CULTURAL MISMATCH AND SILENCED VOICES: EXPERIENCES OF HISTORICALLY MARGINALIZED ELEMENTARY STUDENTS WITHIN SCHOOL-WIDE POSITIVE BEHAVIOR SUPPORTS

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

Curriculum, Instruction, and Teacher Education - Doctor of Philosophy

2014

ABSTRACT

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Positive behavior intervention support (PBIS) literature tells us that proactively implementing a school-wide process whereby school staff teach students explicit behavioral expectations and reward them for adhering to those expectations significantly decreases negative student behaviors in schools. Additionally, K-4 school-wide positive behavior intervention support (SWPBIS) has shown to be effective in decreasing negative student behaviors and office referrals when SWPBIS is implemented with fidelity (Bradshaw, Debnam, et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Reinke, et al., 2008; Mass-Galloway et al., 2008; Nersesian et al., 2000). We are becoming rich in our understanding of SWPBIS implementation and students' behavioral success. However, the literature did not account for groups of students who despite the promise and success of SWPBIS continue to struggle with behavior needs. This question becomes even more salient when we look at the disproportionate discipline rate of historically marginalized students occurring in schools at a national level.

A body of literature exists that theorizes why some students have difficulties in schools where proactive strategies are used to support student behavioral success. In this study cultural mismatch theory is used to examine this phenomenon and to ask three questions: (1) How do African American and Latino students, identified by schools as being in Tier III and needing tertiary behavioral supports, experience the school and classroom climate in a SWPBIS context? (2) How do teachers describe and understand how they support African American and Latino students in Tier III needing tertiary supports? Through semi-structured interviews, this study seeks to answer the overarching question, (3) in what

ways do the experiences of African American and Latino students identified by the school as needing tertiary supports converge and diverge with teacher descriptions and understandings of those experiences?

Data collection methods included 45-minute interviews with each student participant and 60-minute interviews with adult participants who regularly interacted in the various areas of the school during the school day with student participants. Results from this study provide a deeper understanding of cultural values, behaviors, and norms between historically marginalized students and teachers that were unintentionally at odds with one another. This research will help educators develop strategies within SWPBIS for supporting students in more proactive and positive ways that also address the discipline gap of historically marginalized students.

For your encouragement, support, and love, I dedicate this work to my children:
D.J., Jaden, and Omarie
and
my friend and advisor Dorinda Carter.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am forever in awe of my three children and sister whose love and unwavering support encouraged me to stand strong and keep moving forward during a very challenging time of my life. D.J., my oldest son, who inspired me to pursue my PhD with one simple question "mom, you have done so much, what's next"? Jaden, my youngest son, encouraged me with daily hugs that spoke a million words of love, and Omarie who always asked, "Do you need anything Aunt Ruth"? I am grateful for my sister Hattie Rutledge who encouraged me daily to be free. I extend sincere gratitude to my advisor and chair, Dr. Dorinda Carter Andrews, who exemplifies commitment to the advancement of Black female scholars in her drive and willingness to walk alongside us on our journeys. I would like to thank my Dad, William Riddle who has been my biggest fan and supporter. I would like to thank a very special friend Dr. James Damico, who taught me the significance of inquiry in the practice of education and freedom. I would also like to thank Dr. David Kirkland for his expertise in the research process and for encouraging me to "not talk about the work and just do it". Of course, I owe my determination and passion to my mother Estelle Payno Wilborn who allowed me from a very early age to be a fearless communicator and speak my mind. I sincerely want to thank the members of my advisory committee, Dr. Cheryl Rosaen, Dr. David Kirkland, and Dr. Kristy Cooper for their support. I will always appreciate Dr. Rosaen who served as my program advisor and encouraged me through the entire process. I am grateful to my friends Debbie Edokpolo, Delinda Arnold, Silvia Hayes, and Laura Colligan who always had an ear to listen and give advice when needed. I extend a special thank you to the principals and teachers who opened their schools to me and to the students who taught me some very valuable lessons about school culture. I extend gratitude to my transformational coaches in the Holt Public School, Tammy Shorna, Jessica Cotter, Walt Sutterlin, and Joe Cleary for their friendship and care.

PROLOGUE

There are some problems in the SWPBIS behavior model discussed in this study. According to PBIS, if students do not know how to read, we teach them to read. If students don't know how to do math, we teach them how to do math. But, if students don't know how to behave, we punish them. According to this model, we need to teach students how to behave as a proactive non-punitive measure. As a researcher who also implemented SWPBIS as a practitioner, I am compelled to examine the model and address this idea that students need to be taught to behave. There is a thought about students already knowing something about how to behave not necessarily incorporated by teachers and administrators in the class and school.

The question that I wrestle with as I seek to understand my research questions relate to my personal experience with implementing SWPBIS in the school where I served as the principal for five years. Currently, SWPBIS is an imposed initiative that lacks an additive or profit-based component whereby students bring their knowledge of what it means to behave to the conversation. Student voice is virtually absent from this conversation just as it is in the literature and in the training. Additive/profit-based means that students contribute to SWPBIS implementation; imposed means that students are not provided the opportunity to contribute to the conversation about SWPBIS implementation. I believe that students have to become a part of the SWPBIS conversation, because behavior is socially constructed. As a principal, I did both. I imposed PBIS on students and sought to engage them in portions of the implementation process.

I implemented SWPBIS in the K-4 setting during my tenure as a building principal. All of the PBIS training, dialogue, and "must dos" were all about what adults would do to support and improve the behavior of students. There are several steps involved in this implementation process. One of the first steps involved, creating three to five statements that capture the essence of what adults want students to do while in schools. In the

building where I implemented SWPBIS, the adults came up with the school code "Be Safe, Be Courteous, Be a learner". A previous administrator created and instituted this statement prior to my tenure. Although I considered student voice, I did not ask the current students for their ideas concerning this statement and whether or not they wanted to change it. Instead, I participated in the SWPBIS indoctrination of current and all new students teaching them the school code created by adults that many of the students did not know.

As I have reflected on the process, I have become convinced that I should have engaged students in a conversation regarding their school code by which they had to abide. Even when teaching children to read, teachers begin by assessing what children already know. We then incorporate their knowledge into reading instruction, using strategies based on what we have learned about them from them. I did not take the opportunity to ask students about their thoughts on the existing code and moved to the step of implementing SWPBIS, which involves identifying the areas of the school that students occupy during the school day. We, the adults, identified six areas of the school that included hallways, classrooms, restrooms, playground, cafeteria, arrival areas, and the school buses. I am not certain that we needed students to identify these areas, as they are obvious. However, what values lie in having students think about and identify these areas?

The pedagogical practice of engaging students in conversations about the six areas of the school is absent from the PBIS training and I did not consider it when implementing this step. Some of the lack of involving students in portions of the implementation process was due to a lack of time, multiple mandates being imposed on the schools by the state and federal government that causes people to feel like they don't have the luxury of time to think through implementation processes, and the time to reflect on those processes. This is not to say that thought and processes are absent from such initiatives but a question of what gets lost when there is so much pressure for student and school success in a very hostile high stakes accountability educational landscape. I wrestled as a new principal and

district leader with these issues. I also wrestled with being two years into a new position and not wanting to uproot practices that the staff put into place prior to my arrival.

The next step of implementation involved creating three to five expectations for the desired behaviors in each of the six areas. I felt strongly that students needed to be involved in this step. The social worker and I met with all students in the school by grade level and engaged in a discussion of behaviors they felt were important in school. I told them that I did not want them to go to a school of "do not" meaning that we did not want behavior expectations that consisted of "do not hit", "do not run", "do not say mean things", etc. I then asked them what behaviors they felt students should have in order for students to be safe, courteous and learners in each of the areas of the school. Students worked in small groups, whole group, and independently on deciding on ways of behaving in the school. After all students provided feedback, we compiled their ideas and pulled behaviors that were common across all grade levels. These behaviors became a part of the behavior matrix. The social worker and I used a wide range of literature to saturate students in ideas related to being kind and considerate, for problem solving, responding to others exhibiting inappropriate behaviors. The next step of implementation involved deciding on support strategies and consequences for misbehavior. Students were not involved in this part of the process. Neither did the PBIS training provide ideas or strategies on involving students in this part of the process.

In many ways I played a role in imposing a behavior system on my students. While I did include their voice in portions of the implementation process, I missed opportunities to understand more about what they previously understood about behavior and how that understanding could be implemented into the overall SWPBIS. Additionally, while I considered their voices when misbehaviors occurred that landed students in my office, I did not include their values and cultural considerations in the construction of the SWPBIS system. When we think about the diverse cultural codes that schools, teachers, principals and students have, the students' role becomes essential to creating behavioral support

systems that are set up to help all but especially historically marginalized students succeed. Setting up such a system is more for the adults than it is for the students because we learn from the students what behaviors are needed for success. We then support an atmosphere that allows students to use their own cultural and language codes while learning in schools and classrooms.

The last step of implementation involved evaluation the SWPBIS system and practice. We used a combination of measures such as student behavior outcome data, program evaluation tools, adult perceptual data. Again, missing from this process and my personal practice was student perceptual data directly related to SWPBIS and school culture. It is my hope that this study will shed light on the role that school culture and adult practices play student behaviors in elementary schools employing SWPBIS.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Addressing and managing student misbehaviors is important since it has been shown to utilize as much as 80% of instructional time in classrooms (Scott, 2001). Unfortunately, traditional (Skiba, 2002; Skiba & Peterson, 2000). Some scholars argue that this method of behavioral management tends to be aversive, reactive, and to have a negative effect on student methods of behavior management involve providing punitive consequences and devotes disproportionate attention to disruptive actions which increases negative behaviors from students learning and school culture (Skiba, 2002; Skiba & Peterson, 2000). School-wide Positive Behavior Intervention Supports (SWPBIS) addresses misbehaviors and has the potential to increase the quantity of instructional time for students.

SWPBIS, a response to increased behavioral issues in schools, aims to address problem behaviors by proactively promoting positive behaviors in students. SWPBIS works from a multi-tiered systems approach that proactively supports positive student behavior, safe learning environments, and academic achievement for all students. For the past twenty years, researchers have studied SWPBIS and have defined it as an effective preventative and non-aversive method of managing behaviors in schools (Robert H. Horner et al., 2005; Robert H Horner & Sugai, 2000; Sugai & Horner, 2002b). The use of SWPBIS has recently increased as school districts and intermediate school districts work collaboratively to improve student behavior and achievement. This field of inquiry is relatively new and offers a broad understanding of ways that scholars have defined and discussed SWPBIS in the elementary school setting.

Current research contributes greatly to our understanding of SWPBIS in three significant ways. The three areas include SWPBIS fidelity, SWPBIS fidelity and student outcomes, and teachers' and staff perceptions regarding SWPBIS. However, these studies

fall short of including student voices and the consideration of the cultural lens. More studies need to be conducted that examine the adverse outcomes that school culture and structures have on student behaviors. This gap is important because of the current disproportionality in discipline[1] of Black and Latino students in schools across the nation who, despite the SWPBIS efforts, continue to have behavioral issues and are repeatedly written up for misbehavior in school. At a glance, educators in the school setting may view the high discipline rates of historically marginalized students[2] as an issue directly related to their own poor choices when in fact, institutional and school cultural practices may often contribute to these "misbehaviors".

