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Learning where we stand: How school experiences matter for civic marginalization and political inequality

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Abstract

How does formal education matter for political inequality? Most answers focus on the things schools allocate, such as skills, knowledge, and other forms of human capital. In this paper, we shift attention to the relations that schools organize and the ways students experience them. Schools, we argue, operate as sites where individuals have their first, formative experiences with the rules and cultures of public institutions, authority relations with officials, and what it means to be a member of a rights-and-obligations-bearing community of putative equals. Connecting the recent turn toward meso-level analysis in citizenship studies to relational theories of inequality, we develop a novel account of how schools construct citizens and position them in the polity. Building on this theoretical intervention, our empirical analysis shows, first, how race (in conjunction with class and gender) structures experiences of school relations and, second, how school experiences matter for citizens' positions and dispositions in the polity. American schools, we conclude, function as relational mechanisms that convert social hierarchies into civic and political inequalities.

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"Education then, beyond all other devices of human origin, is a great equalizer of the conditions of men—the balance wheel of the social machinery." – Horace Mann (1848)

"Today, education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments. Compulsory school attendance laws and the great expenditures for education both demonstrate our recognition of the importance of education to our democratic society. It is required in the performance of our most basic public responsibilities…. It is the very foundation of good citizenship."
– *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954)

The history of schools in the United States is, in many respects, a tale of struggle over equality and opportunity in American life. Schools play a critical role in regulating social mobility and the transmission of status across generations (Kerckhoff 1995, 2001). In a society defined by stark social inequalities, schools are expected to "level the playing field" (Hochschild and Scovronick 2003), supply individuals with opportunities to flourish (Darling-Hammond 2001), and promote positive socialization and social cohesion (Durkheim 1965; Parsons 1959; Arum 2003; Green, Preston, and Janmaat 2006). Against a backdrop of democratic ideals, they are called upon to produce a more competent, engaged citizenry and supply the foundations for a more egalitarian political order (Dewey 1916; Gutmann 1999).

Yet insofar as schools are designed to facilitate achievement and differentiation, they are never likely to have an easy relationship with egalitarian values (Jencks 1972; Sorokin 1959). If schools are revealed to work in ways that "advantage the already advantaged" and sustain social inequalities, their contradictions with egalitarian values deepen further still (Weber 1946; Lareau 2002; Alon 2009). Indeed, sociologists have played a key role in showing how formal education systems can simultaneously facilitate upward mobility for some while functioning reliably as mechanisms that reproduce social hierarchies (Blau and Duncan 1967; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

In public education as in so many arenas of American life, such questions of equality and opportunity have long been entwined with conflicts over race. In the first half of the twentieth century, W.E.B. Du Bois (1935: 328) famously argued that schools distribute education according to race and other social hierarchies and, so long as they do, "just so long we shall lack in America… the intelligent

basis of a real democracy." Throughout our nation's history, schools have worked, on one side, to divide, exclude, and subordinate on a racial basis and, on the other side, to pursue agendas of assimilation and incorporation based on schemes for "Americanizing" students deemed to be ethnic or racial others.

Today, race remains a focal point for educational disputes in large part because reformers, state authorities, and scholars have all singled out schools as unparalleled tools for the reduction of racial stratification (Downey 2008; Jencks and Phillips 1998). In the decades since the U.S. Supreme Court (1954) declared racially segregated schools inherently unequal and the Coleman Report (1966) traced achievement disparities to race-based isolation, education research has focused relentlessly on how to reorganize schools to generate more racially equitable outcomes (Jencks and Phillips 1998; Boger and Orfield 2005; Duncan and Murnane 2010).

Not surprisingly, the fiercest debates have centered on gaps in educational, social and economic outcomes. Yet as the epigraphs above suggest, public education in the U.S. has long been seen as more than just a tool of socio-economic intervention. Reformers and public officials have prized schools as tools of political incorporation, identifying the formation of citizens as a central purpose of education (Labaree 1997; McDonnell 2000; Hochschild and Scovronick 2003). With the right kinds of experiences at the schoolhouse, democracy-minded reformers have argued that even the most socially disadvantaged youth could develop the competencies needed to become part of an inclusive, equal, enlightened, and engaged citizenry. Social rights to education could serve as the seedbeds of democracy, ensuring that all citizens have meaningful abilities to exercise their civil and political rights (Marshall 1964).

Thus, for leaders of the common school movement, such as Horace Mann (1848), education represented the "great equalizer" in political life, a powerful civic bulwark against continual pressures toward plutocratic "tyranny." Likewise, the U.S. Supreme Court, in *Brown v. Board* (1954), framed its unanimous rejection of racist school segregation in terms of public education's unique significance as "the very foundation of good citizenship." A quarter century later, in *Ambach v. Norwick* (1979), the Court affirmed this commitment, citing the special "importance of public schools in the preparation of individuals for participation as citizens, and in the preservation of the values on which our society rests."

Theorists of democracy and citizenship have been no less keen to emphasize the signal importance of public education. No society can hope to be truly democratic, John Dewey (1916:115) wrote, unless it organizes its schools to provide a "type of education which gives individuals a personal interest in social relationships and control, and the habits of mind which secure social changes without introducing disorder." T.H. Marshall (1964), arguably sociology's most influential theorist of citizenship, stressed the role of public education as a universal social right that expresses and secures full and equal civic status. Scholars of political behavior have been equally enthusiastic in championing the democratic benefits of formal education – "almost without exception the strongest factor influencing what citizens do in politics and how they think about politics" (Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996: 2).

In what follows, we revisit the question of how schools function in political life, seeking to clarify how school experiences produce citizens and convert social (and especially racial) hierarchies into civic and political inequalities. The backdrop for our investigation includes a resurgence of scholarly attention to the ways social inequalities matter for democracy and public policies shape patterns of status, belief, and engagement across the citizenry (Jacobs and Skocpol 2005; Scholzman, Verba, and Brady 2012; Campbell 2012; Lerman and Weaver 2014).

When students of political inequalities contemplate formal education, they typically focus on the civic goods schools distribute, such as cognitive abilities, practical skills, or knowledge of the political system (e.g., Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996). By contrast, we shift attention from such distributive dynamics to the ways schools function as sites for direct experiences of *civic relations*. It is at the schoolhouse that most individuals have their first, formative experiences of public membership, institutional rules, forms of authority, and peer groups of putative equals. Thus, rather than asking how schools allocate "things" such as skills and knowledge, we pursue a theoretical and empirical account of how schools work to organize political relations, position students differently within these relations and, as a result, provide students with experiences that set them on paths toward different modes of citizenship. Specifically, we analyze (a) how racially defined social positions interact with class and gender to shape

experiences of authority and community relations in schools and (b) how these experiences of school relations function as mechanisms that convert social differences into civic and political inequalities.

We begin with a series of theoretical interventions. First, we clarify key differences between distributive and relational accounts of schools and inequalities, paying particular attention to how (frequently relational) school-based explanations for social and economic inequalities differ from (predominantly distributive) school-based explanations for civic and political inequalities. Second, we locate our study of school experiences within the field of citizenship studies, where macro-historical studies of "citizenship as status" have often stood at some distance from micro-behavioral studies of "citizenship as practice." On both sides of this divide, we argue that revisionist scholars have recently converged on a meso-level approach to analysis that is more relational and organizationally situated – an approach that holds considerable potential to reframe the study of schools and civic inequalities.

Citizenship, in this analytic frame, can be studied relationally as an "instituted process" embedded in specific organizational settings (Somers 1993). From this perspective, schools – long studied as organizations partly defined by the relations among teachers, administrators, and students (Coleman 1961; Bidwell 1965; Barr and Dreeben 1983; Gamoran, Secada, Marrett 2000; Hedges and Schneider 2005) – can be analyzed as sites for relations that produce political subjects "through face-to-face interactions and through place-specific practices that occur within a larger structural context" (Cruikshank 1999; Glenn 2011: 2). In a third and final theoretical section, we draw these themes together to introduce a general typology of citizen experiences in policy-based organizations, such as schools, welfare agencies, or sites of criminal justice implementation. By specifying key dimensions of citizen experiences, the typology supplies a general framework for meso-level analyses of the constitutive political relations that unfold in state-led organizations structured by public policy decisions.

Building on these theoretical interventions, the second half of our paper presents an empirical analysis of how students' school experiences matter for later societal incorporation, attitudes toward government, and patterns of civic and political engagement. Drawing on our typology, we analyze six potential mechanisms for school-based effects: encounters with schools as organized cultural contexts;

encounters with the rules and environmental features that structure schools as political contexts; personal experiences of being targeted by disciplinary uses of official authority; subjective perceptions of whether, in general, school officials use their authority fairly; objective levels of integration into organized, peer-participation school activities; and subjective perceptions of inclusion versus marginalization in the school community. Rather than study how dynamic school relations unfold in a direct manner (for example, through ethnographic observation in school settings) we pursue an empirical strategy James Coleman formulated and urged scholars to adopt as early as 1958. Taking up Coleman's challenge, we show how statistical analyses of survey data (a method based on *distributions*) can be used to illuminate and test theoretical claims regarding *relational* inequalities in school organizations. Drawing on a nationally representative panel dataset (AddHealth), we observe six types of student experiences with school-based relations and analyze their sources and consequences. This strategy provides precise, generalizable estimates of experiences of school-based relations and their effects.

To investigate how social inequalities shape these experiences of school relations, we begin with an analysis of how exposure to each varies across student subgroups. Specifically, we clarify how racial relations intersect with relations of gender and class to position students in schools and define their experiences of school relations. We then turn to a more complex analysis of the direct and indirect paths that connect formative school experiences to later patterns of civic and political engagement among young adults. Putting the two halves of our analysis together, we find strong evidence that students who occupy more subordinate positions in social relations are more likely to have formative school experiences that channel them toward subordinate and marginalized positions in civic and political life.

I. Distributive and Relational Inequalities at the Schoolhouse

Efforts to theorize and study inequalities can be classified in a variety of ways. For our purposes, the most important distinction is between distributive and relational accounts. At the most general level, this division corresponds to what Pierre Bourdieu (1984) and Mustafa Emirbayer (1997) describe as the difference between "substantialist analysis" and "relational analysis." While the former begins by specifying objects of analysis as "things" and then asks how they are patterned in relation to one another,

the latter begins by specifying the terms of relations and then asks how they operate to constitute social

things and actors, position them in relation to one another, and regulate transactions among them.

Substantialist analysis "privileges substances" in the sense that it "treats the properties attached to agents

– occupations, age, gender, qualifications – as forces independent of the relationship within which they

act" (Bourdieu 1984: 22). By contrast, "relational models [begin] with interpersonal transactions or ties"

(Tilly 1998: 17) that are typically "obscured by [our] ordinary sense-experience" but constitute the

underlying logics that organize social life (Bourdieu 1984: 22). John Goldthorpe (2010: 732-33) explains

the importance of this distinction for students of inequality as follows:

> One can think of inequality as it exists within a society in terms of the distributions of attributes of its individual members that are in some sense ranked; individuals differ – i.e. are unequal – in their incomes, wealth, standards of consumption, the desirability of their occupations, their educational attainments, the extent of their social and cultural participation, etc. Treating social inequality in this way is often valuable at least for descriptive purposes. However, inequality can also be thought of, at a deeper level, in terms of social relations in the context of which individuals are in some sense advantaged or disadvantaged. Social stratification then refers to inequality that is of a structured kind or, that is, to inequality insofar as it is not merely a matter of individual fortune but rather inherent in prevailing forms of social relationship that have in some degree an institutional basis. The positions that individuals hold within forms of social stratification will be major determinants of their life-chances and life-styles, and will also condition many of their important life-choices. In turn, social stratification can then be seen as crucial to the understanding of the different kinds of inequality that are observable at an attributional level.

As a starting point, then, one may say that the terms "distributive" and "relational" refer to

different *kinds* of unequal positions. The most familiar kind, among social scientists today, can be

described as positions in distributions. Thus, studies of economic inequalities typically specify objects of

analysis such as individuals or social groups and then ask where they fall on gradational scales such as

income or wealth. Positioning in this sort of analysis says nothing about the *terms* of the relationship

between actors A and B; it refers only to the relative locations A and B occupy along a dimension

indicating traits or possessions.

In contrast, relational inequalities refer to positions within the terms of a structured transaction.

Consider, for example, the eldest daughter in a family with two parents and three children. The daughter

is positioned at the intersection of multiple relations, each of which is structured by its own configuration

of power, norms, role expectations, and so on. She may, for instance, be subordinate in parent-child relations, dominant in relation to younger siblings, and governed in a host of ways by gendered norms. Her positioning in this field of relations constitutes her as a knowable subject in the family (e.g., defining her roles) and specifies expectations for how she will perform her roles in family interactions. Who is expected to sit in the front of the car, and who in the back? Who can talk to whom in what manner? Unequal positions in this sense do not refer to locations on a distribution; they refer to positions in social relationships with others – positions vis-à-vis the terms of a transaction governed by specific "rules of the game." In other words, while distributional accounts describe positions in terms of the attributes of actors, relational accounts describe positions in terms of the attributes of relations.

Returning to our example of economic inequalities, we can see the difference between distributive and relational accounts in the classic distinction between socioeconomic status (SES) and Marxian conceptions of class. While the former denotes positioning in some set of gradational distributions (e.g., income, education, occupational status), the latter classically refers to positions in material relations organized around the means of production (Wright 1997; Weeden and Grusky 2012). Thus, while SES can be described without reference to the terms of an underlying economic system, social classes are inseparable from their positions in modes of capitalist production and circulation. Like Hegel's slave and master, and unlike individuals who occupy different levels of SES, social classes do not exist apart from the specific relations that constitute them, position them, and structure their relations.

In addition to denoting different *kinds* of unequal positions, "distributive" and "relational" operate at a second level to distinguish *modes of explanation* for unequal outcomes. Thus, an analyst who observes a pattern of inequality – e.g., a salary disparity, a graduation gap, or a difference in rates of criminal punishment – can make recourse to either explanatory approach. In the first mode, researchers typically seek to identify and theorize *distributive mechanisms* that in a causal manner to convert positions on one distribution into positions on a second distribution. Distributive mechanisms may sort actors into positions or allocate traits and goods as possessions, generally working in a manner that is responsive to individual's preexisting attributes as well as social determinants. In this sense, they may be

seen as "working through the way they shape the characteristics of individuals" (Wright 2010: 337), yet they need not be located at the individual level. Like other substantialist analyses, distributive explanations for inequalities are guided by a distinction between structure and agency (Emirbayer 1997) and, thus, locate mechanisms either in social actors or in the contexts of their action. As simple illustrations, consider how one might explain racial disparities in arrests as a product of racially biased police officers (a distributive mechanism rooted in agency), or how one might explain salary inequalities by pointing to institutional rules that mandate higher pay for employees with specific certifications or characteristics (a distributive mechanism rooted in structure).

In contrast, *relational* mechanisms explain by tracing outcomes to "the nature of and relations among the positions themselves…. [R]esulting patterns of inequality [are seen as] deeply structured by causal connections among these positions" (Wright 2005: 2). Relational analyses typically eschew conceptions of structure and agency as substantial, separate and opposed things. Rather, they emphasize how agency and structure are produced together though relations that are organized yet continually renegotiated (Emirbayer 1997). "Structure," as William Sewell (1992: 27) argues, "is dynamic, not static; it is the continually evolving outcome and matrix of a process of social interaction." Agency is formed and structured by the social actor's position in the terms of organized relations (Emirbayer and Mische 1998). Thus, rather than seeking out actors or structures that act as distributive mechanisms, analysts working in this mode aim to specify how *mechanisms that reside in and operate through social relations* work to create, reproduce, and/or transform inequalities. "Instead of reducing social behavior to individual decision-making, social scientists [in this tradition…] study the relational constraints within which all individual action takes place" (Tilly 1998: 34).

