0.227%	10,072	0.494%
Indiana	1,026,167	34.611%	2,063	0.201%	3,774	0.368%
Iowa	500,095	15.915%	744	0.149%	2,091	0.418%
Kansas	492,766	26.696%	3,452	0.701%	2,362	0.479%
Kentucky	685,999	35.653%	444	0.065%	818	0.119%
Louisiana	710,248	32.212%	852	0.120%	1,553	0.219%
Maine	175,259	19.089%	33	0.019%	698	0.398%
Maryland	882,334	33.404%	1,911	0.217%	3,308	0.375%
Massachusetts	949,053	31.687%	982	0.103%	2,031	0.214%
Michigan	1,568,911	16.571%	566	0.036%	3,995	0.255%
Minnesota	857,390	22.614%	1,302	0.152%	5,358	0.625%
Mississippi	494,297	48.171%	1,016	0.206%	1,897	0.384%
Missouri	903,854	37.623%	1,506	0.167%	4,322	0.478%
Montana	145,139	18.861%	226	0.156%	1,010	0.696%
Nebraska	306,864	12.989%	346	0.113%	1,874	0.611%
Nevada	453,380	10.648%	1,602	0.353%	937	0.207%

New Hampshire	187,269	28.898%	290	0.155%	1,201	0.641%
New Jersey	1,336,112	19.658%	946	0.071%	3,243	0.243%
New Mexico	338,093	13.279%	306	0.091%	2,064	0.610%
New York	2,733,087	45.171%	875	0.032%	7,773	0.284%
North Carolina	1,530,939	55.383%	239	0.016%	4,090	0.267%
North Dakota	104,393	18.527%	148	0.142%	484	0.464%
Ohio	1,767,544	24.965%	1,628	0.092%	2,709	0.153%
Oklahoma	685,922	30.377%	879	0.128%	2,641	0.385%
Oregon	566,607	25.116%	468	0.083%	1,341	0.237%
Pennsylvania	1,742,477	21.389%	5,161	0.296%	13,293	0.763%
Rhode Island	140,870	24.315%	182	0.129%	455	0.323%
South Carolina	747,053	55.429%	1,956	0.262%	3,163	0.423%
South Dakota	135,257	26.068%	274	0.203%	909	0.672%
Tennessee	989,317	54.459%	1,219	0.123%	2,754	0.278%
Texas	5,176,574	27.574%	7,399	0.143%	16,151	0.312%
United States	49,959,586	28.993%	69,782	0.140%	222,541	0.445%
Utah	631,496	40.182%	299	0.047%	2,383	0.377%
Vermont	84,206	19.281%	60	0.071%	330	0.392%
Virginia	1,274,850	44.456%	851	0.067%	14,629	1.148%
Washington	1,071,711	15.051%	608	0.057%	3,151	0.294%
Washington, D.C.	76,276	69.307%	288	0.378%	364	0.477%
West Virginia	284,340	14.763%	55	0.019%	738	0.260%
Wisconsin	874,272	25.067%	1,578	0.180%	7,226	0.827%

Source: Reprint of Education Week Research Center original analysis of Civil Rights Data Collection, 2017. *Note.* Some student counts were rounded to protect individuals from being identified. NA indicates that the school did not provide information, or that information was not considered applicable by the Office for Civil Rights. It is also important note that school police forces such as LASPD are not required to report any school police outcomes with students; therefore, the following numbers are not representation of the totality of school police contact with students across states.

Items Combined to Form the Critical Cultural Consciousness Meaning Categories

Category	Items
Black History	Understanding the history of African Americans
Identity Central	Joining support groups and organizations that support identity development
	Reading material where one's identity is central and celebrated
	Critiques stereotypes regarding one's identities
Power Analysis	Reflecting about power in one's own life
	Reading and engages material about the important role of power in social relationships and interactions
Social Change	Working to end social inequality (such as racism and sexism)
	Refraining from activities and behaviors that are oppressive to others (e.g., refusing to buy shoes made in sweatshops)
	Reading and engaging material about how their daily individual experiences are related to structural conditions and to the political economy that undergird social inequalities
Collective Action	Involving oneself in collective action and strategies that challenge and change local and national systems and institutions (e.g., community organizing, protesting, school clubs, walkouts, etc.)

REFERENCES

Abu-Lughod, L. (1990). The Romance of Resistance: Tracing Transformations of Power

    Through Bedouin Women. *American Ethnologist, 17*(1), 41-55.

Advancement Project and Alliance for Educational Justice (2018). *We Came to Learn: A Call to*

    Action for Police-Free Schools. Retrieved from

    https://advancementproject.org/wecametolearn/

Alexander, M. (2010). *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*.

    New York, NY: The New Press.

Allen,T., Bryan, I., Guerrero, A., & Lytle-Hernandez, K. (2018, October). Policing Our Students:

    An Analysis of L.A. School Police Department (2014 – 2017). Million Dollar Hoods

    Project. Los Angeles, CA. Retrieved from http://milliondollarhoods.org/wp-

    content/uploads/2018/10/Policing-Our-Students-MDH-Report-Revised-10.30.18.pdf

Allport, G. (1954). *The Nature of Prejudice.* Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

American Bar Association. (2001). *Zero tolerance policy* Washington, D.C.

American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. (2008). "Are zero tolerance

    policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations."

    American Psychologist. 63(9) 852-862. American Psychological Association.

Anderson, E. (1990). *Streetwise.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press

Anderson, K. P., & Ritter, G. W. (2017). Disparate use of exclusionary discipline: Evidence on

    inequities in school discipline from a U.S. state. *Education Policy Analysis Archives,*

    25(49).

Annamma, S. A., Anyon, Y., Joseph, N. M., Farrar, J., Greer, E., Downing, B., & Simmons, J. (2019). Black Girls and School Discipline: The Complexities of Being Overrepresented and Understudied. *Urban Education, 54*(2), 211–242.

Anyon, J. (1997). *Ghetto schooling*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Anyon, Yolanda, Anne Gregory, Susan Stone, Jordan Farrar, Jeffrey M. Jenson, Jeanette McQueen, Barbara Downing, Eldridge Greer, and John Simmons (2016). "Restorative Interventions and School Discipline Sanctions in a Large Urban School District." *American Educational Research Journal*, *53*(6), 1663–1697.

Anyon, Y., Jenson, J., Altschul, I., Farrar, J., McQueen, J., Greer, E., Downing, B., & Simmons, J. (2014). The persistent effect of race and the promise of alternatives to suspension in school discipline outcomes. *Children and Youth Services Review, 44,* 379–386.

Apple, M. W. (1998). Review of "Devolution and choice in education." *Educational Researcher*, 27(6), 24. Washington, DC: *American Educational Research Association*.

Arcia, E. (2006). Achievement and enrollment status of suspended students: Outcomes in a large, multicultural school district. *Education and Urban Society, 38*, 359–369.

Arum, R. (2003). *Judging school discipline: The crisis of moral authority*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Balfanz, R., Byrnes, V., & Fox, J. H. (2015). Sent home and put off track: The antecedents, disproportionalities, and consequences of being suspended in the 9th grade. In D. Losen (Ed.), Closing the school discipline gap: Equitable remedies for excessive exclusion (pp. 17–30). New York City: Teachers College Press.

Ball, S. J. (1994). Education reform: A critical and post-structural approach. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Barazangi, N. H. (2006). An ethical theory of action research pedagogy. *Action Research*, *4*(1), 97–116.

Barnert, E., Abrams, L., Maxson, C., Gase, L., Soung, P., Carroll, P., and Bath, E. (2017). Setting a minimum age for juvenile justice jurisdiction in California. *International Journal of Prisoner Health, 13*(1), 49-56.

Baron, J., and Bielby, W. (1980). Bringing the Firms Back In: Stratification, Segmentation, and the Organization of Work. *American Sociological Review, 45*, 737–65.

Bass, S. (2001). Policing Space, Policing Race: Social Control Imperatives and Police Discretionary Decisions. *Social Justice, 28*(1), 156-176

Bennett, M., and Plaut, V. (2017). Looking criminal law and the presumption of dangerousness: Afrocentric facial features, skin tone, and criminal justice. *U. S. Davis Law Review*, 51, 745–803.

Bertrand, M., & Ford, A. J. (2015). Planting the seeds: The influence of the council on education policy and practice. *Teachers College Record, 117*, 189–202.

Birkland, T. A. and R. Lawrence. (2009). Media Framing After Columbine. *American Behavioral Scientist,* 52; 1387.

Blair, I. V., Judd, C. M., and Chapleau, K. M. (2004). The Influence of Afrocentric Facial Features in Criminal Sentencing. *Psychological Science*, *15*(10), 674–679.