There is no consensus within the field around the explanation of this phenomenon. However, there are several rationales for this phenomenon. One basis for understanding this phenomenon is through deficit constructs that suggest that Black boys inherently lack something (Cose, 2002; Tatum, 2005, 2006). Another basis is critical race theory, which suggests that racism is a permanent feature inside of education (Carter Andrews, 2008, 2009, 2012; Delpit, 1995b; Dubois, 1903/2003; Fanon, 1952; Fordham & Ogbu, 1986; J Kozol, 1991; Ladson-Billings, 1997, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995; Ogbu, 1990). Masculinity constructs argue that society often criminalizes and penalizes particular male behaviors especially those of Black men (Cose, 2002; Davis, 2001; Ferguson, 2000; hooks,

[1] According to the reauthorized disability education Act, disproportionality refers to the overrepresentation of school discipline/punishment of historically marginalized students. Significant disproportionality is the determination that a school district (LEA) has significant over-representation based on race and ethnicity overall, by disability, by placement in particular educational settings, or by disciplinary actions. A school district is considered to have significant disproportionality if it (1) fails the ethnic disparity calculation for the most recent three years; and 2) has one or more areas of overrepresentation by race/ethnicity in general, by disability, by disciplinary action, or by placement.

[2] While other ethnic groups encompass the historically marginalized student category, I use historically marginalized students interchangeably with Black and Latino students throughout the paper. It is important to note that Latino and African American students share many similarities in their experiences as it relates to school and the cultural dissidence between the two. Both groups may also be similar in many of their experiences related to nuanced identities. However, it is also important to note that while this paper discusses both groups as one entity that there are distinctions between the two. These distinctions provide a more nuanced and in depth analyses regarding issues of cultural dissidence specific to each group. This paper addresses the more general nuances and issues related to cultural dissidence between the group as a whole and school.

2004; Jackson II, 2006; Jackson II & Dangerfield, 2004; Jackson II & Moshin, 2012; Kirkland, 2013; Kirkland & Jackson, 2009). While these arguments are salient and provide more nuanced understandings, some would argue that they offer critiques that are sometimes excessive and accusatory of teachers. Therefore, instead of grappling with this set of ideas to address the current climate of discipline within the SWPBIS context, I chose to examine this phenomenon through the cultural differences lens. For the reasons mentioned above, cultural mismatch theory did the best job of explaining issues related to the treatment and experiences of particular students in schools. [3]

Purpose of the Study

This study addressed gaps in existing literature by examining the experiences of African American and Latino students perceived to have persistent behavioral difficulties in elementary schools employing SWPBIS. It examined how these students understood and described their school and classroom climates and how teachers and other adults and understood their ways of supporting students with persistent behavioral difficulties. This study also examined ways in which African American and Latino students' experiences converge and diverge with adults descriptions and understandings.

Research Questions

1. How do African American and Latino student participants, identified by their schools as being in Tier III and needing significant behavioral supports, experience the school, and classroom climate in a SWPBIS context?
2. How do their teachers and other adults describe and understand ways to support their students in Tier III?
3. In what ways do the students' experiences converge and diverge with their teachers' and other adults' descriptions and understandings of those experiences?

[3] While this study used cultural mismatch theory as it's theoretical framework, it focused on the experiences of Black and Latino students. Therefore, race will be briefly discussed in the study when issues of race surface as contributing to cultural mismatch.

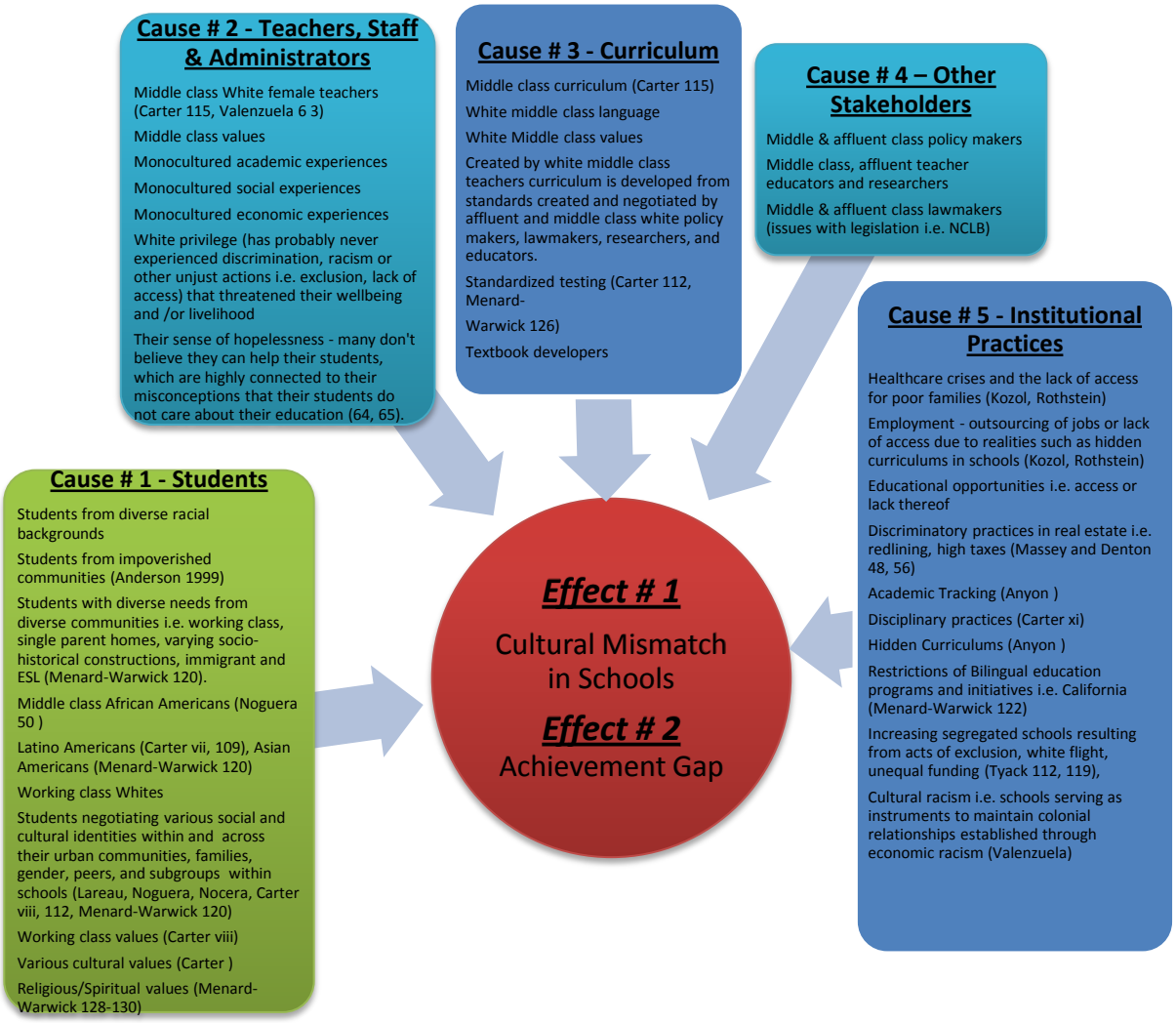
Theoretical Framework: Cultural Mismatch Theory

Cultural mismatch theory suggests that there are conflicting realities and values between historically marginalized students and teachers, curriculum, and school culture (Delpit, 1995a, 1995b; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1997; Noguera, 2003a, 2003b, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999a). According to scholars in the field, most families of historically marginalized children care about education, see it as a social mobility opportunity, and want to support their childrens' learning (Delpit, 1995a, 1995b; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1997; Noguera, 2003a; Valenzuela, 1999a). Many of these families view schools and teachers as not caring about their children's' diverse learning needs and their social and cultural realities. Teachers and schools have to become ethnographers to understand the many cultural nuances of students belonging to the same cultural group and students across cultural groups.

Fruchter (2007) and Noguera (2003) suggest that society's hegemonic class and race shape the culture of schooling. Thus, the way that curriculums are designed, schools are organized, instructional methodologies, language, and accountability systems are implemented along with disciplinary methods, are all influenced by the dominant culture of power (Delpit, 1988). Delpit (1988) also argues that these entities often exclude historically marginalized children and their realities. Fruchter (2007) claims that these features of school culture play a major role in race-based achievement in schools due largely to a mismatch or clashing of cultural realities and identities within schools and classrooms between schools and students, teachers and students, and curriculum and students (see figure 2.1). In the model below, race surfaces as an issue of schooling, being determined for Black and Latino students predominately by White individuals who also represent the middle and affluent class. According to Fruchter the majority of students experiencing failure in schools are Black and Latino. Additionally, the discipline gap between Black and Latino and their White counterparts further indicate that race matters in schools. Throughout this study, race and culture were interconnected. The mismatch that was

revealed in this study was directly related to different ways of knowing, believing, behaving, and valuing was tied to racial differences between Black and Latino students and the adults in their schools.

Figure 1.1 Cultural Mismatch in Schools



Valenzuela (1999) contends that schools have to be more open to understanding the nuances within and across various ethnic groups to provide appropriate caring and respectful support and relationships. She also argues that schools have to build on their students' cultural, linguistic, and community based knowledge. Students resist uncaring nonresponsive schooling (not education) and when there seems to be a lack of connection between teachers and students. The cultural mismatch between these student subgroups

and schools affect language learning, delivery of curriculum, school culture, and student behavior. Furthermore, this gap between marginalized students and schools create experiences that disenfranchise Black and Latino students and contributes to the increased discipline.

An Outline of Chapters

In chapter two, I provide a review of the SWPBIS in literature and cultural mismatch It is important to discuss both bodies of literature, because they help us to understand the role that culture plays in the ways that students and teachers negotiate the learning environment in elementary settings that employ SWPBIS. In the third chapter, I discuss the methods used to select the site and participants as well collect and analyze the data. Chapter four provides an introduction to and overview of the participants and schools.

Chapters five through seven answer the research questions. Chapter five focuses on adults, who often do not realize their students occupy and navigate different cultural and emotional spaces that are constantly changing. In Chapters six and seven, I present two practice model theories regarding adult deficit and profit based thinking and behaving. In chapter six, I discuss ways in which teacher beliefs model deficit thinking of student in Tier 3. In chapter seven, I provide the counter narrative of adults building relationships and creating safe spaces for student participants in T3. In these chapters, I detail levels of complexity exemplifying the relationships, the climates of support and behavioral management, negotiated by young people and adults. In so doing, I theorize the nature of African American and Latino students transiting cultural and emotional spaces and, at the same time, provide context, describing in some detail the participants and the three school settings, with hopes of providing an understanding of the various cultures of the students, adults, and schools.

