



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

## Neutralizing Implicit Bias in School Discipline

Kent McIntosh  
*University of Oregon*



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

## Acknowledgements



### ■ PBIS Center Disproportionality Workgroup

- Timberly Baker
- Aaron Barnes
- Kimberly Bunch-Crump
- Alondra Canizal Delabra
- Yolanda Cargile
- Erin Chaparro
- Soraya Coccimiglio
- Tai Collins
- Bert Eliason
- Erik Girvan
- Steve Goodman
- Clynta Grafenreed
- Ambra Green
- Beth Hill
- Rob Horner
- Don Kincaid
- Milaney Levenson
- Tim Lewis
- Stephanie Martinez
- Kent McIntosh
- Rhonda Nese
- Vicki Nishioka
- Heidi von Ravensberg
- Ruthie Payno-Simmons
- Jennifer Rose
- Therese Sandomierski
- Russ Skiba
- Kent Smith
- Keith Smolkowski



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

## Overview of Today's Session

1. Complete some **activities** to explore disproportionality in school discipline
2. Share **an intervention approach** for enhancing equity in school discipline
3. Guide you through a **data** driven process for:
  1. Identify **causes and solutions**
  2. **Change environments** to prevent challenges
  3. **Build skills** in responding to challenges

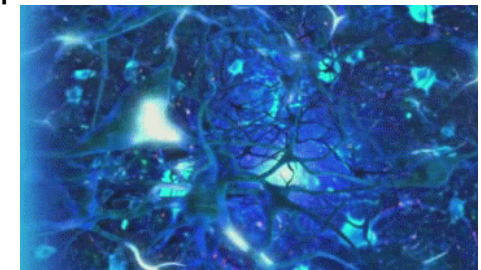
Handouts: <http://www.pbis.org>



UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

## Stroop Task: A test of **automatic** **associations**

- Our brains are wired to look for patterns
- When we are forced to make quick decisions, we use our automatic associations to respond



## What is implicit bias?

- Unconscious, automatic
- Generally **not** an indication of our beliefs and values
- We all have it (even those affected by it)
- Based on stereotypes
- More likely to influence:
  - Snap decisions
  - Decisions that are ambiguous

## Implicit Attractiveness Bias

(Salter, Mixon, & King, 2012)



## Implicit Height Bias

(Judge & Cable, 2004)

One inch of height is worth \$789 per year in salary



## Implicit Bias in Refereeing

(Carlson, 2014)



## Implicit Bias in Refereeing (Carlson, 2014)

FOUL DIFFERENTIAL IN THE ACC

Team	Home game differential	Away game differential
Boston College	3	-14
Clemson	6	-4
Duke	12	-27
Florida State	4	14
Georgia Tech	4	-13
Maryland	-11	-41
Miami	-11	6
North Carolina	-24	-24
N.C. State	6	6
Notre Dame	-8	-18
Pittsburgh	2	9
Syracuse	29	0
Virginia	22	17
Virginia Tech	0	-1
Wake Forest	9	-3

## So...are all referees terrible people?



## Implicit Bias and Race

“the challenge is not a small number of twisted white supremacists but something infinitely more subtle and complex: People who believe in equality but who act in ways that perpetuate bias and inequality.”

-Nicholas Kristof, *The New York Times*

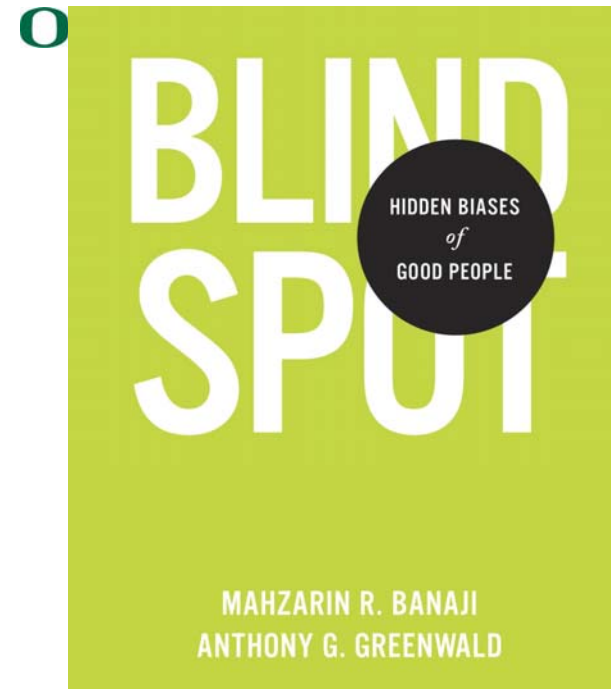
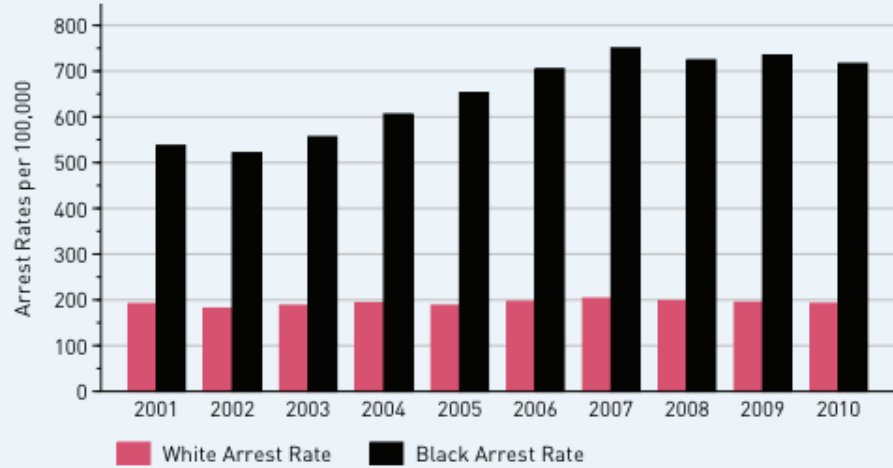