Blair, I. V., Judd, C. M., Sadler, M. S., and Jenkins, C. (2002). The role of Afrocentric features in person perception: Judging by features and categories. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 83*(1), 5-25.

Blake, J., Butler, B., Lewis, C., & Darensbourg, A. (2011). Unmasking the inequitable discipline experiences of urban Black girls: Implications for urban educational stakeholders. *Urban Review, 43,* 90-106.

Blake, J., Butler, B. R., & Smith, D. (2015). The cause of black females' disproportionate suspension rates. In D. J. Losen (Ed.), *Closing the school discipline gap: Equitable remedies for excessive exclusion*. New York, NY: Teachers College Press.

Blanton, H. & Jaccard., J. (2008). Unconscious Racism: A Concept in Pursuit of a Measure. *Annual Review of Sociology, 34*(1), 277–97.

Bogdan, R. C., & Biklen, S. K. (2003). *Qualitative Research of Education: An Introductive to Theories and Methods* (4th ed.). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

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

Bowman-Perrott, L., Benz, M. R., Hsu, H., Kwok, O., Eisterhold, L. A., & Zhang, D. (2013). Patterns and predictors of disciplinary exclusion over time: An analysis of the SEELS national data set. *Journal of Emotional & Behavioral Disorders, 21*(2), 83–96.

Bradshaw, C. P., Mitchell, M. M., O'Brennan, L. M., & Leaf, P. J. (2010). Multilevel exploration of factors contributing to the overrepresentation of Black students in office disciplinary referrals. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 102*, 508–520.

Brady, D., Biradavolu, M., & Blankenship, K. (2015). Brokers and the Earnings of Female Sex Workers in India. *American Sociological Review, 80*, 1123–49.

Brion-Meisels, G., and Alter, Z. (*2018*). The Quandary of Youth Participatory Action Research in School Settings: A Framework for Reflecting on the Factors That Influence Purpose and Process. *Harvard Educational Review, 88*(4), 429-454.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1979). *The ecology of human development*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1986). Ecology of the family as a context for human development: Research perspectives. *Developmental Psychology, 22*(6), 723–742.

Bronfenbrenner, U., & Morris, P. A. (2006). The bioecological model of human development. In W. Damon & R. M. Lerner (Eds.), H*andbook of child psychology: Theoretical models of human development* (pp. 793–828). Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley.

Brunson R.K. and Weitzer, R. (2009). Police Relations with Black and White Youths in Different Urban Neighborhoods. *Urban Affairs Review, 44*(6), 858–885.

Burke, M. A., and Embrick, D.G. (2008). Colorism. Pp. 17–19 in the *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, edited by William Darity. Farmington Hills, Mich.: Gale Group

Calmore, J. O. (1995). Racialized Space and the Culture of Segregation: Hewing a Stone of Hope from a Mountain of Despair. *University of Pennsylvania Law Review, 143*, 1233-1273.

Cammarota, J., & Romero, A. (2009). A social justice epistemology and pedagogy for Latina/o students: Transforming public education with participatory action research. *New Directions for Youth Development, 2009(123*), 53–69.

Caton, M. T. (2012). Black male perspectives on their educational experiences in high school. *Urban Education*, 47(6), 1055-1085. Long Island, NY: SAGE.

Capers, B. (2009). Policing, Place, and Race. *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review, 44*, 43-78.

Caraballo, L., & Hill, M. (2014). Curriculum-in-action: Cultivating literacy, community, and creativity in urban contexts. *English Leadership Quarterly, 37*, 5–11.

Caraballo, L., Lozenski, B. D., Lysicott J. J., & Morell, E. (2017). YPAR and critical

    epistemologies: Rethinking education research. *Review of Research in Education, 41*(1),

    311– 336.

Carbado, D. (2002). (E)racing the Fourth Amendment. *Michigan Law Review, 100*(5), 946-1044.

Carbado, D. W. (2016). Blue-on-Black Violence: A Provisional Model of Some of the Causes.

    Georgetown Law Journal 104, 1479-1529.

Carbado, D. W. (2016). Blue-on-Black Violence: A Provisional Model of Some of the Causes.

    104 Georgetown Law Journal 1479; UCLA School of Law, Public Law Research Paper

    No. 16-31.

Carby, H. (1992). Policing the Black Woman's Body in the Urban Context. *Critical Inquiry*

    (Summer): 738–55.

Carmichael, S., and Hamilton, C.V. (1967). *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America*.

    New York: Random House.

Carter, P. L., Skiba, R., Arredondo, M. I., & Pollock, M. (2017). You can't fix what you don't

    look at. *Urban Education, 52*, 207–235.

Carter, L. E. (1993). Crisis of The African-American Male: Dangers and Opportunities. Silver

    Spring: Beckham House.

Chambliss, W. (1994). Policing the Ghetto Underclass. *Social Problems*.

Chou, F., Kwee, J., Lees, R., Firth, K., Florence, J., Harms, J., . . . Wilson, S. (2015). Nothing

    about us without us! Youth-led solutions to improve high school completion rates.

    Educational Action Research, 23(3), 436–459.

Civil Rights Project. (2000). Opportunities Suspended: The Devastating Consequences of Zero

    Tolerance and School Discipline Policies. Report from a National Summit on Zero

    Tolerance: Washington, D.C. Harvard University.

Clear, T. R. (2007). *Imprisoning Communities: How Mass Incarceration Makes Disadvantaged Neighborhoods Worse.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Cohen, L., Manion, L. and Morrison, K. (2008) *The Methodology of Educational Research.* Metaichmio, Athens.

Collins, P. H. (1986). Learning from the outsider within: The sociological significance of Black feminist thought. *Social Problems*, *33*(6), S14–S32.

Collins, P. H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Cook-Sather, A. (2009). "I am not afraid to listen": Prospective teachers learning from students. *Theory Into Practice, 48*, 176–183.

Community Rights Campaign of the Labor/Community Strategy Center. (2013). *Black, Brown, and Over-Policed in L.A. Schools: Structural Proposals to End the School-to-Prison Pipeline in the Los Angeles Unified School District and to Build a National Movement to Stop the Mass Incarceration of Black and Latino Communities.* Retrieved from http://www.njjn.org/uploads/digital-library/CA_Strategy-Center_Black-Brown-and-Over-Policed-in-LA-Schools.PDF

Contenbader, Virginia and Samia Markson. (1998). "School Suspension: A Study with Secondary School Students." *Journal of School Psychology, 36*:59–82.

Crawford, C. E. (2009*). Spatial Policing: The Influence of Time, Space, and Geography on Law Enforcement Practices*. Carolina Academic Press.

Crenshaw, K., Ocen, P., & Nanda, J. (2015). *Black girls matter: Pushed out, overpoliced, and underprotected.* New York, NY: Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies*.*

Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory, and antiracist politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum,* 139–167.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1279.

Crenshaw, K. W. (2012). Private violence to mass incarceration: Thinking intersectionally about women, race, and social control. *Journal of Scholarly Perspectives.*

Creswell, J.W., & Miller, D. L. (2000) Determining Validity in Qualitative Inquiry, *Theory Into Practice*, 39:3, 124-130

Creswell, J., & Tashakkori, A. (2007). Editorial: Developing publishable mixed methods manuscripts. *Journal of Mixed Methods Research, 1*(2), 107–111.

Curran, F. C. (2016). Estimating the Effect of State Zero Tolerance Laws on Exclusionary Discipline, Racial Discipline Gaps, and Student Behavior. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *38*(4), 647–668.

Dahrendorf, R. (1959). *Class and Class Conflict*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press

Davis, A.Y. (2003). *Are Prisons Obsolete?* New York: Seven Stories Press.

Davis, A. Y. (1981). *Women, Race, And Class*. New York: Random House.

Davis, J. E. and Jordan, W. J. (1994). The Effects of School Context, Structure, and Experiences on African American Males in Middle and High Schools. *Journal of Negro Education, 63*(4), 570–87.

De Graff, L. B. (1962). Negro Migration to Los Angeles, 1930 to 1950. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of California Los Angeles.

De Graaf (1970). The City of Black Angels: Emergence of the Los Angeles Ghetto, 1890-1930.
Pacific Historical Review, 39 (3).

Delmelle, E. C. (2019). The Increasing Sociospatial Fragmentation of Urban America. *Urban Science, 3*(1):9, 1-14

Desmond, M. (2014). Relational Ethnography. *Theory and Society, 43*, 547–79.

Desmond, M., and Wilmers, N. (2019). Do the Poor Pay More for Housing? Exploitation, Profit, and Risk in Rental Markets. *American Journal of Sociology, 124*(4), 1090– 1124

Downey, D. B., & Pribesh, S. (2004). When race matters: Teachers' evaluations of students' classroom behavior. *Sociology of Education*, *77*, 267-282.

