

CHIDOMERE, ADAMMA K., M.A. Decisions, Decisions: The Rationale Behind High School Teachers' Discipline Decision-Making Process (2019)
Directed by Dr. Shelly Brown-Jeffy. 128 pp.

This research examines the influential circumstances involved in the discipline decision-making process of school teachers at one predominantly Black high school and one predominantly White high school. I gathered data on teachers' understanding and use of school discipline in addition to teachers' perceptions of student misconduct and discipline in their school. The data reveals that teachers exercise discretion when they decide on an appropriate disciplinary response. Teachers' race and gender may influence their discipline decision-making process. Black and White students tend to receive similar disciplinary consequences, but there are instances in which Black students face more punitive punishment than White students.

DECISIONS, DECISIONS: THE RATIONALE BEHIND HIGH SCHOOL
TEACHERS' DISCIPLINE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

by

Adamma K. Chidomere

A Thesis Submitted to
the Faculty of The Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Greensboro
2019

Approved by

Committee Chair

To my loving and amazing parents, family, and support system. Thank you.

APPROVAL PAGE

This thesis written by Adamma K. Chidomere has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of The Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Committee Chair _____

Committee Members _____

Date of Acceptance by Committee

Date of Final Oral Examination

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank my thesis chair, Dr. Shelly Brown-Jeffy, for her knowledge, guidance, and patience while advising me on this research project. I am also appreciative and thankful for the support of my thesis committee members, Dr. Cindy Brooks Dollar and Dr. Steve Kroll-Smith.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF TABLES	vi
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. LITERATURE REVIEW	4
III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	20
IV. METHODS	22
V. RESULTS	37
VI. DISCUSSION	82
VII. CONCLUSION.....	104
REFERENCES	108
APPENDIX A. SCENARIOS.....	120

LIST OF TABLES

	Page
Table 1. Demographic Trends of Sample	27
Table 2. Information on Scenarios	30
Table 3. Quantity of Respondents Who Answered Each Lead/Interview Question.....	33
Table 4. Frequency of Theme Appearances	49
Table 5. Theme Appearances across Scenarios	51
Table 6. Categorized Responses to Bradley (Skipping Class) Scenario.....	52
Table 7. Categorized Responses to Darnell (Noncompliance with Directives) Scenario	54
Table 8. Categorized Responses to Katie (Threatening) Scenario	55
Table 9. Categorized Responses to Imani (Bullying) Scenario	57
Table 10. Categorized Responses to Imani (Fighting) Scenario.....	59
Table 11. Categorized Responses to Katie (Fighting) Scenario	61
Table 12. Offenses that Received ISS or OSS	73
Table 13. References to Actual Situations	79

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Education is so highly valued in the United States that the compulsory school attendance law in North Carolina requires school attendance from ages 7 to 16 (National Center for Education Statistics 2019). Research, however, has revealed disparities in the educational experiences of students. Research on the racial disparities in education have revealed that Black students receive suspension more often than any other group of students (Gershoff and Font 2016; Lopez 2018; Malone 2013; Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015). Researchers posit that suspension is a method of pushing Black students from school and into the legal system when law enforcement gets involved (GLSEN 2018). This legal intervention perpetuates the school-to-prison pipeline which is the disproportionate instances of pushing out students, especially poor or African American students, from school through the disciplinary actions of suspensions and expulsions (ACLU 2008; Advancementproject.org 2014; Heitzeg 2014; Lopez 2018; Malone 2013). Research has shown that for some, suspension can lead to dropping out because students fall behind in their course work while suspended and find it difficult to catch up thus creating a feeling of hopelessness and the desire to drop out of school; future delinquency and incarceration can result (Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015; Noguera 2003; Townsend 2000). As a result, school officials have pushed students out of the classroom and into the hands of law enforcement and situated in detention centers. Oftentimes zero tolerance

policies caused these suspensions because the punishment may be incongruent to the act (Beger 2002; Heitzeg 2014).

Research has shown that Black students are more likely to receive a greater amount of disciplinary action in the form of both in-school suspension (ISS) and out-of-school suspension (OSS) and expulsion (Cagle 2017; Heitzeg 2009; Pane 2010). Removing students from the classroom learning environment can hamper learning and harm academic performance which may contribute to Black students falling behind academically when compared to students of other races. My research focuses on trying to understand reasons for the higher suspension rate of Black students through an examination of the ways that teachers handle discipline at their schools.

My objective is to gather information on teachers' decision-making process for assigning disciplinary action for misconduct at two schools in Guilford County. It is possible that the racial composition of a school might be associated with the use of school suspensions (Payne and Welch 2011). Thus, I chose to work with two schools with drastically different racial compositions. One school (called Sunny Hill High) is 73% Black, and the other school (called Clearwater Academy) is 71% White. My research question is "what is the difference in the decision-making process of teachers in schools with different racial compositions?" I conducted interviews with teachers from each of these schools to learn about how teachers decide to discipline students. I asked teachers to discuss what they would do in various hypothetical scenarios involving student misconduct. I then asked teachers a series of questions about their perception of

discipline and actual responses to misbehavior. For the purposes of this project, I labeled responses as punitive and nonpunitive, not the respondents.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Modes of Discipline in School

School discipline is a method of social control used to ensure the maintenance of order and safety and provide an environment conducive to learning. There are multiple forms of discipline. Some punitive disciplinary methods that U.S. public schools can legally utilize are corporal punishment, in-school suspension (ISS), out-of-school suspension (OSS), and expulsion. Although still in effect in some school districts in the United States, corporal punishment is not as common as it once was. As of 2016, corporal punishment is currently legal in 19 states and mostly concentrated in the South (Gershoff and Font 2016). A few states allow parents to provide consent or denial regarding the use of corporal punishment on their children (Gershoff and Font 2016). North Carolina is one of the few states where corporal punishment is still legal (Bennett 2018). School officials decide which offenses do or do not deserve suspension on a case by case basis (Layton 2017). School personnel now use exclusionary school discipline policies such as ISS, OSS and expulsion for more minor misbehaviors and the disproportionate application of discipline policies often appears in low income and urban schools (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019).

Corporal Punishment

In the 18th century, *in loco* parentis, meaning in place of the parent, became a legal doctrine in the United States (Conte 2000). This doctrine allowed teachers to assume the parental rights of students and protected teachers who felt the urge to use corporal punishment (Dupper and Dingus 2008). Corporal punishment, the use of physical pain inflicted on a child's body through spanking or paddling, is a method for teachers and other school officials to "act in place of parents" and discipline students. Corporal punishment gave teachers and other school officials permission to implement disciplinary methods that would physically harm students' bodies. This includes tangible tactics such as pinching, slapping, and spanking (Dupper and Dingus 2008; Greydanus et al. 2003). Intended outcomes of corporal punishment were to include students' conformity to societal norms, "beating out obstinacy," and assuring learning takes place (Dupper and Dingus 2008).

Research on child development and Freudian psychology, beginning in the 1920s and 1930s, forced an examination of the use of corporal punishment in U.S. public schools (Dupper and Dingus 2008). Such movements assessed the effect of spanking and other methods of corporal punishment on child development causing parents to recognize the impact of effective parenting on children (Dupper and Dingus 2008). Child development literature in the 1940s challenged support for corporal punishment and in the 1960s literature on "child maltreatment syndrome" proliferated public awareness of the relationship between child abuse and extreme physical discipline (Dupper and Dingus 2008). Powerful organizations joined the effort to end corporal punishment in U.S.

schools. The American Civil Liberties Union and the American Psychological Association supported conferences about this issue and passed a resolution to ban corporal punishment, respectively. In *Ingraham v. Wright* (1975), the U.S. Supreme Court considered whether corporal punishment violated students 8th and 14th amendments; the Supreme Court denied both questions (Dupper and Dingus 2008). Corporal punishment was constitutional and individual states determined whether to permit its use (Gershoff and Font 2016). In 1987, the National Coalition to Abolish Corporal Punishment in Schools developed and received support from organizations like the American Academy of Pediatrics, the American Medical Association and many more (Dupper and Dingus 2008).

Even though corporal punishment has fallen out of favor, research has revealed that Black students are at a greater risk of facing corporal punishment than White children in the school districts that utilize corporal punishment (Gershoff and Font 2016). Gershoff and Font (2016) indicate that Black males have the highest rate of corporal punishment (16%) and Black females are three times more likely than White females to face corporal punishment (Gershoff and Font 2016).

Suspension and Expulsion

School suspension can be either in-school or out-of-school. Out-of-school suspension is “the removal of the student from school, school activities and school grounds for a designated period of time as prescribed by law (Guilford County Schools 2018:7). In-school suspension is defined as “an alternative to students being suspended out-of-school. The purpose is to provide a form of consequence that results in improved

behaviors without the removal of students from the school environment and supervision (Guilford County Schools 2018:6).” The use of suspensions increased from the 1980s and 1990s to the 2011-2012 school year and dropped by about 20 percent between the 2011-2012 and 2013-2014 school years (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019). The increase in suspensions is partially due to school personnel using harsher punishments on minor behavioral offenses (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019). Black females with disabilities were four times more likely than White females with disabilities to face one or more in-school suspensions (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019). Black students were more likely to receive OSS than ISS despite the type of misconduct (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019).

Expulsion is the “permanent exclusion from entering the school, school grounds or riding on a school-owned or operated vehicle and prohibiting a student from enrolling in” any school in the school district (Guilford County Schools 2018:6). Exclusionary discipline has disproportionately affected Black students (Cagle 2017; Heitzeg 2014; Lindsay and Hart 2017; Pane 2010; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019). For example, in two Atlanta middle schools, sixty percent of Black males experienced suspension in one year. White students in Atlanta schools had to commit more offenses that were more serious in nature than Black students before they were removed from school (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019).

African American males are about three times as likely to face suspension and expulsion compared to their White peers (Cagle 2017; Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017; Lopez 2018; Malone 2013; NAACP 2018; Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015; Pane

2010; Townsend 2000). Black female students are more likely to face suspension than female and male students from other races and ethnicities (Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017). Overall, majority Black schools have higher average exclusionary school discipline (Lindsay and Hart 2017). The rate of suspension that Black students face compared to their proportion of the student population is worth noting. The Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC) a mandatory data collection of key education and civil rights issues in U.S. public schools (Department of Education 2014), conducted by the Office for Civil Rights (OCR), indicates that African American students without disabilities are more than three times as likely as their White counterparts to face suspension or expulsion (Department of Education 2014). African American students made up 15% of the total population of students in the CRDC, yet African American students made up 35% of the students who received one suspension, 44% of the students who were suspended more than once, and 36% of the students who were expelled (Department of Justice 2014). Though the intention may be to reprimand student misconduct, corporal punishment, ISS, OSS, and expulsion are oftentimes disproportionately distributed.

Racial Disparities in Disciplinary Practices

Many schools in the U.S. operate based on discipline policies that disproportionately remove students of color with disabilities from the classroom for more minor behaviors and school personnel apply these discipline policies inappropriately (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019). Unintentionally discriminatory discipline policies tend to harm students of color (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019). African Americans are far more likely to receive suspension or expulsion for the same behavior

exhibited by White students (ACLU 2008; Advancementproject.org 2014; Gershoff and Font 2008; Heitzeg 2014; Rhor 2019) even though they are not misbehaving at higher rates than their White peers (Pane 2010; Payne and Welch 2010).

Pane (2010) references a study that found that African American students frequently received exclusionary discipline consequences that were incongruent with their behavior. Black students received referrals to the front office, suspension, and expulsion for more disruptive behavior compared to their White peers (Pane 2010). For example, Black students received disciplinary referrals for more subjective reasons (Pane 2010; U.S. Commission on Civil Rights 2019)) such as excessive noise and disrespect and White students received disciplinary referrals for serious and objective reasons like smoking and vandalism (Pane 2010). An analysis of suspension records by the Independent Budget Office in New York revealed that Black students were suspended about twice the number of days compared to their Latinx and White counterparts for offenses like bullying and reckless behavior (U.S Commission on Civil Rights 2019). According to these results, Black students are most likely to receive office referrals for misbehavior that the teacher deems worth disciplining. This could mean that the teacher may consider some disruptive behavior as less intrusive to learning time or to the academic environment as another student's behavior. This subjectivity contributes to the discipline gap because teachers tend to exercise discretion when disciplining misbehavior even though zero tolerance policies prohibit the use of discretion in schools (Maxime 2018).

The School-to-Prison Pipeline and School Suspensions

The NAACP (2005:2) describes the school-to-prison pipeline as “the punitive and overzealous tools and approaches of the modern criminal justice system [that] have seeped into our schools, serving to remove children from mainstream educational environments and funnel them onto a one-way path toward prison.” The school-to-prison pipeline stems from the get tough on crimes era during the 1980s Reagan Administration “War on Drugs” and laws such as the “three-strikes” law (Advancementproject.org 2018; Boeri 2018; Malone 2013) which were meant to punish and deter criminal activity. Three-strikes policies mandate longer sentences for offender’s third felony conviction (Boeri 2018). Government mandated policies are detrimental because not only are the offender’s situational circumstances ignored, the “War on Drugs” directs its more severe tactics towards people of color because law enforcement disproportionately targets minorities. During this push to get “tough on crime” (Dollar 2018; Tsui 2014) the legal system punished all criminal acts with greater severity; disruptive activity within schools were not exempt from punishment during this era. The desire to “get tough on crime” resulted in an expansion of punitiveness in schools in the form of suspension, expulsion, increased presence of law enforcement, prisonization of schools, criminalization of students, zero-tolerance policies and more (Advancementproject.org 2017; Welch and Payne 2010; Skiba and Peterson 1999; Tellis et al. 2010; Triplett, Allen, and Lewis 2014).

Zero tolerance policies require the use of specific and consistent punishment regardless of the circumstances and reasons for the student’s behavior (Maxime 2018).

Zero tolerance policies are supposed to prevent discretion; however, some authors suggest the value of discretion in schools (Maxime 2018). Meador (2017) suggests that classroom discipline is a critical component of pedagogy and that teachers should make the most of the discipline decisions themselves rather than involving the principal. Teacher discretion has the potential to increase the large and disproportionate suspension of Black students and teachers can push students out of the classroom (via suspension) when they decide that an act of misconduct is severe enough to make a disciplinary referral (Advancementproject N.d.; GLSEN 2018; Noguera 2003).

Zero tolerance policies apply severe forms of punishment without acknowledging the severity of the student's act or situational context (Beger 2002; Heitzeg 2014) and are a large contributor to the school-to-prison pipeline. Possessing a manicure kit with a 1-inch knife, making a gun out of Legos and simulating gun noises, and writing "okay" on a school desk are documented examples of actions that resulted in either suspension, expulsion, or handcuffing and removing the student from school, respectively, due to zero tolerance policies (Heitzeg 2014). Zero tolerance policies within schools are more likely to impact Black students and heightened instances of recidivism or dropping out of school are likely (Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015; Townsend 2000). Lynch (2016) stated that nearly 60% of Black males who drop out of school will face incarceration at some point. Hence, the perpetuation of zero tolerance policies and school suspensions that result in more and more Black students facing incarceration.

Zero tolerance policies have influenced disciplinary responses to student misbehaviors. For example, long term or permanent suspension and expulsion, and arrest

and referral to adult or juvenile court were disciplinary consequences for bringing weapons to school, but these are also the consequences for violations such as tardiness and disorderly conduct (Heitzeg 2014). The elasticity of the definition of violence (Schwartz 2013) and the change from what was once a disciplinary infraction but is now a crime (Heitzeg 2014) is detrimental when designating certain students' behaviors as punishable by law enforcement.

Zero tolerance policies in schools are akin to net widening policies enforced by the legal system. Net-widening is "the criminalization of less serious forms of violence" (Schwartz 2013:794). Net-widening policies "target minor forms of law breaking and charg[e] up minor offenses into more serious offense classifications" (Schwartz 2013:794). Thus, the legal system increases its scope of what it deems as a violent act and criminalizes minor offenses (Schwartz 2013). In schools, disciplinary issues that were at one time handled by school administrators are now crimes as a result of zero tolerance policies (Heitzeg 2014).

Students misbehave until school disciplinarians eventually push them out or the students decide to drop out of school (Noguera 2003). Cumi, Washington, and Daneshzadeh (2017) state that school officials are six times more likely to push out Black females than White females. Pushing out is a result of zero tolerance policies that require suspension, expulsion, or contacting law enforcement who may remove the student from school grounds for student misconduct (Heitzeg 2014). School personnel contact law enforcement to handle student behaviors such as violence or bringing weapons to school (Guilford County Schools 2018). Students can potentially receive referrals to juvenile

court or receive charges for unlawful behaviors (Heitzeg 2014). Schools have also contacted police officers for student behaviors such as having a tantrum and disrupting a classroom, pushing another student, or missing class to go to work to support their family (Heitzeg 2014). Thus, sustaining the school-to-prison pipeline.

Increased police presence within the school (Heitzeg 2014; Payne and Welch 2011) is another contributing factor of the school-to-prison pipeline. Teachers and administrators mainly handled misbehavior at one point, but law enforcement has increasingly taken on this task (Beger 2002; Heitzeg 2014; Skiba and Peterson 1999; Welch and Payne 2010). Police officers and School Resource Officers are in public schools (Beger 2002) and school personnel call on these officers to apprehend rule breakers (Skiba and Peterson 1999; Welch and Payne 2010). When school personnel report students' behaviors to law enforcement, officers can arrest students in the school (Heitzeg 2014; Lopez 2018). Allowing law enforcement to deal with students criminalizes their misbehavior.

Previous literature has addressed racial disparities in school discipline (Heitzeg 2014; Townsend 2000) and in the enforcement of severe social control of African Americans by the legal system (Dollar 2018; Steffensmeier, Painter-Davis, and Ulmer 2016; Tellis, Rodriguez, and Spohn 2010). Including the similarity between which students face punishment in school and which students face punishment by the legal system is important to understanding the potential repercussions of Black students' behaviors. The synergy between schools and prisons and the increasing prison-like

environment of schools, such as police presence in schools (Welch and Payne 2010), can have deleterious effects on Black students.

Teachers' Perceptions and Interactions with Students

Social scientists (Noguera 2003; Oates 2003; Williams 2015) have written about the discussion of high school teacher's perceptions and expectations and how they may vary according to the student's race. Oates' (2003) data indicate instances of anti-Black bias among White educators and race neutrality among Black educators which could lead to differences in how educators implement discipline. Heitzeg (2009) speaks to the "cultural miscommunication" experienced between White teachers and Black students. One may describe this miscommunication as a disconnect between teacher and student where the teacher may misunderstand the student or allow stereotypes to influence judgement of students. In such instances, White teachers feel more threatened by males of color and view these students as disruptive (Heitzeg 2009; Townsend 2000). Preconceived notions and preconceived expectations may prevent a successful educational environment.

Although students may receive warnings before school personnel result to suspension or expulsion, a study found that teachers were less likely to warn middle school Black students for their misbehavior in comparison to White students (Gaines 2019). Without receiving warnings, Black students may have less opportunity to correct their behaviors or avoid more severe punishment before teachers write them up or refer them to administration. Disparities in teacher warnings also establishes a process of

normalization (Gaines 2019) because some students may not question why they have multiple chances whereas their counterparts may have little to none.