FIGURE 10

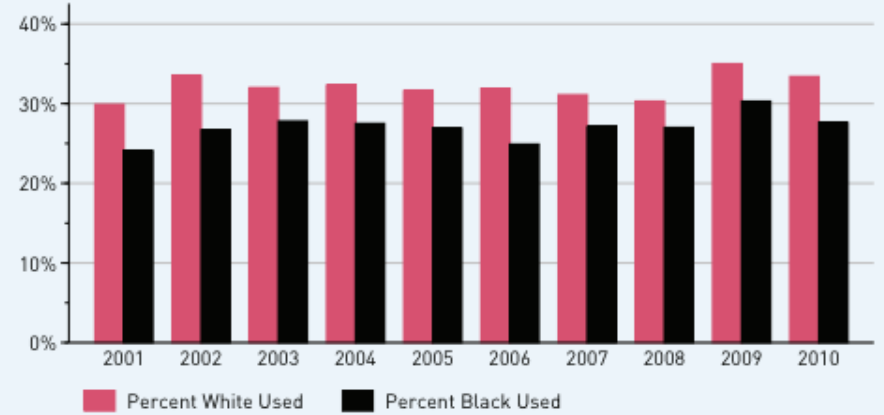
Arrest Rates for Marijuana Possession by Race (2001-2010)



Source: FBI/Uniform Crime Reporting Program Data and U.S. Census Data

FIGURE 22

Marijuana Use Among 18- to 25-Year-Olds by Race: Used Marijuana in Past 12 Months (2001-2010)



Source: National Household Survey on Drug Abuse and Health, 2001-2010

# Implicit Bias in Early Learning

(Gilliam et al., 2016)



# Implicit Bias in Early Learning

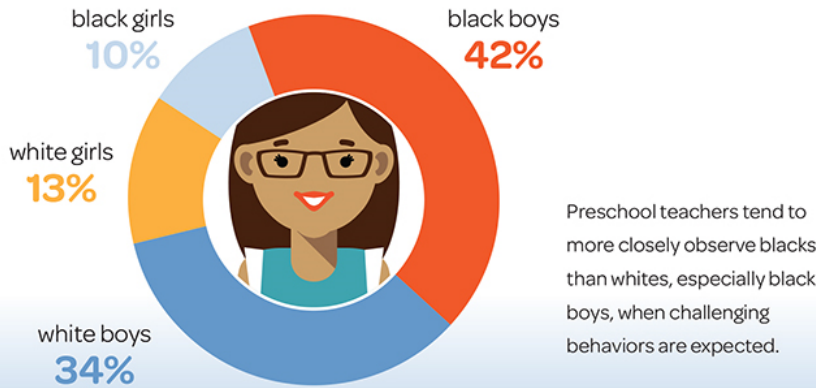
(Gilliam et al., 2016)



## Implicit Bias in Early Learning

(Gilliam et al., 2016)

Track the eyes: Which students are teachers watching?



## Disproportionality in Preschool Discipline (OCR, 2016)

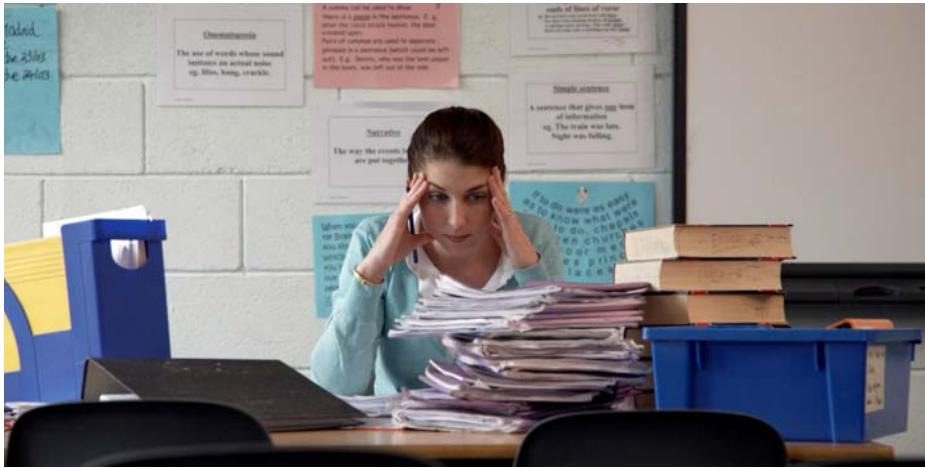
- Black children represent 19% of preschool enrollment, but 47% of preschool suspensions
- White children represent 41% of preschool enrollment, but 28% of preschool suspensions



Implicit Bias predicts the extent to which...