Dovidio, J. F., Glick, P. G., & Rudman, L. (2005). *On the nature of prejudice: Fifty years after Allport.* Malden, MA: Blackwell

Dyson, M. E. (1996). *Between God and Gangsta Rap: Bearing Witness To Black Culture.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Dyson, M. E. (2001). *Holler If You Hear Me: Searching for Tupac Shakur.* New York: Basic Books.

Earl, L., & Katz, S. (2006). *Leading in a data-rich world*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Corwin Press.

Eberhardt, J. L., Davies, P. G., Purdie-Vaughns, V. J., and Johnson, S. L (2006). Looking Deathworthy: Perceived Stereotypicality of Black Defendants Predicts Capital-Sentencing Outcomes. *Psychological Science*, *17*(5), 383–386.

Education Week (2017, January). *Policing America's Schools: An Education Week Analysis.* Retrieved from https://www.edweek.org/ew/projects/2017/policing-americas-schools/index.html

Eitle, T. M., & Eitle, D. J. (2004). Inequality, segregation, and the over- representation of African Americans in school suspensions. *Sociological Perspectives, 47,* 269–287.

Elkins, Stanley M. (1976). *Slavery: A Problem in American Institutional and Intellectual Life*, 3rd edn. rev. Chicago, Illinois, and London: University of Chicago Press.

Elvemo, J., Greenwood, D., Martin, A., Matthews, L., Strubel, A., Thomas, L., & Whyte, W. F. (1997) Participation, action, and research in the classroom. *Studies in Continuing Education, 19*(1), 1-50.

Emerson, M. O., Chai,K J., and Yancey, G. (2001). Does Race Matter in Residential Segregation? Exploring the Preferences of White Americans. *American Sociological Review, 66*(6), 922-935

Emerson, R. M., R. I. Fretz and Shaw, L. (1995). *Writing Ethnographic Fieldnotes*. The University of Chicago Press.

Emirbayer, M. and Desmond, M. (2015). *The Racial Order.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Epstein, R., Blake, J. J., & Gonzalez, T. (2017). *Girlhood interrupted: The erasure of Black girls' childhood.* Washington, DC: Georgetown Law School Center on Poverty and Inequality.

Evans-Winters, V., and Esposito, J. (2010). Other people's daughters: Critical race feminism and Black girls' education. *Educational Foundations*, *24*, 11-24.

Fagan, J., & Davies, G. (2000). Street cops and broken windows: Terry, race, and disorder in New York City. *Fordham Urban Law Journal, 28,* 457–504.

Fagan, J., Geller, A., Davies, G., and West, V. (2010). Street Stops and Broken Windows Revisited: The Demography and Logic of Proactive Policing in a Safe and Changing City (pp. 309–48). In *Race, Ethnicity, and Policing: New and Essential Readings*, edited by S. Rice and M. White. New York: NYU Press

Fang, B. (2018). "Unhiden Higures." Children Defense Fund – California. Retrieved from

https://www.cdfca.org/wp-content/uploads/sites/4/2018/12/unhidden-figures.pdf

Farley, R., Fielding, E. L., and Krysan, M. (1997). The Residential Preferences of Blacks and

Whites: A Four-metropolis Analysis. *Housing Policy Debate 8*(4), 763–800.

Farley, R., Steeh, C., Krysan, M., Jackson, T., and Reeves, K. (1994). Stereotypes and

Segregation: Neighborhoods in the Detroit Area. *American Journal of Sociology, 100*(3),

750–80.

Feagin, J. R. (2000). *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations*. New

York: Routledge.

Feagin, J. (2000). *Racist America: Roots, Current Realities, and Future Reparations*. New York:

Routledge.

Feagin, J. (1991). The Continuing Significance of Race: Antiblack Discrimination in Public

Places. *American Sociological Review, 56*(1), 101-116.

Feagin, J., and Elias, S. (2013). Rethinking Racial Formation Theory: A Systemic Racism

Critique. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 36*(6), 931–60.

Feistritzer, C. E., Griffin, S., & Linnajarvi, A. (2011). *Profile of teachers in the U.S.* Washington,

DC: National Center for Education Information.

Ferguson, A. (2000). Bad *Boys: Public Schools in the Making of Black Masculinity*. Ann Arbor:

University of Michigan Press.

Fine, M. (2008). An epilogue, of sorts. In J. Cammarota, & M. Fine (Eds.), *Revolutionizing

education: Youth participatory action research in motion* (pp. 213–234). New York, NY:

Routledge.

Fine, M., Tuck, E., & Zeller-Berkman, S. (2008). Do you believe in Geneva? Methods and ethics

    at the global local nexus. In N. Denzin, Y. Lincoln, & L. T. Smith (Eds.), *Handbook of*

    critical and Indigenous methodologies (Reprinted ed., pp. 157–180). Thousand Oaks,

    CA: SAGE.

Finn, Shively, McDevitt, Lassiter, & Rich, 2005

Finn, J.D. and Servoss, T.J. (2014). Misbehavior, Suspensions, and Security Measures in High

    School: Racial/Ethnic and Gender Differences. *Journal of Applied Research on*

    Children: Informing Policy for Children at Risk, 5(2), 1-50.

Firestone, W. A. (1993). Alternative arguments for generalizing from data as applied to

    qualitative research. *Educational Researcher*, 22(4), 16–23.

Flamming, D. (2005). *Bound for Freedom: Black Los Angeles in Jim Crow America*. University

    of California Press.

Flicker, S., Maley, O., Ridgeley, A., & Skinner, H. (2008). e-PAR: Using technology and

    participatory action research to engage youth in health promotion. *Action Research, 6*,

    285–303.

Fogelson, R. M. (1967). *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles 1850-1930*. Harvard

    University Press.

Fogelson, R. M. (1993). *The Fragmented Metropolis: Los Angeles, 1850-1930*. University of

    California Press.

Foster, H., and Hagan, J. (2007). Incarceration and Intergenerational Social Exclusion. *Social*

    Problems, 54, 399–433.

Fox, M., Mediratta, K., Ruglis, J., Stoudt, B., Shah, S., & Fine, M. (2010). Critical youth

    engagement: Participatory action research and organizing. In L. Sherrod, J. Torney-Puta,

& C. Flanagan (Eds.), *Handbook of research and policy on civic engagement with youth* (pp. 621–650). Hoboken, NJ: Wiley.

Garland, David. (2001). *The Culture of Control: Crime and Social Order in Contemporary Society.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Geller A., Fagan J., Tyler T, and Link, B. (2014). Aggressive Policing and the Mental Health of Young Urban Men. *American Journal of Public Health, 104*(12), 2321–2327.

Gershenson, S., & Dee, T. S. (2017, March 20). *The insidiousness of unconscious bias in schools.* Washington, DC: Brown Center on Education Policy at Brookings.

Gershenson, S., Holt, S. B., & Papageorge, N. (2016). Who believes in me? The effect of student-teacher demographic match on teacher expectations. *Economics of Education Review, 52*, 209–224. doi:10.1016/j.econedurev.2016.03.002

Giddens, A. (1973). *The Class Structure of the Advanced Societies*. London: Hutchinson.

Giddens, A. (1979). *Central Problems in Social Theory*. London: Macmillan

Gilmore, R.W. (2007). *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Gilmore, R.W. (2008). Forgotten Places and the Seeds of Grassroots Planning. In *Engaging Contradictions: Theory, Politics, and Methods of Activist Scholarship*, edited by Charles R. Hale and Craig Calhoun, 31–61. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ginwright, S., Noguera, P., and Cammarota, J. (2006). *Beyond Resistance! Youth Activism and Community Change: New Democratic Possibilities for Practice and Policy.* New York: Routledge Press.

Goffman, A. (2009). On the Run: Wanted Men in a Philadelphia Ghetto. *American Sociological Review, 74(3*), 339–57.

Golann, J. W. (2015). The paradox of success at a no-excuses school. *Sociology of Education, 88*, 103–119.

Goldberg, D.T. (2009). Racial Comparisons, Relational Racisms: Some Thoughts on Method. *Ethnic and Racial Studies, 32*(7), 1271–82.

González, T. (2009). Socializing schools: Addressing racial disparities in discipline through restorative justice. In D. J. Losen (Eds.), *Closing the school discipline gap: Equitable remedies for excessive exclusion* (pp. 1–22). New York City, NY: Teacher College Press.

Grant, D. M., Oliver, M. L., and James., A. D. (1996). "African Americans: Social and Economic Bifurcation." In *Ethnic Los Angeles*, edited by Roger Waldinger and Mehdi Bozorgmehr. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Gregory, A., Bell, J., & Pollock, M. (2016). How educators can eradicate disparities in school discipline: Issues in intervention. In R. J. Skiba, K. Mediratta, & M. K. Rausch (Eds.), *Inequality in school discipline: Research and practice to reduce disparities* (pp. 39–58). New York, NY: Palgrave MacMillan.