Teacher's race could positively or negatively affect a student's experience with school discipline (Lindsay and Hart 2017). Teachers may be more lenient toward students who are the same race as themselves and less lenient towards students of other races (Lindsay and Hart 2017). For example, Black students are less likely to experience suspension or expulsion when their teacher is also Black (Lindsay and Hart 2017). Students may establish better relationships with teachers of the same race as themselves and not misbehave in these same-race teachers' classes (Lindsay and Hart 2017). Furthermore, Battey et al. (2018) found that White teachers of Black students reprimanded these students' misconduct two to four times more than teachers in same-race teacher and student classrooms.

Researchers Jason Okonofua and Jennifer Eberhardt (2015) examined racial disparities in school discipline in the United States with a racially diverse sample of kindergarten through 12th grade female teachers to analyze the relationship between number of infractions and student race. The researchers wanted to assess the psychological mechanisms underlying disparities in student discipline. A paired-sample t test indicated that teachers felt no more troubled between the first and second infraction if the student was White. Teachers were notably more troubled by the second infraction if the student was Black (Heitzeg 2009). These results reveal the racial disparities within and the subjective nature of school punishment and the fact that in general some teachers

perceive Black students' misbehavior as more problematic than White students' misbehavior.

There has been a growing intersection between schools and the legal system (Heitzeg 2014). Increased law enforcement and criminal justice presence in school settings is highly probable as schools continue to resemble prisons and criminalize rather than educate students (Welch and Payne 2010). Schools mirror the differential treatment of minorities within the criminal justice system when disciplining minority students. Heitzeg (2014) reveals that those who are most likely to be involved with the legal system look like those who receive the most punitive reprimanding by authoritative figures in schools (Welch and Payne 2010).

Black Masculinity and School Discipline

James Messerschmidt wrote about racial-minority males' desire to display masculinity in schools. As Messerschmidt (1993:104) stated, "these youth search out ways to escape what appears to them an "emasculating" monotony and formal discipline better suited for "wimps." According to Messerschmidt (1993), racial-minority males view school as another impediment to a future in hegemonic masculinity. This group of males may likely be less embracing of school and more combative of entities within school that counter their goals to achieve masculinity. For example, these entities may be school personnel, school resource officers, and the code of conduct. Racial-minority males present their masculinity through physical violence as this is a remaining and accessible hegemonic masculine ideal (Messerschmidt 1993). Racial-minority males choose to enact violence due to a lack of resources that White males utilize to construct

masculinity (Messerschmidt 1993). Teachers may label racial-minority students as acting out for attention or view them as troublemakers when these students are portraying what they believe to be masculine behaviors. Labelling can lead to students adopting the label that their teachers gave them, and students may identify and behave according to the label (Crossman 2019).

School personnel may use students' race when discerning maturity levels and determining responsibility. A 2014 study found that people view Black males as responsible for their behaviors at an age when White males still profit off the presumption that children are essentially innocent (Lopez 2018). This finding could indicate that Black males experience differential treatment because school personnel expected them to have known better whereas school personnel do not hold their White peers to the same expectations. Steffensmeier et al. (2017) indicate that society views certain demographic groups, for example, young Black males and older White females, as more or less crime prone. In schools, this perception of race/gender groups may affect Black males' consequences to misbehavior because it triggers emotions of fear. This perception of race/gender groups could be destructive because it could reify the narrative that some groups—Black male students—are aggressive. On the other hand, people may view other groups—White male or female students—as harmless.

Black Femininity and School Discipline

Research and literature tend to focus on the effect of exclusionary discipline on male students, specifically Black males, far more than it does on Black females (Archer, Halsall, and Hollingsworth 2007; Cumi, Washington, and Daneshzadeh 2017; Hines-

Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017; Wright, Weekes, and McGlaughlin 1999). The assumption that education is ‘naturally’ compatible with femininity attributes to not recognizing Black females’ disengagement in school. The assumption that females exert a civilizing influence (Archer, Halsall, and Hollingworth 2007) merges all females and implies that they all should behave in an unproblematic manner meaning that they are not a disruption to the class or the teacher. Students who deviate from this description are bound to be perceived as problematic or as ‘problem girls’ (Archer et al. 2007:550; Wright, Weekes, and McGlaughlin 2010). With this knowledge, researchers can begin to understand how differences in interpretations of femininity may play a role in the disparate treatment of Black female students.

Females tend to develop their feminine identity in the school setting. During this development phase, school personnel construct Black females as “Others” because Black females’ behavior gets misconstrued. Black feminine identity often stands in opposition to White-normed creations of femininity. Black female students can portray their femininity by questioning teachers’, calling out answers in the classroom, and expressing themselves through clothing (Morris 2007). Research (Morris 2007) indicates that some teachers perceived the previously mentioned behaviors as challenges to authority and provocative or overly sexual. In school, White-normed creations of femininity displays itself in the form of female students acting reserved, innocent, and good (Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017). One study found that teachers encouraged Black females to display “an ideal docile form of femininity, emblemized in the prescription to act like ‘ladies’” (Morris 2007, 490-491). Teachers tried to correct Black females’ demeanor

which teachers contrived as too assertive, non-feminine and loud (Cumi, Washington, and Daneshzadeh 2017; Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017; Morris 2007; Wright et al 2010). Some Black female students utilized loudness and other nonnormative practices to combat their silenced and concealed state that they were casted into. Loudness meant visibility and was a way to resist an agenda to get Black females to conform (Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017). Labelling Black females as loud contradicted the preferred reserved and innocent femininity which leads to Black females being subjected to punitive forms of discipline for combating the negative image placed upon them. Benign actions where Black females received severe discipline (suspension) include standing up for themselves, asking questions, wearing their natural hair, and falling asleep (Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017). Nonviolent misconduct such as throwing away trash and minor violations like talking back and noncompliance result in anti-Black discipline (Cumi et al. 2017; Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017). Black females face punishment, and disciplinarians disregard the impact of this punishment in addition to attempting to alter Black females' comportment. These females make their presence known in a manner that goes against White-normed constructions of femininity only to still be an "Other" and face severe sanctioning for their actions.

CHAPTER III

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Kimberle Crenshaw's theory of intersectionality will serve as a lens during my analysis of the use of school discipline against Black high school students. Coined in 1989, Crenshaw deploys the concept of intersectionality to examine how social categories enforce and reinforce dominant and subordinate positions within society. Intersectionality accounts for the way multiple identities intersect to determine lived experiences. Intersectionality can help examine Black male and female students' disproportionate subjection to punitive punishment, namely suspension or expulsion, because it provides clarity on how the convergence of social locations such as students' race and sex factor into teachers' determination to use punitive social control in schools. The intersection of Black and female and Black and male prompts greater social control, or discipline, in the form of suspension, and expulsion (Cagle 2017; Gaines 2019; Heitzeg 2009; Lopez 2018; Malone 2013; Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015; Pane 2010; Townsend 2000). The value placed on these categories engenders further marginalization of Black female and Black male students.

The intersection of certain categories, for example, race and gender, creates lived realities for one person that are in stark contrast to the life of another person who may share the same gender, but identify as a different race. For example, females from marginalized groups such as Black, Latino, or Asian are all likely to have different

encounters with school disciplinarians due to their race. One may believe that because they are females, they will experience less severe treatment with authoritarians due to their sex and the belief that females are less violent. Considering multiple identifiers makes it clearer that Latino and Black female students face more punitive sanctioning than their Asian female counterparts and Black female students even more severe treatment than Latinos (Crenshaw 1991). Although it may seem that males are more likely to face sanctioning than females, through intersectionality the Black females are more likely to face sanctioning compared to White males (hence disrupting the gender belief by incorporating race). Looking at one category is limiting in understanding the ways that a group of people experience oppression. One category may be a dominant one when considered independently but when it converges with another identifier, we gain a better idea of where that person lies in the social hierarchy.

CHAPTER IV

METHODS

My research question is “what is the difference in the decision-making process of teachers in schools with different racial compositions?” A population comprised of many Black males and females may engender greater social control and intersectionality explains why these individuals experience such control. Additionally, while there may be fewer uses of punitive school punishment overall in the school with less Black students, it is likely that Black students will experience more punitive punishment than their non-Black counterparts.

Qualitative research methods were appropriate to understand the school level and teacher level (race and gender) disparities in discipline in schools with mostly Black or White students. Interviews provided an in-depth understanding of social issues and granted the participant permission to engage in dialogue about a phenomenon (Florczak 2017). Interviews are a tool for interviewees to express as much information as they feel comfortable doing. Power dynamics are evident during interviews. Interviewer’s power lies in crafting the interview protocol and determining which questions to ask. Interviewees assert power by selecting which questions to answer or which sections of the interview protocol they will accept (Danelo 2017). Possessing this power means an interviewee can share as many intimate stories and as much information as they see fit while going at their own pace.

Hence, I conducted interviews to allow teachers to explain their perceptions about school discipline and provide details about their discipline decision-making process. Initially I wanted to conduct focus groups with six teachers in each group. Each group would have been racially homogenous. The expectation was that individuals would have felt comfortable discussing racial issues amongst members of the same race. Focus groups were difficult to arrange due to the teachers' conflicting schedules. Despite this, two teachers (respondents Veronica Lodge and Reggie Mantle from Clearwater) participated in a focus group session together.

Interviews took place at Clearwater Academy and Sunny Hill High in teachers' classrooms, in the school's library, and on the UNCG's campus during either their planning periods or outside of school hours. Interview times and locations were determined through email exchanges with teachers. Interviews ranged from 22 minutes to 115 minutes long. Each interview was videotaped to be able to examine teachers' nonverbal behaviors that accompanied their responses. For example, teachers demonstrated the actions they use with students like wagging a finger or giving students a facial expression to indicate dissatisfaction.

Sample

I researched high schools in Guilford County and examined the racial composition of the student body. I emailed the principal of Clearwater Academy twice to explain my research interests and provided a copy of the Guilford County School (GCS) research approval letter. I then called the school and scheduled an appointment with the principal because emailing was ineffective. I called Sunny Hill High to explain my

research interests and scheduled an appointment with the principal. These meetings ranged from 10-15 minutes. During these meetings, I offered more detail on my research project and provided a copy of the GCS approval letter, my research protocol, and consent forms. I also asked if I could place flyers in teachers' mailboxes. Both principals sent an email blast to teachers from their schools. After the email blasts from the principal, I sent individual personal recruitment emails to teachers seeking their participation. I targeted teachers who I perceived as Black and White based on their profile pictures on Clearwater Academy's staff directory web page. I specifically reached out to teachers from those racial categories because previous literature (Heitzeg 2009) has focused on teachers from these racial categories as well. Sunny Hill High's staff directory web page did not display pictures for every teacher, so I emailed all teachers whose email address was listed on the staff directory webpage. I sent personal recruitment emails twice: first without teachers' names, then with them. Emails including teachers' names received greater feedback.

Florczak (2017) states that context is of import to the qualitative researcher when explaining a phenomenon. This statement is especially true for my research because of the contrasting racial composition of the students in Sunny Hill High and Clearwater Academy. I selected Sunny Hill High and Clearwater Academy because I wanted to compare the rate of discipline of Black students in a predominantly Black high school (Sunny Hill 73% Black), and a predominantly White high school (Clearwater 71% White).

According to the student diversity data listed on usnews.com (2018), 71% of students at Clearwater are White, 17% are Black, and 7% are Hispanic. Males made up much of the student population, with 52% being male and 48% being female (usnews.com 2018). I used US News as a resource to collect data on the students' race at each school because neither Clearwater Academy nor Sunny Hill High's school website listed the students' racial categories. Guilford County Schools' (2019) GCS School Profiles indicates that 77.4% of Clearwater Academy teachers are White and 22.6% are Teachers of Color. There is no specific breakdown of racial categories for Teachers of Color. There is also no information on the gender breakdown of faculty and staff members.

According to the student diversity data listed on usnews.com (2019), 73% of students at Sunny Hill are Black, 10% are Hispanic, and 8% are White. Gender composition at Sunny Hill is like that of Clearwater in that 52% of students are male and 48% are female (usnews.com 2019). Guilford County Schools' (2019) GCS School Profiles states that 74.3% of Sunny Hill High teachers are Teachers of Color and 25.7% are White.

Sampling Strategy

I used convenience sampling first (Guilford County), then purposive sampling (individual school) in this research. I contacted potential respondents by selecting teachers on the two schools' web pages who appeared to be either Black or White teachers. This selection was based on the theory of intersectionality and literature that focuses on discipline implemented by Black and White high school teachers (Heitzeg

2009). The decision to include a teacher from a racial category other than Black or White was due to the small sample size. Although I wanted to interview teachers with five or more years of teaching experience, it was difficult to obtain a sample with these qualifications. The sample consisted of 12 teachers from two high schools in the Guilford County Schools system. I considered teachers to be those who regularly taught students in an instructional setting throughout the school day. I excluded administrators, guidance counselors, student resource officers (SROs), and anyone who did not work directly with students in an instructional manner.

Of the 12 individuals in this sample, there were 7 White teachers (58%), 4 Black teachers (33%), and 1 Hispanic teacher (8%). Gender representation was even between male and female respondents. Seven (58%) of the teachers worked at Sunny Hill High compared to the 5 (42%) from Clearwater Academy. Of these 7 teachers from Sunny Hill High, 3 were White men, 2 were Black women, 1 was a Hispanic woman, and 1 was a White woman. Out of the 5 teachers from Clearwater Academy, 2 were White men, 1 was a White woman, 1 was a Black man, and 1 was a Black woman. Fictional characters from the shows “Riverdale” and “The Chilling Adventures of Sabrina” were the inspiration for teachers’ pseudonyms. The fictional characters’ gender corresponded with the teachers’ perceived gender. I assigned race and gender categories to the teachers in this sample based on my perception. Table 3 lists teachers’ demographic information, pseudonyms, and years of teaching experience.

Table 1. Demographic Trends of Sample

School pseudonym	Pseudonym of teacher	Race of teacher	Gender of teacher	Years Teaching
Clearwater Academy				
	Archie Andrews	White	Male	20 years
	Jughead Jones	White	Male	28 years
	Betty Cooper	White	Female	9 years
	Veronica Lodge	Black	Female	17 years
	Reggie Mantle	Black	Male	9 years
Sunny Hill High				
	Harvey Kinkle	White	Male	15 years
	Sabrina Spellman	Hispanic	Female	7 years
	Fred Andrews	White	Male	17 years
	Rosalind Walker	Black	Female	8 years (at this school)
	Cheryl Blossom	White	Female	4 years
	Josie McCoy	Black	Female	1 year
	Dilton Doiley	White	Male	7 years

Instruments

Interviews involved two components. The first part of the interview included respondent’s responses to hypothetical scenarios (see Appendix A) describing different disciplinary situations. Each scenario is about an infraction that was attributed to a specific supposed race and gender. Six of the scenarios were based the concepts of attendance, noncompliance, insubordination, and fighting. After responding to the

scenarios teachers were asked interview questions about teachers' personal encounters with misconduct and their personal use of discipline.

I decided to use hypothetical scenarios because I did not have access to the schools' official records of discipline and misconduct, and I thought that teachers' responses were a valuable substitution. Furthermore, scenarios allowed teachers to think about situations that they may not have dealt with while allowing teachers to ponder the ways that they might handle misconduct in the future.

I created scenarios based on the top 3 suspensions and disciplinary referral types for high school students that were listed in the code of conduct in the Guilford County Schools Student Handbook and data from the GCS Annual Discipline Data Report. A disciplinary referral is the form used when reporting an offense to school administrators or law enforcement if necessary (Division of Accountability and Research 2017). The top 3 referral types for high school students that led to ISS for the 2016-2017 school year were Rule 2 (Attendance), Rule 8 (Insubordination), Rule 6 (Noncompliance). The top 3 offenses resulting in OSS for the 2016-2017 school year for high school students included a violation of Rule 8 (Insubordination), Rule 14 (Fighting), and Rule 2 (Attendance) (Division of Accountability and Research 2017). Because Rule 2 (Attendance) and Rule 8 (Insubordination) result in both in-school and out-of-school suspensions, it is worth noting what accounts for the different forms of punishment. Attendance concerns whether students skip school in whole or in part i.e. if they leave school once present or if they do not show up at all. Students face in-school disciplinary action up to 2 days of OSS when they leave school and in-school disciplinary action up to

ISS when they do not show up to school (Guilford County Schools 2018). For insubordinate acts, the GCS Student Handbook expresses the use of in-school disciplinary action up to 5 days OSS as well as long term suspension if aggravating circumstances are present (Guilford County Schools 2018).

The Guilford County Schools Annual Report (2017) indicated that in the 2016-2017 school year, 40.7% of students enrolled in Guilford County Schools by the 20th day of school were Black (Division of Accountability and Research 2017). Of this 40.7% of Black students, 17.2% received disciplinary referrals (Division of Accountability and Research 2017). Black students (without disabilities) in Guilford County Schools (GCS) had the most referrals resulting in in-school suspensions (3,207) and out-of-school suspensions (3,468). In the 2016-2017 school year, the top 3 disciplinary referrals resulting in OSS for Black students were fighting among students (Rule 14), Insubordination (Rule 8), and aggressive physical action (Rule 18) (Division of Accountability and Research 2017 slide 36). A significant proportion of Black students in Guilford County receive a disproportionate amount of punishment which made this region an appropriate candidate for study (Division of Accountability and Research 2017), but differential treatment is not uncommon across counties and states (Cagle 2017; Lynch 2016). In 2016-2017, 64% of all Black students in GCS received referrals for committing any reportable infraction (Division of Accountability and Research 2017 slide 10). White students were 5.9% of referrals, Hispanics were 7.7%, and all other races/ethnicities were 7.1% (Division of Accountability and Research 2017).

Scenarios gauged implicit biases and teachers' action based on hypothetical students' race. Stereotypically White names such as Bradley (male) and Katie (female), and stereotypically Black names such as Darnell (male) and Imani (female) conveyed race along with explicit statement of the hypothetical students' race (see Table 1). The Imani scenario (fighting) and the Katie scenario (fighting) do not include the hypothetical students' race and gender because I believed that the teachers would remember this information from the Katie scenario (threatening) and the Imani scenario (bullying). It is my belief that the teachers' stated their potential reactions to the specific students mentioned by name in the scenarios and that teachers were not simply responding to the hypothetical incident in general.

Table 2. Information on Scenarios

Scenario nickname	Wording of the scenario	Implied race/gender of student
The Bradley scenario	Skipping class	White male
The Darnell scenario	Noncompliance with directives	Black male
The Katie scenario	Threatening	White female
The Imani scenario	Bullying	Black female
The Imani scenario	Fighting	White female
The Katie scenario	Fighting	Black female

The scenarios and questions addressed the research question by allowing teachers to discuss any similar previous situations dealing with misbehavior. Teachers were able to discuss the caveats involved in assessing student misconduct and describe the subjective nature of administering school discipline. Pane (2010) discussed the subjectivity involved in determining disciplinary responses. For example, Pane (2010)

found that Black students received referrals for more subjective reasons such as excessive noise and disrespect and White students received referrals for serious and objective reasons like smoking and vandalism. Teacher's responses helped provide insight into the decision-making process of teachers in the sample.