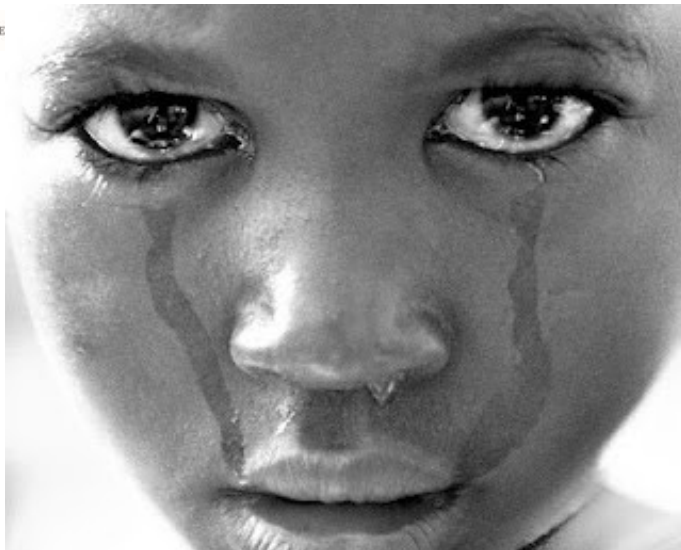
- **Arbitrators** decide labor grievances in favor of women over men (Girvan, Deason, & Borgida, 2015)



- **Teachers** of students with ASD experience anxiety, depression, and professional burnout (Kelly & Barnes-Holmes, 2013)



- **Police Officers** use force when arresting Black children as opposed to White children (Goff et al., 2014)



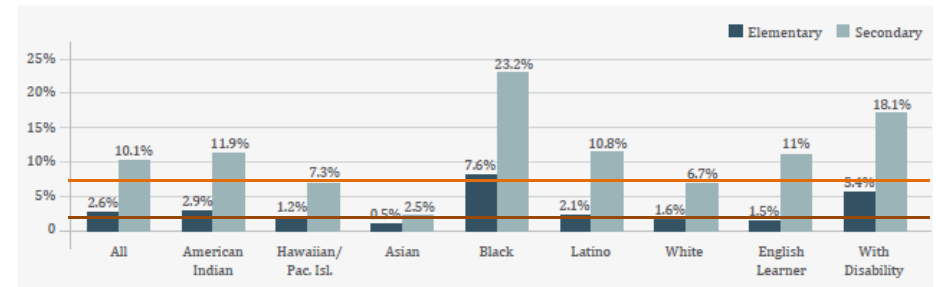
- **Pediatricians** recommend less pain medication for Black children than White children with identical symptoms (Cooper et al., 2012; Sabin & Greenwald, 2012)

Where do implicit biases come from?

# Pop Quiz: What % of the Black population is incarcerated?

# Disproportionality in School Discipline (Losen et al., 2015)

Figure 1. Elementary and Secondary Out-of-school Suspension Rates by Subgroup, 2011-12



<http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/resources/projects/center-for-civil-rights-remedies/school-to-prison-folder/federal-reports/are-we-closing-the-school-discipline-gap>

If you're **aware...**



...you're halfway there.

# A 5-point Intervention Approach to Enhance Equity in School Discipline

**PBIS** Positive Behavioral Interventions & Supports  
August 7, 2014

## Recommendations for Addressing Discipline Disproportionality in Education

Kent McIntosh, Erik J. Girvan, Robert H. Horner, Keith Smolkowski, & George Sugai

Disproportionality represents one of the most significant problems in education today (Gregory, Skiba, & Noguera, 2010; U.S. Government Accountability Office, 2013). The results of decades of research consistently show that students of color, particularly African American students (and even more so for those with disabilities), are at significantly increased risk for exposure to exclusionary discipline practices, including office discipline referrals and suspensions (e.g., Fabelo et al., 2011; Losen & Gillespie, 2012; Shaw & Braden, 1990). These differences have been found consistently across geographic regions and cannot be adequately explained by the correlation between race and poverty (Noltemeyer & McCoughlin, 2010). Given the well-documented negative effects of exclusionary discipline on a range of student outcomes (American Academy of Pediatrics Council on School Health, 2013), educators must address this issue by identifying rates of discipline disproportionality, taking steps to reduce it, and monitoring the effects of intervention on disproportionality. Disproportionality in exclusionary discipline blocks us from the overall objective of promoting positive outcomes for all students.

### Components of Effective Intervention to Prevent and Reduce Disproportionality

The existing research is clear that no single strategy will be sufficient to produce substantive and sustainable change. Multiple components may be needed, but not all components may be necessary in all schools. We describe

here a 5-point multicomponent approach to reduce disproportionality in schools.

#### 1. Use Effective Instruction to Reduce the Achievement Gap

Because of the well-documented relation between academic achievement and problem behavior (McIntosh, Sautter, &

*continued on next page*

<http://www.pbis.org/school/equity-pbis>

## 5-point Intervention Approach

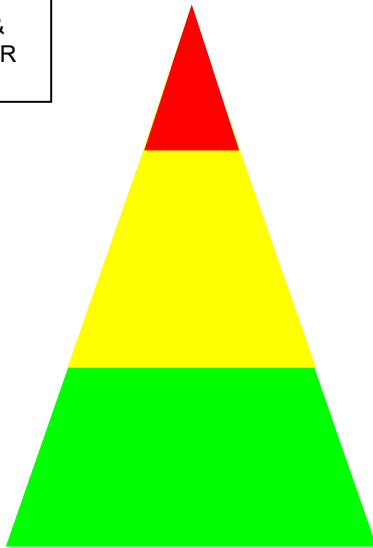
1. Use engaging **academic instruction** to reduce the opportunity (achievement) gap
2. Implement a **behavior framework** that is preventive, multi-tiered, and culturally responsive
3. Collect, use, and report **disaggregated** discipline data
4. Develop **policies** with accountability for disciplinary equity
5. Teach strategies to **neutralize implicit bias**