Chapter eight presents a discussion of the implications of this work as it relates to more culturally nuanced behavior models, professional development for educators, and teacher education for pre-service teachers. It questions whether SWPBIS behavior systems

work for all students, what educators need to know in order to be more effective and productive in supporting students, and, what other more culturally complex behavior models exist.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE: SWPBIS AND CULTURAL MISMATCH IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

For the past twenty years, researchers have studied SWPBIS and have defined it as an effective preventative and non-aversive method of managing behaviors in schools . In the last decade, public schools across several states have begun addressing behavioral issues by implementing SWPBIS. The use of SWPBIS has recently increased as school districts and intermediate school districts work collaboratively to improve student achievement. SWPBIS is a widely used, relatively new approach that requires a fuller understanding of the empirical research. For the purposes of this body of work, I review two bodies of literature (1) SWPBIS and (2) cultural mismatch because both are relevant to my study. The first part of this review asks the question, "What does the research say about SWPBIS in the elementary school setting?" I discuss three areas that emerge from the literature: SWPBIS implementation fidelity and systems evaluation, SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student behavioral outcomes, and teacher perceptions regarding SWPBIS. I conclude by arguing for more qualitative studies that consider the experiences and perceptions of Black and Latino students who are non-responsive to SWBPIS regarding school culture and how they feel about the schools, relationships with teachers, academic learning, and peer relationships. Furthermore, these studies need to take into account how cultural differences might affect the implementation of SWPBIS for students needing tertiary behavioral supports. These gaps are rooted in cultural mismatch theory. Therefore, the second part of this review discusses the cultural mismatch literature that I will later use as an analytical lens. I begin my review of the literature by providing the historical context from which SWPBIS developed.

PBS and the Evolution to SWPBIS

The Origin of SWPBS

Understanding SWPBIS involves considering its origin, evolution, and the influential contributions made in the field. These contributions serve as a foundation for how scholars currently utilize and define SWPBIS. PBS emerged from debates surrounding the use of punitive consequences and/or strategies that schools and other institutions utilized to address the behaviors of individuals with developmental disabilities (Johnston, Foxx, Jacobson, Green, & Mulick, 2006). While it currently serves in many schools as a general education initiative, PBS has its roots in special education and educational psychology. Specifically its roots lie in applied behavioral analysis (ABA) (Carr et al., 2002). ABA is a psychological approach supported by behaviorism theory that seeks to alter human behaviors through observing the interactions of individuals in their environments and by functionally assessing the relationship between a targeted behavior and the environment (Carr et al., 2002).

The development of SWPBS has also been influenced by the reauthorization of Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) 1997 and 2004 that called for the implementation of research based behavioral interventions in schools to prevent and address the problem behaviors and the academic needs of students with serious behavior disabilities (Bradshaw, Koth, Thornton, & Leaf, 2009; Sugai & Horner, 2002a; Sugai & Horner, 2006). Following the reauthorization of IDEA, several efforts occurred that increased participation in the expansion of PBS in schools. In 1997, the Office of Sponsored Projects, U.S. Department of Education provided financial support to create the National Technical Assistance Center on Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports. The purpose of this organization is to provide training supportive of making behavioral interventions, practices, and systems accessible to all schools. In 1999, *the Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions* was established to allow (Positive Behavior Supports) PBS discourse centered on descriptive, qualitative, and quantitative research. In 2003, the

Association for Positive Behavior supports (APBS) was founded to support all individuals with problem behaviors.

Foundational PBS and SWPBIS Work

The field of PBS and SWPBIS has been heavily influenced by the foundational work of Sugai and Horner (R. Horner & Sugai, 2000 ; Robert H. Horner et al., 1990; Robert H. Horner, Sugai, & Anderson, 2010; Sugai & Horner, 2002a; Sugai & Horner, 2008, 2009; Sugai & Horner, 2006). Collectively, Sugai and Horner's contributions have expanded the knowledge base on PBS and SWPBS empirically, practically, and contextually. The crux of Sugai and Horner's work has been related to the advancement of knowledge in the field of special education. Horner's earlier work eventually evolved into PBS focused on the development and implementation of scientifically validated sustainable non-aversive behavior interventions and supports (Robert H. Horner et al., 1990; Sugai & Horner, 2002a). Sugai's work is related to implementing multi-tiered systems of positive behavioral supports that utilize evidence-based practices.

Horner has been a part of what he called a broad-based PBS movement supportive of non-aversive behavior management since the 1980's (Horner et al. 2005). PBS during that time period was defined as alternative to extreme aversive ways of intervening for children and/or individuals with behavior disabilities (Robert H. Horner et al., 2005; Robert H Horner & Sugai, 2000; Sugai & Horner, 2002b). The efforts in the 1980's sprung out of the need to prevent the subjection of children to dehumanizing interventions that had shown over time to be counterproductive for students or individuals with special behavioral needs (Robert H. Horner et al., 1990)

In 1990, Horner et al. coined the phrase "positive behavior support" to refer to non-aversive behavior management and as a way to remove the focus from the negative aspects of this approach. Robert H. Horner et al. (1990) described PBS as an integration of

technology and values with an emerging set of procedures, social validation standards for acceptability and policies discouraging excessive aversive and/or disrespectful practices or interventions. Anderson and Freeman (2000) identified those PBS values as commitments, meaningful outcomes, social validation, dignity, normalization, inclusion, person-centered planning, self-determination, and stakeholder participation. Sugai and Horner (2009) defined SWPBIS as "a prevention framework or approach that highlights the organization of teaching and learning environments for the effective, efficient, and relevant adoption and sustained use of research-based behavioral interventions for all students, especially those with serious behavior challenges" (7).

Method of Selection and Evaluation of PBS Literature

Selection of Literature

The methods used in the selection and evaluation of relevant literature began with ProQuest research library, ProQuest Sociology, ProQuest Psychology, and ERIC to search through various journals. During the search, I used keywords such as "positive behavior support and learning", resulting in over 10,000 articles. I started to get a broader sense of the scope and span of PBS literature. After seeing the abundance of PBS literature, I refined my search to peer-reviewed empirical studies. Additionally, I changed the date range to 2006-2012 in order to evaluate the claims of current findings and contributions to the field of PBS. Realizing that various individuals use "positive behavior support" and "school-wide positive behavior supports" interchangeably, I included both of these words with the terms learning and elementary school into my query. I selected studies in the United States. It was important to use the mentioned keywords to better understand PBS in the elementary context, because my questions occur in the elementary setting. Finally, it was important to look only at studies in the United States for similar contextual reasons

such as political policies and cultural realities that may be very different in other countries. This search yielded sixty-five articles.

Analysis of Literature

I analyzed results across four levels. First, I read abstracts/and or introductions of the sixty-five articles and excluded the non-relevant pieces that did not address the questions framing this literature review. This significantly decreased the number of articles from sixty-five to fourteen. I charted the remaining fourteen articles in a matrix and captured information on the following items: author, date, method, summary of findings, definition of PBIS, and PBS outcomes. At this level of analysis, it was important to look for themes, patterns, and topics. In order to frame and organize the analysis portion of this review, I reread abstracts, introductions, and methods sections of each article and coded them based on theme. This third level of analysis yielded the following topics: (1) SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Systems Evaluation (2) SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Student Outcomes (3) Teacher Perceptions Regarding SWPBIS/PBIS.

Finally, I organized the studies in each of the three groups based on the research topics and dates of publication. In order to determine foundational work in the field of PBS, I also examined references in each of the articles, noting recurring names of contributors specifically in the sections where problems were posed, questions were asked and more importantly, where PBS constructs were described. As such, this literature review draws from recent research (2006-present) and foundational studies predating 2006 that provides foundational/conceptual framework of PBS. This foundational work includes constructs related to how PBS has been defined.

Limitations of Review

There are potential biases related to the nature of choices made in the selection and evaluation of literature in this review. First, PBS is such a broad topic that other words or

phrases used to name PBS may have yielded studies that are more relevant. Limiting the search to articles between the years of 2006 and 2012 may have excluded important studies supportive of understanding the evolution of PBS. Choosing studies in the United States and at the elementary level also limit opportunities to learn about the effectiveness or evolution of PBS in other contexts.

SWPBS Defined in the Current Literature

SWPBIS stems from Positive Behavior Supports (PBS)[4] and currently serves as a general education effort (Bambara, Nonnemacher, & Kern, 2009; Bradshaw, Debnam, Koth, & Leaf, 2009; Bradshaw, Koth, Bevans, Ialongo, & Leaf, 2008; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Reinke, Brown, Bevans, & Leaf, 2008; Mass-Galloway, Panyan, Smith, & Wessendorf, 2008; Nersesian, Todd, Lehmann, & Watson, 2000; Sadler & Sugai, 2009; Sugai & Horner, 2009). PBS is an applied science that supports the expansion of an individual's behavior and a systems approach to modify a person's living environment aimed to enhance quality of life and reduce problem behavior (Carr et al., 2002; Carr et al., 1999; Koegel, Koegel, & Dunlap, 1996). When defining SWPBIS, all of the empirical studies in this literature review draw from the work of Sugai and Horner. There are, however, some diffrences in how each set of studies discusses SWPBIS.

The first group of studies focused on SWPBIS effectiveness and systems evaluations. This group of studies defined SWPBIS as a three tiered system that involves universal, secondary, and tertiary behavioral intervention support. Their description also includes agreed upon school rules and behavioral expectations with procedures for teaching, acknowledging, correcting, and monitoring components aimed at creating a more respectful social climate in schools (Bradshaw, Debnam, et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Reinke, et al., 2008; Mass-Galloway et al., 2008; Nersesian et al., 2000). The universal or primary level (Tier 1)

[4] While SWPBS stems from PBS, one relates more to individual or small group support and the other to school-wide support, both are often used interchangeably.

targets all students. The strategic or secondary level (Tier 2) targets students who do not respond to universal supports. The intensive or tertiary level (Tier III) targets students who do not respond to strategic or universal supports. The studies in this group further define PBIS as a proactive model seeking to change the school environment by creating systems such as discipline, reinforcement, and data management, managing office referrals, training, and leadership that promote positive change in staff and student behaviors. Finally, (Bradshaw, Reinke, et al., 2008) identified expectations, behavioral expectations taught, system for rewarding behavioral expectations, responding to behavioral violations, monitoring and evaluation, management, and district-level support as the seven key components of SWPBIS.

The second group of studies focused on SWPBIS effectiveness and student outcomes and added to the literature by providing a more theoretical description grounding SWPBIS in behavioral theory i.e. ABA, emphasizing a continuum of behavior supports for problem behaviors and drawing ideas and values from other fields such as public health, school-based mental health, and medicine (Kaufman et al., 2010; Mass-Galloway et al., 2008; Sadler & Sugai, 2009; Simonsen et al., 2012). Scholars in this group of studies also identified continuous professional development, building wide participation, research based behavioral interventions, implementation with fidelity, and data-driven decision making as key components of SWPBIS (Sadler & Sugai, 2009). New to many of the definitions across the studies was the mention of modifying school climates, changes in school practices that need to be adopted, maintained, improved, and/or eliminated, and preventative approaches that result in changing student and staff behaviors (Kaufman et al., 2010; Simonsen et al., 2012).