Drawing on Weberian and Marxist traditions, for example, scholars explain unequal outcomes by looking to transactional processes of "social closure that give some individuals and groups advantages in access to resources and opportunities by virtue of the exclusion of others… and mechanisms [of domination and exploitation…] in which individuals and groups benefit from their ability to control the activities of others" (Wright 2010: 336). In a landmark study explaining the durability and variation of

category-based inequalities, Charles Tilly (1998) foregrounds both types of relational mechanisms (which he refers to as opportunity hoarding and exploitation) and explains how their effects are multiplied by relational mechanisms such as emulation and adaptation. Tilly argues that these mechanisms (as opposed to individual differences in attributes or preferences) are the true wellsprings of durable inequalities. As such, they are indispensible for explaining how asymmetrical social relations – such as those rooted in constructed race, class, and gender classifications – operate in formal organizations and informal social transactions to generate persistence and change in patterns of inequality.

Thus, while distributive accounts illuminate inequalities by explaining how resources, opportunities, and positions are allocated across actors, relational accounts explain by clarifying how the underlying terms of a transaction define the positions actors occupy in relation to one another, organize their cooperation and conflict, and structure their interactions and experiences. The norms that organize gender relations, for example, may reliably generate unequal resources and opportunities for sons and daughters. Regardless of individual characteristics, sharecroppers are predictably impoverished by the exploitative terms of their labor relations, just as landowners are reliably enriched.

The vast literature on schools and inequalities has advanced through the deployment of both distributive and relational modes of analysis. The former approach can be seen clearly, for example, in studies that demonstrate how distributions of student resources (e.g., family income) or school resources (e.g., spending per student) correlate with patterns of educational outcomes (e.g., academic achievement) and allocations of socioeconomic positions later in life (e.g., occupation). Such analyses clarify the associations between "input" and "output" distributions and specify how they emerge from particular distributive mechanisms in school environments.

Why do schools that aim to achieve egalitarian goals fail? Scholars working in the distributive tradition usually seek answers by analyzing how particular features of schools (or actors within schools) work to supply advantaged groups with superior opportunities for skill development, knowledge accumulation, credentialing, socialization, and so on (Coleman 1961; Bidwell 1965; Dreeben 1968; Rosenbaum 1976; Oakes 1985; Gamoran 2001; Kerckhoff 2001; Kao and Thompson 2003; Reardon and

Owens 2014). Thus, schools may fail to achieve egalitarian goals by distributing students unevenly across venues – delivering different curricula in explicit or more hidden ways – or by placing students in a shared environment that disproportionately allocates rewards to those who possess the values, dispositions, or resources of dominant groups. Egalitarian goals notwithstanding, inequalities may arise routinely from curricular designs and student "tracking" systems (structural mechanisms) or from the social biases of staff, teachers, students, and their parents (agent-based mechanisms).

By contrast, scholars adopting a relational approach begin by asking how students are embedded in social relationships (e.g., the form and centrality of roles) and how social relationships vary in their organization (e.g., how hierarchical and on what terms). Differences of these sorts are then used to explain both constitutive outcomes (e.g., the production of particular kinds of subjects) and distributive outcomes (e.g., unequal patterns of achievement, training, and certification). Such analyses can be found in a wide range of scholarship on schools and inequalities. In the present study, we draw most directly on scholars in the "social reproduction" tradition, who combine critical social theory with empirical studies of how school-based relations reflect and propagate the terms of broader societal relations (Collins 2009).

Social reproduction theorists reject the idea that school-based inequalities represent "residual policy failures" that stubbornly persist because equality-seeking educational designs fall short. Personal intentions of school reformers notwithstanding, schools are not really designed to function as "great equalizers" in public life. The inequalities they produce are better understood as the normal and predictable results of schools organized to function as mechanisms of social reproduction. Indeed, the contrast between stated design rationales and actual practices plays a key role in mystifying the core functions of schools in a society defined by relations of exploitation and domination (Bourdieu 1977). The most basic functions of schools in such a society include preparing and tracking individuals for their roles in prevailing societal relations, replicating status and resource advantages, facilitating opportunity hoarding, and advancing dominant interests (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977).

Thus, in Louis Althusser's (1970) influential account, school relations are structured to serve exploitative capitalist relations (providing "one instruction for manual workers, another for technicians, a

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third for engineers, a final one for higher management, etc.") and, at the same time, work ideologically to sustain class dominance (through "a reproduction of submission to the ruling ideology for the workers… and a reproduction of the ability to manipulate the ruling ideology correctly for the agents of exploitation and repression"). Bowles and Gintis (1976) similarly argue that schools reproduce and legitimate the class structure by converting advantages of birth into legitimate achievements. Pierre Bourdieu (1977; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977) elaborates a closely related account, recasting social reproduction in terms of the social and cultural capital students bring with them to school and the ways specific forms of capital match up with logics embedded in the school as a structured field of relations.

Building on these classic accounts, critical scholars such as Annette Lareau (2002) have provided finer-grained empirical studies of how school relations are structured to enable advantaged parents to leverage their resources and secure superior outcomes for their children. Lareau's (2002) ethnographic work shows how patterns of cultural capital also enable some students to learn more quickly and effectively how to navigate schools as organized sites of social relations, ensuring that their needs are met and, equally important, developing a "sense of entitlement" to school responsiveness and satisfactory outcomes. As Lareau and Horvat (1999) clarify, however, there is an important difference between possessing capital in school relations and *activating* it. In school-based processes of social reproduction, much depends on the value accorded to performative displays of different forms of capital in different settings. In this regard, social reproduction processes do not follow a smooth or inevitable trajectory, seamlessly transmitting advantages across generations. Rather, as individuals navigate various fields of school-based relations, they influence the ways social characteristics such as race, gender, class, and sexuality matter for interactions and outcomes. As individuals traverse school relations organized to reproduce advantage, outcomes depend on the skill with which they "play their hands" by activating particular forms of capital at specific times.

This perspective turns the conventional view of "residual cases" on its head, redefining them as instances where actors have "played their hands" in ways that subvert normal processes of reproduction. If schools were, in fact, widely organized to level social hierarchies and render dominant positions

insecure, public education would be a deeply destabilizing institution in American society. In reality, these scholars argue, it is a stabilizing institution. Schools are organized to service existing relations of domination and exploitation, allow advantaged parents to hoard opportunities for their children, camouflage intergenerational transfers as merit-based outcomes of individual ability and effort, and disguise perennially unequal school outcomes as incidental and disappointing failures produced by egalitarian but imperfect educational designs (Lareau 2002; Karabel 2005; Alon 2009).

Because social and economic inequalities matter so greatly for civic and political life, these lines of scholarship have important implications for studies of citizenship and democracy. Scholars of social reproduction, however, have rarely extended their relational analyses to explicitly civic and political questions. Collectively, they fail to furnish an account of (a) how schools operate as structured sites of specifically civic and political relations and (b) how these relations work in constitutive ways to produce citizens with particular dispositions and position them in broader political relations. Indeed, as we will see, the study of political citizenship has been dominated by studies that rely on distributive approaches to inequalities. Prominent democratic theorists have at times urged greater attention to schools as sites of formative experiences with authority and peer relations. Most famously, John Dewey (1937) developed a powerful critique of democracy-minded school reforms that focus narrowly on the skills and lessons distributed by educational curricula. Students' experiences of organized school relations, Dewey argued, are often far more powerful forces in the construction or subversion of democratic citizenship.

Yet in contemporary scholarship, few students of education and citizenship heed Dewey's advice. Leading studies rarely depart from distributive logics to engage more relational conceptions of how schools produce citizens and construct civic statuses and practices. As a result, Dewey and the social reproduction theorists just discussed offer scholars today what may be fairly described as a "fresh standpoint" for analyzing the interplay of social inequalities, formal education, and democratic citizenship. In the section that follows, we elaborate on this claim by locating our analysis more precisely within the recent trajectories of citizenship studies.

II. Citizenship as Status and Practice

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Scholars have often described citizenship as an "essentially contested concept" (Gallie 1956), and recent decades have been marked by vibrant debates over its meanings (Mouffe 1992; Heater 1999; van der Heijden 2014). Rather than survey this field, we aim here to clarify how two streams of citizenship studies have begun to converge on common analytic ground. The result, we argue, is a more promising landscape for meso-level analyses of schools that seek to connect the relational production of citizens to the social reproduction of inequalities. Meso-level analyses take root in the space between a micro-focus on individual behavior and a macro-focus on legal-institutional development. By situating relational analysis at the meso-level, scholars can ground analysis in specific sites of organized practice and analyze how the terms of citizenship operate as an "assemblage of shifting institutional and discursive relationships and struggles for power" (Somers 2008: 20).

Since the mid-twentieth century, citizenship studies has been organized by a broad distinction between "citizenship as status" and "citizenship as practice" (see Kymlicka and Norman 1994). On one side, scholars have relied primarily on macro-historical analyses to clarify how regimes of "citizenship as status" evolve over time to define the boundaries and terms of civic membership. On the other side, scholars have relied mostly on micro-behavioral analyses to illuminate the individual dispositions and activities that make up "citizenship as practice." Although the two areas of study have remained divided, each has recently taken a revisionist turn toward meso-level studies of the ways people are positioned in – and experience – organized social and political relations. In what follows, we draw these developments into dialogue and clarify how they can reorient studies of schools, social inequalities, and citizenship.

Macro-Historical Approaches to Citizenship as Status

More than a half century after its publication, T.H. Marshall's (1950[1964]) "Citizenship and Social Class" remains a cornerstone for most sociological efforts to theorize citizenship. Generalizing from British experience, Marshall saw modern citizenship as an "equality of status" rooted in the nation-state that emerged with the transition from feudalism to capitalism and evolved over time. In the eighteenth century, civil rights, including rights to free speech, property, and impartial justice, materialized and found institutional expression in the state's judicial apparatuses. Political rights to

participate in the exercise of power followed in the nineteenth century, secured by the state's electoral and representative institutions. The twentieth century saw the rise of social rights, institutionalized in the state's education and social welfare systems and described by Marshall (1950[1964]: 169) as ranging "from the right to a modicum of economic welfare and security to the right to share to the full in the social heritage and to live the life of a civilized being according to the standards prevailing in society."

For our purposes, two features of Marshall's formulation merit special note. First, its logic is distributive rather than relational: Rights are "things" bestowed and secured by the state, and their allocation allows individuals to possess citizenship as a durable status. Second, Marshall conceives of citizenship as inherently egalitarian. Its expanding complex of rights provides a countervailing force against capitalist tendencies toward inequality, paving the way for a more stable and productive coexistence of capitalism and democracy. Societal equality grows and becomes more secure as the scope of rights expands over time and the state extends full civic status to historically marginalized groups. Thus, as citizenship increasingly mitigates class inequalities, it also becomes a more inclusive category of solidarity, capable of unifying and equalizing individuals across multiple lines of social stratification.

The subjective counterpart to these objective rights, for Marshall, lies in the ability to feel like a societal equal who is fully entitled to participate in public life and share in the community's security, prosperity, and freedoms. Thus, the modern welfare state allows for "the fullest expression of citizenship," for Marshall, not only because it provides the material conditions needed for equal civic inclusion but also because it "ensures that every member of society feels like a full member of society, able to participate in and enjoy the common life of society. Where any of [its] rights are withheld or violated, people will be marginalized and unable to participate" (Kymlicka and Norman 1994: 354).

In this macro-historical account, then, state institutional development functions as the key distributive mechanism for the objective rights and subjective dispositions that constitute citizenship as an equality of status. Thus, the measure of citizenship may be taken by asking what the state expresses and secures through its institutional designs. A crucial aspect of this conceptualization is that citizenship is distributed to *individuals*. Within the liberal idiom, "a citizen must be independent – that is, able to act

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autonomously" (Glenn 2000:7). Thus, rights are conceived as individual possessions, akin to property, that enhance their owners' individual liberty, equality, and autonomy.

In the case of formal education, this analytic stance directs attention to questions of distribution in institutional design. Where it is provided equally as a matter of right, public education serves as a powerful expression of equal citizenship in relation to the state. By institutionalizing social rights, public schools secure equal membership – as a material reality and a subjective disposition – and operate as a bulwark against social marginalization. Through rights to education, individuals acquire capacities needed to exercise civil and political rights and, thus, enjoy the full fruits of democratic citizenship. By guaranteeing opportunities for human development and achievement, the capitalist state fulfills its commitment to the citizen's "right to display and develop differences" (Marshall 1964: 94).

This analysis yields important insights into the functions of public education in modern civic life. Yet it is striking how little attention it gives to what students actually do, experience, and learn in schools. The civic significance of public education lies in what the state conveys and guarantees, seemingly regardless of what citizens actually experience in schools as sites where they participate in and learn from relations of authority and community. The formal equality of status in relation to the state – rooted in the question of equal access to an equal school – eclipses the various ways that formally equal students may be positioned unequally in relation to school authorities and one another, taught lessons of deference and passivity, or marginalized in educational processes.

Since the 1980s, scholars have worked on many fronts to revise the "post-war orthodoxy" on citizenship established by Marshall (e.g., Mouffe 1992; Kymlicka and Norman 1994; Heater 1999). Critics have challenged the lack of political agency and conflict in Marshall's evolutionary account and sought to replace its narrow Anglocentrism with comparative analyses of civic variations (e.g., Mann 1987; Turner 1990; Brubaker 1992). Some have sought to balance Marshall's emphasis on rights with greater attention to obligations (e.g., Janowitz 1980; Mead 1986, 1997). Others have placed greater emphasis on civic solidarity (e.g., Alexander 1990) or developed additional dimensions of rights beyond Marshall's original three-fold scheme (e.g., White 2003; Stevenson 2003; Bell 2005; Dobson 2006).

For our purposes, two recent developments merit special attention. First, a growing literature in citizenship studies has begun to adopt a more relational approach that focuses on citizens' lived experiences. Scholars working in this vein reframe the question of status by asking how members of the polity are positioned in, and thus experience, organized fields of social interaction. Drawing on an empirically rich critique of Marshall's historical analysis, Margaret Somers (1993: 588; 1994; 2008) has played a key role in challenging the received view of citizenship as "a personal status consisting of a body of universal rights (i.e., legal claims on the state) and duties held equally by all legal members of a nation-state." Instead of a "status or attribute of a category of persons," Somers draws on the work of Karl Polanyi to recast citizenship as an "instituted process" – "a set of institutionally embedded social practices [that] are contingent upon and constituted by networks of relationships and political idioms."

> Rather than a body of rights granted 'ready-made' by the state and attached to individual persons… citizenship rights [depend] fully on the local contexts – the social and political place – in which [national membership rules] are activated…. Quasi-democratic citizenship rights can emerge only in certain institution-specific relational settings and only in the context of particular social practices that support popular public spheres…. [Scholars must move] away from a focus on status and toward citizenship as an 'instituted process.' Analytically, a focus on status is attached to individuals and categories, while an 'instituted process' focuses on networks of memberships and relationality (1993: 589, 611).

The relational turn suggested by Somers opens new possibilities for linking citizenship studies to social reproduction scholarship on schools. Indeed, the grounds for such a dialogue seem especially promising because the relational turn in citizenship studies has, in many cases, shifted attention from macro-historical accounts of "the state" to meso-level analyses of disaggregated sites of interaction.

Pursuing relational analysis at the meso-level of social organization, recent accounts have focused attention on people's lived experiences of what Evelyn Nakano Glenn (2011, 2002) calls "substantive citizenship." Citizenship, in this view, is constructed and experienced in everyday life, "through face-to-face interactions and through place-specific practices that occur within a larger structural context" (Glenn 2011: 2). No matter how clear legal equalities may appear, one must look to local realms of organized and improvised interaction to "determine whether people have or don't have substantive as opposed to purely formal rights of citizens" (Glenn 2002: 2).

Second, in making this relational turn, critical theorists have increasingly challenged Marshall's egalitarian and inclusive narrative, working to clarify how citizenship itself functions as a locus for the production and institutionalization of inequalities. Liberal citizenship, these scholars argue, emerged historically through constitutive exclusions, contrasts, and modes of exploitation, and has operated in important ways as a mechanism of subordination (or forced assimilation) related to race, gender, and other markers of difference (e.g., Pateman 1988a, 1998b; Fraser and Gordon 1992; Phillips 1993; Tronto 2001, Lister 2003; Shklar 1991; Smith 1997; Mills 1999; Olson 2004; Bonilla-Silva and Mayorga 2011).