Before each scenario I asked the teachers to define/discuss the concepts that each scenario focused on. For example, I posed leading questions about the teachers' definition of noncompliance and insubordination before the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives), the Katie scenario (threatening), and the Imani scenario (bullying). For example, "what does the term noncompliance mean to you" and "what would you describe as an act of insubordination." Oftentimes I asked attendance and fighting related questions before and after responses to the Bradley scenario (skipping class), the Imani scenario (fighting), and the Katie scenario (fighting). For example, "What is the severity of attendance in your school?" "Have you ever witnessed a fight?" and "Should the causal reason behind a fight be taken into consideration?"

Interspersed throughout the hypothetical scenarios component of the interview were interview questions. I asked some of the interview questions during the scenarios segment whenever there was an appropriate segue into a related interview question. For example, sometimes teachers would state that they had issues with certain behaviors in the classroom in response to a hypothetical scenario. In response, I would ask about the behavior that received the most warnings (which is an interview question). Following the leading question, I presented the hypothetical scenario. I asked the leading questions and hypothetical scenarios before the interview questions component because I wanted to

place the respondents in the mindset of thinking about common offenses and student behaviors before I asked interview questions to learn about their actual experiences. I also wanted to present the scenarios earlier in the interview in case, for some reason, respondents were unable or did not want to answer questions about their actual experiences with school discipline.

Sometimes I did not strictly follow the order of the interview protocol because I wanted to probe teachers on their responses. Not strictly adhering to the interview protocol altered the order in which respondents received questions in relation to other respondents. I would return to the order in the interview protocol as early as possible. Teachers did not have to answer a question if the question did not apply to them. For example, I did not ask if a student's physical stature determined if the teacher intervened in a fight if that teacher previously expressed never stepping into fights. Thus, not all respondents answered every question (see Table 2). Eleven out of the twelve teachers received all 6 scenarios. I was unable to present the Katie scenario (fighting) to one of the respondents. Prior obligations prevented this respondent from staying the entire duration of the interview. This teacher (respondent Archie Andrews from Clearwater) was also unable to participate in most of the interview question segment of the interview.

Table 3. Quantity of Respondents Who Answered Each Lead/Interview Question

Questions	Number of respondents	When the question was asked
Lead Questions		
What does the term noncompliance mean to you?	11	Before the Darnell scenario (noncompliance)
What would you describe as an act of insubordination?	12	Before the Katie scenario (threatening)
Interview Questions		
Do you feel that students avoid class to get out of doing assignments or for some other reason?	9	
Performance on assessments vs. maintaining order in the classroom	11	
Does the causal reason behind fighting should matter?	11	
How much time would you say that you spend disciplining students?	11	
Would you say it (discipline) takes away/detracts from class time?	11	
How do you deal with that missed time?	11	
Who would you say are the students who are most likely to get in trouble?	11	
Which actions are most likely to result in OSS and ISS?	10	
Are there certain groups of students who are likely to receive ISS/OSS more often than others?	7	
For what behaviors do you give the MOST warnings before the student(s) receives consequences for their actions, such as being sent out of the room	11	

I presented teachers with interview questions about their own implementation of school discipline. Interview questions pertained to the importance of classroom management, teachers' definition of certain offenses, the average time spent disciplining

students, demographics of students who do and do not incur disciplinary actions, the consequences of certain behavior, possible reactions to student misconduct, which actions precede suspension, common misbehaviors, and the nature of teachers' classroom protocol. These questions assessed teachers' leniency or punitiveness, examine the occasionally subjective application of school discipline, and analyze the caveats or variables that determine when and how to reprimand student misconduct. Teachers could refer to actual situations they have encountered to guide their responses. Doing so allowed for more realistic answers because teachers could state authentic reactions to various situations. Allowing for authenticity provided the possibility to collect data on genuine acts of misconduct. Authenticity was advantageous because I did not have access to official student records.

Analysis Plan

Intersectionality directed my analysis of high school teachers' discipline decision-making process. Intersectionality indicates that the intersection of multiple identities influences one's experiences. Intersectionality provided a lens to assess why Black students may encounter punitive methods of punishment most often (the intersection of their race and sex). Though there were less Black students at Clearwater, their presence may have generated the use of increased social control against them.

I analyzed across predominantly Black and White high schools and within predominantly Black and White high schools and focus on both the school and teacher levels. My research goes back and forth between these analyses throughout the paper. I operationalized the analysis of the rate of discipline by asking teachers about their

perception of the school and classroom environment. Hypothetical scenarios were also a way to examine how intersections of race and sex (Black female, Black male) affect the teacher's use of punitive discipline. Then I compared teachers' responses on how they handled misconduct.

Textual information in the tables accompanying scenarios are condensed descriptions of teachers' responses to the scenarios. These descriptions were what I considered to be the overall outcome of teachers' disciplinary action to the hypothetical students' behaviors. Teachers' responses are in one category only. I created a separate category to represent teachers' specific response if their statements slightly varied from similar descriptions in other categories. Punitive methods were those that seemed to involve using some method that did not grant the student a second chance, did not allow students the opportunity to learn from their behavior, or involved administration or another adult other than the teacher. Nonpunitive methods were those that seemed to give the student a second chance or allowed the student to learn from their behavior to prevent future misconduct.

Coding Guide for Themes

Themes arose during interviews with teachers as they discussed their use of school discipline on various student behaviors. I considered a theme to be any idea or phrase that multiple teachers indicated during interviews. I coded the theme of "discretion/subjective" when teachers said words like "depends," "case by case," "discretion," "pick and choose your battles," or "if this were (or weren't) to happen." I coded the theme of "safety" when teachers said words like "safety," or "safe." I coded the

theme of relationships when teachers said the word “relationship.” I coded the theme of “calling home” when teachers said words like “calling home,” “calling parents,” “call mom and dad.” I coded the theme of “de-escalation/alternative strategies” when teachers said “de-escalate” or when teachers mentioned strategies that resolved an issue by not resorting to punitive methods, calling an administrator, or calling home fell under this theme. I coded the theme of “disrupting others” when teachers said “disrupt” and for instances when a student was a disruption to learning or being a distraction. Gestures that indicate “no” or “don’t do that” such as wagging their finger, use of sign language, blowing an electronic whistle, making eye contact, making a face/giving a look, and using proximal distancing were coded for the theme of “nonverbals.” I coded the theme of “setting a precedent” when teachers mentioned making an example out of a student or when disciplining a student to prevent the same misbehavior from happening with another teacher. I coded the theme of “establishing the classroom climate” when teachers mentioned being tougher in the beginning of the semester, expected behavior from students, and teaching students what to expect from the teacher. I coded the theme of “restorative practices” when teachers said “restorative justice” or “restorative practice.”

CHAPTER V

RESULTS

Themes from Scenarios and Interview Questions

Analyses of the interviews revealed phrases or ideas that multiple teachers indicated during interviews. This section addressed the recurrent themes that arose during discussions with teachers. These themes arose during the scenario and question segments of the interview. I was more concerned with the total references to themes that arose during each teacher's interview overall. Therefore, I did not find it necessary to separate or categorize themes by individual scenarios and questions. I considered a word or phrase to be a theme if I found commonalities in statements made by more than one person. Many themes occurred as interviews developed. Statements made by more than one person were indicators of similar discipline decision-making by teachers within the same school and across schools. I arranged themes by their frequency and by using titles. The first paragraph under each thematic category provides the meaning of the theme and some of the hypothetical scenarios and questions that teachers responded to when themes arose. I presented the instrumentations (hypothetical scenarios and interview questions) in no particular order to demonstrate that themes were not bound to one component of the interview. The questions and scenarios presented in the first paragraph do not necessarily correlate with the scenarios and questions that examples were taken from that are listed in the second paragraph. The subsequent paragraph(s) contains examples of words or

phrases that alluded to the corresponding theme. Listed in parentheses is the theme's frequency of mentions during interviews. Also included are quotes made by teachers during interviews.

Discretion/Subjective

I coded the theme of “discretion/subjective” when a teacher spoke about the nuances or situational nature of disciplining student misbehavior. The theme of “discretion/subjective” appeared mostly when teachers responded to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives) which might indicate that teachers were more likely to decide how to handle Darnell's misbehavior based on situational circumstances as opposed to the other hypothetical students. Typically, teachers used words such as “depends,” “case by case,” “discretion,” “pick and choose your battles,” or “if this were (or weren't) to happen.” The theme of “discretion/subjective” arose in teachers' responses to the Katie scenario (threatening). The Katie scenario (threatening) states: “Let's say you're in your classroom and notice Katie, a White female, getting upset after learning that some of her classmates disagree with her...perhaps on political beliefs or something along those lines. She then warns them that she will get her older brother to handle them if they challenge her again. What would you do in this situation?” The theme of “discretion/subjective” arose in teachers' responses to the question “Are there certain groups of students who are likely to receive ISS/OSS more often than others? Can you describe them demographically?”

The theme of “discretion/subjective” arose in teachers' responses to the question asking if the time spent redirecting misbehavior detracted from the classroom. As

respondent Sabrina Spellman (Sunny Hill) stated, “It depends on the approach you take. I’ve seen teachers stop the entire lesson just to address a little boy picking his nose. I mean you have to pick and choose your battles.” Responses pertaining to the theme of “discretion/subjective” included statements about administration handling things as they see fit and responding in a certain manner if the teacher felt it warranted that response. Referencing any caveats that are a part of deciding an appropriate response fell into this category as well. For example, when Respondent Veronica Lodge (Clearwater) said:

And for me, noncompliance is not doing what you’re supposed to do. Now I will tell you that there are some little caveats that I have there because as an adult, I have rules that I am supposed to follow as well. I have been in many classrooms where I have seen the adult in the classroom constantly antagonize and instigate issues with children to make them become noncompliant but then it becomes the child’s fault completely. So, that’s why I have those little caveats beside the definition of—or maybe it’s not a caveat but I know what it means. I can’t stand rigid on if you don’t do what the adult says do, then you are wrong because of those caveats.

Safety

The theme of “safety” refers to the safety and well-being of both teachers and students. The theme of “safety” appeared mostly when teachers responded to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives) which is interesting considering that society views Black bodies as being more dangerous and not ones to protect. The theme of “safety” arose in teachers’ responses to the Imani scenario (fighting) which states: “Imagine a fight breaks out in the hallway. Imani overheard two students speaking negatively of her little brother. She decides to confront them, and they taunt and shove her. This causes Imani to punch the student and the two students jump Imani. What

would you do if you witness this fight?” The theme of “safety” also arose in teachers’ answers to the question “What would you describe as an act of insubordination?” and in their responses to the Katie scenario (threatening).

All 12 teachers brought up the theme of “safety” in some form. Listed below are various references to the theme of “safety” along with how many times each reference appeared listed in parentheses. Most often the theme of “safety” referred to the protection of the students (16). As Respondent Veronica Lodge (Clearwater) stated, “I make a big deal out of being safe. Because if somebody snatches somebody’s kid or something happens on my watch, I know it’s my tail.” Other times, teachers discussed safety for themselves and faculty members (6) in addition to students. Safety mattered during times where a person is most vulnerable i.e. during fights (11), on field trips (3), in the classroom environment (3). Campus safety (1) was also of concern. Three teachers indicated that safety is primary (5). As respondent Veronica Lodge said, “if we look at North Carolina law, teaching is actually the fourth thing that teachers are supposed to do in North Carolina. The first thing that we are supposed to do is keep kids safe.”

Relationships

The theme of “relationships” refers to the importance of building relationships between teachers and students. The theme of “relationships” appeared most often when teachers responded to the Imani scenario (fighting). The teachers’ indication of their desire to build relationships in response to Imani’s behavior could indicate that teachers want to better understand Imani’s behaviors rather than assuming that Imani’s behavior goes against White-normed femininity because she is a Black female. Relationships could

prevent or limit future misbehavior within the classroom. Students could go to a teacher in a different classroom that they had a better relationship with if they needed time to cool off after a confrontation with another student. The theme of “relationships” arose in teachers’ responses to the questions “How much time would you say that you spend disciplining students?” and “Would you say it (discipline) takes away/detracts from class time?” The theme of “relationships” also arose in teachers’ responses to the question “So, I’ve talked with some teachers in the past and some say they’re most concerned with performance on assessments and others say maintaining order in the classroom. Is it an either/or situation or something else I am missing?”

Relationships were a means to ward off potential problems because teachers demonstrated compassion and concern for students. As respondent Harvey Kinkle (Sunny Hill) stated:

I think establishing a relationship with students where they know you care about them not just as a student, not just about their scores, but what they’re dealing with leads them to try and do better.

Calling Home

The theme of “calling home” arose whenever teachers referred to contacting parents whether after an altercation or for constructive purposes. The theme of “calling home” appeared most often in teachers’ responses to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives) and the Imani scenario (bullying). It is possible that teachers felt that the hypothetical Black students’ behaviors were serious enough to involve the students’ parents. In comparison, the theme of “calling home” only appeared

once in regards to the Bradley scenario (skipping class) and the Katie scenario (threatening), and this theme did not appear at all in response to the Katie scenario (fighting). The theme of “calling home” arose when one teacher answered the question “What does the term noncompliance mean to you?” The theme of “calling home” arose in teachers’ responses to the question “For what behaviors do you give the most warnings before the student(s) receives consequences for their actions, such as being sent out of the room?” The theme of “calling home” arose in teachers’ replies to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives) which states: “let’s imagine you are on a school trip to the zoo. Darnell, a Black male student, asks to go see the giraffe exhibit. You tell him he should remain with the group and they obey you for a few minutes but eventually head off to see the giraffes. What would you do?”

Respondent Jughead Jones (Cleawater) stated:

And typically, when I call home to mom and dad, things get handled. I have found in my career that [during] the first month of school I make as many positive phone calls home I can to parents. That way, in the future when you need them on your team...they’re typically on the side with you.

This statement by Respondent Jughead Jones suggested his need to call home for constructive purposes.

Teachers indicated that they’d call parents after a fight or when a student was misbehaving or refusing to comply with the rules. Students even made calls home when they were involved in some type of confrontation. After discussing a fight between her students and some students that weren’t in her class, respondent Cheryl Blossom (Sunny Hill) said that she “encouraged them [to] call their mom.”

De-escalation/Alternative Strategies

The theme of “de-escalation/alternative strategies” appeared when teachers used the term “de-escalate.” This theme appeared most often in response to the Imani scenario (fighting) which could indicate that teachers perceived Imani’s involvement in a fight as behavior that necessitated de-escalation and redirection. Additionally, strategies that resolved an issue by not resorting to punitive methods, calling an administrator, or calling home fell under this theme. The theme of “de-escalation/alternative strategies” arose in teachers’ responses to the Katie scenario (threatening). The theme of “de-escalation/alternative strategies” also arose in teachers’ responses to the Imani scenario (bullying) “what if you hear a student mocking another? For example, students are required to read aloud a selected passage and you have a student with a speech impediment, creating difficulties with the reading. When it’s their turn to read, Imani, a Black female, laughs and mocks them and invites other students to join in. How would handle this?”

Respondent Betty Cooper (Clearwater) said that she offers her students 2 options after they misbehave: “it’s a choice of do the work or don’t get to do social time at lunch or in the mornings and that seems to work for my classroom.” One form of discipline that respondent Sabrina Spellman (Sunny Hill) indicated that she practices is called “planned ignoring where you just ignore the behavior. You don’t engage with them because it doesn’t fuel their fire so they just [say] ‘oh, well nobody’s paying attention to me.’ So, then they just be quiet.” Another alternative strategy that 2 teachers indicated involved assigning a student an errand to redirect their anger. Errands required the student to take a

note to another teacher or to the front office. Three teachers said that they preferred to remove their students from the classroom i.e. by waiting in the hallway (2 teachers) or going to another classroom (1 teacher). In response to the Imani scenario (fighting), respondent Harvey Kinkle (Sunny Hill) said that he would “grab [the aggressor or defender] and remove them to a classroom—to another teacher. Almost as if a hand off.” Respondent Betty Cooper (Clearwater) indicated that positive behavioral interventions and teaching students other ways to process anger as methods of “de-escalation” or “alternative strategies.”

Disrupting Others

The theme of “disrupting others” arose when teachers referred to student behavior interfering with the learning of other students. This theme appeared in response to one scenario which was the Bradley scenario (skipping class) and only when person referenced the theme of “disrupting others” which could suggest that White male deviance is not a huge concern for teachers. The theme of “disrupting others” arose in teachers’ responses to the question “What is your typical classroom protocol if you have one?” This theme arose in teachers’ responses to the questions “What is the severity of noncompliance at this school?” and “For what behaviors do you give the most warnings before the student(s) receives consequences for their actions, such as being sent out of the room?”

According to respondent Dilton Doiley (Sunny Hill), said that a disruption would be “anything that’s interfering with the learning of other students... [t]hat takes away from the students that are there and they’re ready to learn.” Sending a student to ISS may

not be the best choice but sometimes it is the outcome for misbehavior. For example, respondent Fred Andrews (Sunny Hill) stated:

If [the student is] disrupting the learning of others, I can't have that either. That was the biggest thing. I can't make a student study. I can't make them stay awake, but I can make sure they don't keep another student from learning.

Words such as “disturb,” and instances when a student was a disruption to learning or being a distraction were coded as the theme of “disrupting others.”

Nonverbals

The theme of “nonverbals” refers to any behavior that did not require the teacher to make verbal commands. While the theme of “nonverbals” could be included in the theme of “alternative strategy”, these gestures solely involved the teacher using their body to convey a message to the student and communicate discontent with student misconduct. The theme of “nonverbals” arose when teachers responded to the Imani scenario (bullying). The theme of “nonverbals” also arose when in teachers’ responses to the questions “How much time would you say that you spend disciplining students?” and to a question that asked “What is your typical classroom protocol if you have one?”

Listed below are the various references to nonverbals along with how many times each reference appeared. The theme of “nonverbals” arose when one teacher said the word “nonverbals” during their response. References to the theme of “nonverbals” occurred when teachers mentioned that they would use gestures to indicate “no” or “don't do that.” This could be wagging their finger (1), use of sign language (1), or blowing an electronic whistle (1). Making eye contact (2) or making a face/giving a look (2) was also

a common means of nonverbal gesturing. Respondent Rosalind Walker (Sunny Hill) stated, “I try to give a warning and let them know, like, I see you or even just eye contact. Even if the whole class doesn’t see you, I see you. I won’t say [it] aloud, but I’ll just show them with my eyes that I see them on the phone.” Additional nonverbal gestures included proximal distancing (5). When asked how she’d handle the Imani scenario (bullying), respondent Cheryl Blossom (Sunny Hill) stated:

I’ve had kids do that and when I suspect kids [are] doing that stuff then I...In school there’s the zone of proximity. I plant my butt right there and we continue reading. I don’t look at them. I don’t say anything to them. I just stand or sit right there...Sometimes it makes them really uncomfortable. Sometimes they just stop and don’t [continue].