<http://www.pbis.org/school/equity-pbis>

## 2. How do we make schools more inviting for **all** students?



CONTINUUM OF SCHOOL-WIDE INSTRUCTIONAL & POSITIVE BEHAVIOR SUPPORT





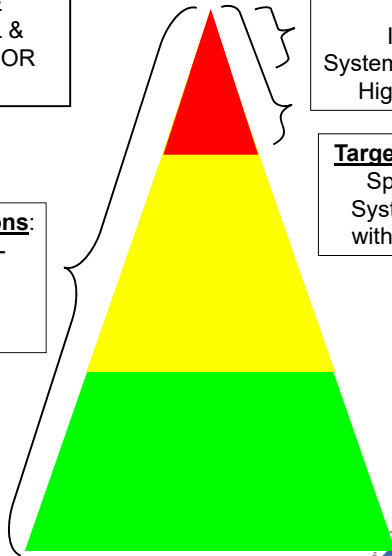
## Why start with a foundation of PBIS?

1. Proactive, instructional approach *may* prevent unwanted behavior and exposure to biased responses to unwanted behavior
2. Increasing positive student-teacher interactions *may* enhance relationships to prevent challenges
3. More objective referral and discipline procedures *may* reduce subjectivity and influence of cultural bias
4. Professional development *may* provide teachers with more instructional responses

(Greflund et al., 2014)

CONTINUUM OF SCHOOL-WIDE INSTRUCTIONAL & POSITIVE BEHAVIOR SUPPORT

**Universal Interventions:**  
School-/Classroom-Wide Systems for All Students, Staff, & Settings



**Intensive Individual Interventions:**  
Specialized Individualized Systems for Students with High-Risk Behavior

**Targeted Interventions:**  
Specialized Group Systems for Students with At-Risk Behavior



## Effects of PBIS on Discipline Disproportionality

- **Vincent et al., 2011**
  - Statistically significantly lower Black-White ODR disproportionality in 72 schools implementing SWPBIS than in 81 schools not implementing SWPBIS
- **Vincent et al., 2009**
  - Decreases in ODRs seen across racial/ethnic groups in 69 schools implementing SWPBIS
- **Scott, 2001**
  - Larger decreases in suspensions for Black students when SWPBIS implemented
- **McIntosh et al., 2014**
  - Sustained decrease in suspensions over eight years of SWPBIS implementation in an Indigenous school

## Culturally Responsive PBIS Implementation

- Develop and revise school-wide systems with **active involvement** of families, students, and the community



SCHOOL-WIDE BEHAVIOR EXPECTATIONS

	Arrival & Dismissal	Hallway & Transitions	Bathroom	Cafeteria	Classroom
<b>S</b> Safety First	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Walk directly to my designated area</li> <li>Stay in my area</li> <li>Talk softly</li> <li>Keep hands, feet, and belongings to myself</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Walk directly to my designated area</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Keep hands, feet, and belongings to myself</li> <li>Allow for the privacy of others</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Enter and exit with a pass or my teacher</li> <li>Throw away my trash and tray</li> <li>Clean up after myself</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Listen</li> <li>Follow directions the first time given</li> <li>Ask appropriately for help</li> <li>Clean up after myself</li> <li>Follow lab rules and procedures</li> </ul>
<b>W</b> Work Together Respectfully	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Respect the space of others</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Walk quietly in a single, straight, and silent line so that others can continue learning and working</li> <li>Walk to the right side of the hallway</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Conserve supplies:                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- 2 squirts of soap</li> <li>- 2 pushes/turns on the paper towel dispenser</li> </ul> </li> <li>Dispose of trash in the trash can</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Move away from conflict or distractions</li> <li>Ask for help when needed</li> <li>Be patient</li> <li>Stay in line</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Accept feedback and discipline from staff by listening, asking questions, and following directions the first time.</li> <li>Be ready to learn</li> <li>Be present and focused</li> <li>Encourage others</li> </ul>
<b>A</b> Accept Responsibility	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Keep to your own business</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Remain quiet in QUIET ZONES</li> <li>Carry my own belongings</li> <li>Keep lockers locked</li> <li>Walk directly to my designated area</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Flush</li> <li>Wash my hands</li> <li>Use appropriate fixtures</li> <li>Go</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Maintain a clean space and conversation</li> <li>Keep food on my tray or in my mouth</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Attend class daily and on time</li> <li>Clean up after myself</li> <li>Be prepared for instruction with all necessary materials</li> </ul>
<b>G</b> Guide Me	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teachers will supervise groups of students at all times</li> <li>Teachers will ensure that they know the location of all students</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teachers will enforce safety</li> <li>Teachers will monitor students by being at their doors and in the hallways</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teachers will stand by bathrooms to monitor the noise and behavior from the hallway</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teachers will arrive on time and pick up students on time</li> <li>Teachers will walk students directly into the cafeteria</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teachers will supervise groups of students at all times</li> <li>Teachers will be prepared for class                             <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Lesson plans posted</li> <li>- Engaged and present</li> <li>- Observable outcomes</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

# Culturally Responsive Adaptation: Personal Matrix

- Aka “behavior dictionary”
- Tool to assist in “code-switching”
- The tweak:
  - Take school expectations and...
    - Add differences at home
    - Add differences in community