Gregory, A., Cornell, D., & Fan, X. (2011). The relationship of school structure and support to suspension rates for Black and White high school students. *American Educational Research Journal, 48*, 904–934.

Gregory, A., & Mosely, P. M. (2004). The discipline gap: Teachers' views on the overrepresentation of African American students in the discipline system. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 37*, 18–30.

Gregory, A., Skiba, R. J., & Noguera, P. A. (2010). The achievement gap and the discipline gap: Two sides of the same coin? *Educational Researcher*, *39*, 59–68.

Gregory, A., Skiba, R. J., & Mediratta, K. (2017). Eliminating disparities in school discipline: A framework for intervention [Special issue on equity in school]. *Review of Research in Education, 47*, 253–278.

Gregory, A., & Weinstein, R. S. (2008). The discipline gap and African Americans: Defiance or cooperation in the high school classroom. *Journal of School Psychology, 46*, 455–475.

Gregory, D. (1994). *Geographical imaginations.* Wiley-Blackwell.

Grissom, J. A., Nicholson-Crotty, J., & Nicholson-Crotty, S. (2009). Race, region, and representative bureaucracy. *Public Administration Review, 69*, 911–919.

Golash-Boza, T. (2016). A Critical and Comprehensive Sociological Theory of Race. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity 2*(2), 129–41.

Grissom, J. A., Nicholson-Crotty, J., & Nicholson-Crotty, S. (2009). Race, region, and representative bureaucracy. *Public Administration Review, 69*, 911–919.

Gutiérrez, K. D. (2008). Developing a sociocritical literacy in the third space. *Reading Research Quarterly, 43*, 148–164.

Gyimah-Brempong, K., and Price, G.N. (2006). Crime and punishment: And skin hue too? *American Economic Association*, *96*(2): 246-250.

Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clark, J., and Roberts, B. (1978). *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State, and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan Hanushek, E.A., Welch, F. (Eds.), 2006. Handbook of the Economics of Education, vols. 1 and 2. North Holland, Amsterdam.

Hannon, L., DeFina, and Bruch, S. (2013). The Relationship between Skin Tone and School Suspension for African Americans. *Race and Social Problems, 5*(4): 281–95

Hart, R. A. (1992). Children's participation from tokenism to citizenship. Innocenti Essays No. 4. United Nations Children's Fund. Retrieved from https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/100-childrens-participation-from-tokenism-to-citizenship.html

Hashim, A.K., Strunk, K. O., & Dhalowal, T.K. (2018). Justice for All? Suspension Bans and Restorative Justice Programs in the Los Angeles Unified School District. *Peabody Journal of Education, 93:2*, 174-189.

Haskins, Anna R. (2014). Unintended consequences: Effects of paternal incarceration on child school readiness and later special education placement. *Sociol. Sci. 1,* 141–158.

Haskins, Anna R. (2016). Beyond boys' bad behavior: Paternal incarceration and cognitive development in middle childhood. *Social Forces, 95*(2): 861–92.

Hatzenbuehler, M.L., Keyes, K.M., Hamilton, A.D., Uddin, M., & Galea, S. (2015). The Collateral Damage of Mass Incarceration: Risk of Psychiatric Morbidity Among Nonincarcerated Residents of High-Incarceration Neighborhoods. *American journal of public health, 105*(1), 138-143.

Herbert, S. (1997). *Space: Territoriality and the Los Angeles Police Department*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Heckman, J.J., Stixrud, J., and Urzua, S. (2006). The Effects of Cognitive and Noncognitive Abilities on Labor Market Outcomes and Social Behavior. *Journal of Labor Economics 24*(3), 411-482.

Heckman, J. J. and Masterov, D.V. (2007). The Productivity Argument for Investing in Young Children. *Review of Agricultural Economics, 29*(3), 446–493.

Hemphill, S. A., Kotevski, A., Herrenkohl, T. I., Smith, R., Toumbourou, J. W., & Catalano, R. F. (2013). Does school suspension affect subsequent youth nonviolent antisocial

behavior? A longitudinal study of students in Victoria, Australia and Washington State, United States. *Australian Journal of Psychology*, *65*(4), 236–249.

Hemphill SA, Toumbourou JW, Herrenkohl TI, McMorris BJ, Catalano RF. (2006). The effect of school suspensions and arrests on subsequent adolescent antisocial behavior in Australia and the United States. *Journal of Adolescent Health.*

Heitzeg, N. A. (2009). Education Or Incarceration: Zero Tolerance Policies And The School To Prison Pipeline. *Forum on Public Policy,* 1-21.

Hill, Shirley. (1999). African American Children: Socialization and Development in Families. *Sage Publications.* 103-128.

Hines-Datiri, D. (2015). When police intervene: Race, gender, and discipline of Black male students at an urban high school. *Journal of Cases in Educational Leadership, 18*, 122–133.

Hines-Datiri, D., & Carter Andrews, D. J. (2017). The effects of zero tolerance policies on Black girls: Using Critical Race Feminism and Figured Worlds to examine school discipline. *Urban Education*, 1–22.

Hinojosa, M. S. (2008). Black-White differences in school suspension: Effect of student beliefs about teachers. *Sociological Spectrum, 28*, 175–193.

Hinton, E. K. (2015). Creating Crime: The Rise and Impact of National Juvenile Delinquency Programs in Black Urban Neighborhoods. *Journal of Urban History, 41*(5), 808–824.

Hinton, E. K. (2016). *From the war on poverty to the war on crime: The making of mass incarceration in America.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Herbert, S. (1997). *Space: Territoriality and the Los Angeles Police Department*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

Hofmann, W., Gschwendner, T., Castelli, L., and Schmitt, M. (2008). Implicit and Explicit

> Attitudes and Interracial Interaction: The Moderating Role of Situationally Available

> Control Resources. *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations, 11*(1), 69–87.

Howard, T. C. (2008). Who really cares? The disenfranchisement of African American males in

> pre K-12 schools: A critical race theory perspective. *Teachers College Record, 110(*5),

> 954-985.

Howard, T. C. (2010).). *Why race and culture matter in schools: Closing the achievement gap in*

> *America's classrooms.* New York: Teachers College Press.

Huang, F. L., & Cornell, D. G. (2017). Student attitudes and behaviors as explanations for the

> Black-White suspension gap. *Children and Youth Services Review, 73*, 298–308.

Hutchinson, E. O. (1994). The Assassination of The Black Male Image. Los Angeles.

Middle Passage.Jackson, I. (2012). Prison pipeline hits Black students harder, criminalizes school

> discipline. Politic365. Retrieved from http://politic365.com/2012/12/13/prison-pipeline-

> hits-black-students-hardercriminalizes-schools/

Irizarry, Y. (2015). Utilizing multidimensional measures of race in education research: The case

> of teacher perceptions. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity, 1*, 564-583.

Ispa-Landa, S. (2017). Racial and gender inequality and school discipline: Toward a more

> comprehensive view of school policy. *Social Currents*, *4*(6), 511–517.

Jackson, P. (1985). Social Geography: Race and Racism. *Progress in Human Geography, 9*, 99-

> 108.

Jenkins, Patricia H. (1997). School Delinquency and the School Social Bond. *Journal of*

> *Research in Crime and Delinquency, 34*(X), 337–67.

Johnson, I. M. (1999). School violence: The effectiveness of a school resource officer program in

> a southern city. *Journal of Criminal Justice*, *27*, 173–192.

Johnson, S. J. (1983). "Race and the Decision to Detain a Suspect." Cornell Law Faculty

    Publications, Paper 800.

Jones, N. (2010). Between Good and Ghetto: African American Girls and Inner-City Violence.

    In New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.Kahn, K. B., Unzueta, M., Davies, P.

    G., Alston, A., & Lee, J. K. (2015). *Will you value me and do I value you? The effect of*

    phenotypic racial stereotypicality on organizational evaluations. Journal of Experimental

    Social Psychology, 59, 130–138.

Jordan, J. L., & Anil, B. (2009). Race, gender, school discipline, and human capital effects.

    Journal of Agricultural and Applied Economics, 41, 419–429.

Jung, M. (2015) B*eneath the Surface of White Supremacy: Denaturalizing US Racisms Past and*

    Present. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Kahn, K. B., Unzueta, M. M., Davies, P. G., Alston, A., and Lee. J. K. (2015). Will you value me

    and do I value you? The effect of phenotypic racial stereotypicality on organizational

    evaluations. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, *59*, 130-138.

Kahneman, D., & Klein, B. M. (2009). Conditions for intuitive expertise. A failure to disagree.