Setting a Precedent

The theme of “setting a precedent” occurred with any mention of responding to an action in a way that would prevent future misconduct on the part of the student or students nearby. This theme appeared once in response to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives) and once in response to the Imani scenario (bullying). It is possible that teachers wanted to establish general deterrence by disciplining these Black students. Making an example out of a student or doing something to one student that you would do to all would belong in this category. The theme of “setting a precedent” arose in teachers’ responses to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives), the Imani scenario 4 (bullying), and the question “How much time would you say that you spend disciplining students?”

The idea of making an example out of a student appeared when respondent Josie McCoy (Sunny Hill) commented, “sometimes you got to make an example like that. Let them know you got to follow directions. No talking means not talking so that’s that.” The theme of “setting a precedent” also arose when one teacher said that a student choosing to walk away from a fight may influence other students’ behavior. The theme of “setting a precedent” was apparent when disciplining a student to prevent the same misbehavior from happening with another teacher. For example, while responding to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives), respondent Reggie Mantle (Clearwater) expressed, “the action I’m taking is good for the next teacher. The kid is going to remember that if I do [this], it may be worse than the first [time]. So, I’m not going to try this time.”

Establishing the Classroom Climate

References to setting ground rules, expected behavior from students, and teaching students what to expect from the teacher were indicators of the theme of “establishing the classroom climate.” This theme did not appear in any responses to the scenarios. Other indicators included references to being tougher in the beginning of the semester indicated expected behavior and setting the tone for the classroom. The theme of “establishing the classroom climate” arose in teachers’ responses to the question “So, I’ve talked with some teachers in the past and some say they’re most concerned with performance on assessments and others say maintaining order in the classroom. Is it an either/or situation or something else I am missing?” The theme of “establishing the classroom climate” also

arose in teachers' responses to a question asking "What is your typical classroom protocol if you have one?"

Four teachers referenced being tougher early in the semester. As respondent Fred Andrews (Sunny Hill) indicated, being tougher in the first two weeks "accomplishes two things: lets them know exactly what I can do and those that find out that they can't get with the program normally transfer out." His strategy served to weed out potential noncompliant students. Respondent Dilton Doiley (Sunny Hill) said that he "would start off as more of a disciplinarian. Because it's easier to give students a little more slack towards the end of the semester. Once they get to know you, they understand what to expect from you. Then you don't have to hold your thumb on them so hard."

Restorative Practices

The theme of "restorative practices" refers to students improving or repairing relationships with one another. The theme of "restorative practices" occurred when teachers stated phrases such as "restorative practice" or "restorative justice." There were other actions that could fall into this category i.e. proximal distancing, blowing a whistle, or giving a student an errand but they were better suited under the theme of "nonverbals." The theme of "restorative practices" arose when teachers' replied to a question asking whether they thought that suspension is the result of an accumulation of offenses or if it takes one serious offense. The theme of "restorative practices" also arose when teachers' replied to the Imani scenario (bullying).

Respondent Cheryl Blossom (Sunny Hill) expressed:

I feel like most of the other stuff needs to be handled in more of a restorative justice kind of way. I'd love to see more of that working on helping kids developing the skills to have a conversation with someone [about something] they are really mad about.

Coding the theme of “restorative practices” occurred when respondent Veronica Lodge (Clearwater) indicated her use of the restorative technique called the circle after an incident in her classroom.

Table 4. Frequency of Theme Appearances

Theme Name	Number of Mentions
Discretion/Subjective	47
Safety	42
Relationship	32
Calling home	30
De-escalation/Alternative strategies	20
Disrupting others	10
Nonverbals	10
Setting a precedent	8
Establishing the classroom climate	6
Restorative practices	2

The themes listed above were recurrent throughout conversations with teachers. Instances of the theme of “discretion/subjectivity” were most common as words alluding to this theme appeared 47 times during interviews. Frequent references to the theme of “discretion/ subjective” indicates that teachers do seem to exercise discretion in schools when handling student misconduct. The theme of “restorative practices” was the least common theme which appeared twice during interviews. The theme of “restorative

practices” was still worth including because this category seemed to suggest some kind of “solution” to handling misbehavior.

Cross-School Comparison of Theme Appearances in Responses to the Imani and Katie Scenarios

This section analyzes the differences in teachers’ responses to the Imani and Katie scenarios to see if the intersection of student race/gender played a role in how teachers handled the violation of the insubordination and fighting rule (see Table 13). Teachers had various ways of addressing insubordinate behaviors and handling school fights. Analysis of the themes seems to indicate that teachers from both schools were likely to handle the hypothetical students Imani and Katie in nonpunitive manners. However, Imani would receive only slightly more punitive treatment by one teacher from Sunny Hill who indicated that she would “make an example of Imani” after Imani mocked another student. Katie’s discipline would be contingent upon how serious the argument was for her insubordinate behavior. Sunny Hill and Clearwater teachers would consider safety when addressing both Imani and Katie if these students were in a fight. The fact that the theme of “safety” appeared more for the Imani scenario (fighting) than for the Katie scenario (fighting) is interesting considering that sources (Young 2006) indicate that society views Black bodies as more dangerous than individuals from different racial categories. Imani could have been seen as the student who is more argumentative and prone to fighting, but more teachers alluded to safety when responding to the Imani scenario (fighting).

Themes indicate that teachers from the majority Black and the majority White high school would use de-escalation/alternative strategies to address Imani and Katie’s

misbehavior. One White female teacher from Clearwater would attempt to de-escalate Imani’s behavior as would one White male teacher and one White female teacher at Sunny Hill. One Hispanic female teacher, one White female teacher, and one Black female teacher at Sunny Hill would attempt to de-escalate Katie’s misbehavior. This explanation of the frequency of “de-escalation/ alternative strategies” at both schools could mean that teachers from Sunny Hill are more inclined to try to de-escalate a situation or use alternative strategies with students. Responses reveal that teachers were more likely to state that they would use nonpunitive actions on the hypothetical students Imani and Katie. Results may indicate that teachers in the sample are more likely to give students a second chance after insubordinate behaviors.

Table 5. Theme Appearances across Scenarios

Scenario	Theme	Count
Imani (Bullying)	Restorative	1
	Precedent	1
	Nonverbal	2
	De-escalation	4
	Calling Home	1
Katie (Threatening)	Discretion	4
	Safety	4
	De-escalation	4
	Calling Home	1
Imani (Fighting)	Discretion	3
	Safety	8
	De-escalation	2
	Relationship	4
	Calling Home	1
Katie (Fighting)	Safety	4
	Relationship	1

Teachers’ Responses to Hypothetical Scenarios

The Bradley Scenario (Skipping Class)

Teachers responded to the following scenario about the violation of the attendance rule (Rule 2): Hypothetically speaking let’s say that Bradley, a White male student, asks to use the restroom giving the excuse that he’d been ill the night before and is experiencing stomach pains. If he neither returns to class nor attends his following class, how would you handle this situation?

School Level

Teachers at both Sunny Hill High and Clearwater Academy seemed to indicate that they would approach the Bradley scenario (skipping class) in a similar manner. At Sunny Hill, all teachers suggested a punitive response to Bradley skipping class. Most of the Clearwater teachers gave punitive responses. The sole Black male teacher suggested the only non-punitive response (or caring response). There was not much variation in the way that teachers at both schools decided to handle the Bradley scenario (skipping class).

Table 6. Categorized Responses to Bradley (Skipping Class) Scenario

Summary of Teachers’ Responses	Clearwater Academy	Sunny Hill High
Call administration/ call front office	Archie Andrews (WM) Jughead Jones (WM) Betty Cooper (WF) Veronica Lodge (BF)	Harvey Kinkle (WM) Fred Andrews (WM) Sabrina Spellman (HF) Rosalind Walker (BF) Dilton Doiley (WM)
Allow the student to skip sections of a test if they missed the necessary information	Reggie Mantle (BM)	
Mark absent, give grade of zero		Josie McCoy (BF)

Summary of Teachers' Responses	Clearwater Academy	Sunny Hill High
Call administration, call front office, ask student's friends if they've seen him, call home		Cheryl Blossom (WF)

W= White B=Black H=Hispanic F=Female M=Male

The Darnell Scenario (Noncompliance with Directives)

Teachers responded to the following scenario on the violation of the noncompliance rule (Rule 6): Let's imagine you are on a school trip to the zoo. Darnell, a Black male student, asks to go see the giraffe exhibit. You tell him he should remain with the group and they obey you for a few minutes but eventually head off to see the giraffes. What would you do?

Teacher Level

Results seem to suggest that a teacher's race and gender may play a role when handling noncompliant behavior at Sunny Hill High and Clearwater Academy. Sunny Hill teachers take more punitive measures towards Darnell whereas Clearwater teachers would take either punitive or nonpunitive measures. Black female teachers and the Hispanic female teacher from Sunny Hill said that they would use more punitive school discipline with Darnell. White male teachers from Sunny Hill were more likely to indicate that they would use nonpunitive disciplinary practices on Darnell as was the White female teacher. The Black male teacher in the sample said that he would use more severe school discipline on Darnell. The Black female and White female teachers from this school said that they would use less severe tactics. White male teachers in the sample were equally as likely to state that they would use punitive discipline on Darnell as they

were to state that they would use less severe discipline on Darnell. There were many different possibilities that teachers indicated that they would take when handling the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives).

Table 7. Categorized Responses to Darnell (Noncompliance with Directives) Scenario

Summary of Teachers' Responses	Clearwater Academy	Sunny Hill High
After school detention	Reggie Mantle (BM) Archie Andrews (WM)	
Tell him to come back/ have a discussion	Jughead Jones (WM) Veronica Lodge (BF)	Fred Andrews (WM) Cheryl Blossom (WF)
Give 2 options (return to the group or face consequences)	Betty Cooper (WF)	
Written up		Sabrina Spellman (HF)
Take a small group to see the exhibit		Harvey Kinkle (WM)
Call parents and give ISS or OSS		Rosalind Walker (BF)
Write up or revoke field trip privileges		Josie McCoy (BF)
Refer to administration		Dilton Doiley (WM)

W= White B=Black H=Hispanic F=Female M=Male

The Katie Scenario (Threatening)

Teachers responded to the following scenario on the violation of the insubordination rule (Rule 8): Let's say you're in your classroom and notice Katie, a White female, getting upset after learning that some of her classmates disagree with her...perhaps on political beliefs or something along those lines. She then warns them that she will get her older brother to handle them if they challenge her again. What would you do in this situation?

Teacher Level

Results seem to indicate that that Sunny Hill and Clearwater teachers’ race and gender play a role in the way that they would handle Katie’s insubordinate behavior. Sunny Hill teachers stated that they would use more punitive measures towards Katie. The Hispanic female teacher and White male teachers at Sunny Hill said that they would likely use a punitive method on Katie. The White female teacher at Sunny Hill stated that she would likely use nonpunitive methods with the White female student in the scenario. Black female teachers in the sample from Sunny Hill were equally as likely to state that they would use punitive methods as they were to state that they would use nonpunitive methods. Clearwater teachers indicated that they would use both punitive and nonpunitive responses towards Katie. At Clearwater, White male teachers were likely to indicate that they would use punitive methods with Katie. The White female teacher from Clearwater stated that she would use a combination of nonpunitive and punitive methods. Black Clearwater teachers indicated less punitive responses for the Katie scenario (threatening).

Table 8. Categorized Responses to Katie (Threatening) Scenario

Summary of Teachers’ Responses	Clearwater Academy	Sunny Hill High
Contact administration	Archie Andrews (WM) Jughead Jones (WM)	Sabrina Spellman (HF) Fred Andrews (WM)
Have conversation	Veronica Lodge (BF) Reggie Mantle (BM)	Cheryl Blossom (WF) Josie McCoy (BF)
Have conversation and inform principal		Rosalind Walker (BF) Harvey Kinkle (WM)
Have conversation, schedule appointment with counselor,	Betty Cooper (WF)	

Summary of Teachers' Responses	Clearwater Academy	Sunny Hill High
inform principal		
Have conversation, contact administration and parents		Dilton Doiley (WM)

W= White B=Black H=Hispanic F=Female M=Male

The Imani Scenario (Bullying)

Teachers responded to the following scenario about the violation of the insubordination rule (Rule 8): What if you hear a student mocking another? For example, students are required to read aloud a selected passage and you have a student with a speech impediment, creating difficulties with the reading. When it's their turn to read, Imani, a Black female, laughs and mocks them and invites other students to join in. How would handle this?

Teacher Level

Results seem to indicate that that Sunny Hill and Clearwater teachers' race and gender play a role in the way that they would handle Imani's insubordinate behavior. Teachers from Sunny Hill were most likely to state that they would use more nonpunitive practices to discipline Imani. Only one White male teacher from Sunny Hill stated that he would use a punitive method such as contacting parents and administration in response to Imani bullying another student. Clearwater teachers were also more likely to state that they would take nonpunitive responses towards Imani. At Clearwater, White male teachers were equally likely to use nonpunitive or punitive consequences when the hypothetical student is a Black female. The White female teacher and the Black female teacher were likely to administer nonpunitive discipline against Imani. The Black male

teacher stated that he would employ more punitive forms of punishment against the Black female student in the scenario. Although only one White teacher stated that he would use a more punitive method on Imani, some sources (Battey et al. 2018) indicate that White teachers tend to have negative interactions with Black students.

Table 9. Categorized Responses to Imani (Bullying) Scenario

Summary of Teachers' Responses	Clearwater Academy	Sunny Hill High
Teach the importance of being respectful	Archie Andrews (WM)	
Talk to entire class, talk to student in hallway, and inform administrator	Jughead Jones (WM)	
Proximal distancing	Betty Cooper (WF)	Cheryl Blossom (WF)
Restorative justice practice	Veronica Lodge (BF)	
ISS	Reggie Mantle (BM)	
Talk to student in the hallway		Harvey Kinkle (WM) Fred Andrews (WM) Rosalind Walker (BF)
Talk to student in front of classmates		Sabrina Spellman (HF)
Places student in hallway to read by themselves		Josie McCoy (BF)
Ask student to do a task, talk to students individually, call parents and administration		Dilton Doiley (WM)

W= White B=Black H=Hispanic F=Female M=Male

The Imani Scenario (Fighting)

Teachers responded to the following scenario about the violation of the fighting rule (Rule 14): Imagine a fight breaks out in the hallway. Imani overheard two students speaking negatively of her little brother. She decides to confront them, and they taunt and

shove her. This causes Imani to punch the student and the two students jump Imani. What would you do if you witness this fight?

Teacher Level

Results suggest that Sunny Hill and Clearwater teachers' race and gender play a role in their discipline decision-making process when dealing with school fights. Sunny Hill teachers were likely to indicate that they would take both punitive and nonpunitive disciplinary responses approaches. White male teachers were more likely to state that they would take more punitive steps than they were to state that they would use nonpunitive steps if Imani was fighting. These White male teachers' actions seem to be consistent with sources that indicate that White teachers in primarily Black classrooms have more negative interactions with Black students when handling student misbehavior and White teachers reprimand students more than their peers in same-race teacher and student classrooms (Battey et al. 2018). There is also the possibility that these White male teachers simply perceived Imani's behavior as a punishable offense. The Hispanic female teacher said that she would use a more punitive method. Black female teachers from Sunny Hill were likely to state that they would implement nonpunitive measures as a first response if Imani was in a fight. The White female teacher stated that she was more likely to decide what actions to take based on her relationship with Imani. Black Sunny Hill teachers' actions seem to be consistent with the literature that states that Black teachers are more lenient toward Black students (Lindsay and Hart 2017). Sunny Hill Black teachers' decision-making process may have consisted of interpreting and understanding Black students' behaviors and deciding to be more lenient.

Clearwater teachers were likely to state that they would take nonpunitive disciplinary responses. White male teachers were likely to respond to the Imani scenario (fighting) with either punitive or nonpunitive measures. All other teachers from this school stated that they were likely to take nonpunitive measures as an initial response when Imani was the student fighting.

Table 10. Categorized Responses to Imani (Fighting) Scenario

Summary of Teachers' Responses	Clearwater Academy	Sunny Hill High
Call an administrator or SRO and possibly break it up	Archie Andrews (WM)	
Break it up	Reggie Mantle (BM)	Harvey Kinkle (WM)
Yell at students and break it up	Jughead Jones (WM)	
Separate students and document what happened	Betty Cooper (WF)	
Tell students to stop and report what they witnessed	Veronica Lodge (BF)	
Alert an administrator, prepare a statement		Sabrina Spellman (HF)
Use radio to announce fight and location		Fred Andrews (WM)
Yell at student or call for help		Rosalind Walker (BF) Josie McCoy (BF)
Actions taken depend on their relationship with student		Cheryl Blossom (WF)
Call an administrator or SRO, prepare a statement, call parents		Dilton Doiley (WM)

W= White B=Black F=Female M=Male

The Katie Scenario (Fighting)

Teachers responded to the following scenario about the violation of the fighting rule (Rule 14): Let's say that Katie witnesses a student being bullied and beat up and notices that no one else is intervening. She confronts the aggressors only to be told to

“get lost” and be shoved. Katie punches one of the students and a fight ensues. What would you do in this situation?

Teacher Level

Results seem to reveal that Sunny Hill High teachers’ race and gender play a role in their discipline decision-making process when Katie is involved in a fight, but this is not largely the case at Clearwater. Sunny Hill teachers indicated that they were more likely to utilize both punitive and nonpunitive methods if Katie were in a fight. Most of the White male teachers from Sunny Hill stated that they would employ nonpunitive school discipline. The Hispanic female teacher from Sunny Hill was likely to state that she would make use of more punitive methods when Katie was the student fighting. Black female teachers from Sunny Hill were equally as likely to state that they would utilize nonpunitive disciplinary methods as they were to state that they would use punitive disciplinary methods with Katie. The White female teacher from Sunny Hill was more likely to indicate that she would decide what actions to take based on her relationship with Katie. Clearwater teachers were more likely to respond with nonpunitive measures towards Katie if she were in a fight. The White male teacher expressed that he would use more punitive forms of discipline on Katie. All other teachers from this school stated that they would use nonpunitive discipline with Katie. Black Clearwater teachers indicated less punitive responses for the Katie scenario (fighting).