Expectation	At SCHOOL it looks like...	At HOME it looks like...	In my NEIGHBORHOOD it looks like...
Be Safe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Keep hands and feet to self</li> <li>Tell an adult if there is a problem</li> </ul>		
Be Respectful	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Treat others how you want to be treated</li> <li>Include others</li> <li>Listen to adults</li> </ul>		
Be Responsible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do my own work</li> <li>Personal best</li> <li>Follow directions</li> <li>Clean up messes</li> </ul>		

Expectation	At SCHOOL it looks like...	At HOME it looks like...	In my NEIGHBORHOOD it looks like...
Be Safe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Keep hands and feet to self</li> <li>Tell an adult if there is a problem</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Protect your friends and family</li> <li>Don't talk back</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Stick up for your friends</li> <li>Don't back down</li> <li>Look the other way</li> </ul>
Be Respectful	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Treat others how you want to be treated</li> <li>Include others</li> <li>Listen to adults</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do exactly what adults tell you to do</li> <li>Don't stand out</li> <li>Don't bring shame</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Text back within 30 seconds</li> <li>Be nice to friends' parents</li> <li>Share food</li> </ul>
Be Responsible	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Do my own work</li> <li>Personal best</li> <li>Follow directions</li> <li>Clean up messes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Help your family out first</li> <li>Own your mistakes</li> <li>Share credit for successes</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Have each other's backs</li> <li>Own your mistakes</li> <li>Check in about what to do</li> </ul>

# Culturally Responsive PBIS Implementation

- Develop and revise school-wide systems with **active involvement** of families, students, and the community
- Use **regular student and family surveys** to assess acceptability and fit

# Stakeholder Input & Satisfaction Surveys

**Stakeholder Input and Satisfaction Survey – Student MIDDLE/HIGH (SISS MIDDLE/HIGH) version 0.1**

We would like to hear from you about how you feel about your school. This survey asks what you think about behavior at school and what should be done to enhance how we treat and relate to each other. You do not have to answer all of the questions.

This survey is anonymous – nobody will know that your answers came from you.

What grade are you in? \_\_\_\_\_

Please answer these questions by circling one answer:

What is your ethnicity?

Hispanic/Latino/a	Not Hispanic/Latino/a	I prefer not to answer
-------------------	-----------------------	------------------------

What is your race (please circle all that apply)?

American Indian/Alaska Native	Asian	Black/African American
Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian	White	I prefer not to answer

Beyond that, is there another ethnic group you identify with? \_\_\_\_\_

What is your gender or gender identity?

Male	Female	Transgender	I prefer not to answer
------	--------	-------------	------------------------

Which of the following best describes you?

Heterosexual (straight)	Gay or Lesbian	Bisexual	I prefer not to answer
-------------------------	----------------	----------	------------------------

Please pick an answer or fill in the blanks for the following questions:

**EXPECTATIONS** (how your teachers want you to behave at school)

Do you know how your teachers want you to behave at school? YES / NO

What are the school-wide behavior expectations? \_\_\_\_\_

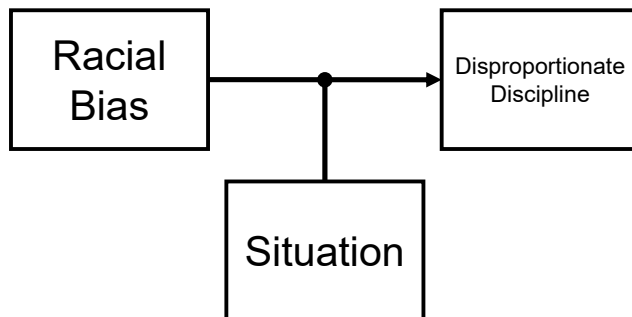
Are the school-wide behavior expectations meaningful or important to you? YES / NO

If not, what do you think the expectations should be? \_\_\_\_\_

Are the school-wide behavior expectations the same as they are in your home? YES / NO

If not, what expectations are different at school? \_\_\_\_\_

## 5. How can we reduce implicit bias in our decision making?



## What is a Vulnerable Decision Point (VDP)?

- A specific decision that is more vulnerable to effects of implicit bias
- Two parts:
  - Elements of the **situation**
  - The person's **decision state** (internal state)

# Situations: Options for Identifying VDPs

1. All ODR/suspension decisions (general self-instruction routine)
2. Identify specific VDPs
  - a) Through national data
  - b) Your own school or district data
  - c) Your own personal VDPs

September 2014

**Using Discipline Data within SWPBIS to Identify and Address Disproportionality: A Guide for School Teams**

This practice guide is one of a series of guides for enhancing equity in school discipline. The guides are based on a 5-point multicomponent intervention described by McIntosh, Girvan, Horner, Smolkowski, and Sugai (2014). The 5 points include effective instruction, School-wide PBIS as a foundation for culturally-responsive behavior support, use of disaggregated discipline data, effective policies, and reducing bias in discipline decisions. This guide addresses use of data.

The recommendations and guides are available at:  
<http://www.pbis.org/school/equity-pbis>.

**Introduction**  
The purpose of this guide is to provide a reference for SWPBIS school teams in the use of discipline data (e.g., office discipline referrals, suspensions) in the area of racial and ethnic disproportionality in school discipline. The guide will describe a framework and steps for identifying levels of disproportionality, analyzing data to determine solutions, and monitoring the effectiveness of action plans in addressing disproportionality. Specific practices to address disproportionality are described in other guides in this series.