    American Psychologist, *64*, 515–526.

Kamler, B., & Comber, B. (2005). Designing turn-around pedagogies and contesting deficit

    assumptions. In B. Comber, & B. Kamler (Eds.), *Turn-around pedagogies: Literacy*

    interventions for at-risk students (pp. 1–13). Newtown, New South Wales, Australia:

    Primary English Teaching Association.

Karp, D. R., & Breslin, B. (2001). Restorative justice in school communities. *Youth & Society,*

    33, 249–272.

Kelly, D. M. (1993). Secondary power source: High school students as participatory researchers. *The American Sociologist, 24*, 8–26.

Kelley, R. D. G. (1997). *Yo' Mama's disfunktional!: Fighting the culture wars in urban America.* Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Kelly, R. (1994). *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

King, D. K. (1988). Multiple jeopardy, multiple consciousness: The context of a black feminist ideology. *Signs*, *14*, 42-72.

King, R. and Johnson, B. (2016). A Punishing Look: Skin Tone and Afrocentric Features in the Halls of Justice. *American Journal of Sociology*, *122*(1):90–124.

Kinsler, J. (2011). Understanding the Black-White school discipline gap. *Economics of Education Review, 30*, 1370–1383.

Kirshner, B., Pozzoboni, K., & Jones, H. (2011). Learning how to manage bias: A case study of youth participatory action research. *Applied Developmental Science, 15*, 140–155.

Knight, M. G., & Marciano, J. E. (2013). *College ready: Preparing Black and Latina/o youth for higher education, a culturally relevant approach*. New York, NY: Teacher College Press.

Kooistra, A. M. (2003). "Angels for Sale: The History of Prostitution in Los Angeles, 1880–1940," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Southern California.

Krysan, M., Couper, M. P., Farley, R., & Forman, T. A. (2009). Does race matter in neighborhood preferences? Results from a video experiment. *AJS; American journal of sociology*, *115*(2), 527–559.

Kupchik, A., & Ward, G. (2014). Race, Poverty, and Exclusionary School Security: An

   Empirical Analysis of U.S. Elementary, Middle, and High Schools. *Youth Violence and*

   Juvenile Justice, *12*(4), 332–354.

Legewie, J., & Fagan, J. (2019). Aggressive Policing and the Educational Performance of

   Minority Youth. *American Sociological Review*, *84*(2), 220–247.

Lerman, A. E., & Weaver, V. M. (2014). *Arresting citizenship: The democratic consequences of*

   American crime control.

Lesko, N., & Talburt, S. (2011). *Youth studies: Keywords and movement*. New York, NY:

   Routledge.

Levine, H. G., & Small, D. P. (2008). *Marijuana Arreset Crusade: Racial Bias and Police Policy*

   in New York City, 1997-2007. New York, NY: New York Civil Liberties Union.

Lind, D. (2015, October). "Why having police in schools is a problem, in 3 charts." Vox.

   Retrieved from: *https://www.vox.com/2015/10/28/9626820/police-school-resource-*

   officers

Lindsay, C. A., & Hart, C. D. (2017). Exposure to same-race teachers and student disciplinary

   outcomes for Black students in North Carolina. *Educational Evaluation & Policy*

   Analysis, 39, 485–510.

Lipman, P. (2002). Making the Global City, Making Inequality: The Political Economy and

   Cultural Politics of Chicago School Policy. *American Educational Research Journal, 39*,

   No. 2, 379–419.

Lipsitz, G. (2007). The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race Theorizing the

   Hidden Architecture of Landscape. *Landscape Journal, 26(1*), 10-23.

Lipsitz, G. (2011). *How Racism Takes Place*. Temple University Press.

Livingstone, A. M., Celemencki, J., & Calixte, M. (2014). Youth participatory action research and school improvement: The missing voices of black youth in Montreal. *Canadian Journal of Education, 37*(1), 283–307.

Lorde. A. (1995) Age, race, class, and sex: Women redefining difference. In B. Guy-Sheftall (Ed.), *Words of fire: An anthology of African American feminist thought* (pp. 284–291 New York: The New Press.

Los Angeles Times. (2019). Mapping Los Angeles. Retrieved from http://maps.latimes.com/neighborhoods/

Los Angeles School Police Department (2020). "About US." Retrieved from https://achieve.lausd.net/Page/15609

Kupchik, A., & Ward, G. (2014). Race, Poverty, and Exclusionary School Security: An Empirical Analysis of U.S. Elementary, Middle, and High Schools. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, *12*(4), 332–354.

Legewie, J., & Fagan, J. (2019). Aggressive Policing and the Educational Performance of Minority Youth. *American Sociological Review*, *84*(2), 220–247.

Lerman, A. E., & Weaver, V. M. (2014). *Arresting citizenship: The democratic consequences of American crime control*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Lesko, N., & Talburt, S. (2011). *Youth studies: Keywords and movement*. New York, NY: Routledge

Levine, H. G., & Small, D. P. (2008). *Marijuana Arrest Crusade: Racial Bias and Police Policy in New York City, 1997-2007*. New York, NY: New York Civil Liberties Union.

Lind, D. (2015, October 28). "Why having police in schools is a problem, in 3 charts." *Vox*. Retrieved from: *https://www.vox.com/2015/10/28/9626820/police-school-resource-officers*

Lindsay, C. A., & Hart, C. D. (2017). Exposure to same-race teachers and student disciplinary outcomes for Black students in North Carolina. *Educational Evaluation & Policy Analysis, 39*, 485–510. Retrieved from

https://pdfs.semanticscholar.org/185d/2b03214b3ba8a3b1e6d5ba1590bdf071d536.pdf

Lipman, P. (2002). Making the Global City, Making Inequality: The Political Economy and Cultural Politics of Chicago School Policy, *American Educational Research Journal,* 39, No. 2, 379–419.

Lipsitz, G. (2007). The Racialization of Space and the Spatialization of Race Theorizing the Hidden Architecture of Landscape, *Landscape Journal, 26*, 10-23.

Lipsitz, G. (2011). *How Racism Takes Place*. Temple University Press.

Livingstone, A. M., Celemencki, J., & Calixte, M. (2014). Youth participatory action research and school improvement: The missing voices of black youth in Montreal. *Canadian Journal of Education, 37*(1), 283–307.

Lorde. A. (1995). *Age, race, class, and sex: Women redefining difference.* In Beverly Guy-Sheftall (ed.), *Words of fire: An anthology of African American feminist thought* (pp. 284–291 New York: The New Press.

Los Angeles Times. (2019). Mapping Los Angeles. Retrieved from

http://maps.latimes.com/neighborhoods/

Los Angeles School Police Department (2020). "About US." Retrieved from

https://achieve.lausd.net/Page/15609

Los Angeles School Police Department (2014b). Diversion Referral 2014-15. Retrieved from

https://achieve.lausd.net/cms/lib08/CA01000043/Centricity/domain/389/board_pdf/10-

28-14DiversionReferralPresentatonFinal.pdf

Los Angeles Unified School District. (2013). School Discipline Policy and School Climate Bill

of Rights. Los Angeles, CA: Author. Retrieved from https://irjrd.org/files/2016/01/2013-

School-Climate-Bill-of-Rights-PolicyFINAL.pdf

Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). (2014a). Restorative justice in action: Los

Angeles, CA: Author. Retrieved from https://boe.lausd.net/sites/default/files/10-28-

14SSCRestorativeJusticeInAction.pdf

Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD). (2018). Fingertips Facts 2018-2019 | Destination

Graduation: Los Angeles, CA: Author. Retrieved from

https://achieve.lausd.net/site/handlers/filedownload.ashx?moduleinstanceid=47248&datai

d=68431&FileName=Fingertip%20Facts2018-19_EnglishFinalDS.pdf

Losen, D. J., & Skiba, R. J. (2010). *Suspended Education: Urban middle schools in crisis*.

Montgomery, AL: Southern Poverty Law Center. Retrieved from

http://www.splcenter.org/get-informed/publications/suspended-education

Losen, D. J., Hodson, C., Keith, M. A., II, Morrison, K., & Belway, S. (2015). *Are we closing the

school discipline gap*? Los Angeles: University of California, The Civil Rights Project.

Losen D.J., Martinez T., & Okelola V. (2014). *Keeping California's kids in school*. Los Angeles:

University of California, The Civil Rights Project.

Lytle-Hernandez, Kelly. (2017). *City of Inmates: Conquest, Rebellion, and the Rise of Human

Caging in Los Angeles, 1771–1965.* University of North Carolina Press.

Lytle-Hernandez, K. & Author. (2018). *Access to Freedom: Caged Los Angeles*, Measure of

    America's Social Science Research Council. Retrieved from https://items.ssrc.org/a-

    portrait-of-la-county/access-to-freedom-caged-la/

Maddox, K. B. (2004). Perspectives on Racial Phenotypicality Bias. *Personality and Social*

    Psychology Review, 8 383–401.