Extending these insights, scholars pursuing meso-level analysis have tended to depart from the classic binary of inclusion and exclusion in which citizenship is defined vis-à-vis a single boundary. Their analyses highlight instead how state organizations and practices define subcategories of citizens (Kerber 1997), varying shades of "semi-citizenship" (Cohen 2009), and specific types of "anti-citizens" (Canaday 2009) – all of which occupy distinctive statuses within the polity.   In this view, citizenship is not a discrete, anti-hierarchical status; it is a variegated status that works with and through social hierarchies, even as it works to transform them. Indeed, some scholars argue for greater attention to how civic statuses emerge through everyday transactions *beyond the state* that construct "relational selves" and operate through patterns of deference and "ceremonial regard" (Manning 2014; Colomy and Brown 1996).

Together, these developments provide an analytic bridge between relational theories of inequality and efforts to theorize democratic citizenship (Tilly 1998, 2004). Elaborating on Charles Tilly's scholarship, Heller and Evans (2010: 437-8) explain:

> Analyzing democracy and citizenship is an integral part of the relational analysis of inequality…. The measure of democracy is the actual character of citizenship –that is, the relation between a subject and the state…. Democratization is best understood as an expansion in the quality of citizenship, which is about the institutionalized quality of a subject's relation to government and its authority, which in turn exists in inverse proportion to the degree to which a subject's relations to government are mediated by categorical inequalities.

From this perspective, scholars are encouraged to ask questions about public education and citizenship that go beyond the Marshallian framework. Schools, in this analytic frame, should be studied

as sites of political relations in their own right, where individuals are positioned in constitutive relations of authority and community. Rather than focus on formally equal rights to education, scholars should analyze how students experience schools as domains of substantive citizenship, how students' varied experiences may reflect their positions in hierarchal social relations, and how these experiences produce "statuses" of citizenship as positions within broader civic and political relations. Schools can be conceived, in this view, as institutional mechanisms that determine the extent to which, and the ways in which, durable social inequalities get converted into status inequalities in civic and political life.

Micro-Behavioral Approaches to Citizenship as Practice

Alongside questions of status (or position), a second branch of citizenship studies has contemplated citizens as participants in democratic governance. What kinds of virtues, capacities, attitudes, values, and behavioral dispositions should "good" democratic citizens exhibit (Kymlicka and Norman 1994)? What kinds do they, in fact, possess (Converse 1964; Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996)? And how might societal institutions produce, sustain, or undermine the citizen orientations and practices required for a vibrant democracy (Almond and Verba 1963; Galston 2001)?

"It is reasonably clear that good citizens are made, not born," William Galston (2001: 217) writes, "the question is how, by whom, to what end?" For institutions to serve democracy well, they must do more than distribute rights and equalize status; they must also create democratic citizens with the "right kinds" of dispositions and practices. Visions of what such citizens should look like vary, of course (see Kymlicka and Norman 1994). Some theorists stress virtues such as self-restraint, personal responsibility, public obligation, mutual care, tolerance toward others, and so on. Others focus on the capacities needed to understand political systems, issues, and events – and the skills needed to reason and choose in informed and politically prudent ways. Good citizens, many argue, identify with the political community and feel a sense of responsibility for the whole. They are able to temper self-interest by considering the common good and willing to sacrifice on its behalf. They engage their political communities as active members, participating formally and informally in civil society and the political process.

Where empirical studies of "citizenship as status" have typically drawn on macro-historical approaches, empirical studies of "citizenship as practice" have usually adopted a micro-behavioral approach. Through careful individual-level studies, scholars have sought to identify the underpinnings of active democratic citizenship and the ways that individuals acquire their competencies, orientations, and tendencies toward engagement. The empirical literature on citizen thought and behavior is vast and diverse. But its center of gravity lies in efforts to specify how individual differences combine with social and political influences and the mechanics of human psychology to shape how citizens think, reason, feel, and behave in the polity (see e.g., Huddy, Sears, and Levy 2013; Mondak 2010; Dalton and Klingemann 2007; Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995; Zaller 1992). Within this literature, questions of how, when, and where citizens *acquire* their civic dispositions has always loomed large (Jennings and Niemi 1968; Easton and Dennis 1969; Merelman 1986; Sears 1989; Sapiro 1994, 2004).

In pursuing the latter questions, behavioral studies of citizen practice have usually conceptualized schools in terms that parallel the Marshallian emphasis on what state institutions bestow upon citizens. Instead of focusing on the conveyance of rights and status, they focus on (1) what schools *transmit* as agents of socialization and (2) what they *distribute* as purveyors of knowledge, skills, and resources.

In the first register, researchers have conventionally asked what role formal education plays in the broader processes by which societies induct new generations into political life – or, reversing the point of view, the processes by which citizens acquire their political orientations and develop them across the life course. Conventionally, such studies ask how schools convey civic knowledge, transmit political culture, cultivate system support and political legitimacy, and foster political identifications, loyalties, values, and modes of behavior (see e.g., Niemi and Sobieszek 1977; Cook 1985; Merelman 1986; Conover 1991; Niemi and Hepburn 1995; Sapiro 1994, 2004). Such studies have focused heavily on the lessons schools impart via curricula, classrooms, and activities designed to serve as "training grounds for future citizens" (Niemi and Junn 1998; Ichilov 1990; Patrick and Hoge 1991). In recent decades, particular attention has focused on civics education and venues of direct student participation (Gainous and Martens 2012; CIRCLE 2011; Flanagan and Levine 2010; Stearns and Glennie 2010; Callahan and Muller 2013; Kahne

and Middaugh 2009; McFarland and Thomas 2006).

In the second register, scholars have looked to schools as sources of the knowledge, skills, and resources that explain variations in the ways citizens engage in politics (Delli Carpini and Keeter 1996; Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996; Popkin and Dimock 1999). Schools, from this perspective, are politically critical institutions because they *distribute* political abilities and dispositions across mass publics. Patterns of political advantage and disadvantage emerge from differences in how educational attainment is distributed, the quality of schooling provided, or differences in student opportunities to learn civically-relevant skills (Condon 2015; Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996; Kahne and Sporte 2008; Kahne and Middaugh 2008; Kahne and Westheimer 2006). The importance of these distributive activities is underscored by a broad consensus that education is the best predictor of political engagement (Verba 2003: 668). In a well-known summary statement, Philip Converse (1972: 324) describes formal education as the "universal solvent" of political citizenship, possessed by some far more than others:

> Whether one is dealing with cognitive matters such as level of factual information about politics or conceptual sophistication in its assessment; or such motivational matters as degree of attention paid to politics and emotional involvement in political affairs; or questions of actual behavior, such as engagement in any of a variety of political activities from party work to vote turnout itself: education is everywhere the universal solvent, and the relationship is always in the same [positive] direction.

Across a diverse field of study, then, empirical research on citizenship as practice has tended to adopt a micro-behavioral approach that treats individuals as the appropriate unit of analysis and operates through a distributive logic of analysis. As Betsy Sinclair (2012: xi) rightly notes, "most standard accounts focus strictly on an individually based calculus, where each person independently in isolation, chooses each political action."

In recent decades, however, scholars have begun to elaborate a more relational, meso-level alternative to this paradigm. In this approach, explanation focuses less directly on the things individuals possess (e.g., traits, skills, resources) and more on the ways citizens are "positioned in relation to political processes, government policies, and one another" and the effects these positions have on citizen experiences and practices (Soss and Jacobs 2009: 105; Lawy and Biesta 2006). Working in this mode,

scholars look to institutional settings, including schools, as organized sites of political relations that operate in politically productive and transformative ways (Moynihan and Soss 2014; Mettler and Soss 2004). This shift in perspective encompasses three analytic moves that merit attention.

First, it has expanded political analysis to citizens' experiences at sites that, in common sense understandings, tend not to be deemed "political" in their own right. Welfare agencies, for example, are treated as more than just bureaucratic mechanisms for service and benefit delivery. They are analyzed as sites where subjects of the polity are positioned in and experience political relations – where they have direct experiences with state institutions and officials, negotiate authority relations, navigate decision processes, and bring concrete meaning to the formal rights and obligations of citizenship (Soss 2000). Encounters with police and prisons are not just events that may *eventually* have consequences for political engagement; they are, in and of themselves, experiences of political relations that define the lived realities of citizenship and its practice (Lerman and Weaver 2014; Epp, Maynard-Moody, and Haider-Markel 2014). From this perspective, scholars misconstrue organizations such as schools when they analyze them as training grounds "prior to" or "outside" politics. Schools are venues of politics in their own right and, thus, places where political experiences are acquired and leave their mark.

Second, a growing number of scholars analyze these sorts of citizen experiences in terms that depart from distributive analysis and emphasize positions in political relations. Studying technology in policy organizations, for example, Virginia Eubanks (2006, 2007) rejects the "digital divide" as an analytic frame that focuses attention on "distributional issues" and conceives of lower-income women as "technological have-nots." Instead, she focuses her critical analysis on the pervasive *presence* of technology in poor women's lives and its role in reproducing relations of "oppression, domination, power, and structural violence" (2007: 128). Similarly, scholars of the welfare state devote greater attention to how the terms of administrative relations shape citizens' experiences of procedural justice and political voice (Kumlin 2004), relations with fellow citizens (e.g., White 2002; Stone 2008: 245-80) and the nature and uses of state authority (e.g., Soss 2000; Bruch, Ferree, and Soss 2010).

Third, scholars adopting this approach have focused greater attention on the *constitutive* power of organized relations – in particular, the ways they produce political subjects and position them in wider societal relations. Works in this vein draw variously from Foucauldian insights into discipline and governmentality (Cruikshank 1999), theories of the social construction of target populations (Schneider and Ingram 1997), and themes drawn from participatory theories of democracy (Pateman 1970; Mansbridge 1999). In the case of paternalist welfare and correctional programs, for example, scholars ask how participants are constructed as knowable and governable subjects and "hailed into being" as particular kinds of self-governing citizens (Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011; Korteweg 2003; Haney 2010). They analyze how organized experiences of authority relations give rise to distinctive political subjectivities and modes of conduct (Soss 2000, 2005; Lerman and Weaver 2014). They examine how the organizational practices may underwrite subordination and marginalization as they "position different groups vis-à-vis major institutions of the state, market, and civil society" (Soss and Schram 2008: 293).

From this perspective, "the critical question for democratic theory is how citizens are constituted by politics and power" (Cruikshank 1999: 6). "By what means is the capacity, power, consciousness, or subjectivity proper to democratic participation and self-government infused into citizens?" (Cruikshank 1999: 5). In the next section, we specify this question through an original typology for analyzing how experiences with policy-based organizations, such as schools, produce and position citizens in the polity.

III. Civic Dimensions of Organizational Experiences

Over the past two decades, studies of citizens' experiences in policy-based organizations have advanced considerably under the banner of "policy feedback" – a broad umbrella concept referring to the ways "policies create politics" (see e.g., Mettler and Soss 2004; Campbell 2012). From this perspective, public policies are more than just political outcomes; they are political forces in their own right. Feedback scholars seek to illuminate how public policies transform political landscapes, structure political relations, convey cues to political actors, and produce dispositions toward thought and action in the polity.

To date, policy feedback scholarship has been more successful at demonstrating the political effects of policy-based experiences than at specifying the dimensions of experience that matter most and

the mechanisms that underlie their effects (Campbell 2012). Some scholars have categorized types of effects (e.g., Pierson 1993; Mettler and Soss 2004), and some suggest specific, politically consequential ways policy characteristics may vary (e.g., visibility and traceability, benefit generosity; relative concentration of beneficiaries, and so on; see Campbell 2012). To date, however, scholars continue to lack a general framework that specifies the key political dimensions of citizens' policy-based *experiences* in a way that can orient empirical analysis, facilitate dialogue across studies, and organize knowledge accumulation. Toward these ends, we develop an original six-fold typology for conceptualizing the wide range of citizens' policy-based experiences and organizing efforts to study their civic consequences. To organize these six aspects of civic experience, we draw on two underlying analytic distinctions.

The first distinguishes three key referents for citizen's experiences in policy-based organizations. As citizens participate in such relational settings, they experience and perceive (a) features of the organization itself (as the local site of a broader public institution), (b) features of relations with official authorities, and (c) features of relations with communities of putative equals. The first focuses attention on the institutional basis of citizenship, following the Marshallian emphasis on how state institutions structure citizenship and meso-level studies that stress lived experiences in relation to state agencies (e.g., Canaday 2009; Lerman and Weaver 2014; Kumlin 2004; Soss 2000). A key insight from policy feedback scholarship is that features of policy design become embedded in policy-based organizations in ways that structure citizen experiences (Mettler 1998; Soss 1999; Schneider and Ingram 1997; Rothstein 1998; Kumlin 2004; Epp, Maynard-Moody and Haider-Markel 2014). "What people know and understand about government is born of their direct experience with the state institutions that most directly structure their daily lives" (Lerman and Weaver 2014: 1).

The second referent corresponds to the idea that citizenship is defined, in part, through the "vertical" relations people experience vis-à-vis authorities (Gamson, Fireman, and Rytina 1982). A growing body of feedback research demonstrates that the terms of these relations in public organizations matter greatly for citizens' experiences and the political lessons they draw from them (Lerman and Weaver 2014; Bruch, Ferree, and Soss 2010; Svallfors 2007; Soss 1999, 2005). In particular, studies

suggest that more *hierarchical* relations that are directive, supervisory, and punitive are especially likely to foster marginalization in the broader polity (Bruch, Ferree, and Soss 2010; Soss 2000). Thus, political analysis should focus on the organized terms of relations between citizens and authorities, the ways they are experienced, and subsequently the ways they produce and position citizens in the polity.

The third referent corresponds to the idea that citizenship is defined, in part, through the "horizontal" relationships people experience with one another as members of a political community (e.g., Neveu 2013; Walsh 2004; Putnam 2000; Hardy-Fanta 1993). From a relational perspective, this dimension of democratic citizenship inheres in the "ties and transactions" that bind communities of putative equals (Tilly 1998, 2004). It refers to the terms of marginalization or incorporation in "peer relations" as well as associated feelings of community belonging and standing. Most empirical studies of this dimension of citizenship have focused on how ties in civil society affect a variety of societal outcomes, including citizens' political involvement (Smith 1999; Putnam 2000). However, a number of studies underscore the political importance of relations among citizens in state-led policy organizations and their consequences for civic standing and practice (e.g, White 2002; Soss 2005; Stone 2008: 245-80).

Our second axis cuts across these three referents, distinguishing between objective and subjective dimensions of policy-based experiences. Thus, in relation to each of the three referents, we suggest citizens' experiences can be disaggregated into (and analyzed along) subjective and objective dimensions. This distinction draws on a long tradition of theorizing citizenship as both a subjective and objective status (DuBois 1967[1899], Marshall 1964) and studying both the material and psychological bases of citizens' practices in the polity (Verba, Schlozman, and Brady 1995). It also corresponds to Bourdieu's conception of the dual nature of social transaction as an objective "field" of relations and a subjective "habitus" rooted in its rules and operations (Bourdieu 1990). Social inequalities, in this view, entail both an objective position in social relations and a subjective "sense of position" in these relations (Blumer 1958). "Experience," as John Dewey (1937) argued, must be understood as both materially organized and psychologically meaningful. Indeed, objective realities and subjective perceptions can diverge quite sharply and have very different effects on citizenship and political engagement (Michener 2013).

Applying these distinctions, our typology focuses political analysis on the following six aspects of citizens' experiences in policy-based organizations (See Table 1).