The last set of studies focused on teacher and/or staff perceptions regarding SWPBIS/PBIS and defined SWPBIS as universal, secondary, and tertiary supports (Bambara et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2008; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2009; Chitiyo & Wheeler,

2009; Kincaid, Childs, Blasé, & Wallace, 2007; Miramontes, Marchant, Heath, & Fischer, 2011; Sullivan, Long, & Kucera, 2011; Tillery, Varjas, Meyers, & Collins, 2010). Additionally, these studies provide PBIS constructs and discuss concepts such as "altering the school climate," and "readjustment of the environment." However, similar to the first and second set of studies, these concepts refer to creating improved systems such as discipline, reinforcement, and data management, office referral, and training. While there is mention of creating positive behavioral changes in staff and students, the emphasis is on what is done to students for positive outcomes. Finally, while the term "problem behavior" is used across many of the studies as the main reason for implementing SWPBIS, it is referred to frequently across the last set of studies. Furthermore, problem behavior is not defined across the literature.

Discussion: Contradictions, Gaps, Differences of Opinion

These studies provide detailed definitions and a broad scope of SWBPIS. The studies are very thorough in framing the SWPBIS construct. The SWPBIS construct is clearly student-centered in that the overall understanding is to support students in a way that is proactive, maintains their dignity, and promotes positive change in student behavior. The SWPBIS constructs are problematic in a few ways. First, concepts used to describe the SWPBIS construct are not defined across the fourteen studies reviewed. Many of the descriptions use concepts such as *preventative strategies, altering school environments, changes in school practices,* and *problem behaviors* as premises for needing SWPBIS. Horner (1990) refers to the aforementioned concepts as nontrivial variables. While these are very important factors to consider, and can affect behavior positively, they still represent a focus on students rather than student and adult behavior. Second, the construct is based on the deficit model and provided descriptions focused more on the problem behaviors of students and not on proactive measures that teachers and schools can take to be proactive such as classroom management, building positive relationships,

involving families, effective teaching strategies, and cultural competency. A more balanced approach would also consider adjustments made by adults in their practice and dispositions.

Finally, the use of the term "problem behavior" is problematic in each of the studies' definition of PBIS and SWPBIS for several reasons. First, this term carries a negative connotation and potentially can cause school personnel to work from the same deficit model mentioned above that assigns causes of negative behavior to the student or individual. Likewise, the definitions provided in each of the studies emphasize practices that are done to the student by school officials. In both cases mentioned above, the studies do not make explicit the consideration of how schools, or practices by school officials, school cultural norms, budgetary decisions, or policy might support or encourage "problem behaviors" in students. Additionally, by not defining problem behaviors in each of the studies, researchers, teachers, administrators and policy makers are left to interpret the meaning. More studies need to be done that examine how school culture and other school factors such as budget and school practices affect student behavior. These studies may help to define and construct an understanding of concepts such as "problem behavior" and those listed above.

Learning from Current SWPBIS Studies

Studies in this literature review are grouped into three categories based on its primary research question and themes that emerged in the studies (see Table 2.1). These studies either sought to understand something about SWPBIS implementation and fidelity, SWPBIS implementation and student behavior outcomes, the effects of PBIS on individuals, or teachers and staff perceptions related to SWPBIS. The inquiries mentioned above represent how scholars have discussed SWPBIS in the elementary school setting. By examining the three themes that emerged, this section seeks to understand contributions

made to the SWPBIS field and discuss inconsistencies, tensions, and gaps that exist in the literature.

Table 2.1 Themes and Contributions from Each Group of Studies

Themes	Studies	Contributions
SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Systems Evaluation	Bradshaw, Debnam, et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Reinke, et al., 2008; Mass-Galloway et al., 2008;	1. PBIS training affects SWPBIS implementation fidelity. 2. There are valid and reliable tools for assessing SWPBIS implementation fidelity. 3. SWPBIS implementation can be implemented with fidelity and shows some promise for supporting positive behavior outcomes
SWPBIS Implementation and Student Outcomes	Kaufman et al., 2010; Mass-Galloway et al., 2008; Sadler & Sugai, 2009; Simonsen et al., 2012	1. The correlation between SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student social/behavior outcomes 2. The correlation between SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student academic outcomes
Teacher Perceptions regarding SWPBIS/PBIS	Bambara et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2008; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2009; Chitiyo & Wheeler, 2009; Kincaid, Childs, Blasé, & Wallace, 2007; Miramontes, Marchant, Heath, & Fischer, 2011; Sullivan, Long, & Kucera, 2011; Tillery, Varjas, Meyers, & Collins, 2010	1. SWPBIS implementation barrier perceived by teachers 2. Teacher perceptions regarding SWPBIS on the school organizational health

SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Systems Evaluation

Contributions from This Group of Studies

The first group of studies examines SWPBIS implementation fidelity issues. These three studies were conducted between 2008 and 2009 and utilized quantitative methods that involved collecting data from multiple schools within and across districts. The

Bradshaw et al. (2008) and Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) studies primarily focused on implementation fidelity and the Bradshaw, Debnam, et al. (2009) focused on implementation fidelity and school phases of implementation. These articles contribute to our understanding of SWPBIS implementation fidelity and systems evaluation in three significant ways: The impact of PBIS training on SWPBIS implementation, reliable tools for evaluating SWPBIS implementation fidelity, and how SWPBIS can be implemented with fidelity and show promise.

The Impact of PBIS Training on SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity.

The first contribution from these studies tells us that PBIS training significantly influences the level of SWPBIS implementation fidelity. Schools that received PBIS training implemented SWPBIS scored higher on the School-wide Evaluation Tool (SET), met the fidelity criteria of 80% or more according to the SET criteria, and achieved a higher level of implementation and fidelity than non-trained schools. The School-Wide Evaluation Tool (SET), completed by an external team, has been shown to have strong psychometric properties; it assesses the degree to which schools are implementing the seven key components of SWPBIS (R. H. Horner, Todd, Lewis-Palmer, Irvin, & Boland, 2004). The Bradshaw et al. (2008) study serves as an example of the impact that training has on implementation fidelity. This investigation examined the impact of PBIS training on the implementation of the core features of the model and the progression of PBIS implementation.

In the Bradshaw et al. (2008) study, non-trained schools showed some gains, but lagged behind trained schools on all subscales except *Systems for Responding to Violations*. The trained schools in this study's overall SET scores were 0% in year one, 66.67% in year two, 85.71% the end of year three, compared to the non-trained schools whose SET scores were 0% at the start of year one, 6.25% in year two, and 18.75% by the end of the three

year study. According to these scores, trained schools not only met the SWPBIS fidelity expectation of at least 80% but also experienced a higher level of implementation over the non-trained schools by nearly 70%. The same results were achieved in the Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study that examined whether or not schools could implement SWBPIS with fidelity and when employed, whether it could affect problem behavior patterns, and whether it affects the capacity of a school to implement tertiary supports. Although this study only examined trained schools, they also reached 80% or higher on the SET within two years of implementation.

Trained schools across the two studies mentioned above not only experienced a higher level of fidelity but also showed a consistent pattern of increase in rate of SWPBIS implementation during the first year that leveled off slightly over time. In the Bradshaw et al. (2008) study, trained schools implementation fidelity rate increased by 67% from year one to year two and by 19% from year two to year three, whereas non-trained schools implementation rate increased by 6.25% from year one to year two and by 12.5 from year two to three. It is important to remember that the non-trained school did not meet implementation fidelity with the overall SET score of 80%. Trained schools in the Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study showed a similar increased rate of implementation from year one to year two. Additionally, trained schools across both studies experienced this trend of scoring higher and at a quicker increasing rate in each of the seven subscale areas with the exception of *Responding to Behavior Violation System*.

These two studies indicate the actions that schools take the first two years are critical in implementing SWPBIS. When looking closely at the subset scores in the Bradshaw et al. (2008) study that measures the actions staff need to take and systems staff needed to implement indicate not only the necessity of training but also the ability to successfully put the training into action within the first two years.

PBIS training did not have the same impact on implementing the system for responding to behavior violations as in the other subscale areas. This was the one subscale SET score whereby trained and non-trained schools showed some similar characteristics. Trained and non-trained schools both saw significant improvements in *responding to behavior violations systems*. According to the study, this may be because most schools have established systems for communication misbehaviors (i.e. office referrals) and most schools have established consequences for misbehavior.

One slight difference between trained schools and non-trained schools who participated in the Bradshaw et al. (2008) study was the slight dip in this particular total subset score of -4.76% that the trained schools experienced from year two to year three whereas the non-trained schools experienced an increase of 25% from year two to year three and the increase[…?]. One area of this subset that delineated the trained schools from the non-trained schools was the scoring on "*Staff agrees with administration on* procedures for extreme emergency." The staff of the non-trained schools scored higher and with more consistency than the trained schools in this area. Interestingly enough, trained schools saw the opposite effect in the areas of *"Staff agrees with administration on notification of extreme emergency."* The trained schools saw an increase from year one to two and from two to three whereas the non-trained schools saw an increase from year one to two and decease from year two to three.

Reliable Tools Exist for Evaluating SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity.

The second contribution from this group of implementation studies indicate that there are valid and reliable tools for assessing implementation reliability. All three studies used data from two or more of the following measures to address their inquiry: the (SET), Team Implementation Checklist (TIC), office discipline referrals (ODR), and/or Implementation Phase Inventory (IPI). ODRs are entered into the School-Wide Information System (SWIS)

by each school and were reliable and valid when used for within-school comparisons across time (Irwin, Tobin, Sprague, & Vincent, 2004). The TIC, completed by the school leadership team, is a basic tool that allows schools to monitor and sustain SWPBIS implementation as perceived by the school's leadership team. Whereas two of the studies in this group focused on implementation fidelity, findings from the Bradshaw, Debnam, et al. (2009) study focused solely on the validity and reliability of the SET, TIC, and IPI. This investigation primarily examined whether or not a new evaluation tool called Implementation Phases Inventory (IPI) is a reliable and valid tool used for assessing the fidelity of SWPBIS implementation phases. In doing so, this study also examined the validity and reliability of the SET and TIC.

The IPI is completed by PBIS coaches and used to document a school's phase of SWPBIS implementation and is based on the idea that second order change occurs across five successive stages: pre-contemplation, contemplation, preparation, action, and maintenance (Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2008). The IPI is described in the study as a complementary measurement used with the SET and TIC. This study argued that IPI is an internally consistent measure with adequate test–retest reliability, interrater reliability, and concurrent validity. In terms of internal consistency, the descriptive and correlational analyses on the subscales indicate a relatively strong association among all the IPI subscales, but the correlations involving the preparation subscale tended to be the lowest. In terms of reliability, the correlation between the overall IPI score on the coach's first and second IPIs was high, which suggests strong test–retest reliability of the full measure. The test–retest reliability was considerably lower for the preparation subscale than for the others, which they attributed to limited variability among the items on this subscale. The findings reported reasonable interrater reliability in results of the correlational analyses between the coaches and team leaders' total IPI scores. In terms of validity, there were moderate correlations between the IPI scores, the Total SET score, and Total TIC score.