**Audience**  
This guide is designed primarily for use by school or district teams seeking to reduce racial and ethnic disproportionality in school discipline, regardless of whether they are implementing SWPBIS.

<http://www.pbis.org/school/equity-pbis>

## SWIS Drill Down ([www.swis.org](http://www.swis.org))

Add demographic group of interest as a filter (click to "Include in Dataset").

Click each graph and compare to overall patterns.

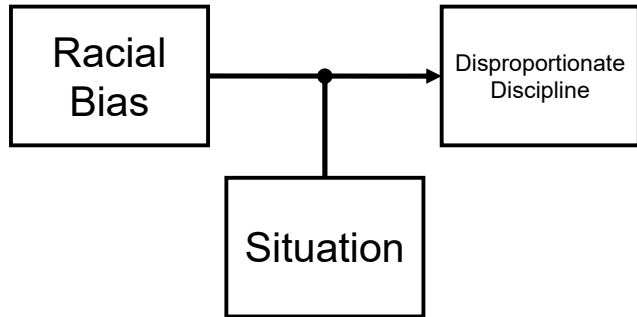
## VDPs from national ODR data

- Subjective problem behavior
  - Defiance, Disrespect, Disruption
  - Major vs. minor

- Hallways
- Classrooms
- Afternoons

AMBIGUITY  
 LACK OF CONTACT  
 RELEVANCE? S-T RELS?  
 FATIGUE

# Multidimensional View of Bias



**Vulnerable Decision Points**

Subjective Behavior	Unfamiliar with Student	
Vague Discipline System	Hunger	
Classrooms	Fatigue	(Smolkowski et al., 2016)

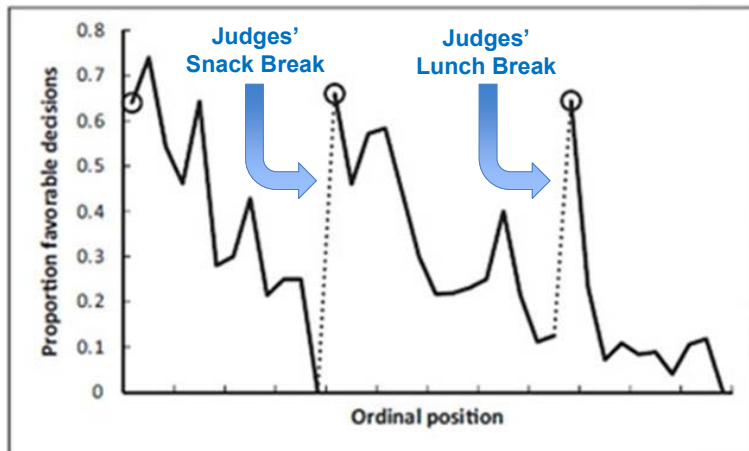
# Decision States: Resource Depletion

(Girvan et al., 2014)

- As we become fatigued, our filters for appropriate behavior can be affected
- Effects of hunger (Gailliot et al., 2009)
- Decreases in willpower later in day
  - “The Morning Morality Effect” (Kouchaki & Smith, 2014)
  - Examples...

# Resource Depletion in Action

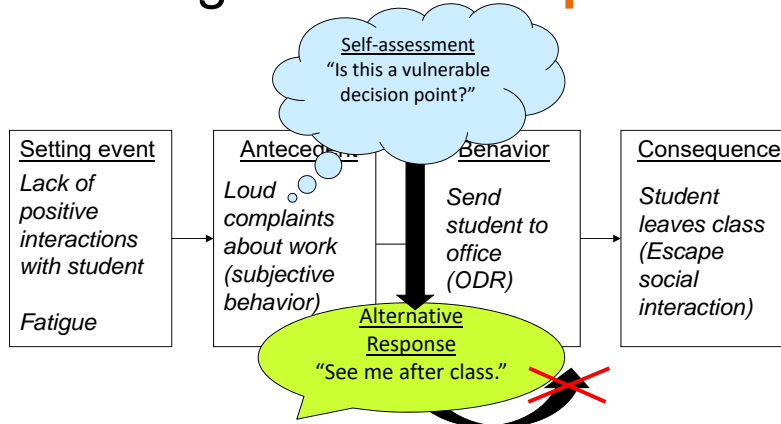
- Outcomes of parole hearings (Danziger et al., 2011)



# Two-step Neutralizing Routine for **Staff**:

- When you see unwanted behavior, stop and ask yourself:
  1. Is this a VDP?
    - Situation
    - Decision state
  2. If so, use an agreed-upon alternative response

# Neutralizing Routines for Reducing Effects of **Implicit Bias**



## What makes for a good neutralizing routine?

1. If-then statement
2. Brief
3. Clear steps
4. Doable
5. Interrupts the chain of events

## Neutralizing Routine Examples

### ■ If this is a VDP...

- **Delay decision until I can think clearly**
  - "See me after class/at the next break"
  - ask the student to reflect on their feelings/behavior
  - am I acting in line with my values?
- **Reframe the situation**
  - "I love you, but that behavior is not ok"
  - "How do we do that at school?"
  - picture this student as a future doctor/lawyer
  - assume student's best effort at getting needs met
  - respond as if the student was physically injured
- **Take care of yourself**
  - take two deep breaths
  - recognize my upset feelings and let them go
  - model classwide cool-down strategy



## Sample Neutralizing Routine

- **TRY**
  - Take a deep breath
  - Reflect on your emotions
  - Youth's best interest
    - "Let's **TRY** that again."
    - "Let's **TRY** it a different way."
    - "Let's **TRY** it how we do it at school."