1. Encounters with rules and related features of policy organizations embedded in state institutions.

2. Encounters with organizational cultures in these institutional sites.

3. Objective experiences of being personally targeted by disciplinary uses of official authority.

4. Subjective perceptions of whether, in general, officials use their authority fairly.

5. Objective levels of integration into peer/horizontal activities.

6. Subjective perceptions of inclusion versus marginalization in the community.

The typology provides a general framework for analysis, which may be applied to a wide range of policy settings. Scholars may use it to specify cross-policy differences in the terms of political relations within each cell as well as the ways relations in different cells matter more, less, or differently across policy domains. In this study, we apply the six-fold framework to the study of students' experiences in schools and their consequences for civic and political inequalities.

In so doing, we seek to clarify how organized relations in school settings operate to "define and create certain kinds of subjects and identities" in the polity (Roseberry 1994: 357). Our approach builds on a central argument advanced in John Dewey's *Experience and Education* (1937): that in the formation of citizens, "traditional education" based on the transmission of curricular content is often less potent than students' psychologically meaningful experiences of relations with school institutions, teachers and other school authorities, and fellow students. By drawing on this perspective, we expand the focus of social reproduction scholarship from socio-economic inequalities to civic and political inequalities.

In their day-to-day experiences at schools, as Benjamin Justice and Tracey Meares (2014: 165) rightly argue, students learn powerful *civic and political* "lessons about who matters, or does not, and whether the overt school curriculum, and the republic for which it stands, is legitimate or arbitrary, liberating or oppressive.... [Such experiences] can offer daily counterproductive lessons in how not to be a citizen, especially for those groups who have been historically marginalized. At its worst, [a school experience may] offer lessons in who is deserving of arbitrary or harsh punishments; whose gender or color or social

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class is a liability; whose history does not count; and whose language, customs, and values are of no consequence." Echoing this perspective, legal scholar Betsy Levin (1986: 1649) concludes, "the way in which school administrators operate schools may have a more powerful influence on students than the lessons in their civics textbooks." From this perspective, scholars are invited to study schools, not just as distributors of knowledge and other forms of "human capital," but also as "street-level bureaucracies" where citizens encounter the state's "bureaucratic presentation of self" and gain a first-hand experience that "teaches political lessons contributing to future political expectations." (Lipsky 1980: 4; Soss 2000).

Research Expectations: From School Experiences to Political Citizenship

Along the first row of Table 1, we investigate the political consequences of student's experiences with organizational structures and cultures. At schools, students are immersed in organizational norms and values (Coleman 1960) and must find ways to get along by learning, navigating, and circumventing the "rules of the game" (Piven and Cloward 2005). Thus, as Betsy Levin (1986: 1668) explains: "Institutional rules and regulations may be as important to the socialization of students as the formal curriculum. School rules that are concerned with certain patterns of behavior on the part of both students and teachers – hair and dress styles; smoking, drinking or the use of drugs; talking in the classroom or the halls or talking back to teachers; tardiness; marriage, pregnancy, sexual activity, or homosexuality – clearly inculcate particular values, as do the procedures for determining whether those rules have been violated and what sanctions should be imposed."

Although many organizational features may be important in this regard, we focus on the left side of this first row (Table 1) on those that structure authority relations and disciplinary practices (Bruch, Ferree, and Soss 2010). Previous research suggests rule regimes tend to take more disciplinary forms in schools with more Black students, in the South, and in urban areas (Welch and Payne 2010; Arum 2003; Kupchik 2010; Hirschfield 2008; Simon 2006; Kupchik and Monahan 2006; Casella 2003). Drawing on arguments by Levin (1986) and Meares and Justice (2014), as well as evidence from policy feedback studies (Bruch, Ferree, and Soss 2010), we expect experiences with more authoritarian and disciplinary school environments to be associated with more negative civic positions and political dispositions.

On the right side of this first row (Table 1), we address cultural features of school environments, which have long been a key focus for scholars seeking to explain educational outcomes (Coleman 1960; Bidwell 1965; Dreeben 1968; Schneider and Hedges 2005). The classic work of Coleman and colleagues emphasized how social relations and shared norms among students, teachers, parents, and the larger community function to maintain school order and create positive outcomes for students (Coleman 1960; Coleman and Hoffer 1987). Extending this perspective to civic outcomes, Conover and Searing (2000) argue that a stronger sense of school community leads students develop a stronger "sense of citizenship" – i.e., a feeling of membership in the larger community and a more developed disposition toward the "legal rights and duties, informal responsibilities and privileges, as well as perceptions of the role of citizens" (92). These learning processes then affect how students enact citizenship in their later life (Youniss et al. 1997; Beck and Jennings 1982). Accordingly, we expect that schools with more negative cultural climates and weaker social ties will be associated with more negative civic and political outcomes.

Along the second row of Table 1, we examine "vertical" relations between students and authorities. Policy feedback studies in non-school settings suggest that experiences with more authoritarian and punitive policy practices tend to diminish political trust, efficacy, and engagement (Weaver and Lerman 2010; Bruch, Ferree, and Soss 2010; Soss 1999). As Weaver and Lerman (2010: 818) explain, "punitive encounters with the state foster mistrust of political institutions and a weakened attachment to the political process." Reflecting on the turn toward more disciplinary school environments in recent decades, scholars have expressed a similar intuition, positing that harsh, punitive uses of disciplinary authority may result in more passive, disengaged young people (Kupchik 2009; Simon 2007; Kupchik and Monahan 2006; Lyons and Drew 2006). Extending these insights, we expect that students who directly experience negative relations with authorities – for example, by being singled out for punitive discipline – will be more likely to occupy a later position of civic and political marginalization.

On the right side of this row (Table 1), we turn from objective experiences of authority to subjective perceptions of how school authority relations work. As Geoffrey Cohen and Julio Garcia (2014: 13) point out: "Even when in the apparently same objective environment, the perceptions and

beliefs that shape students' experience and outcomes can differ markedly." In this context, we focus on subjective assessments of fair treatment or procedural justice, which have been shown (in other contexts) to have substantial effects on orientations toward government (Linn and Tyler 1988; Kumlin 2004; Kumlin and Rothstein 2005). Tyler and colleagues (1989) find that perceptions of fair treatment predict attitudes toward government even after controlling for actual treatment (severity of punishment) and previous attitudes toward government. In a classic work on school discipline, Arum (2003) argues for special attention to student perceptions of legitimacy (rooted in the perceived fairness of conditions of authority) and the extent to which students internalize respect for authority. In a study of student perceptions of teacher fairness, Gimpel and colleagues (2003: 42) echo this perspective: "Students who do not develop trust in school authorities are slow to develop trust in and respect for other governing authorities." Accordingly, we expect that when students experience school authority relations they perceive as operating in an unfair or illegitimate manner, this experience will raise the odds of civic and political marginalization later in life.

On the third row of Table 1, we explore "horizontal" relations among student peers within a community of putative equals. On the objective (left) side of this row, we focus on participatory integration in a school's peer-oriented activities. A considerable amount of research suggests that when young people participate in community activities (in schools and beyond), they become more likely to engage in civic and political participation as an adult (McFarland and Thomas 2006; Campbell 2006; Plutzer 2002). Much of this work emphasizes the acquisition of politically relevant skills and knowledge (Quinn 2011; McFarland and Thomas 2006; Schmidt et al. 2007; Niemi et al. 2000). However, a similar expectation can be derived from a more relational perspective: Marginalization from participatory activities and community relations with peers will cultivate dispositions of political disengagement and channel students toward more marginal civic positions.

Finally, on the right of this row (Table 1), we examine subjective perceptions of inclusion in horizontal relations with peers. Previous work suggests that *perceiving* oneself as a full and equal part of a specific social group can foster general feelings of belonging in relation to the wider community

(Callahan and Muller 2013; Callahan et al. 2008, 2010; Campbell 2006; Conover and Searing 2000). Some identify perceptions of social integration in the school community as a key mechanism that "orients an adolescent toward connection with the broader social and political community in adulthood" (Settle, Bond, and Levitt 2011). In this regard, Callahan and Muller (2013) stress the civic and social dimensions of school relations as a participatory climate with the power to build social relationships and ties to the larger community. Following this line of argument, we expect that, quite aside from their actual patterns of school participation, students who perceive themselves as more marginalized in school peer relations will be more likely to occupy marginal civic and political positions later in life.

IV. Empirical Measurement and Analytic Approach

To investigate how school experiences relate to social inequalities, on one side, and the formation of citizens, on the other, we begin with an analysis of their distribution across student populations. Specifically, we analyze how groups defined by dimensions of social stratification vary in their exposure to our six aspects of school experience. We then turn to an investigation of social and political effects, analyzing how school experiences set students on distinctive life trajectories and construct different civic positions in the polity (see Figure 1 Paths A and B respectively). Drawing the two analyses together, we argue that American schools today function in a de-democratizing manner, operating as mechanisms that convert social inequalities into predictable patterns of civic advantage and political marginalization.

In what follows, we transition from relational *theorizing* to a distributive *method* of empirical analysis. Relational explanations are often paired with relational methodologies, such as social network analysis or relational ethnography. However, because relational theories suggest that positions in relations generate distributional outcomes, this need not always be the case. Having generated explanations and expectations based on a relational mode of analysis, researchers may then test these explanations and expectations based on a distributive (in this case, statistical) method. Thus, while we draw on relational theories of inequalities to motivate our measurement and analysis, and drawn on these same theories to explain observed outcomes, we pursue statistical analyses of distributions to illuminate which students experience what kinds of relations and how such experiences correlate with later political outcomes.

Our first set of empirical analyses explores student exposure to the six aspects of school experience, first through mean differences and then after adjusting for a number of student characteristics (gender, parent education, and age) and school-level factors (urban, south, private, large, as well as average parent education, student achievement, and racial diversity). In addition to analyzing how positions in racial relations matter for students' school experiences, we pursue an intersectional analysis to clarify how race, gender, and class positions work together to shape student experiences.

Turning to the formative effects of school experiences, we then examine three outcomes that have long been central to the study of citizenship: levels of electoral participation, civic engagement, and trust in government. Because each school experience represents a separate (though potentially related) aspect of school relations, we estimate them simultaneously. This approach allows us to explore the relative influence of different aspects of school experiences on citizenship outcomes. In these multivariate analysis and all that follow, we estimate models with a consistent and substantial set of control variables for *student demographic differences* (gender, race, parent education, age), *other student characteristics* (delinquent behavior, an indicator for previous punitive sanctioning, grades, vocabulary test score, engagement in school, belief in hard work, trying hard in school) and *school characteristics* (urban, south, average parent education in the school, large school, private school, and racial diversity of the school).

Our third set of analyses steps back from these ultimate political outcomes to explore the ways formative experiences with school relations may channel students toward a number of young-adult statuses. In this analysis, we are particularly interested in the potential for early policy-based experiences in schools to shape what might be termed a "policy career" – i.e., a trajectory of policy statuses and experiences that accumulates over time. Over the past decade, policy feedback scholars begun to call for greater attention to the ways policy experiences intersect and compound – and especially the ways "timing and sequence" may matter in policy feedback processes (e.g., Soss 2005; Campbell 2012). Here, we respond to these calls by investigating whether negative experiences of school relations channel students toward more politically marginalizing policy trajectories over time.

Such dynamics might work within a single policy domain or across policy arenas. In the former case, we ask whether negative experiences of school relations have corrosive effects on students' educational pathways, lowering the odds of attaining college education (which, in turn, tends to enhance political engagement and incorporation; see Nie, Junn, and Stehlik-Barry 1996). In the latter case, we ask whether negative school experiences may put students on pathways toward entanglements with means-tested welfare and criminal justice policies (which, in turn, tend to foster civic and political marginalization; see Soss 2000; Bruch, Ferree, and Soss 2010; Lerman and Weaver 2014). Although feedback research suggests special reasons to be interested in these three pathways, we analyze them alongside three other intermediate outcomes that may mediate the effects of school experiences on political outcomes: employment status, marriage, and partisan identification (see Figure 1 Path C).

In our final set of empirical analyses, we put these pieces together to specify the pathways that lead from school experiences to dispositions in civic and political life. Adopting a path-analytic approach, we estimate both the direct effects of school experiences on political outcomes and indirect effects that work through post-school young adult statuses (e.g. welfare and criminal justice experiences, marriage, and so on). In this manner, we disaggregate the total civic effects of school experiences into more specific estimates of direct and indirect effects (see Figure 1 Paths C and D). In these models, we position each of our young adult statuses a potential mediator of each of our six school experiences.

Empirical Data

Data for our analyses are drawn from the National Longitudinal Survey of Adolescent Health (Add Health). Add Health is a nationally representative longitudinal study of adolescents who were in grades 7 through 12 during the 1994-95 school year (Harris et al. 2009). Add Health used a multi-stage, stratified, school-based, cluster sampling design to select 80 high schools and their feeder schools from a sampling frame of all schools in the U.S. that had at least 30 students and included an 11th grade (N=26,666 students in 132 schools). An In-School survey was then administered to all students in each selected school. The core sample of 16,044 adolescents was selected to be representative of adolescents in grades 7-12 during the 1994-95 school year (Tourangeau and Shin 1999). An In-Home survey was

administered to this sample in 1995 (Wave 1), and follow-up In-Home surveys were conducted

approximately one year (Wave 2) six years (Wave 3), and twelve years later (Wave 4).

The analytic sample for our study is the core longitudinal sample observed in Waves 1 and 3

(N=14,320 students from 132 schools). By applying the core longitudinal weight appropriate for this

sample, we obtain a representative sample of adolescents who were enrolled in grades 7-12 in U.S.

schools during the 1994-95 academic year (Chantala 2006). Because this sample is restricted to students

who did not switch schools, measures of school environments more accurately reflect the schools the

students actually experienced.[1] This procedure results in a loss of 355 observations.

Multiple imputation was used to estimate missing values for all variables except the dependent

variables and six school experiences (von Hippel 2007). This procedure is based on chained equations in

which each variable is estimated with a separate equation that takes into account the metric of the variable

being imputed (van Buuren 2012; White, Royston, and Wood 2011). This procedure excludes an

additional 3,387 observations.[2] The final analytical sample is 10,578 students drawn from 125 schools.

Measures of Citizenship Outcomes

All three outcome measures are drawn from the Wave 3 In-Home Survey, implemented when

respondents were young adults between the ages of 18-26. The first measures civic participation based on

a question that asked respondents whether they performed any unpaid volunteer or community-service

work in the past 12 months. This dichotomous indicator takes on a value of 1 if the respondent reported

performing any volunteer or community service. The second measures a key mode of political

participation based on a question that asked respondents whether they voted in the most recent

presidential election.[3] This dichotomous indicator takes on a value of 1 if the respondent reported voting.

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[1] The identification of school switchers relies on a survey item in Wave 1 survey asking students whether they have switched schools since the administration of the In-School Survey. This measure is not ideal because it does not capture students who switch school from Wave 1 to Wave 3.

[2] The vast majority of these (N=3,040) are dropped for missing the participation in school-based activities measure most of which are missing because several schools did not participate in the In-School Survey.

[3] Wave 3 interviews were conducted from April 2001 to May 2002 (73% of the interviews for my analytic sample were conducted in 2001), therefore this survey item is asking respondents about their voting behavior in the 2000 presidential election.

The third measure captures the respondent's self-reported level of trust in government. Respondents were asked a series of three questions about how much they agree or disagree with the statements "I trust the federal [my state, my local] government." Each items used five-choice Likert response categories consisting of strongly agree, agree, neither agree or disagree, disagree, and strongly disagree. Responses on these scale are highly correlated across the three questions (α=.93). The final measure is an indicator variable measuring affirmative responses of "agree" or "strongly agree" the respondent has trust in government.[4]

Measures of School Experiences

To measure students' experiences with objective aspects of schools as institutions, we draw on three indicators of disciplinary environment: the punitiveness of sanctioning, the extent of rule-based regulations of student behavior, and the extent of surveillance and monitoring.