Based on results above, schools implementing the program longer tended to score higher on the IPI.

SWPBIS Can be Implemented with Fidelity and Show Promise.

The third contribution from this group of studies indicates that schools can implement SWPBIS with fidelity and that SWPBIS implementation is promising for supporting positive behavior outcomes. Collectively, these three articles demonstrated that achieving implementation fidelity is possible. Across two of the three studies, participating schools trained in PBIS achieved implementation fidelity within the first two years according to SET criteria of obtaining an overall score of 80%. Not only did these studies show evidence of implementation fidelity, but also a parallel between implementation fidelity and increased instructional minutes, increased administrative time and a decreased ODRs. The Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study served as an example. While this study did not compare PBIS trained and non-trained schools, it did examine the effects of SWPBIS implementation fidelity in three specific areas.

The first areas had to do with an increase in instructional time. This study collected data from three cohorts over three years and saved up to 239 instructional hours. The second area was an increase in administrative time. These same cohorts over the three-year period saved up to 119.6 hours in administrative time. The third area was a decrease in office behavior referrals form. This study reported schools experiencing a 42% average rate of decrease across two years. This finding will be discussed in the next student outcome section. Examining these areas is important because they support future studies related to implementation fidelity and student outcomes. While these educational resources such as increased instructional and administrative time do not indicate student academic outcomes, they certainly may be associated with improving learning outcomes for students if carefully considered.

Discussion: What Inconsistencies and Gaps Exist in the Literature Regarding SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Systems Evaluation?

Overall, the methods across the (Bradshaw, Reinke, et al., 2008; Mass-Galloway et al., 2008) studies were conducive to answering the research questions. In the Bradshaw et al. (2008) study, some 21 schools were trained in PBIS and 16 were not. Schools in this study were selected using the Murray (1998) randomized trial design often used in comparative studies to eliminate bias in treatment assignment. The training provided to schools in both studies aimed to create a standard of practice for implementing SWPBIS. This was key in comparing trained schools across the studies. The multiple data sets used in this study provided reliable outcomes that either confirmed or informed the questions raised in the study. The combination of the SET and TIC in the Bradshaw et al. (2008) study and SET, ODR, and TIC in Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study provided information that confirmed implementation fidelity across both studies but also showed in the second study how fidelity affected the number of students referred to the office, saved instructional and administrative minutes, and the rate of implementation.

The Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) investigation has important implications in regards to future studies seeking to understand the effects of SWPBIS implementation fidelity on student behavioral and academic outcomes. This study included teacher perceptual data (TIC) regarding implementation whereas study one only utilizes the SET and ODRs to get at their questions regarding SWPBIS implementation. All three studies provide evidence that SWPBIS can be implemented with fidelity. The premise of SWPBIS is reduced "problem behavior" (measured by the decrease of ODRs). The Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study addressed a gap in the Bradshaw, Reinke, et al. (2008) study by helping us to understand the possible connection between implementation fidelity and student behavioral outcomes.

While the Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study indicates promise, more studies need to be done that address the relationship between increased instructional and administrative time and student achievement as well as SWPBIS implementation and student academic outcomes.

The Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study also sought to understand the schools' ability to implement tertiary supports once SWPBIS primary supports were implemented. The data collection in the second study did not get at this question. While the data collected indicates the need for tertiary supports, it does not indicate whether a school is capable of implementing them. This inconsistency represents another gap in the literature that raises the question of the relationship between primary SWPBIS implementation and tertiary supports. Additionally, this study did not include student perceptual data to understand how those needing tertiary supports view and experience school. Does the implementation of SWPBIS primary supports with fidelity lend itself to the development of implementation of tertiary supports within schools? The questions about SWPBIS implementation fidelity in the second study seem to be generalized questions such as can schools implement SWPBIS, and if so, can it be done with fidelity. While the question is general, the data collected in this study is specific to Iowa schools and cannot be generalized without several studies being conducted in various school districts across several states with unique contexts that yield the same promising results. Finally, the (Bradshaw, Debnam, et al., 2009) study introduced an additional fidelity measurement tool for assessing SWPBIS implementation fidelity. This study supports the consistency, validity, and reliability of each tool described and used in the three studies to get at SWPBIS implementation fidelity. While this study is promising, it is one of the few studies done. More validation studies need to be done to strengthen the claims made about effectiveness of these tools.

SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Student Outcomes

Contributions from This Group of Studies

The second group of studies includes one descriptive analysis and two studies that examine SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student outcomes. While the descriptive analysis was not framed as a quantitative study, the work described represents the possibilities for designing future studies that connect program fidelity with student outcomes. It also represents longitudinal quantitative data relating to program implementation fidelity and student academic outcome. These three studies were conducted between 2008-2012 and utilized quantitative methods that involved collecting data from multiple schools within and across districts. These studies contribute to our understanding of SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student outcomes in three important ways: the correlation between SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student social/behavior outcomes, the correlation between SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student academic outcomes, the correlation between high fidelity SWPBIS Implementation and student, student academic achievement and behavior.

The Correlation between SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Student Social/Behavioral Outcomes.

All three studies used system evaluation tools to measure SWPBIS implementation fidelity. These tools are necessary as we learned in the previous section because they help us understand how well schools established PBIS practices. While evaluative tools such as the SET, TIC, and IPI help to determine the level of program fidelity, they alone do not tell us about student behavioral outcomes. Towards that end, this group of studies utilized tools such as office discipline referrals (ODRs), and suspension data coupled with fidelity data to understand how full implementation of SWPBIS affected student behavior. The Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) and the Sadler & Sugai (2009) studies serve as examples. Both

studies used the SET and TIC to evaluate the level of SWPBIS implementation fidelity and ODRs to measure student behavioral outcomes. Schools in both studies saw a decline in problem behaviors from year to year. Findings in the Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study indicated that out of 24 schools, seventy five percent of those schools experienced a 42% decrease in ODRs per day per 100 students over a two-year period. Findings in the Sadler & Sugai (2009) ten-year study indicated that participating districts maintained ODRs at significantly lower rates compared to other schools in the University of Oregon's School Wide Information System (www.swis.org) database over the course of one year.

The Simonsen et al. (2012) study also utilized the SET, for program fidelity and ODRs for measuring student outcomes but also included suspension data. This suspension data included the total number of suspensions (TS) and out of school suspension days (OSS). TS reflect the number of suspension events whereas OSS reflects the number of days suspended. Findings from this study indicate that schools that implemented SWPBIS experienced a decrease in ODRs. However, schools implementing SWPBIS with fidelity SET scores above 80%) experienced more of a downward trend in ODRs over time. Additionally, schools implementing SWPBIS with fidelity (SET scores above 80%) had significantly few OSS and total suspensions than schools implementing SWPBIS with lower SET scores. The use of an additional data source in this study allowed schools to have a more thorough understanding on the effectiveness of their SWPBIS system. They were able to cross check their ODRs with their suspension data to determine whether there was a parallel between fewer ODRs and suspensions and if there was a decline in problem behaviors.

The Correlation between SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Student Academic Outcomes.

These three studies help us not only to understand the effects of SWPBIS program fidelity on student problem behaviors but also on student academic outcomes. The tools used to

measure program fidelity and student behavior tell us something about the relationship between the two but do not tell us how either or both affect student learning. Using achievement data with fidelity data helps us to understand the correlation between the two. Two of the three studies included student achievement data in their data collection (Sadler & Sugai, 2009; Simonsen et al., 2012). The (Sadler & Sugai, 2009) study included two Dynamic Indicators of Basic Early Literacy Skills (DIBELS) measures: Phoneme Segmentation Fluency (PSF) and Oral Reading Fluency (ORF). They also included Oregon State Reading and Literature Assessment data. The DIBELS screeners assess early literacy skills acquisition in the elementary school setting. The Simonsen et al. (2012) included the Illinois State Achievement Test (ISAT) with their fidelity and behavior data. According to the SET data collected, schools across both studies achieved high-fidelity program implementation. Participating schools in Oregon study achieved fidelity at a rate of 86 percent over the course of five years, which was a 7% increase. Participating schools in the Illinois study achieved similar levels of fidelity in elementary schools.

This high level of program fidelity seems to have a positive effect on student academic outcomes. Both studies saw a parallel between SWBPIS program fidelity and increased student achievement over time. The Sadler and Sugai (2009) study reported that after schools implemented EBIS/SWPBIS, there was an increase in the percentage of kindergarten, first, and third grade students with significant gains in key literacy skills predictive of reading success such as PSF and ORF. The PSF measures a student's ability to segment three- and four-phoneme words into their individual phonemes fluently, a good predictor of later reading achievement (Kaminski & Good, 1996). The ORF is a standardized measure that tests reading accuracy and fluency. This success continued over five years of data collection where there was both an increase in program fidelity and student achievement. According to DIBELS data, during five years of improved reading instruction

the number of students needing strategic or tertiary reading support decreased in the areas of PSF and ORF from 8% to 3% at kindergarten and from 21% to 10% at first grade.

This study used two different sets of achievement data, the DIBELS screener, and the Oregon state assessment of reading and literature for a cohort of first- through third-grade students. The Reading portion of the Oregon State Assessment contains passages representative of literary, informative, and practical reading selections and assesses state reading standards. Schools in this study were able to see a parallel between the assessments. The additional data allowed schools in this study to compare fidelity data over time with more than one academic measure. Students who reached the Oral Reading Fluency benchmark on the DIBELS as first graders that then remained in the instructional program including SWPBIS for the next two years had a 98% to 99% chance of meeting the state reading benchmark at third grade. Students who exceeded the state reading benchmark at third grade were highly likely to meet the benchmark at fifth grade.

The Simonsen et al. (2012) study showed some similar correlations between program fidelity and student achievement data. Findings in this study indicated that most of the schools with high implementation fidelity had improved student social growth and academic growth in math. While reading achievement increased significantly overtime, there was a marginal difference in the areas of reading between SWPBIS schools with high and low implementation fidelity. SWPBIS schools increased in mastery on the math portion of the math ISAT. However, math achievement increased more significantly in schools that implemented SWPBIS with fidelity.

One final piece that is gained from this group of studies is the connection between student behavior and academic performance. The Oregon study serves an example (Sadler & Sugai, 2009). Based on a comparison of students' average numbers of office discipline referrals and their average scores in Grades 3, 5, 8, and 10 on the state reading

assessment, students with zero to one referral are likely to meet the reading standard. This key finding links behavior to learning outcomes. Students who behave have a better chance of excelling academically while students with problem behaviors risk falling behind. This finding supports the need for SWPBIS in schools as a proactive measure aimed at promoting positive behavior.