Madhubuti, H. R. (1990). Black Men: Obsolete, Single, Dangerous? Afrikan Ameri¬Can

    Families In Transition: Essays In Discovery, Solution And Hope. Chicago: Third World

    Press.

Mallett, C. (2016). The school-to-prison pipeline: A critical review of the punitive paradigm

    shift. *Child & Adolescent Social Work Journal, 33*(1), 15–24.

Majors, R., & Billson, J. M. (1992). Cool Pose: The Dilemmas of Black Manhood In America.

    New York: Lexington.

Marchbanks, M. P., III, Blake, J. J., Booth, E. A., Carmichael, D., Seibert, A. L., & Fabelo, T.

    (2014). The economic effects of exclusionary discipline on grade retention and high

    school dropout. In D. Losen (Ed). *Closing the school discipline gap: Equitable remedies*

    for excessive exclusion (pp. 59–74). New York City: Teachers College Press.

Marx, K. (1977). *Capital*, Vol. 1. Translated by Ben Fowkes. New York: Vintage.

Massey, D. S., and Denton, N.A. (1993). *American Apartheid*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard

    University Press.

Mauer, M., and Chesney-Lind, M., eds. (2004). *Invisible punishment: The collateral*

    consequences of mass imprisonment. New York: New Press

McCluskey, G., Lloyd, G., Kane, J., Riddell, S., Stead, J., & Weedon, E. (2008). Can restorative

    practices in schools make a difference? *Educational Review*, 60, 405–417.

McKown, C., & Weinstein, R. S. (2002). Modeling the Role of Child Ethnicity and Gender in

Children's Differential Response to Teacher Expectations. *Journal of Applied Social

Psychology*, 32(1), 159-184.

McGrady, P. B., & Reynolds, J. R. (2013). Racial mismatch in the classroom beyond Black-

White differences. *Sociology of Education*, 86, 3-17

McIntyre, A. (2000). Constructing meaning about violence, school, and community:

Participatory action research with urban youth. *The Urban Review, 32*, 123–154.

McNeal, L. R. (2016). Managing out blind spot: The role of bias in the school-to prison pipeline.

Arizona State Law Journal, 48, 285–311

Measure of America (2017, November). *A Portrait of Los Angeles County*, Social Science

Research Council. Retrieved from http://measureofamerica.org/los-angeles-county/

Meiners, E.R. (2007). *Right to Be Hostile: Schools, Prisons, and the Making of Public Enemies*.

New York: Routledge.

Miller and Jean-Jacques (2016, June). Is School Policing Racially Discriminatory?, The Century

Foundation. Retrieved from https://tcf.org/content/commentary/school-policing-racially-

discriminatory/

Mirra, N., Garcia, A., & Morrell, N. (2015). *Doing youth participatory action research:

Transforming inquiry with researchers, educators, and students*. New York, NY:

Routledge.

Mitra, D. (2008). Student voice in school reform: Building youth-adult partnerships that

strengthen schools and empower youth. Albany: State University of New York Press.

Monahan, K. C., VanDerhei, S., Bechtold, J., & Cauffman, E. (2014). From the school yard to the squad car: School discipline, truancy, and arrest. Journal of Youth and Adolescence, 43, 1110–1122.

Morgan, E., Salomon, N., Plotkin, M., & Cohen, R. (2014). *The school discipline consensus report: Strategies from the field to keep students engaged in school and out of the juvenile justice system*. New York, NY: Council of State Governments Justice Center.

Morrell, E. (2004). *Becoming critical researchers: Literacy and empowerment of urban youth.* New York, NY: Peter Lang.

Morrell, E. (2008). Six summers of YPAR: Learning, action, and change in urban education. In J. Cammarota, & M. Fine (Eds.), Revolutionizing education: Youth participatory action research in motion (pp. 155–187). New York, NY: Routledge.

Morris, E. W., & Perry, B. L. (2017). Girls behaving badly? Race, gender, and subjective evaluation in the discipline of African American girls. *Sociology of Education*, 90, 127–148.

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

Mullings, L. (1994). Images, ideology and women of color. In M. B. Zinn & B. T. Dill (Eds.), *Women of color in U.S. society*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.

Murakawa, N. (2014). *The First Civil Right: How Liberals Built Prison America*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mukuria, G. (2002). Disciplinary challenges: How do principals address this dilemma? *Urban Education, 37*, 432–452.

Murphey, D. and Cooper, P.M. (2015). "Parents Behind Bars: What Happens to Their Children?" *Child Trends*. Retrieved from: https://www.childtrends.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/10/2015-42ParentsBehindBars.pdf

Na, Chongmin & Gottfredson, Denise C. (2011): Police Officers in Schools: Effects on School Crime and the Processing of Offending Behaviors, J*ustice Quarterly*.

National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education, and Bureau of Justice Statistics, Office of Justice Programs, U.S. Department of Justice. (2019). Indicators of School Crime and Safety: 2018 (NCES 2019-047/NCJ 252571). Washington, DC.

National Center for Education Statistics. (2010). *Indicators of school crime and safety.* Retrieved from https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2011/2011002.pdf

Noguera, P. A. (2002). The Impact of Social and Cultural Forces on the Academic Achievement of African American Males. In K. C. Vaughans and W. Spielberg (Eds.), The Psychology of Black Boys and Adolescents (pp. 141–158). Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger.

Noguera, P. A. (2003). *City schools and the American dream: Reclaiming the promise of public education*. New York, NY: Teachers College.

Noguera, P. A. (2003). The Trouble with Black Boys: The Role and Influence of Environmental and Cultural Factors on the Academic Performance of African American Males. *Urban Education* 38(4). pp 431-459. Sage Publications.

Noguera, P. A. (2007). How listening to students can help schools to improve. *Theory Into Practice, 46*, 205–211.

Noguera, P. A. (2008). The trouble with Black boys: And other reflections on race, equity, and the future of public education. Jossey-Bass.

Noguera, P.A., and Wells, L. (2011). The Politics of School Reform: A Broader and Bolder

    Approach for Newark, *Berkeley Review of Education, 2*(1), 5-25.

Nolan, K. (2011). *Police in the Hallways: Discipline in an Urban High School*. Minneapolis:

    University of Minnesota Press.

Noltemeyer, A., & Mcloughlin, C. S. (2010). Patterns of exclusionary discipline by school

    typology, ethnicity, and their interaction. *Perspectives on Urban Education, 7*(1), 27–40.

Fordham, S., and Ogbu, J.U. (1996). Black students' school success: Coping with the "burden of

    'acting white,'" *Urban Rev* 18, 176–206

Oliver, M.L. & Shapiro, T.M. (1995). *Black Wealth, White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial*

    Inequality. New York: Routledge.

Okonofua, J. A., & Eberhardt, J. L. (2015). Two strikes: Race and the disciplining of young

    students. *Psychological Science, 26*, 617–624

Omi, Michael, and Howard Winant. 2015. *Racial Formation in the United States*, 3rd ed. New

    York: Routledge.

Osofsky, G. (1968). The Enduring Ghetto. *The Journal of American History, 55*(2), 243-255.

Quillian, L. (2006). New Approaches to Understanding Racial Prejudice and Discrimination,

    Annual Review of Sociology, 32, 299–328.

Quillian, L. (2008). Does Unconscious Racism Exist? *Social Psychology Quarterly*, 71(1), 6–11.

Ozer, E. J. (2016). Youth-led participatory action research. In L. A. Jason & D. S. Glenwick

    (Eds.), *Handbook of methodological approaches to community-based research:*

    Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods. New York: Oxford University Press.

Ozer, E. J., & Douglas, L. (2013). The impact of participatory research on urban teens: An

    experimental evaluation. *American Journal of Community Psychology, 51*(1–2), 66–75.

Ozga, J. (2000). *Policy research in educational settings*. Buckingham, UK: Open University

    Press.

Pager, Devah. 2007.Marked: Race, Crime, and Finding Work in an Era of Mass Incarceration.

    Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Painter, N. (1992). Hill, Thomas, and the Use of Racial Stereotype. In T. Morrison (Ed.), Race-

    Ing Justice, En-Gendering Power. New York: Pantheon Books.

Paris, D., & Winn, M. T. (Eds.). (2014). *Humanizing research: Decolonizing qualitative inquiry*

    with youth and communities. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Payne, C. (2008). So much reform, so little change: *The persistence of failure in urban schools.*

    Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

Payne, Y. A., Starks, B. C., & Gibson, L. R. (2009). Contextualizing black boys' use of a street

    identity in high school. New Directions for Youth Development, 2009(123), 35–51.