The first piece of this measure captures the punitive dimension of discipline based on a series of items taken from the School Administrator Survey detailing the disciplinary consequences for students committing twelve different types of infractions for the first time (e.g., cheating, smoking, injuring another student, carrying a weapon, etc.).[5] Administrators specify whether they have a policy and, if so, the nature of disciplinary consequences: verbal warning, minor action, in-school suspension, out-of-school suspension, and expulsion.[6] An index is created by averaging the punishment severity of the first offense for each of the 12 infractions (McNeely et al. 2002). Higher values indicate harsher, more punitive disciplinary consequences.

The second piece of this measure captures rule-based regulations of student behavior based on items in the School Administrator Survey that indicating whether a school has rules regarding student

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[4] Affirmative and negative indicators (trusting and not trusting) are first created separately for each of the respondent's three responses. Respondents are then placed in the modal group based on their responses. There is a high degree of consistency across the three measures – only 15% not consistent in reporting trust all, and only 10% not consistent in reporting not trusting all.

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

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

dress or attire, the use of hall passes, whether students are allowed to leave the school building, and whether they can smoke on school grounds. Administrators report whether they have these rules and to which grades they apply. An indicator is created for each rule applied to 7-12 graders. The indicators for these four rules are added to create the final measure of rule-based regulation of student behavior.

The final piece of this measure captures the extent of school surveillance and monitoring. It is derived from items in the School Administrator Survey that ask whether a school uses a security guard, a metal detector at entryways, or other special safety procedures. If the administrator indicates that their school uses a special security procedure, they are asked to indicate whether they use any of the following: random checks with metal detector, campus monitors, require student identity cards, video surveillance, or security bars. Our surveillance and monitoring measure is created by adding the security features identified by the school administrator. The range for this measure is 0-2, where a value of 0 indicates that the school has none of the security procedures and a value of 2 indicates that they use 2 of them.

These three measures were then standardized (mean of 0, standard deviation of 1) and added to create a composite index of the objective disciplinary environment of the school. We dichotomize this scale at the mean and use above-the-mean values to indicate "tougher than average" school sanctions, modes of surveillance, and rule-based regulations of student behavior.

To capture social and cultural features of the school environment, we create a composite measure based on four indicators: sense of community, relations between teachers and students, relations among students, and student aspirations for college attendance.[7] The first, a composite measure of students' overall sense of community in the school, is based on three items asking the extent of agreement/disagreement with the following statements: You feel close to people at your school; You feel like you are part of your school; You are happy to be at your school. The measures of teacher-student relationships is a composite of two survey items taken from the Wave 1 Survey: The first asks respondents how much they feel their teachers care about them, while the second asks how often they had

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[7] Following Muller, Riegle-Crumb, Schiller, Wilkinson, and Frank (2010), appropriate weights are applied to all measures aggregated to the school level from the In-School survey or Wave 1 In-Home survey to ensure that the school-level measure is representative of the students in that school.

trouble getting along with their teachers. The measure of student-student relationships is taken from an item in the In-School Survey that asked respondents how often they had trouble getting along with other students. The final school measure captures shared norms based on a Wave 1 Survey item asking respondents how much they want to go to college. Aggregated to the school level, this measure captures an education-specific shared norm of college attendance and more broadly the importance of education. These four indicators were standardized (mean of 0, standard deviation of 1) and added to create a composite index of school community. Items are coded to indicate a lack of community – lower sense of community, poorer relations with teachers, poorer relations with students, and lower attainment norms.

To measure objective experiences with uses of disciplinary authority (i.e., personal targeting), we employ an indicator of "punitive sanctioning," defined as out-of-school suspension or expulsion. The measure is self-reported and taken from the Wave 1 and Wave 3 In-Home Surveys. Respondents were asked whether they had ever been suspended or expelled. If they answered affirmatively, they were asked in what grade this last happened. From these items, we created a dichotomous indicator that takes on a value of 1 who reported being suspended or expelled at any time during 7th-12th grade.

To measure subjective perceptions of whether, in general, school officials use their authority fairly, we make use of a single item from the In-School Survey that asks respondents to indicate whether they agree or disagree with the following statement: "The teachers at your school treat students fairly." [8] An indicator variable (0/1) was created from the Likert response categories to reflect *disagreement* with the statement and, thus, indicates student perceptions that teachers at their school treat students unfairly.

To measure objective marginalization from organized, peer-participation school activities, we rely on a series of questions that asked respondents to indicate the activities they participate in at the school. Respondents were instructed to choose all activities in which they participated based on a list of 33 possibilities that included a wide range of school-based activities such as sport teams, academic clubs,

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[8] Missing values are replaced with responses to the same survey item in the Wave 1 In-Home Survey if available. While the question posed to respondents is not specific to the student's own experience of fairness, it is plausible to assume the respondent's answer reflects their personal experience in addition to their observations of the school in general.

student government, and hobby clubs. From these responses, we created a dichotomous measure of participatory marginalization that takes on a value of 1 for students who indicated they participated in only one activity or none at all.

To measure subjective perceptions of marginalization in the school community, we employ a Wave 1 question that asked students how much they agree or disagree that they feel part of their school. An indicator variable (0/1) was created from the Likert response categories to reflect disagreement and, thus, indicates the student does *not* feel she or he is part of the school community.

Individual and School Characteristics

We measure racial self-identification based on respondents' answers to two survey items: Hispanic/Latino ethnicity (yes/no), and racial self-identification (African American, White, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian, Other Race). Respondents identifying as Hispanic/Latino are categorized as Latino. Respondents choosing more than one racial category are categorized as Multiracial. These decisions result in students being assigned to one of seven categories: Latino, African American, White, Asian or Pacific Islander, American Indian, Other Race, and Multiracial. We do not report estimates for three groups (Other Race, American Indian, and Multiracial) due to small sample sizes.

Respondents' self-identification of "sex" is measured based on self-reports in the Wave 1 Survey. The choice categories provided were "male" or "female." Respondent age is taken from the Wave 3 Survey, and is included in the analyses measured in years. Parental education is measured based on responses to a Wave 1 item that asked respondents to report the highest level of education attained by her or his residential parents. The measure is coded 1 if the respondent reported having at least one resident parent who attained at least a four-year college degree and 0 otherwise.

In addition to these measures of student characteristics, we include measures of several potentially confounding behaviors and attitudes in our models: behavior deemed delinquent or deviant,[9]

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[9] The measure of delinquent or deviant behavior is taken from the Wave 1 Survey. The measure is an average of fifteen self-report items from the Add Health Delinquency Scale that asked about a broad range of antisocial behaviors within the past 12 months, from minor acts such as shoplifting and lying to parents about whereabouts, to more serious offenses such as being in a serious fight and selling drugs (α=0.84). Responses ranged from 0 to 3,

experience of a suspension or expulsion prior to middle school,[10] grades,[11] academic ability,[12] engagement in school,[13] trying hard in school,[14] and belief that hard work is rewarded.[15]

Several school characteristics are included in our models because of their potential to be correlated with our measures of school experiences and outcomes of interest. These characteristics include: academic achievement,[16] average parental education[17], racial diversity,[18] and indicators for region,[19] school type,[20] urbanicity,[21] and size.[22]

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representing never, one or two times, three or four times, and five or more times. Higher scores on this measure indicated higher levels of delinquent behavior.

[10] In addition to controlling for current delinquent behavior as reported by the student, all models also include a measure indicating that a student was previously suspended or expelled prior to 7th grade (i.e. earlier experience with punitive sanctioning).

[11] A measure of average grades is created from self-reported grades in the In-School Survey for English, math, history, and science. The responses are coded to be equivalent to a 0-4 grade point scale where a 1.0 is a D, 2.0 is a C, 3.0 is a B, and a 4.0 is an A. The four grades reported (or as many were reported) are averaged to create an average grades measure.

[12] The score on a modified Peabody Picture Vocabulary Test is the only test score measure available in Add Health and it is included as a measure of verbal ability.

[13] The engagement in school measure is created by averaging responses to two items taken from the In-School Survey that ask respondents whether they have trouble with homework, and whether they have trouble paying attention in school.

[14] This measure is taken from an In-School Survey item asking respondents: "When you get what you want, it's usually because you worked hard for it." The response categories are a five category Likert scale which is coded so that higher values are agreement with this belief.

[15] This measure is derived from a survey item on the In-School Survey that asks: "In general, how hard do you try to do your school work well?" The response categories are: I try very hard to do my best; I try hard enough, but not as hard as I could; I don't try very hard at all; and I never try at all. The item is coded so that higher values indicate more effort/trying harder.

[16] The academic achievement of the school is measured using the percent of students at or above grade level as reported by the school administrator in the School Administrator Survey.

[17] The only measure of socioeconomic status that is available for all students in the school is the level of parent education. The parent education measure is reported by the adolescent in the In-School Survey, and is coded to use the highest parent education level if the adolescent reports the education level of two parents. The student reports the parent's level of education in six categories. The school average parental education is created by aggregating these student reports to the school level.

[18] A measure of racial diversity is created from the racial composition of the school. Student self-reported racial identifications on the In-School Survey are aggregated to the school level in order to calculate a Simpson Index.

[19] An indicator for the South region of the United States is included in order to capture the possibility that authority relations in schools may be regionally specific.

[20] An indicator variable distinguishing private versus public schools is included in case authority relations differ across these school types.

[21] An indicator for urban is included to account for the possibility that the disciplinary dimensions of authority relations differs across school location.

[22] An indicator for schools having a large number of students (over 1000) is included because both disciplinary and community dimensions of authority relations may differ in schools that have more expansive campuses or a higher density of students (i.e. more formal rules or surveillance), and social processes related to feelings of marginality and belonging may operate differently in large environments (i.e. more subcultures within the school or more variation).

Young Adult Statuses

To capture young adults' experiences of potentially negative "policy careers," we employ

indicators for experiences with social welfare[23] and criminal justice[24] systems. To measure additional

young adult statuses that may matter for civic and political marginalization, we employ measures of

partisan identification,[25] current marital status,[26] employment status,[27] and level of educational

attainment.[28] Table 2 presents descriptive statistics for all measures used in the analyses that follow.

V. Empirical Analysis and Results

Section 1: How do social positions matter for experiences of school relations?

We begin with the question of how students who occupy different positions in social relations

differ in their school experiences. Figure 2 shows mean differences in our six "civic" experiences of

school for Whites, Blacks, and Latinos. On five of the six items, we find significantly greater exposure to

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[23] The measure is a dichotomous indicator for having received food stamps or cash-assistance welfare (AFDC/TANF) in the past 12 months, currently receiving either of these, or having received either of these in any year from 1995-2001. Food stamps and cash welfare are two choices included in a broader list of items for a questions about sources of income currently, in the previous 12 months, or within each year separately for 1995 to 2001 from a variety of sources. We do not include housing, unemployment insurance, or workers compensation in this measure of social welfare receipt because the implications of their program designs for citizenship outcomes are less well established (Bruch et al. 2010; Soss 2001).

[24] The measure is taken from a series of questions asking the respondent about a number of ways that they could have involvement with the police and/or criminal justice institutions (Weaver and Lerman 2010). The measure indicates whether the respondent has ever been stopped by the police not including minor traffic violations (1), having been arrested as an adult (2), having been convicted or pled guilty to a crime as an adult (3), and having been sentenced to probation or serving time in a correctional facility as adult (4). The measure therefore ranges from no experiences (0) to the most extensive experience of having served time in a correctional facility (4).

[25] The measure is created from two questions one asking the respondent "In terms of politics, do you consider yourself conservative, liberal, or middle-of-the-road?" and the other asking whether they identify with a political party. These are combined to create a 0-2 scale where 0 is coded as neither identifying with a party and in terms of political ideology reports being "middle of the road," 1 is coded as identifying with a party or identifying as liberal or conservative, and 2 is coded as identifying with a party and identifying as liberal or conservative.

[26] The measure is based on survey items asking the respondent the number of times they have been married and then, for each reported marriage, if they are still married.

[27] The measure is based on a survey item asking the respondent whether they currently work for pay at least 10 hours a week.

[28] The measure is based on the highest grade or year of regular school the respondent reports completing. We rely on this measure, in part, because of the age of the sample. At the time of Wave 3, respondents are 18-26 years of age, so many respondents have not completed their education. The measure of highest grade or year of school is also used because of the limitations in how the survey items capture college experience. At Wave 3 respondents are asked about completed degrees (e.g. GED, diploma, Associate of Arts/Science, Bachelors) as well as whether they are currently attending college. What these survey items do not capture is when respondents attended college at some time during the 6 year interval between Wave 2 and 3, but did not complete a degree. In other words, Add Health does not allow respondents to report having "some college" other than the measure of highest year or grade completed.

negative experiences for Blacks and/or Latinos relative to White students. The most dramatic racial inequality arises at the institutional level, in experiences of school disciplinary regimes: Compared to just 37 percent of White students, fully *82 percent* of Black students spend their adolescent years in schools with more authoritarian (i.e., higher than average) disciplinary structures. Thus, while rates for Latino and White students are statistically indistinguishable, Black students experience schools with more punitive sanctions, more stringent regulations of student behavior, and greater surveillance and monitoring of student behavior at a rate that is 132 percent greater than what we observe for White students.

Black students are also substantially more likely to have negative experiences in their "vertical" relations with school authorities. White students are the least likely to be personally targeted for punitive sanctions (21 percent), and Latino students are only somewhat more likely (27 percent). By contrast, 43 percent of Black students experience being singled out for punishments such as suspensions and expulsions, a rate that is more than 57 percent greater than their White counterparts. On the subjective side of this dimension, Black students are also 28 percent more likely than White students to perceive teachers as unfair in their treatment of students in general (23 percent of Blacks versus 19 percent of Latinos and 18 percent of Whites).

Turning to "horizontal" relations among fellow students, we find that Latinos are the least incorporated in school activities (in an objective sense), with 57 percent being marginalized from participation in organized peer-group activities. This rate is significantly higher than what we observe for Black students (50 percent), which, in turn, is significantly higher than the rate for White students (42 percent). By contrast, we find no significant racial differences in students' *perceptions* that they are marginalized from the school community. This result may reflect a weakness in the survey item's ability to elicit such responses, however, it might also provide an indication that feelings of marginalization are less prevalent than the objective experience of being sidelined in peer-activities. In either case, all three groups express low levels of perceived marginalization, ranging only from 10 to 13 percent.

Theories of intersectionality underscore the ways racial relations work in conjunction with other axes of social hierarchy to constitute and position actors in organized relations (Collins 2015; Cho,

Crenshaw, and McCall 2013; Hancock 2007). Thus, rather than examine differences associated with gender and SES separately – an approach that would mask the conjunctural logics of social positioning – we analyze how school experiences vary across intersectionally defined categories of difference. Building on previous work showing that Black males and females are targeted differently for punitive sanctions (Skiba et al. 2014; Blake et al. 2011; Losen and Skiba 2010; Wallace et al. 2008; Mendez and Knoff 2003; Ferguson 2000), we illustrate these intersectional dynamics through an analysis of objective personal experiences with disciplinary authority.[29]

Figure 3 shows mean differences in students' experiences of being singled out for a school suspension or expulsion, based on intersectional categories defined by race/ethnicity, gender, and family SES. The figure reveals stark patterns associated with each dimension, while also showing how the three axes work together intersectionally, in a non-additive way. Building on the results from Figure 2, these results clarify that there are vast inequalities in school experiences *within* groups defined by racial categories and, in this regard, certain intersectional positions stand out as highly distinctive.

Surveying Figure 3, one can see that males are targeted for punishment far more often than their female counterparts. Indeed, of the twelve rates shown, five of the lowest six are all for females. Yet while males are generally targeted for discipline more often, we see that White students from high-SES families are immune to this effect: They experience the second-lowest rate of punishment for any group, higher only than White female students from high-SES families.

Similar dynamics can be seen for parental education. The three groups with the lowest rates of punishment all come from higher-SES families (with rates from 5 to 16 percent), while the four groups with the highest rates all come from low-SES families (with rates ranging from 36 to 58 percent). Yet the dampening effects of parental education do not provide nearly as much relief for Black males: Even when they have highly educated parents, Black males experience the fifth highest rate of sanctioning observed here – a rate of 35 percent, which is significantly higher than every other group below it.