Discussion: What Inconsistencies and Gaps Exist in the Literature Regarding SWPBIS Implementation Fidelity and Student Outcomes?

For the most part, the first two studies have solid methodologies that support their research questions (Mass-Galloway et al., 2008; Sadler & Sugai, 2009). However, there are a few inconsistencies. The Mass-Galloway et al. (2008) study explicitly discusses student outcomes but does not discuss the relationship between the level of implementation fidelity, teacher perceptions of SWPBIS implementation, and the decrease in ODRs. When examining the data tables presented in this study, it became clear that the baseline data for ODRs indicated a high number of office referrals for misbehavior across the schools prior to the initial implementation of SWPBIS. Over time, this number decreased as SWPBIS was implemented. The TIC and SET scores also increased reaching above 80%. These scores indicated a relationship between the three measures used and, more importantly, that SWBPIS processes were occurring in the schools.

A more in-depth analysis of the data could highlight these relationships and strengthen the hypothesis that higher SWPBIS implementation fidelity yields higher student behavioral outcomes as measured by ODRs. Conducting more studies could get at the hypothesis mentioned above. Additionally, conducting more studies involving mixed methodology would provide anecdotal information from teachers, support staff, and students. This would allow details and/or experiences not captured by the quantitative methods to provide a real sense of how much problem behaviors are reported, recorded, and addressed. Including qualitative methodology could more accurately assess whether

behaviors/ behavioral patterns are improving as indicated by the ODRs. Finally, this study seeking to understand student outcomes did not consider student voice.

The Sadler and Sugai (2009) study does a great job of describing the SWPBIS implementation and approach. It also describes some components of the research such as reliable measures for getting at research questions. There is nice triangulation of student reading achievement, fidelity, and behavior data that demonstrates a relationship between program fidelity, improved behavior, and student reading achievement. However, this study lacks a solid empirical methodological approach that affects some of the data analysis such as the ODRs that will be explained later. This is indicated in the limitation and conclusion section of the analysis that also calls for a more robust and experimental approach towards understanding the functional relationship between SWPBIS and student literacy and behavior outcomes. This is important because the study mentions the implementation of improved reading instruction when discussing reading achievement. Considering the results of the Simonsen et al. (2012) study where the implementation of SWPBIS affected math achievement and not reading achievement, more questions surface. For example, does SWPBIS implementation fidelity support increase reading success in students? Does SWPBIS combined with consistent explicit literacy instruction increase reading outcomes in students?

The Sadler and Sugai (2009) study analyzed behavior data over the course of several years but did not collect it in a way that allowed for a clear understanding of student growth in behavior. Over time, the average ODRs per 100 students per day was not delineated by the same group of schools from the onset of the study but rather the total number of schools as added each year. Additionally, baseline data was not available initially during SWPBIS implementation. This is a limitation of the study because year one could have served as baseline data to at least show growth overtime after the first year of

SWPBIS implementation. More studies need to be done that allows ODR data to be systematically delineated by the same group of schools to show outcomes over time.

The Simonsen et al. (2012) study included a nice triangulation of data related to student outcomes, program implementation fidelity, and discussed the relationship between implementation fidelity and student outcomes. However, the study only relied on one type of student academic outcome data. A use of multiple academic outcome data would strengthen the findings in such studies. State academic assessments are limited in that they represent one measure of academic growth and do not indicate growth for students who start below grade level and make significant progress but do not reach the grade level benchmark. Additionally, a mixture of quantitative and qualitative data would provide more substantive finding and conclusions. Including interviews of teachers and students would allow them to provide information related to how they perceive growth to be occurring because of SWPBIS.

The Simonsen et al. (2012) study appears to have a stronger quantitative approach than the other two studies. It utilized three types of data to measure student social and behavioral outcomes and academic outcome data to show a parallel relationship between program fidelity and student achievement. One reason for this could be a progression of practice and research process. It takes time to understand the nature of new phenomenon and longer to study various components of that phenomenon. If one observed the dates when each study took place, the second study was published in 2012 whereas the other two studies were published in 2008 and 2009. The third study is a response to earlier work calling for studies to occur that seeks to understand the effects of SWPBIS on student outcomes. This study is promising, because it focused on SWPBIS implementation and its connection to student social/behavioral and academic success. More studies need to be done in this area.

Finally, the findings in the Simonsen et al. (2012) study indicate that SWBPIS positively affected math, behavioral and social student growth, but did not so so with reading. Currently, in schools initiatives seeking to increase reading have hypothesized that improved behavior is linked with improved reading achievement. Thus, more studies are needed to examine the effect of SWPBIS on reading achievement.

Teacher Perceptions Regarding SWPBIS/PBIS

Contributions from This Group of Studies

The last group of studies examines teacher and support staff perceptions regarding SWPBIS implementation in the elementary context. Eight studies conducted between 2007 and 2011 utilized several research methods ranging from quantitative methods questionnaires, interviews, and/or surveys with some open-ended questions. Most of the studies collected data from multiple schools and/or staff members within and across schools and/or districts. This group of studies examines teacher and staff perceptions regarding SWPBIS/PBIS in various contexts and they contribute to our understanding in two significant ways: teacher and staff perceptions of barriers to SWPBIS implementation and teacher and staff perceptions on how SWPBIS affects school organizational health.

SWPBIS Implementation Barriers Perceived by Teachers

Several of the articles in this literature review examine teacher and staff perceptions regarding issues that affected their ability to run SWPBIS systems successfully. These studies help us understand the problems that teachers encounter and associate with doing this work. The Bambara et al. (2009) and Kincaid, Childs, Blase, and Wallace (2007) study identified several barriers to SWPBIS implementation. Common barriers across both studies included: school culture as it relates to lack of staff buy-in, administrative support, time, family and student involvement and professional development. According to both studies,

SWPBIS can be effective and sustainable when schools establish systems that address or remove these barriers.

Nearly all of the participants across the studies examining SWPBIS barriers viewed professional development as a critical component of SWPBIS implementation and sustainability. For example, 92% of the teachers in the Kincaid, Childs, Blase, et al. (2007) study identified adequate and ongoing training opportunities and continuous support for professional practice as a critical component necessary to successfully implement and sustain SWPBIS. This qualitative study involved semi-structured interviews based on the topical guide that asked what processes teachers used to develop positive behavioral supports for students as well as perceived barriers and support needed to successfully implement these supports throughout the building. The overall perception of teachers in this study was that ongoing support for professional development was critical, because this type of programming requires a specific skill and mindset that differ radically from those involved in traditional behavior management or classroom practices (p. 171).

The Sullivan et al. (2011) study also highlighted the lack of SWPBIS training as a barrier for school psychologists. This study surveyed over 500 school psychologists utilizing descriptive analysis to understand their SWPBIS training participation, and types of SWPBIS interventions they use. This study also examined the role of school psychologist and SWPBIS implementation and identified a lack of training and misconceptions about SWBPIS as implementation barriers for school psychologists. Findings in this article indicated that one quarter of the 500 school psychologists surveyed did not receive any training in SWPBIS. The school psychologists who participated in this survey perceived this lack of training as an implementation barrier due to competency issues and/or misconceptions related to SWPBIS.

Across the studies mentioned above, school culture as it relates to staff buy-in, and professional development seemed to be interdependent. In the Bambara et al. (2009) study, teachers perceived school culture as important to successfully implementing SWPBIS as professional development. Ninety two percent of the participants reported that the lack of establishing a school culture in which all members of a school community share a common understanding and appreciation for PBIS served as a barrier. The correlation between professional development and staff buy-in became increasingly clear in these studies. Professional development is provided to increase the teachers' knowledge and understanding of practices that they are to use and implement. If staff lacks understanding about SWPBIS, they will be less likely to implement practices with fidelity. A lack of know-how correlates with buy-in and consensus among staff to support SWPBIS processes.

Participants in the above studies also identified misconceptions regarding the purposes SWPBIS and their roles and responsibilities. Additionally, they perceived that their misconceptions resulted from the lack of professional development that affected staff buy-in. Teachers from the Chitiyo and Wheeler (2009) study also reported lacking technical skills related to implementing PBIS in their classrooms. The Chitiyo and Wheeler (2009) study examined difficulties teachers faced implementing PBIS in their classrooms and school systems. Teachers in this study perceived not having specific skills, techniques, shared values, and other areas as barriers related to implementing PBIS in their classrooms and schools. With regard to specific skills, most teachers did not seem to have much difficulty understanding the basic fundamental principles of PBIS. However, they struggled with conducting of FBAs and using functional assessment data to formulate hypotheses. Teachers perceived techniques to be the least difficult area. However, teachers had great difficulty using techniques such as instructional antecedents to prevent challenge and to teach alternative replacement behaviors. They found the use of reinforcement to increase desired behaviors to be the least difficult technique. Teachers struggled with shared values

and found collaborating with families and staff to be difficult. They also found the use of team-based approach in conducting FBAs to be difficult.

Other barriers teachers and staff perceived to be the very challenging included time constraints, large class sizes, and available resources. While many of these implementation barriers connected to the need for professional development, the study also identified barriers related to time and practical application when implementing SWPBIS. This study used social validation measures to evaluate a statewide PBIS initiative. In this study, teachers and staff utilizing the SWPBIS process were polled regarding their perceptions of the program's social relevance, including the acceptability of its treatment goals, procedures, and outcomes. One piece of data collected to get at this question included an 18 item questionnaire that measured specific judgments of social validity. Three judgments of validity were identified in the study.

The first judgment of social validity is *importance* and *acceptance.* This considers the idea of program goal acceptability. The second judgment of social validity, acceptability of program procedures (Kern & Manz 2004) relates to the idea of willingness to use and recommend to others. The third judgment of social validity, program outcomes, also considers the acceptability of treatment outcomes. According to the findings, staff collectively responded positively to SWPBIS in the area of improvement in overall school climate and environment. Most perceived that the implemented program positively influenced their school and was worth the time and effort they invested. A high percentage reported that they would recommend the program to others.

Teachers' responses indicated that they were not as supportive of SWPBIS as administrators and auxiliary staff. Teachers perceived heavy paperwork required for successful implementation and the practicality of implementing and adhering to program procedures as barriers. They reported that these areas required an overload of work on

their part. The lack of training as a barrier did not surface in these findings. However, these findings are important to the issue of SWPBIS implementation barriers because it helps us to consider how barriers that are not addressed can undermine the goals associated with implementing behavior systems. A study such as this helps us carefully consider teachers' perceptions.

Teacher Perceptions Regarding SWPBIS on School Organizational Health

The Bradshaw, Koth, et al. (2008) and Bradshaw, Koth, et al. (2009) studies examined teacher's perceptions regarding the impact of SWPBIS on the school organizational health. These studies were based on research covering three years in the first study, then extended to five years in the second study. Both investigations utilized the following measures to address their inquiry: a questionnaire aimed at collecting staff demographics, baseline school demographics from the State Department of Education, the SET, and the Organizational Health Inventory for Elementary Schools (OHI). The OHI is a validated measure that has been widely used to measure the staff's perceptions of the school's organizational health. The subscales have strong internal reliabilities. This tool measures five features of healthy performing schools, which include institutional integrity, staff affiliation, academic emphasis, collegial leadership, and resource influence. Thirty-seven schools across five districts participated. Twenty-one of the schools were randomized to the intervention of PBIS and 16 were not.