Payne, Allison Ann, and Welch, Kelly. (2010). ''Racial Threat in Schools: Modeling the

    Influence of Punitive and Restorative Discipline Practices.'' Criminology 48(4):1019–62.

Perkinson, R. (2010). *Texas tough: the rise of America's prison empire*. New York: Picador.

Perry, B and Morris, E. (2014). Suspending Progress: Collateral Consequences of Exclusionary

    Punishment in Public Schools. American Sociologcal Review, 79(6) 1067–1087.

Piquero, A. R. (2008). Disproportionate minority contact. Future of Children, 18, 59–79.

Pizzi, W. T., Blair, I. V., and Judd, C. M (2005 Discrimination in sentencing on the basis of

    Afrocentric features. *Michigan Journal of Race and Law*, 10, 327-355.

powell, j.a. (2007). Structural Racism: Building upon the Insights of John Calmore, *North*

    Carolina Law Review 86, 791–816.

Preteceille, E. (1990). Political paradoxes of urban restructuring: Globalization of the economy

and localization of politics. In J. R. Logan & T. Swanstrom (Eds.), Beyond the city limits

(pp. 27–59). Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Purdie-Vaughns, V., & Eibach, R. P. (2008). Intersectional invisibility: The distinctive

advantages and disadvantages of multiple subordinate-group identities. Sex Roles, 59,

377-391.

Raffaele Mendez, L. M., & Knoff, H. M. (2003). Who gets suspended from school and why: A

demographic analysis of schools and disciplinary infractions in a large school district.

Education and Treatment of Children, 26(1), 30–51.

Rausch, M. K., & Skiba, R. J. (2005). *The academic cost of discipline: The relationship between

suspension/expulsion and school achievement.* Bloomington: Indiana University, Center

for Evaluation and Education Policy.

Redford, L. (2017). The Intertwined History of Class and Race Segregation in Los

Angeles. *Journal of Planning History*, *16*(4), 305–322.

Rios, Victor M. (2011). *Punished: Policing the Lives of Black and Latino Boys*. New York: New

York University Press.

Rios, V. M., Prieto, G., & Ibarra, J. M. (2020). Mano Suave–Mano Dura: Legitimacy Policing

and Latino Stop-and-Frisk. *American Sociological Review, 85*(1), 58–75.

Roch, C. H., Pitts, D. W., & Navarro, I. (2010). Representative bureaucracy and policy tools:

Ethnicity, student discipline, and representation in public schools. *Administration &

Society, 42*(1), 38–65.

Rocha, R. R., & Hawes, D. P. (2009). Racial diversity, representative bureaucracy, and equity in

multiracial school districts. *Social Science Quarterly, 90*(2), 326–344.

Rocque, M. (2010). Office discipline and student behavior: Does race matter? *American Journal of Education, 116*, 557–581.

Rocque, M., & Paternoster, R. (2011). Understanding the antecedents of the "school-to- jail" link: The relationship between race and school discipline. *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, 101*, 633–665.

Rodríguez, D. (2006). Forced Passages: Imprisoned Radical Intellectuals and The U.S. Prison Regime. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press Ray, V. (2019). A Theory of Racialized Organizations. *American Sociological Review*, *84*(1), 26–53.

Rodríguez, L. F., & Brown, T. M. (2009). From voice to agency: Guiding principles for participatory action research with youth. *New Directions for Youth Development, 2009*(123), 19–34.

Rosenbaum, J. (2018). Educational and Criminal Justice Outcomes 12 Years After School Suspension. Youth & Society. 1-33.

Rothstein, R. (2017). W*hy Los Angeles is still a segregated city after all these years,* Los Angeles Times. Retrieved from https://www.latimes.com/opinion/op-ed/la-oe-rothstein-segregated-housing-20170820-story.html

Sakamoto, A., and Kim, C.H. (2010). Is Rising Earnings Inequality Associated with Increased Exploitation? Evidence for U.S. Manufacturing Industries, 1971–1996. *Sociological Perspectives*, *53*, 19–44.

Sampson, R. J. (2012). *Great American City*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Sampson, R. J., and Morenof, J. D. (1997). "Ecological Perspectives on the Neighborhood Context of Urban Poverty: Past and Present." Pp. 1–22 in *Neighborhood Poverty*, edited

by Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Greg J. Duncan, and J. Lawrence Aber. New York: Russell Sage.

Sander, Janay. (2010). School psychology, juvenile justice, and the school to prison pipeline. Communique 39:4–5.

Sassen, S. (1994). *Cities in a world economy*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Sassen, S. (1998). *Globalization and its discontents*. New York: New Press.

Scott, J. (1985). *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasants Resistance*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

Scott, P. B. (1982). Debunking Sapphire: Toward a non-racist and non-sexist social science. In *All the women are white, all the blacks are men, but some of us are brave*. The Feminist Press at the City University of New York, New York, NY.

Sesko, A. K., and Biernat, M. 2010. Prototypes of race and gender: The invisibility of Black women. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 46*(2), 356-360.

Sewell, A.A. (2016). The Racism-Race Reification Process: A Mesolevel Political Economic Framework for Understanding Racial Health Disparities. *Sociology of Race and Ethnicity 2*(4), 402–32.

Sharkey, P. (2013). *Stuck in Place: Urban Neighborhoods and the End of Progress Toward Racial Equality*. University of Chicago Press, Chicago.

Shollenberger, T.L. (2015). Racial disparities in school suspension and subsequent outcomes: Evidence from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth. In: Losen, DJ., editor. *Closing the school discipline gap: Equitable remedies for excessive exclusion* (pp. 31-43*)*. New York, NY: Teacher's College Press.

Sides, J. (2003). *L.A. City Limits: African Americans Los Angeles from the Great Depression to the Presen*t. University of California, Berkeley Press.

Skiba, R. (2001). *Zero tolerance, zero evidence: An analysis of school disciplinary practice*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana Education Policy Center, Indiana University

Skiba, R. J. (2000). Zero Tolerance, Zero Evidence: An Analysis of School Disciplinary Practice. Bloomington: Indiana Education Policy Center.

Skiba, R. J. (2015). Interventions to address racial/ethnic disparities in school discipline: Can systems reform be race-neutral? In R. Bangs, L. E. Davis, R. Bangs, & L. E. Davis (Eds.), *Race and social problems: Restructuring inequality* (pp. 107–124). New York, NY: Springer Science + Business Media.

Skiba, R. J., Arredondo, M. I., & Williams, N. T. (2014). More than a metaphor: The contribution of exclusionary discipline to a school-to-prison pipeline. *Equity & Excellence in Education, 47*, 546–564.

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*, 85–107.

Skiba, R. J., Michael, R. S., Nardo, A. C., & Peterson, R. L. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *Urban Review, 34*, 317–342.

Skiba, R. J., Mediratta, K., and Rausch, M.K., (2016). *Inequality in school discipline: Research and practice to reduce disparities*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Simon, Jonathan. (2007). Governing through Crime: How the War on Crime Transformed

American Democracy and Created a Culture of Fear. New York: Oxford University

Press.

Smith-Evans, L. & George, J. (2014). Unlocking Opportunity for African American Girls: A Call

to Action for Educational Equity. NAACP Legal Defense & Education Fund, Inc. &

National Women's Law Center.

Sojoyner, D.M. (2016). *First Strike: Educational Enclosures in Black Los Angeles*. Minneapolis;

London: University of Minnesota Press.

Sojoyner, D.M. (2017). Another Life is Possible: Black Fugitivity and Enclosed Places. *Cultural

Anthropology*, 32(4), 514–536.

Spatial Information Design Lab. (2007) The pattern. Justice Mapping Center, Columbia

University.

Staats, C. (2014). *Implicit racial bias and school discipline disparities* (special rep.).

Columbus, OH: Kirwan Institute.

Steinberg, M. P., & Lacoe, J. (2016). What do we know about school discipline reform?

Assessing the alternatives to suspensions and expulsions. *Education Next, 17*, 1–23.

Steinberg, M. P., & Lacoe, J. (2017a). What do we know about school discipline reform?

Education Next, 17(1), 44–52.

Steinberg, M. P., & Lacoe, J. (2017b). *The academic and behavioral consequences of discipline

policy reform: Evidence from Philadelphia*. Washington, D.C.: Thomas B. Fordham

Institute. Retrieved from

http://edex.s3uswest2.amazonaws.com/publication/pdfs/%2812.05%29%20The%20Acad

emic%20and%20Behavioral%20Consequences%20of%20Discipline%20Policy%20Refo

rm%20Evidence%20from%20Philadelphia.pdf

Stovall, D., & Delgado, N. (2009). "Knowing the ledge": Participatory action research as legal

studies for urban high school youth. New Directions for Youth Development, 2009(123),

67–81.