Table 11. Categorized Responses to Katie (Fighting) Scenario

Summary of Teachers' Responses	Clearwater Academy	Sunny Hill High
Separate students, turn in to the office	Jughead Jones (WM)	
Separate students	Betty Cooper (WF)	Harvey Kinkle (WM) Fred Andrews (WM)
Inform Katie of the proper actions to take	Veronica Lodge (BF) Reggie Mantle (BM)	
Alert an administrator, prepare a statement		Sabrina Spellman (HF)
Yells, calls for an administrator		Rosalind Walker (BF)
Actions taken depend on their relationship with student		Cheryl Blossom (WF)
Call for backup, tell administrator what they witnessed		Josie McCoy (BF)
Block students, contact administration		Dilton Doiley (WM)

W= White B=Black F=Female M=Male

Most teachers would take the same actions with both Imani and Katie if either female were in a fight though there were some variation in responses. All Clearwater teachers' responses varied slightly from the Imani scenario (fighting) to the Katie scenario (fighting). Many Sunny Hill teachers' responses to both the Imani (fighting) and Katie (fighting) scenarios remained the same. Respondent Josie McCoy's (Sunny Hill) response varied slightly as she stated that she would tell an administrator what she witnessed in the Katie scenario (fighting). Respondent Fred Andrews (Sunny Hill) said that he would break up the fight in response to the Katie scenario (fighting). Changes in teachers' responses could mean that students in the same school may encounter varying disciplinary actions based on the teacher that responds to the fight.

Teachers' Responses to Interview Questions

In addition to scenarios, I asked teachers questions about school discipline and student misbehaviors. I posed leading questions asking the teachers to define/discuss the concepts that each scenario discussed. I posed some interview questions during the hypothetical scenarios component whenever a respondent's response related to an interview question. I included answers to the questions that not all 12 teachers responded to if more than half of the sample provided answers. Teachers did not have to answer a question if the question did not apply to them. For example, I did not probe about whether student physical stature mattered when deciding to break up a fight if the teacher previously expressed never stepping into fights.

Teachers' Definitions of Noncompliance

I asked teachers to state their definition of the term noncompliance in order to prepare teachers for the corresponding scenario. Guilford County Schools' student handbook lists noncompliance as "noncompliance with directives from principals, teachers and other school personnel" (GCS Student Handbook 2018). When teachers shared their definition of the term noncompliance, their definitions generally involved a student not doing what an adult asks of them.

School Level

Results indicate that Sunny Hill High and Clearwater Academy teachers shared similar definitions as one another regarding the term noncompliance. Sunny Hill teachers' definitions tended to suggest that a noncompliant student is a student that refuses to follow school policies or directions given by school personnel in that moment.

One teacher addressed the rigid nature of noncompliance. Clearwater teachers used terms such as “blatant refusal,” “questioning why,” and students who are irresponsive when asked to do something. One teacher addressed the firm definition of noncompliance

Teachers’ Definition of Insubordination

When asked what the term insubordination meant, teachers’ definitions were akin to blatant disrespect and complete refusal to be obedient. Guilford County Schools’ student handbook defines insubordination as “using inappropriate language and behaviors towards students, visitors, school employees and other persons” (GCS Student Handbook 2018). Most of the teachers’ definition of insubordination did not match with GCS’ definition.

School Level

Results indicate that Sunny Hill High and Clearwater Academy teachers appeared to treat noncompliance and insubordination as interchangeable. Sunny Hill and Clearwater definitions of noncompliance included statements about “deliberate defiance,” “not following directions,” students leaving class without permission, students being told not to do something and doing it anyway. Across schools, eight teachers in the sample drew connections between insubordination and noncompliance and seven teachers specifically stated “noncompliance” in their definition.

Do Students Skip Class for Work Avoidance Reasons?

Teachers answered the question “do you feel that students avoid class to get out of doing assignments or for some other reason?” The purpose of this question was to gauge

teachers' faith in students' honesty because I believed that faith may affect teachers' reactions to student behavior.

School Level

Results indicate discrepancies in Sunny Hill High teachers' perceptions of student behavior. Three teachers said yes, they agree that students try to get out of class to avoid work. Four teachers responded "no" and provided reasons such as students wanting to get cell reception, possible test anxiety, restlessness, an absentee problem in general, and students not valuing their education.

Results indicate discrepancies in Clearwater Academy teachers' perceptions of student behavior. Three teachers indicated that they have some situations that are work avoidance and some situations when students genuinely need to leave.

Teachers' Opinions of the Importance of the Reasoning Behind School Fights

Teachers answered the question "do you feel that the causal reason behind fighting should matter?"

School Level

Results indicate that Sunny Hill High teachers hold varied opinions from one another regarding the importance of students' reasoning behind fighting. Four Sunny Hill teachers stated that the causal reason (or motivation) behind fighting should matter. One Sunny Hill teacher stated that she is not sure about considering the reason behind the fight.

Results indicate that Clearwater Academy teachers hold varied opinions from one another regarding the importance of students' reasoning behind fighting. One teacher

stated that the causal reason (or motivation) behind fighting should matter. Four teachers said that they do not believe the reason behind fighting matters.

Academic Performance or Maintaining Order

Teachers answered the following question: So, I've talked with some teachers in the past and some say they're most concerned with performance on assessments and others say maintaining order in the classroom. Is it an either/or situation or something else I am missing?

School Level

Analyses of the results indicate that Sunny Hill High and Clearwater teachers' seemingly do not choose one category over the other, but relationship-building is essential. Two Sunny Hill teachers felt that it was more important to work on relationships with students first compared to the three Clearwater teachers who indicated the same. Explanations of these teachers' responses included statements about the importance of developing relationships with students so that success follows. One Clearwater teacher stated that they develop relationships first then taught class rules. One Sunny Hill teacher indicated that in addition to relationship development, they teach their students self-discipline so students can discipline themselves and the class will be in order. One Sunny Hill teacher indicated that the learning environment was important because performance won't matter in a poor learning environment. Two Sunny Hill teachers stated that classroom management was of most importance. One Sunny Hill teacher stated that he wouldn't place one over the other because it's a balance.

Time Spent on In-School Discipline

Teachers responded to the question “how much time would you say that you spend disciplining students? Answers to this interview question ranged from two minutes in a day to four to eight hours a week.

School Level

Sunny Hill teachers indicated the following amounts of class time spent on student discipline: five percent of class time, nine minutes, ten percent of the class time, one hour or one hour and thirty minutes a week or twenty minutes each class period, four to eight hours/week, and forty percent of the class time. Sunny Hill teachers in the sample spend more time disciplining or redirecting misbehavior than Clearwater teachers.

Clearwater teachers mentioned the following amounts of class time spent on disciplining students: one-on-one for two minutes and as a class it’s constant repetition and reminders, five to ten minutes but it’s not every day, twenty to twenty-five percent of the class time, and thirty percent of the class time.

Teacher Level

Most of the White males in the sample stated that discipline occurred less than 5 percent of the time in their classrooms. However, respondent Dilton Doiley (Sunny Hill) revealed that he spends between 10%-20% of his class periods disciplining students. Black females in the sample were likely to indicate that discipline takes up 10% or more of their class time. Results indicate that one Hispanic female spends the most time disciplining students compared to other teachers in the sample. One Black male spends more time disciplining students compared to other males in the sample.

Does Discipline Detract from Class Time?

I asked teachers “would you say disciplining students detracts from class time?”

School Level

Analyses of the results seem to indicate that Sunny Hill High and Clearwater Academy teachers hold varying opinions from one another on whether discipline detracts from class time. Two Sunny Hill teachers stated that carving out time to discipline students does not detract from class time compared to the two Clearwater teachers who indicated the same response. These four teachers’ responses were consistent with sources that indicate that discipline is about students learning from their mistakes, not only punishment (Cannon 2018). Those who expressed that discipline does not detract stated that discipline was just another building block that students must learn, and, if it involved students missing class work, it wasn’t a problem because kids need the information or could make up work on their own time. Five Sunny Hill teachers said that discipline does detract from class time. Two Clearwater teachers also said that discipline detracts from class time. These seven teachers’ responses seem to confirm sources that discuss discipline as taking time away from teaching (Willert 2017). Many teachers mentioned that discipline detracts because discipline either creates more work on the teacher’s end or discipline interrupts the class learning environment. Many of these teachers were from Sunny Hill.

Dealing with Missed Time

Teachers responded to the question “how do you deal with missed time?”

School Level

Results seem to indicate that Sunny Hill High and Clearwater teachers have similar decision-making processes when deciding how to deal with missed time. Five Sunny Hill teachers stated that they would allow students to make up their work at a later time as a strategy to deal with missed time. One Clearwater teacher stated that they would allow students to make up their work at a later time. Two Sunny Hill teachers stated that they would give the student an alternative assignment as did one Clearwater teacher. One Clearwater teacher would allow a student to skip a section on a class assignment if the student missed that portion due to misbehavior such as leaving class and not returning. One Clearwater teacher would deal with missed time by modifying the behavior and addressing the entire class, so they know what not to do in the future. Many of the teachers who said that they would allow a student to make up their assignment were from Sunny Hill which could be because there were more Sunny Hill teachers in the sample.

Which Students Get in the Most Trouble?

Teachers answered the question “who would you say are the students who are most likely to get in trouble?”

School Level

Analyses of the results seem to indicate a consensus among Sunny Hill High teachers on which students get in the most trouble. Sunny Hill teachers indicated that Black students get in the most trouble. Some of the student behavioral problems at Sunny Hill included verbal issues such as inappropriate language, name calling, and disagreements on trivial topics.

Analyses of the results seem to indicate a consensus among Clearwater Academy teachers on which students get in the most trouble. Three Clearwater teachers stated that Black and White students were likely to get in the most trouble. For instance, respondents Veronica Lodge and Reggie Mantle (Clearwater) explained that Black students got in trouble for behavioral issues and White students got in trouble for drugs and alcohol. Respondents Veronica Lodge and Reggie Mantle's responses seem to be consistent with Pane (2010) who indicated that Black students received disciplinary referrals for subjective reasons like excessive noise and disrespect and White students received disciplinary referrals for objective reasons like smoking and vandalism.

Actions that Receive OSS and ISS

Teachers answered the question "which actions are most likely to result in OSS and ISS?" Table 10 lists teachers' responses to this question including how many teachers said which offense in parentheses.

School Level

Analyses of the results indicate that Sunny Hill High teachers deal with an assortment of student misconduct. At Sunny Hill High, skipping (4) was the most common form of misconduct mentioned as being likely to result in ISS. Tardies were the second most common offense that teachers said were likely to receive ISS. Disrespect (2) and noncompliance (2) were the third most common offenses that teachers said were likely to receive ISS. Teachers did not mention dress code violation, disruption, wandering the halls, and petty stuff as often considering these behaviors have one mention. It is surprising that only one teacher at Sunny Hill stated disruption as receiving

suspension considering that the literature (Pane 2010) discusses how Black students receive consequences for more subjective reasons such as disruptive behaviors. One teacher said that ISS seems very subjective. Six Sunny Hill teachers said that fighting was most likely to result in OSS followed by cursing at adults (3) and disrespecting an adult (2). Offenses such as weed, sex, skipping, threats, walking the halls, violence, weapons, and verbal altercations had only one mention.

Responses seem to indicate that at Sunny Hill High, school personnel decided that Sunny Hill students' behaviors were more worthy of OSS. Sunny Hill teachers mentioned more offenses that were likely to result in OSS compared to Clearwater teachers (23 vs. 15). Results indicate an increased use of exclusionary school discipline at Sunny Hill which is consistent with the literature on the disproportionate suspension of Black students (Cagle 2017; Heitzeg 2014; Pane 2010). Results also appear to be consistent with literature that discusses the increased use of exclusionary school discipline at primarily Black schools (Lindsay and Hart 2017). Exclusionary school discipline could cause students to drop out of school (Advancementproject.org N.d.; GLSEN 2018; Noguera 2003; Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015; Townsend 2000). Furthermore, schools use exclusionary school discipline to push students out of school and into the hands of law enforcement (Advancementproject.org N.d.; GLSEN 2018; Noguera 2003) which sustains the school to prison pipeline. Students who drop out have increased chances of facing incarceration at some point (Lynch 2016). School personnel may decide to rely on law enforcement for some of the offenses that Sunny Hill teachers mentioned such as fighting, drugs, violence, and weapons. Based on teachers' responses to the question

“which actions are most likely to result in OSS and ISS,” Sunny Hill High students may have increased chances of falling into the school-to-prison pipeline if school personnel reprimand their behaviors with OSS more often.

Results suggest that Sunny Hill seems to use suspension for more subjective reasons which is consistent with Pane (2010). For example, cursing at adults/staff and walking the halls were behaviors that received OSS for seemingly subjective reasons.

Analyses of the results indicate that Clearwater Academy teachers deal with an assortment of student misconduct. At Clearwater Academy, fighting (2), skipping (2), and vaping (2) were the offenses mentioned the most for ISS. Teachers did not mention tardies, parking in the wrong spot, weapons, cigarettes, and bullying as often considering these offenses have one mention each. Vaping (3) also appeared to result in OSS more than all other forms of misbehavior. Fighting (2), weapons (2) and skipping (2) were the second most common offense that Clearwater teachers said were likely to receive OSS. Offenses that teachers mentioned once included bullying, guns, drugs, blatant defiance, physical violence, and cigarettes. Results suggest that Clearwater seems to use suspension for more serious and objective reasons which is consistent with previous literature (Pane 2010).

Across schools, teachers might have conflicting understandings of GCS’ code of conduct or dissimilar expectations of disciplinary outcomes because, as results reveal, teachers within the same school appear to indicate the same actions as receiving ISS and OSS, for example, cigarettes at Clearwater (see Table 10). Furthermore, teachers in one school indicated that one offense receives one form of suspension and teachers in the

other school indicated that the same offense received another form of suspension. For example, fighting at Clearwater and Sunny Hill (see Table 10). Teachers from both schools listed skipping more often as being likely to result in ISS. Two Clearwater teachers and one Sunny Hill teacher expressed that skipping received OSS. According to the Guilford County Schools Student Handbook (2018) “in-school disciplinary action up to ISS” is the consequence when students skip school and “in-school disciplinary action up to 2 days OSS” is the consequence when students skip class.

Based on responses to the question of which actions result in OSS and ISS?” most teachers were correct in stating that skipping resulted in ISS. Fighting appeared more when referencing OSS at Sunny Hill (6) than at Clearwater (2). At Clearwater, teachers stated fighting as many times for ISS as they did OSS. According to the Guilford County Schools Student Handbook (2018), 5 days OSS up to long-term suspension is the punishment for fighting amongst high school students.

Based on responses to the interview question “which actions are most likely to result in OSS and ISS,” most teachers were correct in stating that fighting resulted in OSS. However, two Clearwater teachers expressed that fighting received ISS. The GCS handbook (2018) indicates that the violation of the use of tobacco products rule (Rule 5) shall result in “referral to Tobacco Education Program for first offense. Up to 3 days OSS for students refusing to participate in the program and for subsequent violations.” Teachers did not mention the Tobacco Education Program during interviews. Teachers in the sample may have omitted to mention this program because they were unaware of the program or they were thinking of students who already completed the program.

According to the GCS handbook (2018), tardies and sex can receive ISS.

Weapons, bullying, drugs, blatant defiance, physical violence, disrespect, noncompliance, cursing at adults/staff, weed, and verbal altercations are offenses that can result in OSS.

Dress code violations result in in-school disciplinary actions and parent contact and carrying guns results in 365 suspension. Sunny Hill and Clearwater teachers tended to be correct when stating the offenses that are more likely to receive OSS excluding the mention of sex as receiving OSS. Clearwater teachers were incorrect for the most part when stating which offenses received ISS. Sunny Hill teachers were not completely correct when stating which offenses received ISS.

Table 12. Offenses that Receive ISS or OSS

Clearwater Academy		Sunny Hill High	
ISS (number of mentions)	OSS (number of mentions)	ISS (number of mentions)	OSS (number of mentions)
Tardies (1)	Bullying (1)	Tardies (3)	Fighting (6)
Parking in the wrong spot (1)	Guns (1)	Skipping (4)	Disrespecting an adult (2)
Weapons (1)	Weapons (2)	Dress code violations (1)	Cursing at adults/staff (3)
Cigarettes (1)	Drugs (1)	Disruption (1)	Weed (1)
Fighting (2)	Vaping (3)	Wandering the halls (1)	Sex (1)
Bullying (1)	Blatant defiance (1)	Noncompliance (2)	Skipping (1)
Skipping (2)	Physical violence (1)	Petty stuff (1)	Drugs (4)
Vaping (2)	Cigarettes (1)	Seems very subjective (1)	Threats (1)
	Fighting (2)	Disrespect (2)	Walking the halls (1)
	Skipping (2)		Violence (1)
			Weapons (1)
			Verbal altercations (1)

Student Race and the Use of ISS/OSS

Teachers replied to the questions “are there certain groups of students who are likely to receive ISS/OSS more often than others? Can you describe them demographically?”

School Level

Results reveal that Sunny Hill teachers indicated that Black students are most likely to receive ISS/OSS. Results seem to be consistent with the literature on the disproportionate suspension of Black students (Cagle 2017; Gershoff and Font 2016; Heitzeg 2014; Lopez 2018; Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015; Pane 2010).

Results reveal that Clearwater Academy teachers hold varied perspectives of which students are most likely to receive ISS/OSS ranging from Black students to White students depending on the behavior. Clearwater teachers stated that Black students received punitive school disciplinary practices more than other students. Respondent Betty Cooper (Clearwater) discussed the relevancy of principals’ and teachers’ race on deciding what consequence to use. Respondent Betty Cooper’s response is consistent with sources that discuss the negatively charged interactions between White teachers and Black students compared to the more lenient interactions between same-race teacher and student pairings (Battey et al. 2018; Lindsay and Hart 2017). Actual data might indicate otherwise but the fact that some Clearwater teachers stated that Black students receive suspension the most is concerning considering their size in the student population. Possibilities for Black students’ risk of suspension include a misinterpretation of their

behaviors as being more severe than they were. Pane (2010) offers a discussion on Black students receiving referrals, suspension, and expulsion for more disruptive behaviors.

Teacher Warnings and Student Behaviors

Teachers answered the question “for what behaviors do you give the MOST warnings before the student(s) receives consequences for their actions, such as being sent out of the room?”

School Level

Analyses of the results indicate that Sunny Hill High teachers give similar warnings as one another regarding student behaviors. Three teachers said that they give warnings for technology related issues. Four teachers stated that they give warnings for issues related to moving around the classroom or being a disruption.

Analyses of the results indicate that Clearwater Academy teachers give similar warnings as one another regarding student behaviors. One teacher said that they do not have to give many warnings in their classroom. One teacher stated that they give warnings for technology related issues. Three teachers indicated that they give warnings for work related issues such as work avoidance or cheating.

Teachers’ References to Actual Student Race and Misconduct

Punitive and Nonpunitive School Disciplinary Reactions

Table 11 lists teachers’ references to actual offenses and student race as well as the resulting punishment that these students received. These were statements made by teachers during the interview. Teachers mentioned the race of students involved in similar nonfiction experiences when responding to the hypothetical scenarios and the

interview questions. An asterisk (*) denotes the entries in the chart where information on student's behavior or the consequence of their behavior is missing. "X" indicates punitive punishment and "O" indicates nonpunitive discipline. I coded a response as "punitive" when reactions to misbehavior did not provide the student with any more chances and someone other than the teacher enacted student discipline. I coded a response as "nonpunitive" for reactions that warned students about their behavior but appeared to provide the student with a second chance.