Both studies indicated that there was a significant effect of PBIS on staff reports of the schools' overall organizational health, resource influence, and staff affiliation. The same positive effects on school organizational health were not seen in the area of academic emphasis during the three-year study. However, academic emphasis effect increased over the course of the five-year study. Schools with lower baseline levels of resource influence, collegial leadership, and academic emphasis tended to improve the most over the course of

the study. Similar to the Miramontes et al. (2011) study, a high majority of teachers noted an overall improvement in the overall school climate and environment. They also perceived the SWPBIS had a positive impact on their school and that they would recommend the program to others.

In both studies, PBIS did not strongly affect growth in collegial leadership, institutional integrity, or influence the schools' sensitivity to unreasonable community demands (i.e., institutional integrity). However, over the course of the five- year study, the effects of collegial leadership and institutional integrity were significant when implementation fidelity was included in the model. There seemed to be a relationship between the rate of implementation and higher levels of organizational health. This finding is important when paralleled with the implementation studies mentioned earlier in this review because they tell us something the role about training plays in SWPBIS implementation fidelity, school culture, and organizational health. This work may also have some indicators for student outcomes. In this study, trained schools that adopted PBIS the fastest tended to have higher levels of organizational health. In both studies, the two groups differed significantly at year three on collegial leadership, overall OHI, but not until year four for resource influence and academic influence.

Finally, there was no significant difference in scores on the continuous SET scores between the PBIS schools and comparison conditions at the baseline with the exception of the academic subscale. However, there was a significant intervention effect for the overall SET score. At the end of the five year study, 100% of PBIS schools reached met the 80% or higher benchmark whereas 23% of the comparison schools met the 80% or higher overall SET score. Schools that met the 80% or higher PBIS benchmark on the SET improved less than the PBIS schools, which did not meet the criteria. PBIS training was associated with significant improvements in resource influence, academic emphasis, and the overall OHI score. Intervention effects on growth in several aspects of organizational health

reached significance at the end of year three of implementation, and sustained through the five years. It is then possible that the impact of PBIS on school climate peaks around year three, stabilizes, and potentially declines somewhat thereafter. Schools that received PBIS training implemented PBIS with higher fidelity than the comparison schools.

Discussion: What Inconsistencies and Gaps exist in Literature on Teacher Perceptions Regarding SWPBIS/PBIS?

This group of studies addressed gaps in the literature regarding teachers' personal thoughts and experiences related to implementing SWPBIS. It also addressed gaps in the literature related to teachers' perceptions of the tensions and issues related to doing SWPBIS work in their schools. This group of studies has some advantages and disadvantages regarding the methodologies used in each study. One advantage of the studies collectively is the use of data from multiple schools within and across schools districts and participants across schools from multiple states. The majority of the studies collected data from multiple schools across many districts. This allows for some level of generalization with findings. At the same time, the disadvantages are related to the multiple districts being in the same states or school districts where SWPBIS implementations in schools are supported by statewide initiatives. In these cases, findings can be generalized regionally but not necessarily broadly.

An example of a study where it may be possible to generalize findings is the Bambara et al. (2009) study. Findings in this investigation were representative of a diversity of participants actively engaged in the SWPBIS process in two distinct ways. Participants represented multiple stakeholders in the school process and were representative of schools across multiple states. The collection of data is broad but does not represent the scope of whole schools implementing SWPBIS but rather the perspectives of individuals within various SWPBIS schools. The findings in this study cannot be

generalized outside of the scope of the participants. However, the findings can be generalized to some degree based on what has been learned about SWPBIS to date. The Bambara et al. (2009) study is significant because it focused on teacher and stakeholders' perceptions regarding tertiary supports for students with disabilities that can be considered for general education students requiring intensive behavioral interventions.

Other advantages and disadvantages are related to the type of data collection methods that occurred in these studies. The advantages of the qualitative studies allow the researcher to provide a more in-depth look into the social context of PBIS and capture the narratives associated with SWPBIS from the perspective of the individuals engaging in the process. Including the narratives of the students for example could tell us more about their perceptions of school that could provide insight related to why these systems work for some students and not for others. Limitations associated with the qualitative methods in these studies are its narrow focus and limited scope of comparison and or landscape. For example, the Kincaid, Childs, Blase, et al. (2007) study utilized the nominal group process for data collection which provided a wealth of information but would be unmanageable to collect from larger groups.

The qualitative interviews dig deep into a few experiences and the quantitative surveys and other multiple data tools provides a breadth of information regarding SWPBIS phenomenon. Another advantage of collecting qualitative data with open-ended questions is not limiting possible realities related to the phenomenon that we seek to understand. The nominal group process used in Kincaid, Childs, Blase, et al. (2007) study allowed staff to create data related to the research question without the influence of others in the group by simply having a silent generation of ideas prior to round robin sharing, clarification of ideas, ranking and averaging the ranking of those ideas, re-ranking and rating the ideas. This method not only provides knowledge about the phenomenon from the direct source of

experience, it also values the participants experience and what counts as knowledge about SWPBIS.

A limitation in the Chitiyo and Wheeler (2009) study is the limited data sources used to get at similar questions in the Kincaid, Childs, Blase, et al. (2007) study. Another weakness of this study involved data collection from one school, thus limiting the generalization of findings. Finally, this interview instrument was not tested to establish its validity and reliability prior to use. More studies with qualitative and mixed methods need to be done to better understand the effectiveness of PBIS implementation in the social context of student and teacher experiences. It is important to understand what the numbers (quantitative) tell us. However, it is equally important to confirm what the numbers tell us based on the stories (qualitative) of those whom we are trying to learn from and understand. Furthermore, these studies should consider the voices of the students since we are trying to understand how PBIS support their social and emotional well-being in schools.

One gap across all of the studies in this literature review relates to examining how school culture, practices, and structures negatively affect student behavior. The Tillery et al. (2010) study began to address this gap in that it seeks to understand not only how PBIS has reduced negative behavior but also how factors in school can influence and/or create negative behaviors in students. However, the study falls short of including student voices and cultural consideration. This question has been virtually absent in the literature until this point. While this study sheds light on the issue, more studies need to be done that examine the adverse outcomes that school culture and structures have on student behaviors. Staff and teachers perceived the lack of training as a barrier to implementing SWPBIS in schools. This represents another gap in the literature. More PBIS schools need to provide training to their staff and more studies need to occur that study the how training affects teachers' perceptions about implementing SWPBIS. Additionally, more studies need to be done that

examine the effect PBIS professional development and behavioral technical training have on program implementation fidelity, teacher/staff perceptions, and school organization health. Finally, other gaps include the effect of family participation on SWPBIS implementation and the impact of SWPBIS in urban schools.

Conclusion:

This body of literature contributes greatly to our understanding of SWPBIS in three significant ways. The three areas include SWPBIS fidelity, SWBPIS fidelity and student outcomes, and teachers' and staff perceptions regarding SWPBIS. From these studies, we learn that PBIS training affects SWPBIS implementation fidelity. We also learn that the tools used to asses SWPBIS implementation fidelity are valid and reliable. These tools included the SET, ODR, TIC, and the IPI. These studies also revealed that there is a correlation between SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student outcomes in the areas of social/behavior and academic improvement. The use of multiple data such as a combination of the SET, ODRs, Suspension data, and academic assessment data tended to provide a more thorough understanding of the effects that program fidelity had on student outcomes.

The literature also provided an understanding that teachers perceived a lack of professional development and staff buy-in to have a significant negative impact on SWPBIS implementation. There was a correlation between SWPBIS training and staff buy-in. The more training staff received increased their understanding and comfort when implementing SWPBIS. This in turn increased staff buy-in. We also came to understand that staff across schools responded positively to SWPBIS and viewed it as a relevant and needed approach. However, the same individuals felt there was too much paperwork that affected practical application. Teacher perceptions regarding SWPBIS on the school organizational health revealed the belief that SWPBIS has a significant effect on a schools' overall organizational health in the areas of resource influence and staff affiliation.

The quantitative nature of these studies along with the method of data collection provides breadth. These studies span several schools, staff, and context allowing for some degree of generalization about SWPBIS implementation fidelity and student outcomes. For example, we can generalize that training and professional learning is vital to the SWPBIS implementation fidelity. This is possible for a few reasons. First, training surfaced across each set of studies as being a critical component to implementing SWPBIS. When looking across the studies, the lack of training led to misconceptions about SWPBIS that adversely affected staff buy-in. Second, these findings apply not only with teachers but also with support staff as in the study that examined the role and perceptions of school psychologists in SWPBIS. Third, these studies surveyed over 10,000 teachers and staff in multiple schools, school districts and context and had similar findings related to training. While these studies have provided a breadth of information aiding the understanding of SWPBIS implementation fidelity, some gaps and lingering questions exist.

Adding to the SWPBIS literature.

More SWPBIS implementation fidelity studies need to occur that address the relationship between increased instructional and administrative time and student achievement as well as SWPBIS implementation and student academic outcomes. Another gap in the literature stems from the studies not addressing what happens to students who do not respond to SWPBIS. This gap in the literature raises two questions. First, what is the relationship between SWPBIS implementation and tertiary supports and does the implementation of SWPBIS primary supports with fidelity lend itself to the development of implementation of tertiary supports within schools? Some of the implementation fidelity studies utilized qualitative methods where the data collected was specific to a single state. Therefore, the findings in such studies can be generalized to schools within that state but cannot be generalized in or across several states with vastly different contexts.

When examining SWPBIS and students outcomes, there were a few inconsistencies in methodology. Some of the studies explicitly discussed student outcomes but did not discuss the relationship between the level of implementation fidelity, teacher perceptions of SWPBIS implementation, and the decrease in ODRs. More studies that include a more in depth analysis of the data could highlight these relationships and test the hypothesis that higher SWPBIS implementation fidelity yields higher student behavioral outcomes as measured by ODRs. These types of studies could address certain questions that surfaced. For example, does SWPBIS implementation fidelity increase reading success in students or does SWPBIS combined with consistent explicit literacy instruction increase reading outcomes in students?

The studies related to teacher perceptions of SWPBIS fidelity had some similar methodological disadvantages as the SWPBIS implementation fidelity studies and student outcome studies. For example, multiple districts in the same states or school districts where SWPBIS implementation in schools is supported by statewide initiatives were included in some of the studies. In these cases, findings can be generalized regionally but not necessarily broadly. Another reason why it may be challenging to generalize across contexts is due to the collection of data. In some of the studies, the data collected represented the perspectives of individuals rather than the scope of an entire school implementing SWPBIS. While the findings tell us something about SWPBIS, they cannot be generalized outside of the scope of the participants.