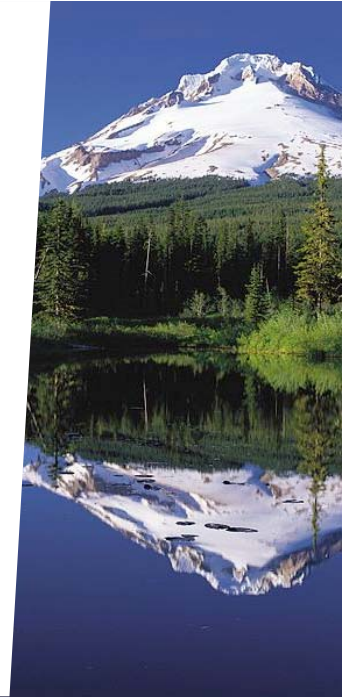
# Classwide “Reset” Routine

- **TRY** for students
  - Take three deep breaths
  - Reflect on your emotions
  - You got this!
- Social-emotional Theme
  - Mistakes are part of the learning process
  - We won’t always do it right the first time
  - We can’t succeed unless we **TRY**



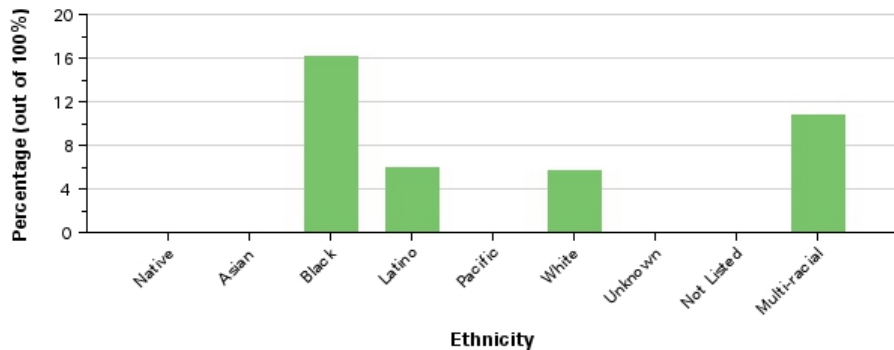
# School Example

Urban K-8 School



# Risk Indices

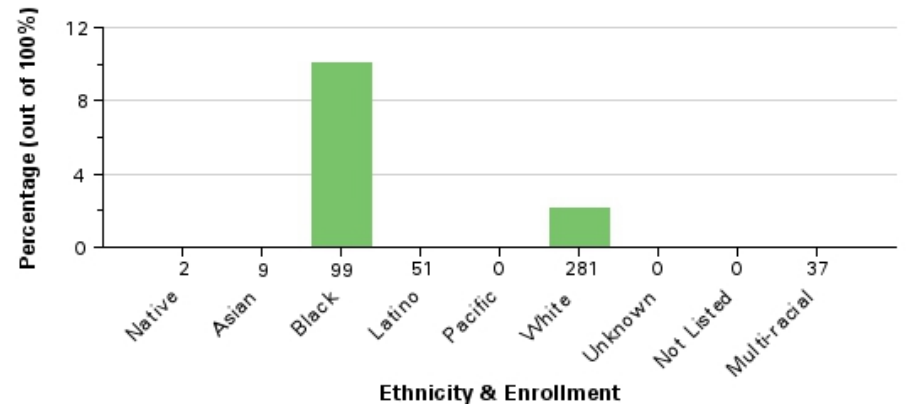
**Referral Risk Index**  
Major, 2013-14



■ Black/White ODR Risk Ratio = 2.67

# Drill Down: Phys. Aggression on Playground

**Referral Risk Index (Ethnicity)**  
Drill Down



■ Black/White ODR Risk Ratio = 4.5

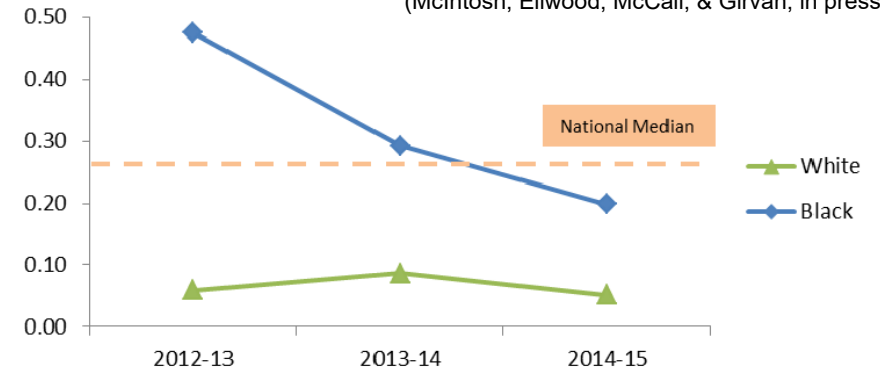
## The School PBIS Team's Intervention

- ODRs and observations indicated differences in perceived basketball rules
- Team clarified rules for staff and students
  - Aka "code-switching"
- Additional teaching, practice, and acknowledgement
- Monitor with ODRs and Black-White RRs

## Progress over Time

### Office Discipline Referrals Per Day Per 100 Students

(McIntosh, Ellwood, McCall, & Girvan, in press)



## Big Ideas

- Thinking about and discussing solutions is the first step
- Pick a neutralizing routine and try it out
- Use your data to assess and monitor
  - If you don't have the data you need at hand, advocate for it
- This is hard work – but you know how to do it!