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[29] Space constraints preclude a full presentation of results for all six school experiences. Results for the other five experience measures are available from the authors on request.

Returning to racial differences in school experiences, we find that White students (the two lowest rates) and Black students (the two highest rates) anchor the poles of the distribution, with Latino students spread across the middle range. The most striking intersectional results emerge for Black males with low parental education. Well over half the students who occupy this social position, *58 percent*, personally experience disciplinary action at the hands of school authorities between 7th and 12th grades. A number of comparisons can be used to underscore the extraordinary targeting of penalties on this group. The rate of punishment for Black, low-SES males, for example, is 49 percent higher than even its nearest counterpart (the second highest rate, 39 percent, for Black, low-SES females) and is 1,060 percent higher than the lowest group rate observed (5 percent, for White, high-SES females).

Section 2: How do school experiences affect citizenship outcomes?

Descriptive statistics shown in Table 2 reveal that, overall, 29 percent of the young people in our sample report some civic participation, 44 percent report voting in the 2000 presidential election, and 53 percent report trusting government. With these baseline levels in hand, we can turn to the question of how our six school experiences affect these citizenship outcomes.

Table 3 reports results from multivariate models estimating associations between the six aspects of school experience and the three citizenship outcomes.[30] Given the dichotomous nature of our outcomes, we estimate multivariate logistic regression models. To account for non-independence of observations and estimate correct standard errors, we use design-based specifications that take into account the unequal probability of respondent selection (by specifying individual-level weights) and the multi-stage clustering of the Add Health design (by specifying measures of stratification and primary sampling unit). Weights provided with the Add Health data allow for correction of biases related to unequal probabilities of selection into the sample and attrition within the sample over time.

Model 1 includes only the six school experiences, while Model 2 includes all student and school characteristics. As expected, each school experience is negatively related to the citizenship outcomes.

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[30] We also estimated models with each of the six school experiences entered separately. The results are very consistent with those produced by simultaneous estimation (reported here). The only notable difference is that the positive relationship between school disciplinary regime and trust in government loses its significance.

The first pattern of note in Table 3 is that experiences of both vertical (authority) relations and horizontal (peer) relations have significant associations with each of the citizenship outcomes, while experiences of institutional environments generate a statistically weak pattern of results. In other words, experiences of social relations that are structured by schools stand out in this analysis as factors tied to later civic outcomes, relative to students' experiences with institutional features in their own right. In our full multivariate models (Model 2), school cultural environments do not produce significant results for any of the three outcomes; disciplinary environments produce just one (for trust in government).[31]

Focusing on experiences of peer relations, we find that marginalization from school peer-group participation and the feeling of being marginal to the school community are both associated with lower odds of civic engagement and political participation. Feeling marginal to the school community is also associated with lower trust in government. For relations with school authorities, we find that being singled out for punishment and believing authorities treat students unfairly are both associated with lower odds of civic engagement and political participation and lower levels of trust in government.

The second notable pattern in Table 3 concerns the consistent, independent results associated with objective and subjective aspects of experiences with school relations. For civic engagement and political participation, we find that all four aspects of experiences with vertical and horizontal school relations generate statistically significant, negative coefficients. Only in the case of trust in government do we find an insignificant result, and here only one (objective participation in peer-group activities). Because these results emerge from a simultaneous estimation procedure, they appear consistent with the idea that these are distinct aspects of school experience with analytically separable implications for later political life.

Two features of this analysis diminish our concerns about whether these associations might be spurious. First, one might worry that the results for school experiences simply reflect underlying

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[31] Institutional features of school environments can, of course, affect the odds that students will have the four school experiences that produce stronger results here. Attendance at a school with a more authoritarian disciplinary environment, for example, is positively associated with being targeted by authorities for punishment. Nevertheless, in models that include only the two school environment measures and the citizenship outcomes, we find results that are almost identical to those presented here. This evidence suggests that the other school experiences included in the full model are producing little to no mediation or attenuation of the associations with our environmental variables.

propensities for success in school, closer to the education variables emphasized in studies of political behavior that do not pursue a relational approach. Here, we note that our multivariate models include an array of control variables designed to guard against just this possibility, including parental education, student grades, vocabulary test scores, student engagement in school, and students' beliefs that they try hard in school. Although no set of controls can allow for a decisive rejection of spuriousness in an analysis of observational data, these controls are quite comprehensive and more precise than one finds in most studies of political behavior.

Second, one might worry that the results do not represent the effects of school-specific experiences but rather reflect unobserved differences that distinguish the most marginally positioned students. Specifically, we are mindful of the possibility that Black males with low parental education, who have the worst school experiences, *are also* more likely than their peers to have alienating and marginalizing experiences in all kinds of other institutions and settings. Is this broader (and unmeasured) social experience all that is being captured by our school-specific measures? To assess this possibility, we estimated our full multivariate models for race-specific samples to assess whether the associations in question (between school experiences and citizenship outcomes) are limited to racially subordinate groups or appear more strongly for intersectionally marginalized subgroups. In these analyses, we find a consistent pattern of negative associations across all racial groups, with few significant subgroup differences. These results suggest that although these groups differ systematically in the kinds of school experiences they have, the associations between these experiences and citizenship outcomes are not specific to any one group. Indeed, to the extent that effect sizes vary at all, we find slightly stronger associations for white students – a pattern that runs directly counter to the logic of our concern regarding spuriousness. (Full results available from the authors upon request.)

Section 3: How do school experiences affect policy careers and young adult statuses?

Pushing this analysis further, we examine whether negative experiences with school relations affect a wider range of subsequent experiences and statuses among young adults. Most importantly, we consider the possibility that negative school experiences channel individuals toward more negative

"policy careers" that include involvements with two of the most directive, supervisory, and punitive American policy arenas: means-tested welfare and criminal justice. In addition, we examine how school experiences matter for later partisan identification and the attainment of young adult statuses related to marriage, employment, and educational attainment. Several notable results emerge in Table 4.

First, we find a number of results suggesting school experiences matter for young adult social statuses. Just one school experience (cultural climate) is associated with later attainment of marital status. A slightly clearer pattern emerges for employment, where we find significant associations with both objective and subjective aspects of "vertical" relations with school authorities (being targeted for school punishment and perceiving the treatment of students as unfair). Finally, young adults are significantly less likely to develop a sense of partisan identification if they were marginalized from peer-group activities during their school years and/or attended a school with a relatively negative cultural climate.

The remaining results yield evidence consistent with the idea that earlier school experiences can shape citizens' later policy careers. Even after accounting for factors such as parental education, student grades, vocabulary test scores, levels of student engagement in school, and students' beliefs that they try hard in school, we find that several negative experiences of school relations work to dampen the likelihood that a student will successfully transition to college: being targeted by authorities for punishment, being weakly incorporated in school peer-group activities, attending a school with a negative cultural climate, and feeling marginal to the school community. In addition to providing evidence of a "policy career" effect, this finding suggests that positive correlations between educational attainment and political engagement (which are conventionally interpreted in terms of acquired skills and knowledge) may actually be capturing some effects rooted in students' experiences of school relations.

In the case of criminal justice policy, we find some evidence consistent with recent critiques of the "school-to-prison pipeline" (Wald and Losen 2003; Dunn 2013). Students who attend schools with more authoritarian disciplinary regimes and students who are singled out for punishment have a higher likelihood of becoming entangled with the criminal justice system as a young adult. Similarly, we find that three negative school experiences are positively associated with the odds of means-tested welfare

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experiences as a young adult: being personally targeted for punishment at school, weak integration into

school-based peer-activities, and experiences with relatively negative school cultural climates.

These results suggest that experiences of school relations may play a substantively significant

role in putting students on paths toward distinctive policy careers. This possibility is bolstered by the fact

the results emerge from multivariate models that include, not only a wide range of other "school success"

variables, but also controls for whether students have previously engaged in "delinquent or deviant"

behaviors or experienced a suspension or expulsion prior to middle school.

Section 4: How do school experiences work directly and indirectly to shape civic outcomes?

Thus far, we have seen that experiences of school relations have significant consequences for

subsequent policy careers and other young adult statuses (Section 3) and, ultimately, for young adult

citizenship outcomes such as electoral participation, civic engagement, and trust in government (Section

2). In this final section, we put these pieces together to examine whether the former effects mediate the

latter. To do so, we use path analysis to examine the *direct* effects of school experiences on citizenship

outcomes alongside *indirect* effects that run through young adult policy experiences and statuses. Table 5

presents estimates of these direct effects (i.e., unmediated, Figure 1 Path B) and indirect effects (i.e.,

mediated, estimated as Figure 1 Path C * Path D) for each of our six school experiences. [32]

To make the large number of results easier to interpret, Figures 4 through 6 show the estimates

from Table 5 in graphic form, distinguishing the direct and indirect effects associated with each school

experience. Turning first to the experience of being targeted by school authorities for punishment, we find

that the very large effects this experience has on several intermediate outcomes – specifically, criminal

justice, social welfare, and educational attainment – serve as the primary pathways for its ultimate effects

on citizenship outcomes. Once these indirect paths are taken into account, we find no additional

significant direct effects for this school experience. Thus, punitive experiences with school authorities

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[32] Note that the coefficients presented in Table 5 are log odds that have not been converted to odds ratios as was done in Tables 3 and 4. In the discussion of results here, we focus only on the pattern of statistical significance of the direct and indirect effects estimated in these models.

appear to foster political marginalization primarily by putting students on a path toward various young adult statuses that, in turn, depress civic and political incorporation.

The strongest evidence of consistent direct effects on citizenship outcomes emerges for perceptions that school authorities treat students unfairly. Even after accounting for our six mediating pathways, we find significant direct effects that dampen levels of civic engagement, electoral participation, and trust in government. Indeed, aside from these direct influences, we find no significant effects operating through indirect pathways at all.

Objective and subjective experiences of "horizontal" relations with school peers produce a shared pattern of results. In each case, we find indirect effects on all three citizenship outcomes, and in every case the mediating pathway runs through attained education. Beyond this strong empirical pattern, we observe only two significant direct effects: Students who felt marginalized in their school community subsequently exhibit lower levels of trust in government, and students who were marginalized from participation in school peer activities subsequently have a lower likelihood of civic engagement.

The consideration of indirect pathways does little to alter a key conclusion suggested by the earlier (full multivariate, Model 2) results in Table 3: While experiences with vertical and horizontal school relations have significant civic and political consequences, experiences of schools as organizational environments have little impact in their own right. We do not find any significant direct pathways for the subjective or objective aspects of school institutional experiences. In addition, we see that even though experiences of school cultural climates are significantly associated with four of our six intermediate young adult statuses (Table 4), these connections do not translate into significant indirect effects on citizenship outcomes. Student experiences with school disciplinary regimes yield results that are only slightly greater: significant indirect effects mediated by attained education (for civic engagement and electoral participation) and one indirect effect mediated by social welfare (for trust in government).

Comparing our six mediating factors (across all school experiences), we find the strongest indirect effects associated with attained education. Experiences with means-tested welfare programs and criminal justice institutions emerge as the second and third most prevalent mediating factors, respectively.

VI. Discussion and Conclusion

Few institutions rival schools as repositories for egalitarian hopes and schemes. Throughout American history, reformers have looked to the schoolhouse with grand ambitions for leveling the social playing field and building a more democratic polity. Yet a vast empirical literature suggests that the American education system does not conform to this image. Schools allow social mobility for some, and education can foster civic and political incorporation. The problem, as critical sociologists have long argued, is that such dynamics are embedded within an educational system that functions in deeper and more enduring ways to reproduce and legitimate social inequalities. In this view, schools work to the advantage of those who are already advantaged, while mystifying the intergenerational transmission of superiority as a product of individual ability, effort, and achievement (Lareau 2002).

In the study of schools and socio-economic inequalities, sociology has benefited from the distinctive contributions of (and a vibrant dialogue between) distributive and relational perspectives. Yet the same has not occurred in the study of civic and political life. Logics of distribution have prevailed in the study of "citizenship as status," where they have framed accounts of state-bestowed rights and institutional allocations, and in the study of "citizenship as practice," where they have fostered steady attention to the ways schools transmit politically relevant skills, knowledge, values, and resources.

In this study, we have worked to develop a more robust relational counterpart to the distributive tradition that has historically dominated understandings of political citizenship. To do so, we have intervened first at the level of theory, bringing greater specificity to the key differences between distributive and relational approaches and clarifying how critical scholars working in two streams of citizenship studies have begun to converge on a more relational approach to "substantive citizenship" grounded in meso-level analyses of organizational sites. To build on these developments, we have presented an original typology of the ways citizens experience political relations in organized policy-based settings. Applying this general typology to schools, we have intervened empirically by testing expectations drawn from relational theories of inequality against a distributive analysis of how school experiences relate to social positions, on one side, and civic and political incorporation, on the other.

Schools, we conclude, function as key mechanisms for more than just the reproduction of social inequalities; they are equally central to the process that converts social subordination into civic and political marginalization. Moreover, our analysis clarifies that this process works through an extended chain of translation in which positions and experiences in one relational field structure positions and experiences in subsequent fields. Adolescents who occupy subordinate positions in social relations of race, class, and gender are channeled toward inferior positions and experiences in school-based relations. Their disproportionately negative experiences of school relations shape their subsequent "policy careers" in ways that diminish their entry into valued civic positions (e.g., college attainment) and position them as subjects of the state's most paternalist and authoritarian apparatuses (e.g., criminal justice and means-tested welfare). These developments, in turn, play a mediating role, translating negative experiences of school relations into an inferior form of civic incorporation marked by lower levels of electoral participation, civic engagement, and trust in government.

"It is inevitable that we live within constructed and formative institutions," Stephen Macedo and colleagues (2005: 175) write, "there is no alternative." "The problem," March and Olsen (1989: 124) remind us, "is how to construct institutions that integrate the individual with society" (see also, Rothstein and Steinmo 2002). What relational theories of inequality bring to this line of thought, perhaps above all else, is a focus on the question: *On what terms* are individuals integrated into or excluded from societal membership? Incorporation in the collective entails more than just falling on the inclusive side of a binary "in versus out." Indeed, it is more even than a matter of "more versus less" in gradations of standing. In civic realms as in social and economic life, people are not simply integrated into an undifferentiated category of belonging; they are situated as occupants of specific positions in relations organized by power, norms, role expectations, rules, and other terms of social regulation. Thus, to understand how "constructed and formative institutions" integrate subjects into civic life, we must ask how they produce citizens in relation to one another and position them in relations that may vary considerably in their alignment with values of justice, care, and democracy.

From this perspective, one must look beyond the classic Marshallian view of "universal schooling" as an inherently equalizing force that bestows "equality of status" and evens the distribution of capacities needed for full and equal citizenship. American schools, our analysis suggests, do not function as a countervailing force diminishing the impact of categorical inequalities on civic and political relations – as Charles Tilly (1998, 2004) suggests "democratizing institutions" must (see Heller and Evans 2010: 437-8). Rather, schools integrate students into authority and peer relations in ways that work with and through social hierarchies and multiply consequences of social inequalities for political life.

In this sense, schools must be recognized as more than pre-political sites for the distribution of things (skills, knowledge, and resources) students carry with them as they become citizens later in life. Schools are the sites for our earliest formative experiences of how civic institutions work, how authorities behave, and what it means to participate in a community of putative equals. They are sites of relations as well as distributions, where the terms of relations often serve as powerful forces *shaping* distributions. To understand the civic role of schooling in a politically unequal society and bring our schools into alignment with democratic values, we must not lose sight of John Dewey's (1937) cautionary arguments about the potential for unjust and undemocratic school experiences to trump even the most vigorously pro-democratic curriculum of formal instruction.

Students' experiences of school relations matter for the construction or subversion of democratic citizenship in ways that are rendered invisible by contemporary educational debates that focus on test scores and other indicators of whether schools distribute to students what they should. The vitality of American democracy may not be well served by this focus. Like Dewey (1937) and Justice and Meares (2014: 174), we find compelling reasons to believe that meaningful democratization of the polity will depend, at least in part, on efforts to make schools into more just and democratic sites of political experience in their own right.