Sugie, N., and Turney, K. (2017). Beyond Incarceration: Criminal Justice Contact and Mental

Health. *American Sociological Review 82*(4), 719 – 743.

Sumner, M. D., Silverman, C. J., & Frampton, M. L. (2010). *School-based Restorative Justice as*

an alternative to ZeroTolerance Policies: Lessons from West Oakland. Berkeley, CA:

University of California, Berkeley, School of Law.

Tabb, W. (1970) *The Political Economy of the Black Ghetto*. New York: W.W. Norton Co.

The Labor/Community Strategy Center. (2013). Black, Brown, and Over-Policed in L.A.

Schools Community Rights Campaign.

Thompson, H.A. (2010). Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and

Transformation in Postwar American History. *The Journal of American History, 97(*3),

703-34.

Tilly, C. (2005). *Identities, Boundaries, and Social Ties*. Boulder, Colorado. Paradigm.

Thoits, P. A. (2010). Stress and Health: Major Findings and Policy Implications. *Journal of*

Health and Social Behavior, 51(S), S41-S53.

Thompson, H.A. (2010). Why Mass Incarceration Matters: Rethinking Crisis, Decline, and

Transformation in Postwar American History. *The Journal of American History, 97(*3),

703-34.

Tomaskovic-Devey, D., and Avent-Holt., D. 2016. Observing Organizational Inequality

Regimes. *Research in the Sociology of Work, 28*, 187–212.

Torre, M., & Fine, M. (with Alexander, N., Billups, A. B., Blanding, Y., Geneno, E., Marboe, E.,

Salah, T., & Urdang, K.). (2008). Participatory action research in the contact zone. In J.

Cammarota, & M. Fine (Eds.), *Revolutionizing education: Youth participatory action*

research in motion (pp. 23–44). New York, NY: Routledge.

Travis, J., Western, B., and Redburn, J. (2014). The Growth of Incarceration in the United States:

Exploring Causes and Consequences. *National Academies Press*, Washington D.C

Ture, K., and Hamilton, C.V. (1967). *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. New York:

Random House.

U.S. Census Bureau (2018). *American Community Survey 1-year estimates.* Retrieved from

http://censusreporter.org/profiles/79500US0603751-los-angeles-county-south-central-la-city-south-centralwatts-puma-ca/

U.S. Census Bureau (2001). 2000 Decennial Census, Census Track-Level Data. Retrieved from

https://www.census.gov/census2000/states/us.html

U.S. Census Bureau (2011). 2005-2009 American Community Survey 5-year estimates.

Retrieved from https://catalog.data.gov/dataset/2005-2009-american-community-survey-5-year-estimates-summary-file-tracts-and-blo

U.S. Census Bureau (1992). 1990 Decennial Census. Retrieved from

https://www.census.gov/population/www/censusdata/90pubs/decenial.html

U.S. Census Office (1901). Twelfth Census of the United States Taken in the Year 1900. Census

Report Vol. 1. Population. Part 1, Washington, D.C

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (2019, July). *Beyond Suspensions: Examining School*

    Discipline Policies and Connections to the School-to-Prison Pipeline for Students of

    Color with Disabilities. Washington, D.C. Retrieved from

    https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2019/07-23-Beyond-Suspensions.pdf

U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights. (2019, May). Civil Rights Data

    Collection—School Climate and Safety. Retrieved from

    http://ocrdata.ed.gov/Downloads/CRDC-School-Discipline-Snapshot.pdf

U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights. (2014, March). Civil Rights Data

    Collection—Data snapshot: School discipline (Issue Brief No. 1). Retrieved from

    https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/school-climate-and-safety.pdf

U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights. (2016, December), "Dear Colleague:

    Preventing Racial Discrimination in Special Education," Retrieved from:

    https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201612-racedisc-special-

    education.pdf;

U.S. Departments of Justice and Education (2016,September). *Safe School-based Enforcement*

    through Collaboration, Understanding, and Respect: State and Local Policy Rubric.

    Retrieved from https://www2.ed.gov/policy/gen/guid/school-discipline/files/sro-local-

    implementation-rubric.pdf

Unnever, J. D., & Gabbidon, S. L. (2011). *A theory of African American offending: Race,*

    racism, and crime. New York, NY: Routledge.

Vaught, S. (2017). *Compulsory: Education and the Dispossession of Youth in a Prison School.*

    Minneapolis:

Viglione, J., Hannon, L. and DeFina, R (2011). "The Impact of Light Skin on Prison Time for Black Female Offenders." The Social Science Journal 48: 250-258. Walker, Alice (1983). In *Search of Our Mothers' Gardens*. San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers.

Voight, A & Velez, V. (2018). Youth Participatory Action Research in the High School Curriculum: Education Outcomes for Student Participants in a District-Wide Initiative, *Journal of Research on Educational Effectiveness, 11*(3), 433-451

Wakefield, Sara, and Christopher Wildeman. (2014). Children of the prison boom: Mass incarceration and the future of American inequality. Oxford: Oxford University Press

Wald, J. and Losen, D. J. (2003), Defining and redirecting a school-to-prison pipeline. *New Directions for Youth Development, 2003*(99), 9-15.

Wallace, 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.

Ward, G. K. (2012). *The Black Child-Savers: Racial Democracy and Juvenile Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Watts, R.J., Griffith, D.M. & Abdul-Adil, J. (1999). Sociopolitical Development as an Antidote for Oppression—Theory and Action. *Am J Community Psychol*, 27**,** 255–271.

Watts, R.J., Williams, N.C. & Jagers, R.J. (2003). Sociopolitical Development. *Am J Community Psychol 31***,** 185–194.

Watkins, S. C. (1998). Representing: Hip Hop Culture and The Production of Black Cinema. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Weaver, V. (2007). Frontlash: Race and the Development of Punitive Crime Policy, *Studies in American Political Development, 21*(2), 230-265. Doi: 10.1017/S0898588X07000211

Welch, K. and Payne, A.A. (2010). Racial Threat and Punitive School Discipline. *Social Problems 57*, 25-48.

Welsh, R. O., and Little, S. (2018). The School Discipline Dilemma: A Comprehensive Review of Disparities and Alternative Approaches. *Review of Research in Education*, 88, 752–794

Weinbaum, Alys Eve. (2013). The Afterlife of Slavery and the Problem of Reproductive Freedom. *Social Text* 31(115): 49–68.

Weinstein, R. S. (2002). Reaching higher: The power of expectations in schooling. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Wentzel, K.R. (2002). Are effective teachers like good parents? Teaching styles and student adjustment in early adolescence. *Child Development, 73*, 287–301.

Wildeman, C., Haskins, A.R., and Muller, C. (2013). Implications of Mass Imprisonment for Inequality Among American Children. In: McDowell DE, Harold CN, Battle J. *The Punitive Turn: New Approaches to Race and Incarceration.* Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

Wildhagen, Tina. (2012). How teachers and schools contribute to racial differences in the realization of academic potential. Teachers College Record 114 (7): 1–27.

Wilson, W. J. (1987). *The Truly Disadvantaged*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Winn, M.T. (2011). *Girl Time: Literacy, Justice, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline*. New York: Teachers College Press.

Wright, E. O. (1994). *Interrogating Inequality*. London: Verso.

Wright, D. (2015). Active learning: Social justice education and participatory action research. New York, NY: Routledge.

Wun, C. (2016). Unaccounted Foundations: Black Girls, Anti-Black Racism, and Punishment in Schools, *Critical Sociology,* 42(4–5), 37–50.

Wun, C. (2018). Angered: Black and non-Black girls of color at the intersections of violence and school discipline in the United States. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 21, 423–437.

Yang, K. W. (2009). Mathematics, critical literacy, and youth participatory action research. *New Directions for Youth Development, 2009(123*), 99–118.

Yates, T. M., & Marcelo, A. K. (2014). Through race-colored glasses: Preschoolers' pretend play and teachers' ratings of preschooler adjustment. *Early Childhood Research Quarterly*, 29, 1-11.

Zaal, M., & Terry, J. (2013). Knowing what I can do and who I can be: Youth identify transformational benefits of participatory action research. *Journal of Ethnographic & Qualitative Research, 8*, 42–55.

Zimmermann, C.R. (2018). The Penalty of Being a Young Black Girl: Kindergarten Teachers' Perceptions of Children's Problem Behaviors and Student–Teacher Conflict by the Intersection of Race and Gender. *The Journal of Negro Education, 87*(2), 154-168.

Zimmer-Gembeck, M. J., & Collins, W. A. (2003). Autonomy development during adolescence. In G. R. Adams & M. D. Berzonsky (Eds.), Blackwell handbook of adolescence, 175–204. Malden, MA: Blackwell.