Punitive punishment referred to outcomes that resulted in calling home, handling the behavior outside of the classroom, removing students from the classroom, detention or suspension, or cases involving administration. Nonpunitive discipline referred to any responses to misbehavior handled in class or some strategy that allowed the student to calm down. I used Parenting For Brain's (2019) definitions to make the distinction between punishment and discipline. Punishment is the infliction of "suffering for past behavior hoping to change future behavior" (Parenting For Brain 2019). Discipline is teaching "someone to behave in accordance with rules by focusing on future behavior" (Parenting For Brain 2019). I included what teachers stated during interviews. Teachers may not have explained punishments in their entirety. Teachers indicated that administration handled some behaviors and that was the extent of the teachers' knowledge of the consequences.

Teacher Level

Results seem to indicate that there may be racial disparities in the use of school discipline at Sunny Hill High. Instances of Black students' misconduct in the majority

Black school were more common which is likely due to the racial composition of Sunny Hill. Of the total references to student misconduct and penalties at Sunny Hill High, 10 references (73%) were to Black students and 4 references (27%) were to White students. Six (75%) instances of discipline involving Black students received the more punitive punishments compared to the two instances of discipline (25%) indicated for White students. References to nonpunitive discipline occurred 67% (4) of the time for Black students' misconduct and 33% (2) of the time for White students' misconduct. According to this data, references to White students' misconduct were equally likely to receive punitive punishment and nonpunitive discipline. Teachers' references to Black students' misbehavior oftentimes resulted in punitive punishment. Only one teacher mentioned OSS which was the punishment for a White male student. Despite this single reference, other sources (Lindsay and Hart 2017) indicate the increased rates of exclusionary school discipline at primarily Black high schools.

Instances of White students' misconduct within the predominantly White school were more common than instances of Black students' misconduct in the same school. This difference in the reporting of misconduct is likely due to the racial makeup of Clearwater students. White students were 53% (10) of the references to student misconduct and discipline whether punitive or otherwise compared to the 47% (9) of references to Black students. Seven instances of discipline (64%) involving White students received more of the nonpunitive modes of discipline as opposed to the four instances of discipline (36%) for Black students. This difference in uses of nonpunitive discipline may be due to White students' total population within Clearwater Academy.

Five (62%) of the instances involving Black students received punitive methods of punishment compared to the three (30%) instances for White students. Results seem to confirm sources that discuss the racial disparities in school discipline (ACLU 2008; Heitzeg 2014; Pane 2010; Payne and Welch 2010; Townsend 2000) and sources that indicate that White teachers tend to have more negatively charged interactions with Black students (Battey et al. 2018). There was not a large difference between the number of references to punitive punishment for Black and White students.

Consequences to misbehavior conducted by Black students appeared 5 more times than those for White students (19 Black, 14 White). Black students had more references to punitive methods of punishment at both Clearwater and Sunny Hill High. White students' instances of misbehavior were more likely to result in nonpunitive discipline in both schools. Nine (64%) references to White students' misbehavior in both schools resulted in nonpunitive discipline. Eight references to Black students' misbehavior in both schools resulted in nonpunitive forms of discipline. Five (36%) references to punishment faced by White students in both schools were punitive. Eleven (58%) references to punishment faced by Black students in both schools were punitive. Looking at both schools, 14 references to discipline were for White students and 19 references to discipline concerned Black students. The results seem to be inconsistent with sources that indicate that Black teachers are more lenient toward Black students (Lindsay and Hart 2017). Results appear to be consistent with research that states that White teachers have more negatively charged interactions with Black students (Battey et al. 2018) and

research on Black students experiencing more punitive punishment than their White peers (Gershoff and Font 2016; Lopez 2018; Malone 2013; Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015).

Table 13. References to Actual Situations

Race of student	Offense	Punishment stated by teacher	Race/gender of teacher
Black (Clearwater Academy)	Missing class due to vacation	O - Make up missed work	White male
“ ”	Skipping class	X - Written up, after school detention or ISS	White male
“ ”	2 males almost fought	X - Placed with another teacher, called admin	White male
“ ”	Black female and Hispanic female fought	*	White male
“ ”		X - Sent to ISS	White male
“ ”	Attendance problems	*	White female
“ ”	Male picking on White female	O - Told to stop and that his behavior was unacceptable	White female
“ ”	Female and Hispanic female fighting	X - Restrained by teachers, principal and SRO came	White female
“ ”	Male didn't check in with teacher before morning procedures	O - Temporarily revoked rights to do procedures for one day	White female
“ ”	Male tries to get out of class for work avoidance	*	Black female
“ ”	Male sagging pants, badgered by teacher as he was pulling up pants	X - Sent out of class	Black female
“ ”	Usually physically fight	*	Black female
“ ”	Usually physically fight	*	Black male
“ ”	Female student didn't want to return to nurse's office	O - Teacher raised his voice and got serious with her	Black male
Black (Sunny Hill High)	Female walked out of class without permission to use bathroom	X - Informed assistant principal	White male
“ ”	Black males and Hispanic males have disagreements on sports	O - Allowed to discuss then told to get back on task	White male
“ ”	Black females involved in majority of fights	X - Coach and admin. physically restrain and separate students	White male
“ ”	Female and male had verbal exchange	O - Female went to another teacher to cool	White male

Race of student	Offense	Punishment stated by teacher	Race/gender of teacher
		off, returned near end of class, asked male to explain what happened	
“ ”	2 females missed classwork, went on family vacation	O - Complete work beforehand or shortly after returning	White male
“ ”	Black students are majority of attendance problems	*	Hispanic female
“ ”	Male never attends class	X - Call parents	Hispanic female
“ ”	Male arrives late	X - Call parents	Hispanic female
“ ”	2 females talking while others were testing	X - Given 5 chances, called admin., sent to ISS for rest of period	White male
“ ”	Black female freshmen and Black males of all grades constantly roam halls	*	Black female
“ ”	Males running all over the place during zoo field trip	X - Assistant principal handled situation	Black female
	Dress code violations (hat wearing)	O - Allowed to wear hats to class	White male
White (Clearwater Academy)	Missing class due to vacation	O - Make up missed work	White male
“ ”	Skipping class	X - Written up, after school detention or ISS	White male
“ ”	Typically miss class	O - Make up work	White male
“ ”		X - Sent to ISS	White male
“ ”	Male walks out of classroom	O - No consequences due to age	White female
“ ”	Female almost fought	O - Would have a private conversation with teacher	White female
“ ”	Main issues from males and females	*	White female
“ ”	Male made threats to Black female teacher	X - Received ISS for 3 days	White female
“ ”	2 females, 4 males try to get out of class, work avoidance	*	Black female
“ ”	Males usually ask to go to the restroom	*	Black female
“ ”	Usually are cyberbullies, involved in cyber fights	*	Black female
“ ”	Male found vaping	O - Vape pen taken from him	Black female

Race of student	Offense	Punishment stated by teacher	Race/gender of teacher
“ ”	Usually are cyberbullies, involved in cyber fights	*	Black male
“ ”	Female went to restroom, didn't return, missed information on test	O - Allowed to skip that section of the test	Black male
“ ”	Female spoke out in class	O - Teacher sat and listened	Black male
“ ”	Receive the most warnings	*	Black male
White (Sunny Hill High)	Male snuck out of class early	X - Referred to ISS the next day	White male
“ ”	White male and Black male had disagreement	O - Redirect by using verbal commands	White male
“ ”	Female constantly roams the halls	*	Black female
“ ”	1 White student is chronically absent	*	Black female
“ ”	Male is a “frequent flyer,” often goes to the bathroom for a long time	O - Check bathrooms to see if he's there	White male
“ ”	Male threw pencil across room and hit teacher	X - Refer to admin., OSS for 5 days	White male

X = Punitive punishment O = Nonpunitive discipline

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Analyzing Teachers' Decision-Making Process

Hypothetical Scenarios, Interview Questions, and Actual Situations

My research question was “what is the difference in the decision-making process of teachers in schools with different racial compositions?” I used semi-structured interviews because qualitative research methods were appropriate in understanding the disparities in primarily Black and primarily White schools. Students who teachers identified as Black or White received primary focus, but they were not the only racial categories that I addressed. Interviews involved two components: review of hypothetical scenarios and interview questions. Scenarios gauged implicit biases and teachers’ actions based on students’ race. Names such as Bradley (White male), Darnell (Black male), Katie (White female), and Imani (Black female) conveyed race along with explicit statement of the hypothetical students’ race. The scenarios referenced the GCS report which lists the top 3 referral types for high school students and indicates the percentage of suspensions and referrals each race faced during the school year (Division of Accountability and Research 2017). Interview questions pertained to the importance of classroom management, teachers’ definition of certain offenses, the average time spent disciplining students, demographics of students who do and do not incur disciplinary actions, the consequences of certain behavior, possible reactions to student misconduct,

which actions precede suspension, common misbehaviors, and the nature of teachers' classroom protocol. Teachers answered some questions during the scenario portion of the interview as segues into scenarios. Additionally, some questions helped gather information about actual encounters between students and teachers in the sample. I asked some questions during the scenarios segment whenever the teacher's responses to scenarios or actual experiences were related to a question they would receive later in the interview.

School Level

Analyses of the results seem to indicate that there is consensus on how teachers would handle the violation of the attendance rule. Responses to the Bradley scenario (skipping class) reveal that in both schools many teachers' discussion of their discipline decision-making process when handling skipping (the Bradley scenario) tends to involve alerting administration. Results also reveal that in some instances, teachers in the sample may decide to allow a "grace period" before deciding to discipline a student that violates the attendance rule. However, most teachers in the sample would decide to deal with the scenario in a manner that does not provide the student with a second chance which could mean that students who skip do not have the opportunity to correct their behaviors. Teachers in both schools are more likely to decide to deal with Bradley in a more punitive manner. Although responses are similar across both schools, there is still a chance that a teacher would handle Bradley (skipping class) in a caring manner. These varied approaches to skipping may play out in how teachers treat students within the same school and across schools.

School Level

Cross-school analyses of the results seem to indicate that teachers' race and gender may play a role in how they would handle the violation of the noncompliance rule. Responses to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directive) indicate that teachers from Clearwater do have some discretion in their discipline decision-making even though zero tolerance policies attempt to element discretion (Maxine 2018). Teachers from Sunny Hill also have discretion when deciding how or when to use school discipline. This discretion appears to result in Darnell receiving more punitive disciplinary actions from Sunny Hill teachers in the sample than from Clearwater teachers in the sample. There was no one strategy for handling a student in Darnell's situation. Some teachers stated that they would decide how to discipline Darnell on a case by case basis or based on if he misbehaved again. Okonofua and Eberhardt (2015) found that teachers were notably troubled by a Black student's second infraction. Teachers may be willing to give Darnell a second chance but may draw the line at a second offense.

Lack of variation in the approaches that teachers indicated that they would take if Bradley were skipping class could be due to the fact that teachers simply saw Bradley as an innocent boy and thought "boys will be boys." Teachers' tendency to handle the Bradley scenario (skipping class) in similar manners may suggest that White male deviance is not a concern and is non-threatening and White males are not unsafe in and of themselves. On the other hand, teachers indicated varied approaches that they would take with Darnell if he were noncompliant with directives. The difference in how teachers would handle Darnell and Bradley seems to be consistent with previous that suggests that

Black males were responsible for their behaviors at an age when White males still profit off the presumption that children are essentially innocent (Lopez 2018).

It appears that in both schools more teachers' decision-making process for dealing with the Katie scenario (threatening) would involve a more punitive approach because more teachers stated that they would contact administration at some point compared to the teachers who stated that would only have a conversation. Across both schools, teachers were less tolerant of students making threats. Teachers might have felt that threats were an offense that administration should take care of. Thus, teachers' decision-making process involved delegating authority in this situation.

Clearwater Black teachers tended to take less punitive disciplinary responses in both of the Katie scenarios. Black Clearwater teachers' use of nonpunitive responses towards Katie could have something to do with their perceived position in the school or their own racial identity. These Black teachers may feel that they must use less punitive measures on the White female student because they might be perceived as being too mean towards Katie if they decided to take punitive measures. As indicated above, these Black Clearwater teachers may have decided to use less punitive measures because they did not want to seem too harsh towards the White female student. The ramifications of these Black teachers' actions could potentially be worse than the consequences for non-Black teachers being punitive towards Katie.

Analyses of the results seem to reveal that Sunny Hill and Clearwater teachers would likely approach the violation of the insubordinate rule in similar ways as one another. Teachers from Sunny Hill were most likely to state that they would use more

nonpunitive practices to discipline Imani. Only one White male teacher stated that he would use a punitive method such as contacting parents and administration in response to Imani bullying another student. School personnel may sometimes perceive Black females' demeanor as too assertive and non-feminine and they classify these students as loud (Cumi, Washington, and Daneshzadeh 2017; Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017; Morris 2007; Wright et al 2010). Results may indicate that Black female students could experience inappropriate punishment for their behaviors.

Results seem to indicate that teachers at both schools would handle the violation of the insubordination rule in similar ways as one another. It is likely that the teachers who indicated that they would use punitive measures in the Imani scenario (bullying) may have perceived Imani's behavior as non-feminine and disruptive during their decision-making process. It is also possible that teachers simply saw Imani's behavior as a punishable offense. Teachers may take varied approaches to handling bullying (the Imani scenario). Responses indicate that some teachers' decision-making process may involve turning the act of mocking into a learning experience and helping a student learn to be respectful of others. On the other hand, other teachers would not tolerate the violation of the insubordination rule. It appears that in both schools, teachers could decide to handle bullying in different ways from their peers within the same school, but most teachers were comparable in their decision to use nonpunitive approaches to dealing with bullying.

Responses to the Imani scenario (fighting) indicate that teachers' decision-making process is likely to involve either contacting administration at some point or getting

involved when they witness a fight. Teachers may even decide how to handle the violation of the fighting rule based on their relationship with a student. Teachers are more likely to handle fighting (the Imani scenario) in a similar manner within and across schools. Thus, there may not be much variation in teachers' decision-making process when handling students fighting.

Cross-school analyses of the results indicate that teachers in the sample are likely to decide to handle the violation of the fighting rule in similar ways as one another. White male teachers from Clearwater were more likely to state that they would take nonpunitive actions when Katie was the student fighting. These White male teachers may have stated that they would use less punitive methods and may have been more understanding of Katie's behavior because of their shared racial category. Katie and Imani violated the fighting rule and both students were likely to receive punitive or nonpunitive consequences by Sunny Hill teachers. These results seem to be inconsistent with sources that state that Black students receive more punishment for the same behaviors as White students (ACLU 2008; Advancementproject 2014; Rhor 2019).

Teacher Level

Teachers' definitions of noncompliance tended to match with GCS' official definition. Teachers from both schools were firm in their application of the noncompliance rule. Teachers' definitions of the term noncompliance may indicate that students have little opportunity to debate or refuse a teachers' directives before they face consequences. Only respondents Cheryl Blossom (Sunny Hill) and Veronica Lodge (Clearwater) addressed either the rigid nature of the definition of noncompliance or the

importance of situational context when deciding how to deal with noncompliant behavior. Respondent Cheryl Blossom may be a little more considerate when deciding how to handle typical noncompliant behavior. If it is true that respondent Cheryl Blossom is more lenient in majority Black classrooms, her actions would contradict previous research that indicates that White teachers tend to have more negative interactions with Black students regarding behaviors (Battey et al. 2018). Respondent Veronica Lodge may decide not to immediately discipline typical noncompliant behavior. If respondent Veronica Lodge tends to take a more lenient approach when deciding to handle noncompliant behavior in a majority-White classroom, her actions may confirm Oates (2003) data on Black teachers' race neutral perceptions of students. Respondent Veronica Lodge's actions would seem to be inconsistent with Lindsay and Hart's (2017) research that indicates that teachers are stricter on students from different races.

Based on teachers' definitions of noncompliance, it seems that some teachers in the sample may be quick at times to decide that a student is noncompliant. Results seems to indicate that teachers in the sample may decide that a certain behavior is noncompliant without always considering the nuances of the context surrounding the student's behavior. According to teachers' definition of the term noncompliance, it seems that teachers in the sample expected obedience from students. Teachers' responses to the Darnell scenario (noncompliance with directives) indicated that teachers would also anticipate obedience in this situation. Eleven teachers would not tolerate Darnell's noncompliant behavior. Only one teacher would not punish Darnell or escalate the situation but attempt to reign in the student.

School Level

Teachers' definitions of insubordination indicate that there was not a clear understanding of the term insubordination. Thus, it seems that teachers may perceive insubordinate behaviors as noncompliant behaviors during their decision-making process. Misinterpretation of code violations could translate into inappropriate responses to student misbehavior. Misinterpretation could also result in an inaccurately labelled disciplinary referral. Many of the teachers in this sample did not provide a definition of insubordination that matched GCS' official definition. None of the Clearwater teachers' definition of insubordination matched the GCS definition of insubordination. It is possible that Clearwater teachers inaccurately categorize student behaviors and unintentionally upgrade less severe disciplinary infractions. Clearwater students may be at risk of receiving disciplinary consequences that do not match their actions. Accurately labelling student behaviors could make a difference between students receiving up to three days of OSS (noncompliance) versus up to five days of OSS (insubordination). Nevertheless, teachers understood the hypothetical students' actions in the Katie scenario (threatening) and the Imani scenario (bullying) as being acts of insubordination and responded accordingly.

Teacher Level

Analyses of the results seem to indicate that teacher race and gender play a role in their perceptions of students' reasons for not being in class. White female teachers in the sample were equally as likely to state that students leave class to avoid work assignments as they were to state otherwise. Black female teachers in the sample were more likely to

state that students were not trying to avoid work and that there was some other reason behind their actions. White male teachers in the sample were more likely to state that students are not trying to avoid work. Most teachers in the sample believed that students were likely being genuine when they asked to leave the classroom. Responses to this question reveal that teachers in the sample are more trusting and consider their students' needs. Teachers may consider their faith in students during their decision-making process when deciding whether a student is genuine in their pursuit to leave the classroom. Teachers may not enact student discipline when they decide that the student is being honest about going to the bathroom or stepping out for air. Teachers that responded that there are situations when student skips for work avoidance reasons and teachers that provided some explanation of why students might leave class seem to confirm Shute and Cooper (2015) in that there are alternative reasons for students skipping class. Shute and Cooper (2015) indicate that students miss class for reasons including boredom and disinterest. Teachers who stated that they do not think that students try to get out of assignments contradict the traditional notion that students who skip are juvenile delinquents (Shute and Cooper 2015).

Teacher Level

Cross-school analyses of the results seem to indicate that teachers' race and gender play a role in their perception of the causal reason (or motivation) behind fighting. Teachers may incorporate the reason or motivation behind fighting into decision-making process when they decide how to approach school fights. Results indicate that males, specifically White males, were more likely to state that the causal reason behind fighting

should matter. Females were likely to state that the causal reason behind fighting did not matter. Black females were more likely of all females to indicate that the causal reason behind fighting does matter. Four of the five teachers that stated that the causal reason behind fighting should matter were from Sunny Hill.