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Figure 1.School Experiences: From Social to Political Inequalities

Positions in Stratified Social Relations		Position-Specific School Experiences		Patterns of Political Marginalization
	Path A →		Path B →	
		Path C ↘	Path D ↗	
		Mediating Young Adult Statuses		

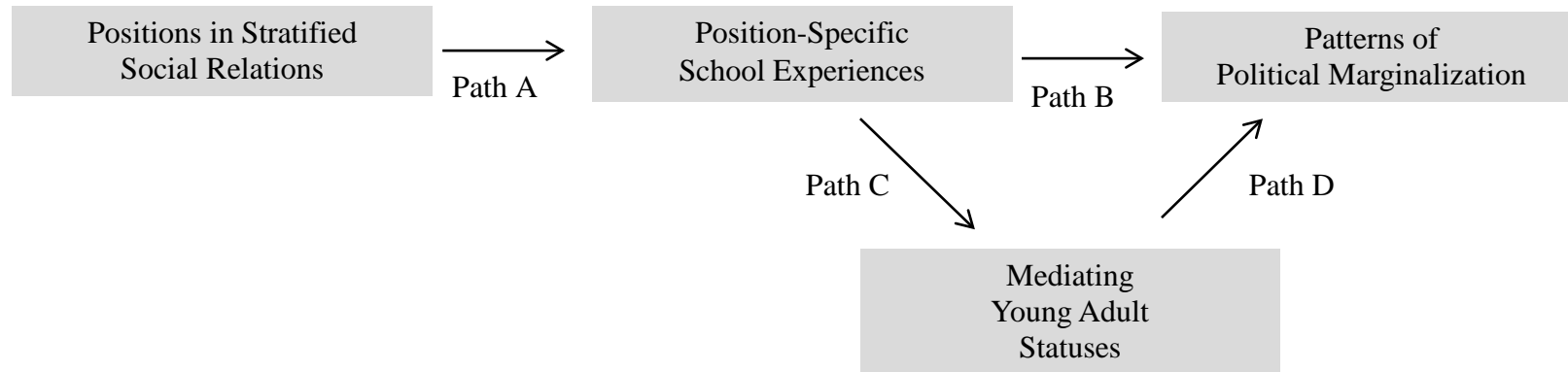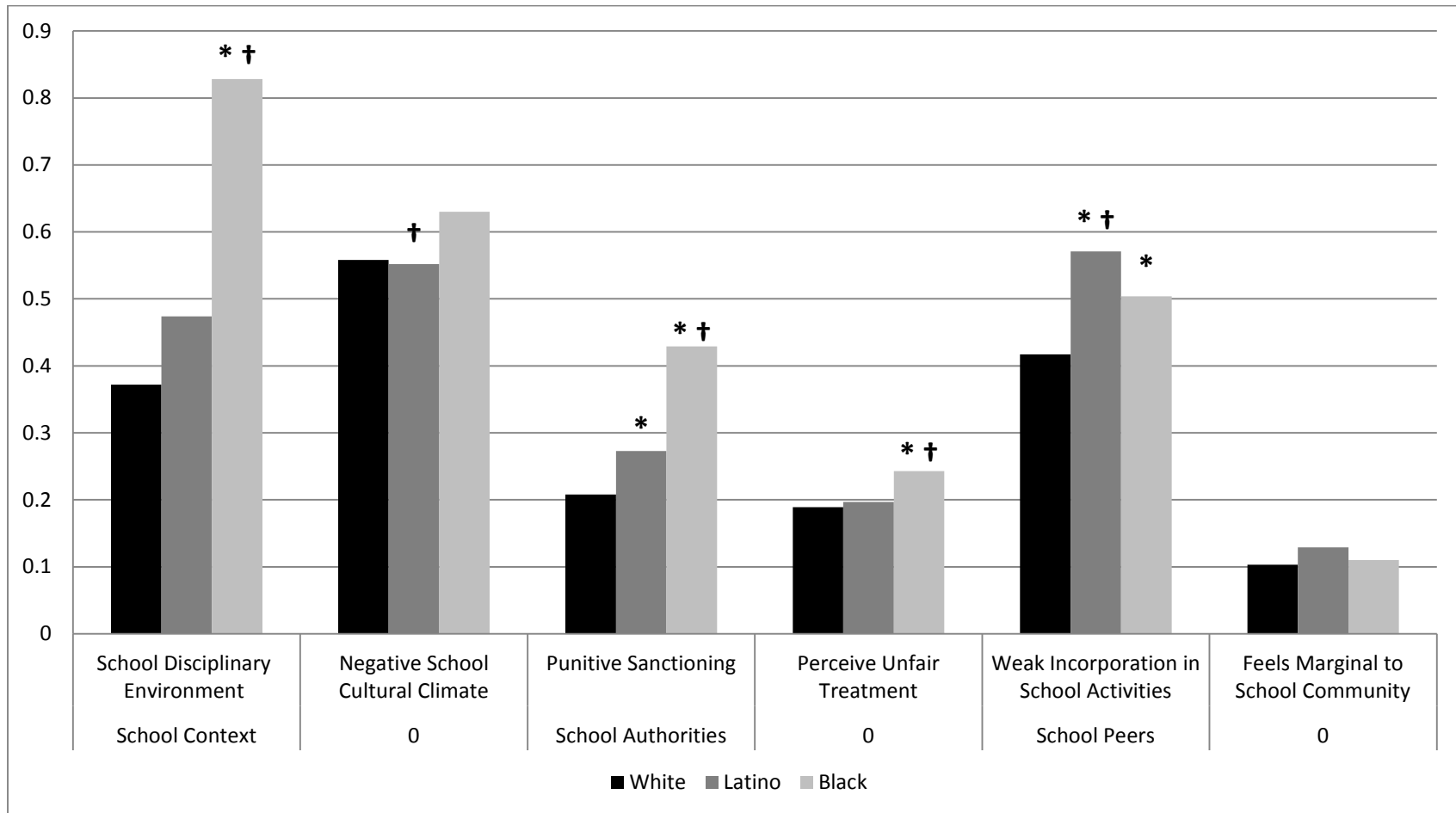Figure 2. Mean Racial Differences in Exposure to School Experiences

* indicates significant mean difference (p < 0.05) i.e. ttest of mean difference

† indicates significant difference (p < 0 .05) w/ statistical controls (adjusted). Adjusted models include: female, parent education, age, urban, south, average parent education in the school, large school, private school, and racial diversity of the school.

Figure 3. Mean Intersectional Differences in Exposure to Punitive Sanctioning
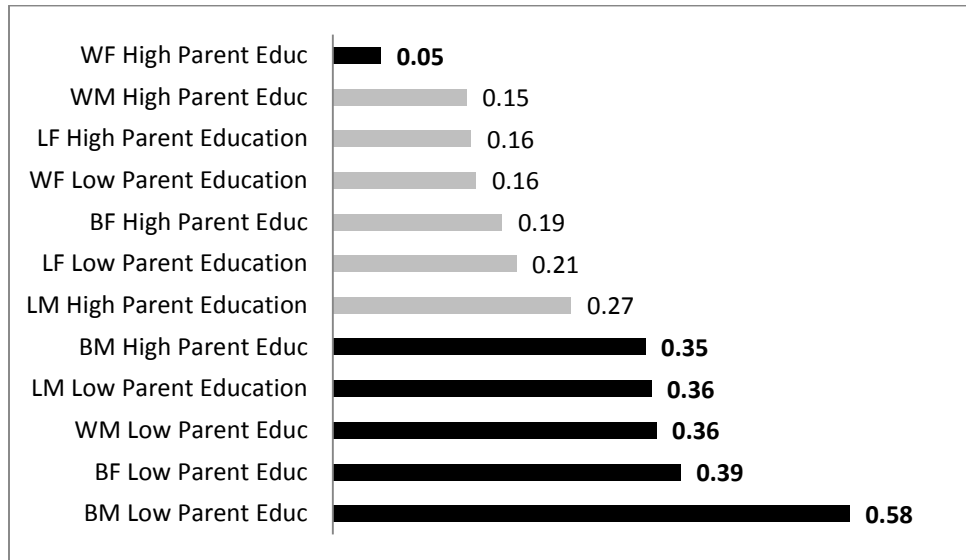
Note: Darker blue and bold values indicates significant difference (p < .05) w/ statistical controls (age, urban, south, average parent education in the school, large school, private school, and racial diversity of the school). The reference group is white males with high parental education.

WF=white female; WM=white male; LF=Latino female; LM=Latino male; BF=Black female; BM=Black male

Figure 4. Path Model Estimates on Civic Participation: Direct and Indirect Paths
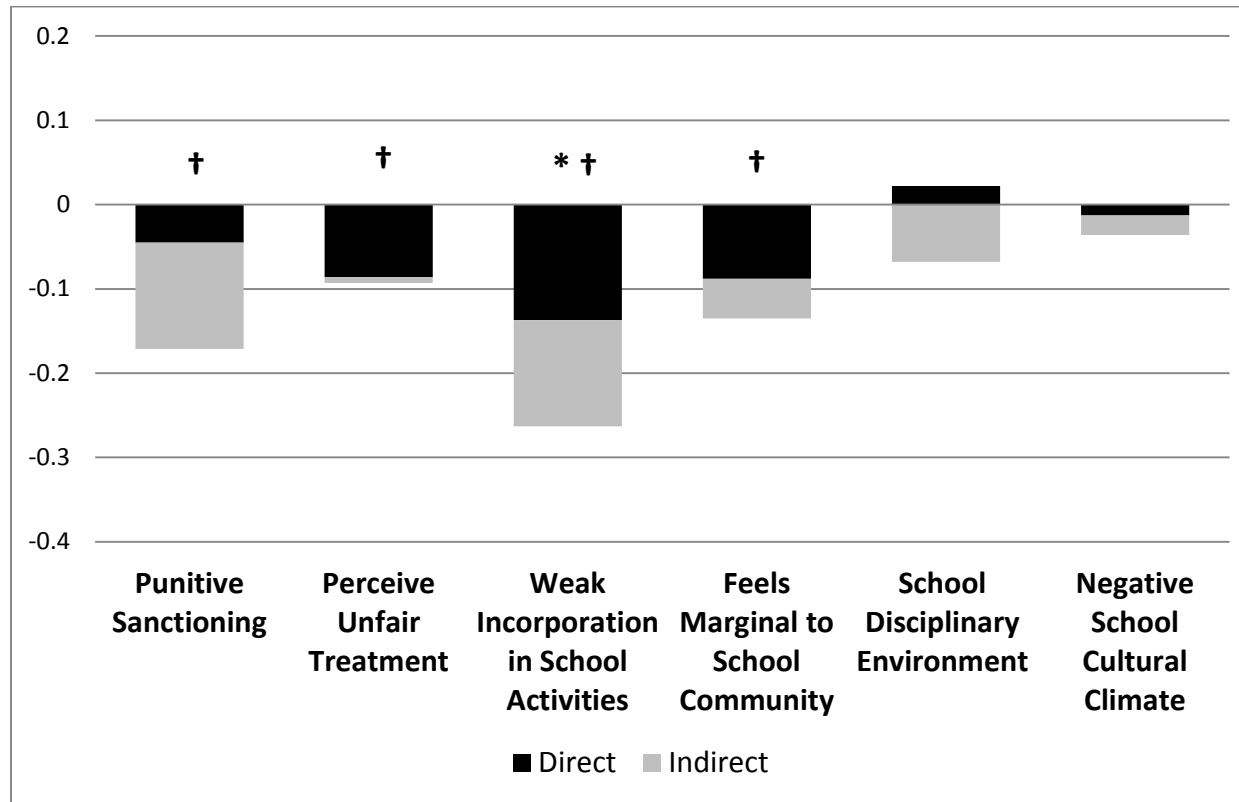
* indicates significant direct effect

† indicates significant indirect effect

Figure 5. Path Model Estimates on Voting: Direct and Indirect Paths

* indicates significant direct effect

† indicates significant indirect effect

Figure 6. Path Model Estimates on Trust in Government: Direct and Indirect Paths

* indicates significant direct effect

† indicates significant indirect effect

Table 1. Measuring Policy-Based Organizational Experiences: General Aspects and Specific Applications to Schools