Please complete this anonymous evaluation to help improve it!

■ <http://bit.ly/2qoNIWI>



## Contact Information

■ Kent McIntosh  
Special Education Program  
University of Oregon  
[kentm@uoregon.edu](mailto:kentm@uoregon.edu)

 [@\\_kentmc](https://twitter.com/_kentmc)



Cannon Beach, Oregon  
© GoPictures, 2010

Handouts: <http://www.pbis.org>

## References

- American Psychological Association. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations. *American Psychologist*, 63, 852-862.
- Anand, R., & Winters, M. (2008). A retrospective view of corporate diversity training from 1964 to the present. *Academy of Management Learning & Education*, 7, 356-372.
- 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.
- Chaparro, E. A., Helton, S., & Sadler, C. A. (2016). Oregon Effective Behavioral and Instructional Support Systems initiative: Implementation from district and state level perspectives. In K. McIntosh & S. Goodman (Eds.), *Integrated multi-tiered systems of support: Blending RTI and PBIS* (pp. 267-286). New York: Guilford.

## References

- Gailliot, M. T., Peruche, B. M., Plant, E. A., & Baumeister, R. F. (2009). Stereotypes and prejudice in the blood: Sucrose drinks reduce prejudice and stereotyping. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 45, 288-290.
- Girvan, E. J. (2014). *Wise restraints?: How learning the law affects socially-biased decision-making. How Learning the Law Affects Socially-Biased Decision-Making* (June 4, 2013) (available at SSRN: <http://ssrn.com/abstract=2274314>)
- Girvan, E. J., Deason, G., & Borgida, E. (2015). The generalizability of gender bias: Effects of expertise and accountability on sexism in labor arbitration decisions. *Law and Human Behavior*, 39, 525-537. doi: 10.1037/lhb0000139.
- Girvan, E. J., Gion, C., McIntosh, K., & Smolkowski, K. (in press). The relative contribution of subjective office referrals to racial disproportionality in school discipline. *School Psychology Quarterly*.
- Greenwald, A. G., & Pettigrew, T. F. (2014). With malice toward none and charity for some: Ingroup favoritism enables discrimination. *American Psychologist*, 69, 669-684.

## References

- Greflund, S., McIntosh, K., Mercer, S. H., & May, S. L. (2014). Examining disproportionality in school discipline for Aboriginal students in schools implementing PBIS. *Canadian Journal of School Psychology, 29*, 213-235.
- Judge, T. A., & Cable, D. M. (2004). The effect of physical height on workplace success and income: preliminary test of a theoretical model. *Journal of Applied Psychology, 89*, 428-441.
- Kahneman, D. (2011). *Thinking, fast and slow*. New York: Macmillan.
- Kouchaki, M., & Smith, I. H. (2014). The morning morality effect: The influence of time of day on unethical behavior. *Psychological Science, 25*, 95-102. doi: 10.1177/0956797613498099
- Lai, C. K., Hoffman, K. M., Nosek, B. A., & Greenwald, A. G. (2013). Reducing implicit prejudice. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass, 7*, 315-330.
- Losen, D. J., Hodson, C., Keith II, M. A., Morrison, K. & Belway, S. (2015). Are we closing the school discipline gap? Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

## References

- McIntosh, K., Girvan, E. J., Horner, R. H., & Smolkowski, K. (2014). Education not incarceration: A conceptual model for reducing racial and ethnic disproportionality in school discipline. *Journal of Applied Research on Children, 5(2)*, 1-22.
- McIntosh, K., Barnes, A., Morris, K., & Eliason, B. M. (2014). *Using discipline data within SWPBIS to identify and address disproportionality: A guide for school teams*. Eugene, OR: Center on Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports. University of Oregon.
- Pettigrew, T. F., & Tropp, L. R. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*, 751.
- Reuben, E., Sapienza, P., & Zingales, L. (2014). How stereotypes impair women's careers in science. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences, 111*, 4403-4408.
- Salter, S. P., Mixon Jr, F. G., & King, E. W. (2012). Broker beauty and boon: a study of physical attractiveness and its effect on real estate brokers' income and productivity. *Applied Financial Economics, 22*, 811-825.

## References

- Skiba, R. J., Chung, C.-G., Trachok, M., Baker, T. L., Sheya, A., & Hughes, R. L. (2014). Parsing disciplinary disproportionality: Contributions of infraction, student, and school characteristics to out-of-school suspension and expulsion. *American Educational Research Journal, 51*, 640-670. doi: 10.3102/0002831214541670
- 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. *The Urban Review, 34*, 317-342. doi: 10.1023/A:1021320817372
- Staats, C. (2014). *State of the science: Implicit bias review 2014*. Columbus, OH: Kirwan Institute.
- Tobin, T. J., & Vincent, C. G. (2011). Strategies for preventing disproportionate exclusions of African American students. *Preventing School Failure, 55*, 192-201. doi: 10.1080/1045988X.2010.532520
- Vincent, C. G., Swain-Bradway, J., Tobin, T. J., & May, S. (2011). Disciplinary referrals for culturally and linguistically diverse students with and without disabilities: Patterns resulting from school-wide positive behavior support. *Exceptionality, 19*, 175-190.
- Wallace, J. M. J., 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*, 47-62.