Two of the White male teachers that said that the reason behind fighting should matter were from Sunny Hill. These teachers' responses could indicate that while these two teachers may not necessarily believe that the consequences of fighting should be lenient (this question did not assess teachers' opinions on the punishment), these White males may find it important to consider why students fight in the first place. If this is true of these two White male teachers, their actions would be inconsistent with prior research (Battey et al. 2018; Lindsay and Hart 2017) that discusses the negative interactions between White teachers and Black students.

The two Black female teachers from Sunny Hill (respondents Rosalind Walker and Josie McCoy) that said that the reason or motivation behind fighting should matter might be a little more lenient when deciding how to handle a school fight. These two Black females' actions seem to be consistent with sources (Lindsay and Hart 2017) that discuss Black teachers' leniency with Black students. While this question did not assess teachers' interactions with specific races of students, it is likely that these Black female teachers utilize this leniency on some of their Black students considering these teachers teach in a primarily Black school.

Four of the five teachers who did not state that the causal reason (or motivation) behind fighting should matter were from Clearwater which seems to confirm Oates'

(2003) discussion of White students receiving punishment for more subjective reasons. Responses to the question of whether the causal reason for fighting should matter may indicate that teachers from Sunny Hill may support second chances and are a little more understanding. Sunny Hill teachers may be more forgiving because many of the Sunny Hill teachers may consider their students' home lives and other external factors when deciding how to handle school fights. Clearwater teachers may be a little less forgiving when deciding how to handle students fighting.

Teacher Level

Cross-school analyses of the results seem to indicate some similarities in teachers' classroom structures. Six teachers referenced the importance of establishing relationships with students. These six teachers' explanations included statements about the importance of developing relationships with students so that success follows. Forming a relationship with a student may reduce the chances of future misbehavior.

Results seem to reveal that teachers want children to know that they genuinely care for them. Maintaining relationships with students may be beneficial during teachers' decision-making process because the teachers may better understand their students' behaviors. The teachers in the sample may then be able to consider what the students are dealing with outside of school or in other areas of schools when determining disciplinary actions. While more White males in the sample selected either relationships or classroom management as most important, respondent Dilton Doiley (Sunny Hill) said that neither of these two components is more important than the other.

Respondent Fred Andrews (Sunny Hill) said that he prefers to be tougher in the beginning of the semester. His statement seems to confirm Meador's (2017) discussion on the importance of teachers being stricter early in the semester which serves to gain students' respect. Respondent Cheryl Blossom (Sunny Hill) indicated that her philosophy was to teach self-discipline in her classroom. Respondent Cheryl's response confirms previous literature (Osher et al. 2010) that discusses how participating in well-managed class activities encourages self-discipline because students learn potential possibilities that are the result of coordinated action and cooperation with others. Answers to this question reveal that teachers take varied approaches to managing their classroom. Teachers' preferences in running their classroom may reflect on their discipline decision-making. Teachers who focus too heavily on grades and performance may create a disconnect between themselves and their students. Some teachers may misinterpret behavior or make assumptions about students' reasons for acting out and thus implement discipline that does not fit the behavior.

Teacher Level

Cross-school analyses seem to reveal a pattern in teacher race, the predominant race of students in the school, and the use of discipline. White teachers from Clearwater seemed to spend less time on discipline than Black teachers from Clearwater. White teachers at Clearwater may have better understood their same-race students and thus did not decide to utilize discipline as often. The actions of Black teachers from Clearwater seem to be inconsistent with previous research that indicates that Black teachers are race-neutral compared to White teachers (Oates 2003). Black teachers from Sunny Hill

seemed to spend more time disciplining students than White teachers from Sunny Hill. These Black teachers may have misunderstood their same-race students' actions and thus decided to discipline what they interpreted as misconduct. The only exceptions were respondents Sabrina Spellman (Sunny Hill) and Dilton Doiley (Sunny Hill) who appeared to spend more time on discipline.

Results seem to be inconsistent with literature on Black teachers being more lenient towards students of the same race and White teachers being less lenient with students of a different race (Lindsay and Hart 2017). However, respondent Dilton Doiley's response seems to confirm the literature on White teachers being less lenient toward students of a different race (Lindsay and Hart 2017). Responses reveal that Sunny Hill teachers in the sample spend more time disciplining or redirecting student misbehavior which could either be because of increased actual or perceived misbehavior in these classrooms or that teachers care enough to use discipline rather than simply sending students out so that they no longer face the problem. Spending less time on discipline could indicate less misbehaviors in the classroom or better rapport between teacher and students. Results could suggest that teachers decide to spend a lot of time on discipline to give students additional chances to correct their behavior.

It is possible that the four teachers who stated that they do not think that discipline detracts from class time may decide to convert student misbehavior into a learning opportunity during their decision-making process. Teachers who did not mind setting aside time seemed to have decided to incorporate redirection into their teaching methodology. Teachers may consider the loss of instructional time during their decision-

making process when determining how to discipline classroom behaviors. Taking time out to redirect misbehavior might serve to disadvantage other students because they may lose out on instructional time while a teacher disciplines another student.

Teacher Level

Most White males in the sample said that using time to redirect misbehavior does detract from class time. Most Black females in the sample said that using time to redirect misbehavior does detract from class time. These White male and Black female teachers may be less accepting of distractions in the classroom and view disruptions as a challenge to learning. All White females in the sample said that using time to redirect misbehavior does not detract from class time. These White female teachers may be more accepting of distractions in the classroom and, based on respondents Cheryl Blossom (Sunny Hill) and Betty Cooper's (Clearwater) responses, either accommodate to students' learning needs or help students learn from the incident.

Most teachers stated that they would allow students to make up their work later as a strategy to deal with missed time. Responses to this interview question seem to be consistent with sources that discuss the importance of allowing late work and make up work (Kelly 2019). Responses reveal that teachers in the sample prefer their students to stay up to date on their assignments and create time for students to complete makeup work. Teachers may take into consideration students' needs and abilities during their decision-making process when deciding how to go about handling a student who misses schoolwork. Results indicate that teachers will allow students to make up their work or

stay up to date on assignments but there is the possibility that teachers may do so reluctantly.

School Level

Most Sunny Hill and Clearwater teachers expressed that Black students were most likely to get in trouble. Sunny Hill's student demographics influenced this response pattern, but this trend somewhat appeared in Clearwater which is interesting considering Black students comprise 17% of the student population at Clearwater. Results seem to suggest that there is the possibility that Clearwater school personnel's decision-making process results in school discipline that is incongruent with Black students' actions. If an incongruent match between school discipline and Black students' behaviors occurs, Black students could be at risk for punitive school discipline for actions that are, based on Clearwater teachers' responses, less severe in nature compared to White students' actions. All teachers in the sample who mentioned race in response to the question "which students are most likely to get in trouble" said Black students in their responses. As expected, Black students got in the most trouble at Sunny Hill High which is likely due to Black students' large population in the school. Results seem to confirm sources that discuss the racial disparities in school discipline (ACLU 2008; Advancementproject.org 2014; Beger 2002; Cagle 2017; Gershoff and Font 2016; Heitzeg 2014; Pane 2010; Payne and Welch 2010). Based on teachers' responses to this interview question, it is possible that school personnel possibly misinterpret Black male and Black female students' actions as being acts of misbehavior. Consequently, Black students might face punishment with greater frequency than other students.

Some of the behaviors that Sunny Hill teachers stated as more likely to receive OSS seemed incongruent to their consequence. Other sources discuss the incongruence between student behaviors and school discipline (Beger 2002; Heitzeg 2014). Sunny Hill students might feel the need to exercise increased caution while at school because their behaviors could lead to punitive punishment caused by an incongruent application of school discipline.

School Level

Responses to the question of which actions result in OSS or ISS indicate that there are discrepancies in teachers' understandings of school discipline across schools. Conflicting understandings of school policies and expectations of student behaviors during teachers' decision-making process could be harmful in that teachers may misperceive the severity of students' misbehavior. Results indicate that the two schools seemed to have commonalities and distinctions between the issues they deal with. Teachers from both schools stated that skipping receives some form of suspension. Shute and Cooper (2015) discuss students' reasons for skipping which include boredom, little interest in school, and an unchallenging curriculum. To remedy this common offense, schools could examine certain aspects of the classroom environment. For example, schools could hire better qualified teachers or institute relevant courses and coursework that students believe will better prepare them for the future (Shute and Cooper 2015).

Results reveal that Sunny Hill High teachers indicated that Black students were most likely receive the ISS/OSS. A potential outcome that these results might suggest is that Black students may experience school push out (Advancementproject N.d.; GLSEN

2018; Noguera 2003), and possibly decide not to attend and thus drop out from school (Advancementproject N.d.; GLSEN 2018; Noguera 2003; Okonofua and Eberhardt 2015). Lynch (2016) states that nearly 60% of Black males who drop out of school will face incarceration at some point. Zero tolerance policies are the force behind punitive punishment such as suspension and these policies result in more and more Black students ending up in prison.

At Clearwater, Black students make up a smaller percent of the population but they are still most likely to receive ISS/OSS. Possibilities for Black students' risk of suspension include a misinterpretation of their behavior as being more severe than the behaviors actually were. Pane (2010) offers a discussion on Black students receiving referrals, suspension, and expulsion for more disruptive behaviors.

Exclusionary school discipline could cause a student to fall behind their classmates. Black students may be at a disadvantage if they receive the most exclusionary school discipline as the two Clearwater teachers stated. This data seems to indicate that Black students are most likely to face some form of suspension whether in-school or out-of-school. An increased use of suspension on Black students may be due to their proportion of the student body. Black students' suspensions may be due to racial differences between students and school personnel and implicit biases these groups may have towards one another. Results seem to suggest that school personnel may allow implicit biases to influence their discipline decision-making process when reprimanding Black students.

Cross-school analyses indicate that student race may influence teacher warnings. Results suggest that there is a categorical difference in the warnings that Sunny Hill High and Clearwater Academy teachers give. Eleven out of the twelve teachers in the sample mentioned specific behaviors that they give warnings to. Results are consistent with Pane (2010) regarding subjective and objective reasons for school discipline. Sunny Hill High teachers seemed to give more warnings for subjective and disruptive reasons. Sunny Hill teachers may view disruptive behaviors as more of a nuisance to the class environment and decide to address these behaviors more often.

Clearwater Academy teachers seemed to give more warnings for objective reasons. Clearwater teachers may decide that serious actions are more harmful to academic success. Black students appear to have fewer chances to misbehave before teachers decide to discipline their behavior whereas White students may be able to receive a pass for less serious behaviors but cross the line with serious behaviors. If these ideas are true, they would seem to be consistent with literature that suggests that Black males were responsible for their behaviors at an age when White males still profit off the presumption that children are essentially innocent (Lopez 2018). Responses indicate that teachers give warnings for a variety of issues. This variety may indicate that teachers interpret behaviors differently and may give warnings to certain behaviors that they would not give to other behaviors. This could mean that teachers in the same school react to the same behaviors differently. Therefore, there is a possibility that students incur disciplinary responses for behaviors that may not be an issue for other teachers.

During interviews, teachers referenced actual offenses carried out by Black and White students in their schools and the resulting punishment that these students received. Sunny Hill High teachers' decision-making process could involve determining that punitive punishment is appropriate for Black students' behaviors. Teachers may be more likely to reprimand Black students for subjective behavior (Oates 2003) such as not checking in for morning procedures or sagging their pants (see Table 11). References to actual experiences with students may reveal that school personnel at Sunny Hill High may not allow Black students many opportunities to learn from their actions which could possibly prevent repeated misbehavior.

References to actual examples may indicate that the discipline decision-making process of the school personnel at Clearwater Academy may be more likely to result in the use of punitive punishment as an appropriate response to Black students' misconduct. These students may not have many chances to receive reminders of the rules and concentrate on future behaviors.

The decision-making process of teachers from both Clearwater and Sunny Hill may more than likely involve the determination of Black students' behaviors as punishable with punitive punishment and White students' behaviors as punishable with nonpunitive discipline which is consistent with Okonofua and Eberhardt's (2015) research. For example, at Clearwater, a Black student skipping class could be written up and referred to after school detention or ISS whereas a White student at Clearwater left class and did not return yet this student could skip the section of the test that they did not get the information for because they were skipping (see Table 11). Results appear to be

consistent with sources that mention that Black students are responsible for their behaviors at an age when White students still profit from off the presumption that children are essentially innocent (Lopez 2018).

Applied Implications

Regarding intersectionality, it appears that Black children could face greater school discipline at times. This could be due to perceived criminality and aggression. Additionally, racial incongruence between teacher and student may be the cause as racial difference and could affect their connection and capacity to understand one another. The Black male teacher in the sample was more likely to state that he would take punitive measures with the hypothetical student Darnell and 50% likely to do the same with the hypothetical student Imani. Black female teachers in this study were more likely to state that they would use nonpunitive methods on the hypothetical student Imani and 50% likely to use nonpunitive methods for the hypothetical student Darnell. These Black females may have been less likely to view Black students' behavior as being more dangerous in nature and didn't want to use the more severe forms of school discipline as an initial response. White female teachers were most likely to state that they would utilize nonpunitive strategies when disciplining the hypothetical students Darnell and Imani. White male teachers were oftentimes just as likely to indicate that they would use punitive as well as nonpunitive forms of school discipline on the hypothetical students Darnell and Imani. The Hispanic female teacher was more likely to use punitive methods of school discipline for the hypothetical student Darnell and 50% likely to use nonpunitive strategies for the hypothetical student Imani.

Teachers were likely to indicate that Black students were most likely to get in trouble and that Black students were most likely to receive school suspension. Schools' increased use of punitive school discipline against Black students may be due to a misperception of Black students' behaviors. Respondents Veronica Lodge and Reggie Mantle (Clearwater) indicated that Black students at Clearwater got in the most trouble for behavioral issues. Some of these Clearwater Black students' behaviors may not have been as bad as the school official perceived the action to be. Another possibility is that school personnel may have possibly mislabeled these Black students' behaviors as a different offense than what it truly was. Teachers may not have believed that Black male and Black female students' actions matched those of White-normed constructions of masculinity and femininity, respectively. Teachers and other school personnel may have perceived Black male and Black female students' behaviors as more aggressive and disruptive. Black males may have used physical violence as a method to establish masculinity within school (Messerschmidt 1993). Teachers may have interpreted these males' as disruptive or troublemakers. Hypothetical student Imani engaged in fighting and mocking, and teachers may have believed her to be "too assertive" and "nonfeminine" (Cumi, Washington, and Daneshzadeh 2017; Hines-Datiri and Carter Andrews 2017; Morris 2007; Wright et al 2010). No teachers stated that Imani may have used these methods to establish femininity. Teachers may have only viewed Imani as a disruption to the learning environment.

Justifications and Limitations

One limitation of this research is that research findings are not be generalizable to a larger sample of people. My findings are not applicable to all teachers from majority-Black or majority-White high schools. I focused on a small section of the populace. Consequently, I am unable to apply my findings on a national level.

Another limitation of this research was not having access to student records which barred me from obtaining factual and detailed evidence on rates of student misconduct and disciplinary responses. While creating hypothetical scenarios gauged teachers' likely behavior, scenarios were not indicative of teachers' actual use of punishment.

One justification of this research is that scenarios provided an understanding of how teachers would handle similar situations. Teachers often referenced related experiences that they had with their students. Teachers also mentioned real-life examples when responding to questions. Interviews were an opportunity for teachers to discuss what they would do and what they have done regarding disciplining students. I was able to gather some insight as to what happens in the two schools in the sample due to teachers sharing their lived experiences during interviews.

This research is beneficial in that future teachers may learn from the teachers in this sample and determine how they will handle school discipline. Future teachers may better understand any subjectivity associated with disciplining students. Future teachers may learn what actions to take to prevent future misbehavior. Future teachers may also consider the impact of reprimanding students whether it be punitive punishment or nonpunitive discipline.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSION

The purpose of this project was to learn what it is that teachers take into consideration when they decide to utilize school discipline. I was also interested in the use of school discipline against Black students in the Guilford County School system. My interviews with Black and White teachers from schools with large populations of Black and White students indicates that Black and White students for the most part appear to receive similar consequences based on my research. There were some instances of Black students facing more punitive punishment and receiving suspensions more often as indicated by teachers' statements about actual instances in their school and responses to the corresponding question, respectively. However, based on the results from this project, there does not appear to be any alarming discrepancies in the treatment of Black and White students. While it is true that Black students do not always experience discriminative school discipline, it is still concerning that this group of students is at risk of experiencing greater punitive punishment in schools where they are in the majority and in schools where they are in the minority.

Results indicate that teachers' discipline decision-making process depends on the severity of the situation. Teachers' seem to exercise discretion when deciding how or when to use school discipline and they delegate authority to administration when necessary. Teachers may decide to develop relationships with their students and rely on

these relationships when deciding the best disciplinary action because teachers may understand their students' motivation and causal factors for acting out. Some teachers may consider the way that they want to run their classrooms when determining the best course of action for handling misconduct. For example, teachers might consider the loss of instructional time or even consider turning the misbehavior into a learning moment.

Furthermore, teachers' responses during interviews indicates that teachers' race and gender may play a role in their discipline decision-making process. Teachers from the same race as their student can sometimes be more lenient toward the student. Teachers from a different race than their student can sometimes be more punitive when implementing school discipline. Teacher' differential application of school discipline towards certain students is concerning because teachers are the people who interact with students daily and teachers are partially responsible for shaping students' perception of themselves and others. Differential treatment and intentional discrimination could engender the belief that some students' actions are more punishable than other students' actions. As Gaines (2019) indicated, "disparate treatment of students may also normalize increased consequences for Black students both in and out of the classroom — including police brutality." Students may be unfazed by this differential treatment and learn not to question it.

Schools and researchers could use information on the disparities in the use of school discipline (including the information presented here) and implement strategies that combat racial disparities in discipline. Concerning (mis)understanding of school rules, schools could start by examining the consequences that they typically use for common

behaviors such as skipping as well as talking with teachers to see how teachers handle skipping. Researchers could use the data I collected on the misinterpretation of school policies and ponder whether teachers fully comprehend the disciplinary policies they use on students. Teacher education programs could emphasize the importance of understanding the school district's code of conduct and understanding the difference between the various forms of student misconduct. Additionally, schools could use my data and implement workshops that allow teachers to update or enhance their understanding of their school's policies.

Concerning relationship building, schools could require that teachers and other school personnel have discussions with students regarding student behavior. These discussions could improve school personnel's understanding of student behaviors. Schools could also encourage teachers to establish rapport with their students and work on building and maintaining relationships.

Concerning policy, zero tolerance policies are likely the reason for the large number of mentions of behaviors that receive OSS at Sunny Hill. A suggestion for schools is that they embrace teacher discretion and implement rules permitting teacher discretion or eradicate punitive zero tolerance policies that apply consistent and severe punishment in schools. Another suggestion is that schools or policymakers involve students when developing prevention efforts (Shute and Cooper 2015). Students could provide valuable perspectives and insightful knowledge because students are the objects of school discipline and students experience discipline firsthand.