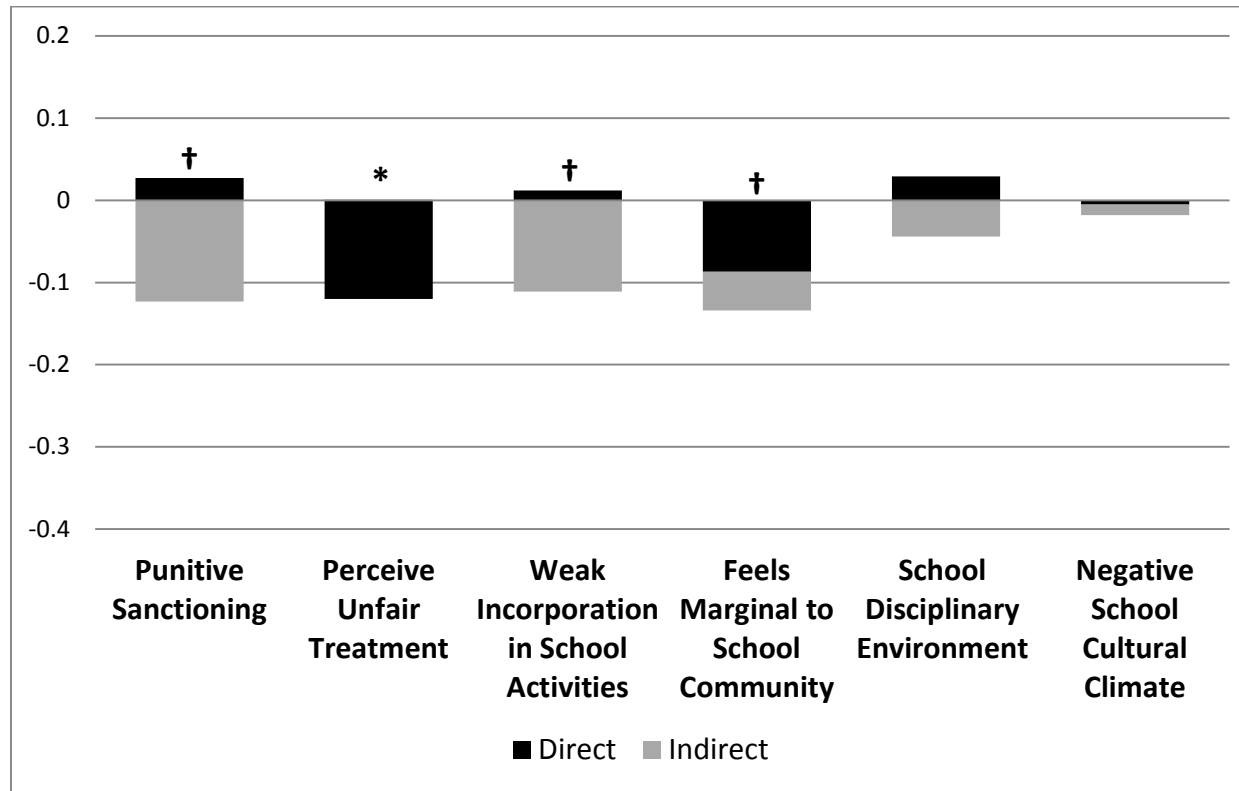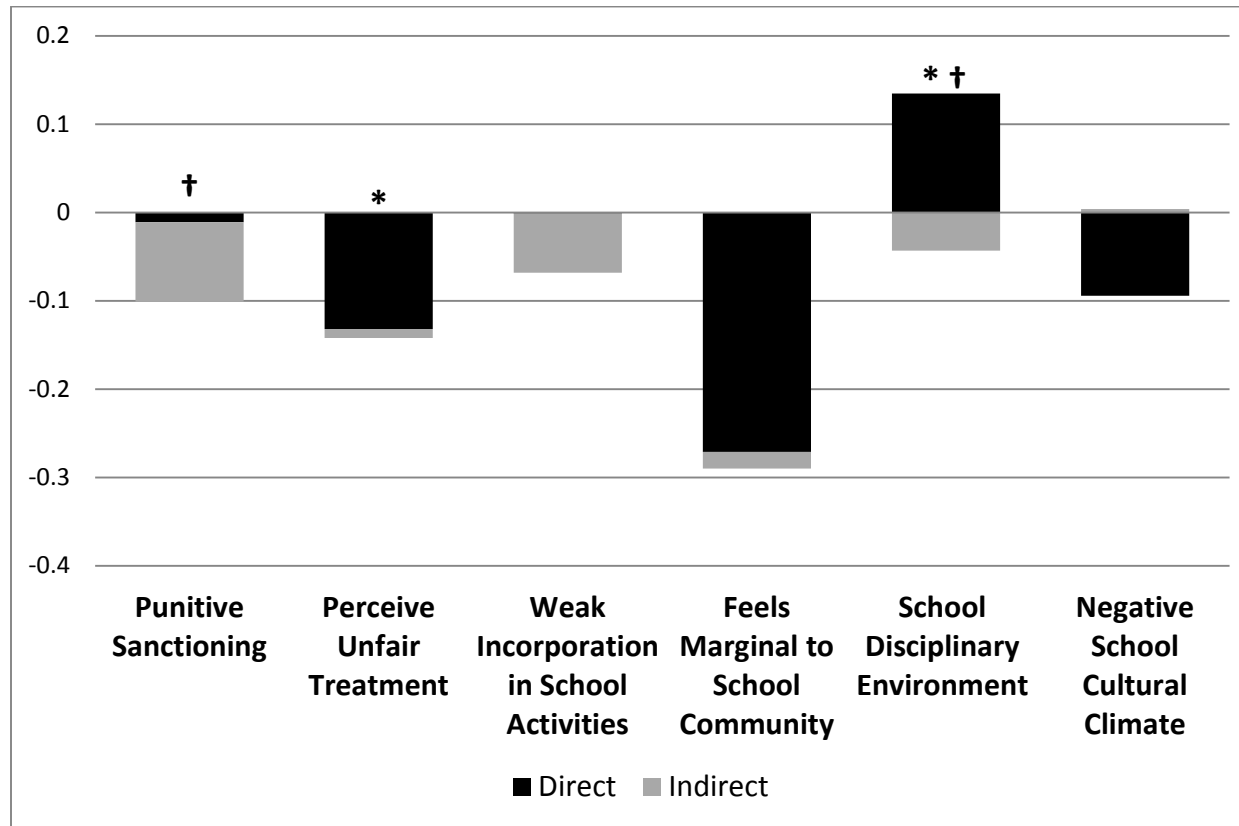| Dimensions of Civic Experience	Objective	Subjective
Institutional: Experiences of Policy-Based Organizations	• **General**: Organizational Structures and Routines, Rules and Practices, Standard Operating Procedures • **Specific**: School Disciplinary Rules, Surveillance, Propensity toward Punishment	• **General**: Aspects of Organizational Culture such as Norms, Values, and Identities, Solidarities • **Specific**: Shared Sense of School Community, Perceived Relations among and between Students and Teachers
Vertical: Experiences of Relations with Authorities	• **General**: Interactions with Officials, Decision Processes, Practices of Direction, Supervision, Punishment • **Specific**: Targeted for Disciplinary Action (Suspension, Expulsion)	• **General**: Perceptions of Authority and Its Uses (Justice, Fairness, Compassion, Moral and Political Legitimacy) • **Specific**: Perceived Fairness of Student Treatment by School Authorities
Horizontal: Experiences of Relations with Peers	• **General**: Group Incorporation; Positions in Group Relations, Participation in Group Activities, Interactions with Peers • **Specific**: Student Participation in School-Based Peer Groups and Activities	• **General**: Perceived Inclusion, Sense of Position in Peer Group, Perceptions of and Feelings regarding Interactions with Peers • **Specific**: Perceived Inclusion in the School Community as a Whole

Table 2. Student and School Characteristics

	Mean	Standard Deviation
School Experiences		
Punitive Sanctioning	0.25	0.43
Perceive Unfair Treatment	0.19	0.39
Feels Marginal to School Community	0.11	0.31
Weak Incorporation in School Activities	0.44	0.50
School Disciplinary Environment	0.46	0.50
Negative School Cultural Climate	0.57	0.50
Citizenship Outcomes		
Civic Participation	0.29	0.45
Voting	0.44	0.50
Trust Government	0.53	0.50
Student Characteristics		
Female	0.50	0.50
Age	21.69	1.80
Parent Education (College Educated)	0.35	0.48
White	0.66	0.47
Black	0.15	0.36
Latino	0.10	0.30
Asian	0.04	0.19
Delinquent Behavior	0.26	0.32
Grades	2.84	0.79
Vocabulary Test Score	102.30	13.92
Engagement in School	2.02	0.55
Reports Trying Hard in School	2.27	0.67
Belief in Hard Work	3.90	0.87
School Characteristics		
Urban	0.24	0.43
South	0.43	0.49
Large	0.35	0.48
Private	0.07	0.26
Average Parental Education	3.43	0.61
Average Student Achievement	21.22	16.62
Racial Diversity	0.35	0.18
Young Adult Outcomes		
Educational Attainment	0.55	0.50
Employment Status	0.75	0.43
Married	0.16	0.37
Criminal Justice Experience	0.19	0.39
Social Welfare Experience	0.11	0.32
Political Identity	0.82	0.75

N=10,578

Table 3. Predicting Citizenship Outcomes with School Experiences

	Civic Participation		Voting		Trust Government	
	Model 1	*Model 2*	*Model 1*	*Model 2*	*Model 1*	*Model 2*
Punitive Sanctioning	0.525	0.735	0.735	0.833	0.685	0.826
	(0.043)**	(0.066)**	(0.053)**	(0.064)*	(0.042)**	(0.058)**
Perceive Unfair Treatment	0.764	0.846	0.767	0.81	0.737	0.795
	(0.064)**	(0.069)*	(0.059)**	(0.059)**	(0.053)**	(0.057)**
Feels Marginal to School Community	0.72	0.785	0.803	0.79	0.615	0.626
	(0.080)**	(0.090)*	(0.065)**	(0.071)*	(0.051)**	(0.054)**
Weak Incorporation in School Activities	0.531	0.639	0.767	0.862	0.844	0.889
	(0.038)**	(0.045)**	(0.046)**	(0.054)*	(0.047)**	(0.055)
Negative School Cultural Climate	0.76	0.949	0.811	0.962	0.835	0.869
	(0.054)**	(0.082)	(0.082)*	(0.087)	(0.065)*	(0.069)
School Disciplinary Environment	0.953	0.928	1.068	0.956	0.986	1.165
	(0.07)	(0.072)	(0.108)	(0.088)	(0.071)	(0.084)*

Note: Results shown as odds ratios with standard errors in parentheses. Model 1 includes the six school experiences. Model 2 includes student characteristics: female, race, parent education, age, delinquent behavior, an indicator for previous punitive sanctioning, grades, vocabulary test score, engagement in school, belief in hard work, trying hard in school; and school characteristics: urban, south, average parent education in the school, large school, private school, and racial diversity of the school. Full model results available in appendix/upon request.

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

Table 4. Predicting Young Adult Statuses with School Experiences

	Education: Some College	Working in Labor Market	Criminal Justice	Social Welfare	Married	Partisan Identification
Punitive Sanctioning	0.506	0.85	1.433	1.783	1.079	1.01
	(0.043)**	(0.065)*	(0.122)**	(0.180)**	(0.123)	(0.059)
Perceive Unfair Treatment	1.015	1.194	1.049	1.093	1.111	1.103
	(0.084)	(0.094)*	(0.106)	(0.115)	(0.112)	(0.080)
Feels Marginal to School Community	0.724	0.838	0.978	1.043	0.945	0.893
	(0.083)**	(0.09)	(0.119)	(0.137)	(0.118)	(0.082)
Weak Incorporation in School Activities	0.483	0.994	1.059	1.359	1.029	0.859
	(0.032)**	(0.069)	(0.086)	(0.125)**	(0.085)	(0.047)**
School Disciplinary Environment	0.863	0.946	0.794	1.035	0.862	0.997
	(0.106)	(0.071)	(0.091)*	(0.117)	(0.117)	(0.082)
Negative School Cultural Climate	0.802	1.095	1.108	1.366	1.581	0.835
	(0.086)*	(0.085)	(0.137)	(0.142)**	(0.215)**	(0.075)*

Note: Results shown as odds ratios with standard errors in parentheses. Models includes student characteristics: female, race, parent education, age, delinquent behavior, an indicator for previous punitive sanctioning, grades, vocabulary test score, engagement in school, belief in hard work, trying hard in school; and school characteristics: urban, south, average parent education in the school, large school, private school, and racial diversity of the school. Full model results available in appendix/upon request.

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$

Table 5. Decomposition of Total Effects for School Experiences on Citizenship Outcomes

		Civic Participation	Voting	Trust Government
Punitive Sanctioning	Total (Direct + Indirect)	-0.172	-0.115	-0.112
		(0.052)**	(0.046)*	(0.043)**
	Direct	-0.043	0.005	-0.020
		(0.054)	(0.049)	(0.045)
	Indirect (Sum of Indirects 1-6)	-0.128	-0.121	-0.092
		(0.024)**	(0.025)**	(0.017)**
	Indirect 1: through education	-0.108	-0.095	-0.043
		(0.016)**	(0.015)**	(0.011)**
	Indirect 2: through married	-0.003	0.001	0.001
		(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.001)
	Indirect 3: through working in labor market	0.002	0.001	0.002
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
	Indirect 4: through social welfare	-0.028	-0.015	-0.032
		(0.011)*	(0.010)	(0.011)**
	Indirect 5: through criminal justice	0.006	-0.015	-0.020
		(0.006)	(0.006)*	(0.007)**
	Indirect 6: through partisan identity	0.002	0.005	0.001
		(0.005)	(0.013)	(0.003)
Perceive Unfair Treatment	Total (Direct + Indirect)	-0.092	-0.128	-0.141
		(0.048)	(0.045)**	(0.044)
	Direct	-0.095	-0.150	-0.137
		(0.047)*	(0.045)**	(0.044)**
	Indirect (Sum of Indirects 1-6)	0.003	0.022	-0.004
		(0.016)	(0.019)	(0.011)
	Indirect 1: through education	0.005	0.005	0.002
		(0.013)	(0.012)	(0.005)
	Indirect 2: through married	-0.004	0.001	-0.001
		(0.004)	(0.001)	(0.002)
	Indirect 3: through working in labor market	-0.003	0.001	-0.003
		(0.003)	(0.003)	(0.002)
	Indirect 4: through social welfare	-0.005	-0.003	-0.005
		(0.006)	(0.004)	(0.006)

	Indirect 5: through criminal justice	0.001	-0.002	-0.003
		(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.006
	Indirect 6: through partisan identity	0.009	0.021	0.006
		(0.006)	(0.014)	(0.004)
Feels Marginal to School Community	Total (Direct + Indirect)	-0.136	-0.138	-0.288
		(0.065)*	(0.053)**	(0.054)**
	Direct	-0.078	-0.061	-0.263
		(0.064)	(0.052)	(0.058)**
	Indirect (Sum of Indirects 1-6)	-0.058	-0.077	-0.025
		(0.026)*	(0.030)*	(0.018)
	Indirect 1: through education	-0.050	-0.045	-0.020
		(0.018)*	(0.016)**	(0.009)*
	Indirect 2: through married	0.001	0.001	0.001
		(0.005)	(0.001)	(0.001)
	Indirect 3: through working in labor market	0.003	-0.001	0.003
		(0.004)	(0.003)	(0.003)
	Indirect 4: through social welfare	-0.001	0.001	-0.001
		(0.007)	(0.004)	(0.008)
	Indirect 5: through criminal justice	0.001	0.001	0.001
		(0.002)	(0.005)	(0.006)
	Indirect 6: through partisan identity	-0.012	-0.031	-0.008
		(0.009)	(0.020)	(0.006)
Weak Incorporation in School Activities	Total (Direct + Indirect)	-0.264	-0.091	-0.070
		(0.041)**	(0.038)*	(0.039)
	Direct	-0.124	0.050	0.005
		(0.044)**	(0.041)	(0.038)
	Indirect (Sum of Indirects 1-6)	-0.141	-0.141	-0.075
		(0.018)**	(0.021)**	(0.016)
	Indirect 1: through education	-0.112	-0.102	-0.044
		(0.014)**	(0.012)**	(0.011)**
	Indirect 2: through married	-0.001	0.001	0.001
		(0.003)	(0.001)	(0.001)
	Indirect 3: through working in labor market	0.001	0.001	0.001
		(0.001)	(0.001)	(0.001)

	Indirect 4: through social welfare	-0.016	-0.008	-0.018
		(0.007)*	(0.006)	(0.007)*
	Indirect 5: through criminal justice	0.001	-0.003	-0.004
		(0.002)	(0.004)	(0.005)
	Indirect 6: through partisan identity	-0.013	-0.028	-0.008
		(0.005)*	(0.011)*	(0.004)*
School Disciplinary Environment	Total (Direct + Indirect)	-0.045	-0.024	0.095
		(0.046)	(0.058)	(0.044)*
	Direct	0.021	0.018	0.136
		(0.044)	(0.052)	(0.047)**
	Indirect (Sum of Indirects 1-6)	-0.066	-0.042	-0.041
		(0.025)**	(0.025)	(0.014)**
	Indirect 1: through education	-0.033	-0.031	-0.013
		(0.016)*	(0.015)*	(0.007)
	Indirect 2: through married	-0.019	0.002	-0.003
		(0.010)	(0.006)	(0.006)
	Indirect 3: through working in labor market	-0.001	0.001	-0.001
		(0.002)	(0.002)	(0.002)
	Indirect 4: through social welfare	-0.015	-0.008	-0.017
		(0.008)	(0.006)	(0.007)*
	Indirect 5: through criminal justice	0.002	-0.005	-0.006
		(0.003)	(0.006)	(0.006)
	Indirect 6: through partisan identity	0.001	0.001	0.001
		(0.007)	(0.017)	(0.005)
Negative School Cultural Climate	Total (Direct + Indirect)	-0.036	-0.026	-0.089
		(0.051)	(0.056)	(0.049)
	Direct	0.003	0.020	-0.083
		(0.049)	(0.052)	(0.053)
	Indirect (Sum of Indirects 1-6)	-0.038	-0.046	-0.005
		(0.028)	(0.027)	(0.015)
	Indirect 1: through education	-0.024	-0.021	-0.010
		(0.018)	(0.016)	(0.007)
	Indirect 2: through married	0.005	-0.001	0.001
		(0.006)	(0.002)	(0.002)

Indirect 3: through working in labor market	0.001	0.001	0.001
	(0.002)	(0.001)	(0.001)
Indirect 4: through social welfare	-0.001	0.001	-0.001
	(0.005)	(0.003)	(0.006)
Indirect 5: through criminal justice	-0.004	0.010	0.013
	(0.004)	(0.006)	(0.007)
Indirect 6: through partisan identity	-0.015	-0.035	-0.010
	(0.008)	(0.018)	(0.005)

Note: Results shown as log odds (not converted to odds ratios as in previous tables) with standard errors in parentheses estimated in MPLUS. Models includes student characteristics: female, race, parent education, age, delinquent behavior, an indicator for previous punitive sanctioning, grades, vocabulary test score, engagement in school, belief in hard work, trying hard in school; and school characteristics: urban, south, average parent education in the school, large school, private school, and racial diversity of the school as predictors of the citizenship outcomes. The models also include each of the school experiences predicting the young adult experiences which then predict the citizenship outcomes. Models results are reported from the first of five imputed datasets. No substantive differences are found across the five imputed datasets. Full model results available in appendix/upon request.

* $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$