I believe that in the wake of an increased use of punitive school discipline against Black students, Black students may feel apprehensive and exercise increased caution while in school. Schools might do well to consider using less severe methods of punishment when deciding the most appropriate way to reprimand students. Schools should also be more reflective and examine the possible racial disparities in their use of punitive and exclusionary school discipline. Then, schools could work to create a school environment that executes fair and equal discipline on all students regardless of student race.

I believe that in the wake of an increased use of punitive school discipline against Black students, Black students may feel apprehensive and exercise increased caution while in school. Schools might do well to consider using less severe methods of punishment when deciding the most appropriate way to reprimand students. School personnel could handle behaviors in more restorative manners that allow the student to learn how their behavior affected others. Schools should consider using consequences that do not jeopardize students' academic progress. Perhaps schools could adapt a strategy in which the severity of discipline progresses as the student continues to misbehave rather than using exclusionary school discipline as a first response.

REFERENCES

- ACLU. 2008. "Talking Points: The School-To-Prison Pipeline." New York City, NY: American Civil Liberties Union. Retrieved October 10, 2018 (https://www.aclu.org/files/assets/stpp_talkingpoints.pdf).
- Advancementproject.org. 2014. "Breaking the School to Prison Pipeline." Washington, DC: Advancement Project. Retrieved October 10, 2018 (https://advancementproject.org/wp-content/uploads/1970/01/6036e772c8ec998ee7_azm6b6p38.pdf).
- Advancementproject.org. N.d. "The Origins of the School to Prison Pipeline." Washington, DC: Advancement Project. Retrieved September 13, 2018 (<https://americadividedseries.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Divided-One-Page-PDF.pdf>).
- Archer, Louise, Anna Halsall, and Sumi Hollingworth. 2007. "Inner-city femininities and education: 'race', class, gender and schooling in young women's lives." *Gender and Education* 19(5): 549-568.
- Batthey, Dan, Victoria A. Belizario, Rachel Greco, Luis A. Leyva, Roshni Shah, Immanuel Williams. 2018. "Racial (Mis)Match in Middle School Mathematics Classrooms_ Relational Interactions as a Racialized Mechanism." *Harvard Educational Review* 88(4). Retrieved October 17, 2019 (<https://hepgjournals.org/doi/pdf/10.17763/1943-5045-88.4.455>).

- Beger, Randall R. 2002. "Expansion of Police Power in Public Schools and the Vanishing Rights of Students." *Social Justice/Global Options* 29(1/2). Retrieved March 10, 2018. (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/29768123>).
- Bennett, Abbie. 2018. "Parents wanted these NC schools to keep spanking their kids. But it's stopping anyway." Raleigh, NC: News & Observer. Retrieved September 19, 2018 (<https://www.newsobserver.com/news/local/article216756680.html>).
- Boeri, Miriam. 2018. *Hurt: Chronicles of the Drug War Generation*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press. Retrieved October 10, 2018 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.1525/j.ctt1wn0rt1.9.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A71c769919e303030741b49a0ee52ab3c>).
- Cagle, Jack F. 2017. "The Cost of Color in Public Education – An Examination of Disproportionate Suspensions." *Journal of Organizational & Educational Leadership* 3(1): 1-33. Retrieved September 6, 2018 (<https://digitalcommons.gardner-webb.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1039&context=joel>).
- Cannon, Kimberly. 2018. "School Discipline: Punishment viewed as learning opportunity." Valdosta, GA: Valdosta Daily Times. Retrieved October 19, 2019 (https://www.valdostadailytimes.com/news/local_news/school-discipline-punishment-viewed-as-learning-opportunity/article_397b27c2-11b6-5985-b133-ada76f886885.html).
- Conte, Anthony E. 2000. "In Loco Parentis: Alive and Well." *Education* 121(1):195-208. Retrieved September 18, 2018

<http://eds.b.ebscohost.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=c1382443-406a-411a-a3fe-45cb85b3b87a%40sessionmgr120>).

Crenshaw, Kimberle. 1991. Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence against Women of Color.” *Stanford Law Review* 43(6): 1241-1299.

Retrieved November 14, 2018.

Crossman, Ashley. 2019. “An Overview of Labelling Theory.” New York, NY:

ThoughtCo. Retrieved October 25, 2019 (<https://www.thoughtco.com/labeling-theory-3026627>).

Cumi, Kish, Ahmad Washington, and Arash Daneshzadeh. 2017. “Standing in Solidarity with Black Girls to Dismantle the School-to-Prison Pipeline.” *The Power of Resistance* 12 221-241. Retrieved November 14, 2018.

Retrieved November 14, 2018.

Danelo, David J. 2017. *The Field Researcher’s Handbook: A Guide to the Art and Science of Professional Fieldwork*. Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Department of Education. 2014. “Dear Colleague Letter on the Nondiscriminatory Administration of School Discipline.” Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education. Retrieved October 10, 2018

Retrieved October 10, 2018

(<https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/letters/colleague-201401-title-vi.pdf>).

Division of Accountability and Research. 2017. “Analysis of 2016-2017 Discipline Data.” Greensboro, NC: Guilford County Schools. Retrieved July 9, 2018

(<https://www.gcsnc.com/Page/43601>).

- Dollar, Cindy Brooks. 2018. "Criminalization and Drug "Wars" or Medicalization and Health "Epidemics": How Race, Class, and Neoliberal Politics Influence Drug Laws." *Critical Criminology*, in press.
- Dupper, David R. and Amy E. Montgomery Dingus. 2008. "Corporal Punishment in U.S. Public Schools: A Continuing Challenge for School Social Workers." *Children & Schools* 30(4). Retrieved September 18, 2018 (http://ewasteschools.pbworks.com/f/Corporal_punishment_2009.pdf).
- Florczak, Kristine L. 2017. "Adding to the Truth of the Matter: The Case for Qualitative Research" *Nursing Science Quarterly* 30(4): 296-99.
- Gaines, Lee V. "U of I Study: Disparities In Discipline For Black And White Students May Start With Teacher Warnings." Urbana, IL: University of Illinois. Retrieved August 5, 2019 (<https://will.illinois.edu/news/story/u-of-i-study-disparities-in-discipline-for-black-and-white-students-may-start-with-teacher-warnings>).
- Gay, Lesbian, & Straight Education Network. 2018. "Dropout, Push-Out, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline." New York, NY: Gay, Lesbian, & Straight Education Network. Retrieved April 21, 2018 (<https://www.glsen.org/article/dropout-push-out-and-school-prison-pipeline>).
- Gershoff, Elizabeth T. and Sarah A. Font. 2016. "Corporal Punishment in U.S. Public Schools: Prevalence, Disparities in Use, and Status in State and Federal Policy." *Social Policy Report* 30(1):1-37. Retrieved September 19, 2018 (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC5766273/pdf/nihms862245.pdf>).

- Greydanus, Donald E., Helen D. Pratt, C. Richard Spates, Anne E. Blake-Dreher, Marissa A. Greydanus-Gearhart, and Dilip R Patel. 2003. "Corporal Punishment in Schools: Position Paper of the Society for Adolescent Medicine." *Journal of Adolescent Health* 32(5): 385-393. Retrieved September 18, 2018 (https://www.adolescenthealth.org/SAHM_Main/media/Advocacy/Positions/May-03-Corporal_Punishment_in_Schools.pdf).
- Guilford County Schools. 2018. "2018-2019 Student Handbook." *GCS 2018-2019 Student Handbook*. Retrieved April 1, 2019 (https://www.gcsnc.com//cms/lib/NC01910393/Centricity/Domain/4206/Student_Handbook2018-19-0703.pdf).
- Guilford County Schools. 2019. "GCS School Profiles." *GCS School Information* Retrieved July 11, 2019 (<https://www.gcsnc.com/Page/44123>).
- Heitzeg, Nancy A. 2014. "Criminalizing Education: Zero Tolerance Policies, Police in the Hallways, and the School to Prison Pipeline." *Counterpoints* 453: 11-36. Retrieved September 6, 2018 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/42982328>).
- Hines-Datiri, Dorothy and Dorinda J. Carter Andrews. 2017. "The Effects of Zero Tolerance Policies on Black Girls: Using Critical Race Feminism and Figured Worlds to Examine School Discipline." *Urban Education* 1-22. Retrieved November 14, 2018.
- Kelly, Melissa. 2019. "How to Deal With Late Work and Makeup Work." New York, NY: ThoughtCo. Retrieved October 18, 2019 (<https://www.thoughtco.com/late-work-and-make-up-work-7731>).

- Lindsay, Constance A., and Cassandra M. D. Hart. 2017. "Teacher Race and School Discipline: Are students suspended less often when they have a teacher of the same race?" *Education Next* 17(1). Retrieved October 16, 2019 (<https://www.educationnext.org/teacher-race-and-school-discipline-suspensions-research/>).
- Lopez, German. 2018. "Black kids are way more likely to be punished in school than white kids, study finds." New York City, NY: Vox Media. Retrieved September 18, 2018 (<https://www.vox.com/identities/2018/4/5/17199810/school-discipline-race-racism-gao>).
- Lynch, Matthew. 2016. "Black Boys in Crisis: The School-to-Prison Pipeline." Bethesda, MD: Education Week. Retrieved October 10, 2018 (https://blogs.edweek.org/edweek/education_futures/2016/08/black_boys_in_crisis_the_school-to-prison_pipeline.html).
- Malone, Mei-Ling 2013. "The School-to-Prison Pipeline: Where Did it Come From? How Do We Stop It?" Tempe, AZ: The Equity Alliance. Retrieved September 13, 2018 (<http://www.niusileadscape.org/bl/the-school-to-prison-pipeline-where-did-it-come-from-how-do-we-stop-it-by-mei-ling-malone/>).
- Maxime, Farnel. 2018. "Zero-Tolerance Policies and the School to Prison Pipeline." Washington, DC: Shared Justice. Retrieved October 17, 2019 (<http://www.sharedjustice.org/domestic-justice/2017/12/21/zero-tolerance-policies-and-the-school-to-prison-pipeline>).

- Meador, Derrick. 2017. "Tips for Teachers to Make Classroom Discipline Decisions."
New York, NY: ThoughtCo. Retrieved October 18, 2019
(<https://www.thoughtco.com/making-classroom-discipline-decisions-for-teachers-3194617>).
- Morris, Edward W. 2007. "'Ladies' or 'loudies'?" Perceptions and experiences of Black girls in classrooms." *Youth & Society* 38: 490-515.
- NAACP. 2005. "Interrupting the school to prison pipeline." Washington, DC: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Retrieved November 17, 2018 (https://www.naacpldf.org/wp-content/uploads/Dismantling_the_School_to_Prison_Pipeline-3.pdf).
- NAACP. 2018. "Case: School To Prison Pipeline." Baltimore, MD: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Retrieved November 17, 2018
(<https://www.naacpldf.org/case-issue/school-prison-pipeline/>).
- National Center for Education Statistics. 2019. "Table 5.1. Compulsory school attendance laws, minimum and maximum age limits for required free education, by state: 2017." Washington, DC: National Center for Education Statistics Institute of Education Sciences. Retrieved October 15, 2019
(https://nces.ed.gov/programs/statereform/tab5_1.asp#).
- Noguera, Pedro. 2003. "Schools, Prisons, and social Implications of Punishment: Rethinking Disciplinary Practices." *Theory Into Practice* 42(4). Retrieved March 11, 2018. (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/1477398>).

- Oates, Gary L. St. C. 2003. "Teacher-Student Racial Congruence, Teacher Perceptions, and Test Performance." *Social Science Quarterly* 84(3). Retrieved March 13, 2018 (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/42955885>).
- Okonofua, Jason A. and Jennifer L. Eberhardt. 2015. "Two Strikes: Race and the Disciplining of Young Students." *Psychological Science* 26(5): 617-624. Retrieved July 31, 2018 (<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0956797615570365>).
- Osher, David, George G. Bear, Jeffrey R. Sprague, and Walter Doyle. 2010. "How Can We Improve School Discipline?" *American Educational Research Association* 39(1). Retrieved October 19, 2019 (<https://www-jstor-org.libproxy.uncg.edu/stable/pdf/27764553.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3Ae3d1b6d90cff2570e44844a35788d58f>).
- Pane, Debra Mayes. 2010. "Viewing Classroom discipline as negotiable social interaction: A communities of practice perspective." *Teaching and Teacher Education* 26(1): 87-97. Retrieved September 6, 2018 (https://ac.elsa-cdn.com/S0742051X09001115/1-s2.0-S0742051X09001115-main.pdf?_tid=fc6bcba-f-d67f-417f-ad58-d7c7557dcc71&acdnat=1539366759_78c2bcb3b5987ebe6111dd68592d3183).
- Parenting For Brain. 2019. "Discipline And Punishment – What’s The Difference (4 Effective Discipline Strategies)." Retrieved July 11, 2019 (<https://www.parentingforbrain.com/discipline-vs-punishment/>).

- Payne, Allison, and Kelly Welch. 2011. "Modeling the Effects of Racial Threat on Punitive and Restorative School Discipline Practices." *Criminology* 48(4):1019-1061.
- Rhor, Monica. 2019. "Pushed out and punished: One woman's story shows how systems are failing black girls." McLean, VA: USA Today. Retrieved October 10, 2019 (<https://www.usatoday.com/in-depth/news/nation/2019/05/13/racism-black-girls-school-discipline-juvenile-court-system-child-abuse-incarceration/3434742002/>).
- Schwartz, J. 2013. "A "New" Female Offender or Increasing Social Control of Women's Behavior? Cross-National Evidence." *Feminist Studies* 39(3): 790-821.
- Shute, Jonathan W. and Bruce S. Cooper. 2015. "Understanding in-school truancy." *Phi Delta Kappa International* 96(6). Retrieved October 18, 2019 (https://www-jstor-org.libproxy.uncg.edu/stable/pdf/24375820.pdf?ab_segments=0%252Fbasic_SY_C-4693%252Fcontrol&refreqid=excelsior%3Aaefaf3806499def36c333d2d8dc3af30).
- Skiba, Russ, and Reece Peterson. 1999. "The Dark Side of Zero Tolerance: Can Punishment Lead to Safe Schools?" *The Phi Delta Kappa International* 80(5). Retrieved March 12, 2018 (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/20439450>).
- Steffensmeier, Darrell, Noah Painter-Davis, and Jeffery Ulmer. 2016. "Intersectionality of Race, Ethnicity, Gender, and Age on Criminal Punishment." *Sociological Perspectives*, Vol. 60(4) 810-833.

- Tellis, Katherine, Nancy Rodriguez and Cassia Spohn. 2010. Critical Race Perspectives: Explaining the Differential Treatment of Racial Minorities by the Criminal Justice System. In Barlow H. & Decker S. (Eds.), *Criminology and Public Policy: Putting Theory to Work* (pp. 233-253). Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Townsend, Brenda L. 2000. "The Disproportionate Discipline of African American Learners: Reducing School Suspensions and Expulsions" *Exceptional Children* 66(3): 381-91.
- Triplett, Nicholas P., Ayana Allen, and Chance W. Lewis. 2014. "Zero Tolerance, School Shootings, and the Post-Brown Quest for Equity in Discipline Policy: An Examination of How Urban Minorities Are Punished for White Suburban Violence." *The Journal of Negro Education* 83(3): 352-370. Retrieved October 10, 2018 (<https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/10.7709/jnegroeducation.83.3.0352.pdf?refreqid=excelsior%3A4814d067d9eb8088e9b4f2f976a4ef0c>).
- U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. 2019. "Beyond Suspensions: Examining School Discipline Policies and Connections to the School-to-Prison Pipeline for Students of Color with Disabilities." Washington, DC: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. Retrieved November 12, 2019 (<https://www.usccr.gov/pubs/2019/07-23-Beyond-Suspensions.pdf>).

- U.S. News. 2018. "Clearwater Academy." Washington, DC: U.S. News & World Report.
Retrieved February 24, 2018 (<https://www.usnews.com/education/best-high-schools>).
- U.S. News. 2019. "Sunny Hill High." Washington, DC: U.S. News & World Report.
Retrieved July 10, 2019 (<https://www.usnews.com/education/best-high-schools>).
- Welch, Kelly, and Allison Ann Payne. 2010. "Racial Threat and Punitive School Discipline." *Oxford University Press* 57(1). Retrieved March 10, 2018 (<http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/sp.2010.57.1.25>).
- Willert, Tim. 2017. "Survey: Student discipline monopolizes teachers' time." Seattle, WA: The Seattle Times. Retrieved October 18, 2019 (<https://www.seattletimes.com/nation-world/survey-student-discipline-monopolizes-teachers-time/>).
- Williams, Charlene V. 2015. "'On Me' African American Male Students In An 'Urban' High School Describe High Teacher Expectations." Ph. D, Lewis & Clark College. Retrieved October 13, 2018 (<https://media.proquest.com/media/pq/classic/doc/3869990261/fmt/ai/rep/NPDF?s=05qMAmnR0RXAqp882UeGFlzCVaw%3D>).
- Wright, Cecile, Debbie Weekes, and Alex McGlaughlin. 1999. "Gender-blind racism in the experience of schooling and identity formation." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 3(4): 293-307.

Young, Vernetta. 2006. "Demythologizing the 'Criminalblackman': The Carnival Mirror" In Peterson, Krivo, and Hagan's *Many Colors of Crime: Inequalities of Race, Ethnicity, and Crime in America*. New York: NYU Press.

APPENDIX A

SCENARIOS

The Bradley Scenario (Skipping Class)

Hypothetically speaking let's say that Bradley, a White male student, asks to use the restroom giving the excuse that he'd been ill the night before and is experiencing stomach pains. If he neither returns to class nor attends his following class, how would you handle this situation?

The Darnell Scenario (Noncompliance with Directives)

Let's imagine you are on a school trip to the zoo. Darnell, a Black male student, asks to go see the giraffe exhibit. You tell him he should remain with the group and they obey you for a few minutes but eventually head off to see the giraffes. What would you do?

The Katie Scenario (Threatening)

Let's say you're in your classroom and notice Katie, a White female, getting upset after learning that some of her classmates disagree with her...perhaps on political beliefs or something along those lines. She then warns them that she will get her older brother to handle them if they challenge her again. What would you do in this situation?

The Imani Scenario (Bullying)

What if you hear a student mocking another? For example, students are required to read aloud a selected passage and you have a student with a speech impediment, creating difficulties with the reading. When it's their turn to read, Imani, a Black female, laughs and mocks them and invites other students to join in. How would handle this?

The Imani Scenario (Fighting)

Imagine a fight breaks out in the hallway. Imani overheard two students speaking negatively of her little brother. She decides to confront them, and they taunt and shove her. This causes Imani to punch the student and the two students jump Imani. What would you do if you witness this fight?

The Katie Scenario (Fighting)

Let's say that Katie witnesses a student being bullied and beat up and notices that no one else is intervening. She confronts the aggressors only to be told to "get lost" and be shoved. Katie punches one of the students and a fight ensues. What would you do in this situation?