Qualitative studies allow the researcher to provide a more in-depth look into the social context of PBIS and capture the narratives associated with SWPBIS from the perspective of the individuals engaging in the process. Including the narratives of the students for example could tell us more about their perceptions of school. This information could provide insight related to why these systems work for some students and not for others. Limitations associated with the qualitative methods in these studies are its narrow focus and limited scope of comparison and or landscape. Including quantitative data could help us

manage larger data samples and understand more about program fidelity along with the participant perspectives and narratives. Conducting more studies involving mixed methodology would provide substantive finding and conclusions.

Finally, the largest gap in the literature is a lack of student voice and cultural consideration. Across all of the studies, there was no data collected capturing the perceptions or voice of students. No one has asked students what is not working for them. It seems that students can provide significant insight into how SWPBIS affects them. Additionally, students can provide an understanding as to why they may not respond to the strategies related to SWPBIS. More studies need to occur that utilize many of the data collection methods in the current SWPBIS studies but that also get at questions such as how students feel about the schools, relationships with teachers, academic learning, and peer relationships. Furthermore, these studies do not take into account how cultural differences might affect the implementation of SWPBIS for historically marginalized students needing tertiary behavioral supports. Cultural Mismatch theory considers the factors affecting historically marginalized students in schools. The next section discusses two tenets from cultural mismatch discourse that helps to explain the complex ecology of the problem. The first tenet discusses cultural mismatch from the perspective of Black and Latino students and teachers. It discusses issues related to their contrasting and conflicting cultural values, norms, and experiences and describes how these differences clash in schools. The second tenet discusses the tensions that these students encounter while transiting[5] multiple institutions.

The Cultural Mismatch between Historically Marginalized Students and Teachers

The first tenet discusses cultural mismatch issues between African American and Latino students and their teachers. Students in these groups often come from different

[5]Students negotiating various social and cultural identities within and across their urban communities, families, gender, peers, and subgroups within schools (Lareau, Noguera, Nocera, Carter viii, 112, Menard-Warwick 120)

places and they have different experiences than those of their teachers, which creates an incompatibility between the two in the areas of language use, values, and social norms. Race is implicit in this mismatch. Often adults are not aware that race matters in schools. Nor are they aware of the different norms, behaviors and values specific to different race groups. Furthermore, most are not cognizant that these differences affect the way that adults view and interact with their Black and Latino students. These cultural differences are often shared within the Black and Latino races. Historically marginalized students often utilize different languages at home and in school. Additionally, students in this group have a set of behavioral norms and practices conducive to their lives outside of school. These nuances often cause teachers and historically marginalized students to misunderstand each other. This is due to different assumptions about the appropriate ways of using language and behaving in the classroom. For many teachers and students, misunderstandings of cultural codes are often confused with student misbehavior or contribute to the student misconduct. This section discusses several ways these misunderstandings occur.

The Language Dissidence between Teachers and Students of Color

Literacy is culturally framed and defined which means that cultural diversity has significant implications for language learning or becoming literate (Hirsch , 1996). Language represents perhaps the most significant breach between students of color and their teachers. Often, the language used by the majority of African American and Latino students reflects the culture of home life and the communities where they live. These language codes are also race based. Language codes used in many classrooms are not conducive to surviving outside of schools or being accepted into certain communities (D. Carter, 2003; P. Carter, 2005; Delpit & Dowdy, 2002). Carter (2005) addresses the academic disengagement of Black and Latino students in her study. Additionally, she discusses the notion of Black cultural capital and the difficulty of acceptance by other Black students especially when accusations of "acting White" exist. Thus, ownership of one's home or native language among other cultural codes becomes essential.

Delpit (1998) discusses the experiences of miscommunication between white teachers and students of color along with their frustration. Delpit describes the culture of power as having rules and codes that are explicit only to those who already have access to this culture (dominant group, teacher, etc.). These issues of power are enacted in classrooms which ultimately determine who will later have access to economic and political power. Delpit does not stand with liberal educators who are unwilling to admit having this power and who tacitly support a system that will preserve the status quo. Delpit argues that students receive the culture that they need to survive in their communities from home and that the purpose of school is to provide the culture they need in order to survive in the economic world. Another way of understanding access to dominant cultural codes and skill sets is Gadamer's (1989) argument concerning cultural literacy and the need to provide all students with a common educational experience in the form of core knowledge, skill sets, and this notion of cultural literacy. It is important to note that while both scholars discuss access to power codes, they are very different in their approaches. Whereas, Hirsch's notion of cultural literacy argues that core knowledge exists and argues for everyone to have access to that knowledge, Delpit would never say a core body of knowledge exists. Instead, she argues that because we live in an inherently unjust society that teachers provide students access to dominate codes in order to level the playing field.

In contrast to the idea of providing students with dominant culture power codes, Ladson-Billings (1994) calls for quality teachers. Her study involves framing the stories of quality teachers and their methods in comparison to assimilationist teachers who serve to preserve the status quo. She identifies a cultural mismatch between the increasing diversity of students of color and the lack of representation of African American teachers. Ladson-Billing's work indicates ways in which race matters in schools. In response to the lack of academic achievement of African students, Ladson-Billings examine successful, culturally relevant teaching practices. Her analysis identifies criteria for culturally relevant teachers and examines how these teachers create community in the classroom, reconceive

knowledge, and challenge the curriculum and system. Wheeler and Swords (2004) work draws from both paradigms of thought and discusses the idea of code switching. Code switching involves transiting between variations of language in different context such as school and home. According to Wheeler and Swords', teachers have to understand that students need both their formal language for school and informal language for home.

The Contrasting Role of Respect and Caring in Black and Latino Culture

Social codes utilized by different groups serves as another example of how race is culturally nuanced. One way that historically marginalized students, particularly Black students, clash culturally with teachers occurs through the notion of respect. In the African American culture, the idea of respect is highly valued and often serves as a precursor to classroom learning and abiding to classroom norms. For teachers respect is about following the school norms, maintaining professionalism, and being kind to students. For Black students, respect relates to the teacher's acceptance of their cultural identity. Another way that historically marginalized students, particularly Latinos, contrast culturally with their teachers occurs through the notion of caring. Valenzuela (1999) provides a framework on caring, to explain the significant impact caring has on Latino students. Valenzuela introduced this framework from her ethnographic study that addressed the idea of "subtractive schooling".

Her framework contributed to our understanding of achievement patterns of Mexican American students who are often children of second-generation migrant workers. In her work, she described the notion of "subtractive schooling" as the cultural assimilation of Latino students in the American educational system and the disregard of their definition of education. According to Valenzuela, for many Latino students, caring and education go hand and hand. She argued that teachers often show their care by working to support student learning. This plays out in their planning, instruction, discipline, classroom management, communication etc. She identified this type of caring as technical and

provided the example of teachers giving attention to form and non-personal content rather than showing concern for their student's subjective realities. She also argued that teachers have to go beyond their student's dress attire and seemingly off-putting behavior to get to know them. Once Latino students experience a genuine connection, feel that the teacher has clearly shown concern and total acceptance of them then a culture of caring is established and reciprocated. Likewise, Cooper's (2013) study confirmed that Latina students who often feel disenfranchised from school engaged at a higher level in environments where teachers provided safe, nurturing and productive spaces. This type of environment involves caring.

Teacher Beliefs about Historically Marginalized Students

Noguera's (2003) and Fruchter's (2007) studies examine the achievement gap between White students and Black and Latino students in urban schools. According to Fruchter, society's hegemonic class and race shape the culture of schooling. Thus, the dominant culture of power influences curriculum designs, school organization, instructional methodologies, language use, accountability systems, and disciplinary methods that often exclude and conflict with historically marginalized children and their experiences. This difference represents a significant culturally nuanced race-based gap. The dominant group making the majority of decisions affecting Black and Latino students is composed of White middle class and affluent individuals who do not hold the same social understandings as their historically marginalized students, nor do they value the non-dominant capital held by these groups (P. Carter, 2005). While Fruchter's and Noguera's work focused primarily on urban schools, their claims hold true in other schools which historically marginalized students attend. Both scholars argued that student failure in urban schools is due largely to conflicting cultural realities and identities within schools and in classrooms between teachers and students. They further argue that teachers' misconceptions regarding disadvantaged students influence the construction of their cultural identities (often negative), contribute to

cultural clashes, exacerbate negative student behavior, or mistake culturally normed behavior to be misbehavior. Additionally, they address the misconception that black students do poorly in schools compared to their white and other ethnic counterparts because education is not a priority to them or their parents.

As noted in Lareau's (1987) work, Black and poor parents view education as a priority. However, teachers cannot always see this value due to various social, economic, and institutional constraints that these families often face. While teachers often believe that the lack of parent and student engagement is the real reason why historically disadvantaged students lag behind academically and behaviorally, this is not the case. Noguera (2003) described this misconception in his work as normalized stereotypes based on the beliefs that culture determines academic performance. However, Noguera dispelled this notion by highlighting how middle class Black students and Asian American students also struggle in schools. Noguera's work argues that there is something beyond class specific to race and adults need to understand these nuances in order to positively affect Black and Latino student learning and behavior in positive ways.

These stereotypes and misconceptions that teachers unintentionally have about students socially construct their identities in ways that adversely influence student academic achievement, peer relations, and especially behaviors in school. P. Carter (2005) argues that Black and Latino students employ certain expressions that seem oppositional to teachers but actually creates solidarity, assert cultural symbols, increase self-worth, and pride. These different ways of knowing and behaving are valid, specific to racial groups, and tied to their socio-historical contexts and experiences. However, when misunderstood as oppositional behavior, Black and Latino students enter into discipline patterns that often ostracized them from their peers and learning. This is another example in the literature of how race and culture are interconnected and matters in schools. This disenfranchisement of historically marginalized students often occurs covertly and unbeknownst to teachers

through self-fulfilling prophecies and fuels discipline problems in schools. In her discussion of cultural clashes between students and teachers, Carter contended that it is more difficult to change the culture of families and communities especially those entrenched in poverty and so it becomes necessary to advocate for cultural changes in schools.

The teacher beliefs discussed above relate to deficit model thinking. This means that many teachers perceive their ways of thinking and behaving to be correct and that of historically marginalized students to be incorrect. P. Carter (2005) illustrated deficit model thinking in her foundational work that targets classroom teachers. Payne's work currently provides a framework for educators to understand students who live in poverty. Her work received praise from some for its ability to highlight cultural nuances or hidden rules between students from impoverished communities and that of schools. Scholars also criticize Payne's work for perpetuating stereotypes and misconceptions regarding poor students in which a large number representing that class are Black and Latino students. Race is implicit in this case because Black and Latino students often are in the low socioeconomic subgroups in schools. Thus, there is a subconscious deficit thinking connected more to the students' race rather than class. This same deficit thinking that is linked to race is illustrated in popular culture and can be seen on various sitcoms such as *Every Body Hates Chris* (Carter Andrews, 2012; LeRoi & Rock, 2005-2009). In many of these episodes, Chris's (Black student) teacher, Mrs. Morello (White) exhibits sincere care and concern for Chris. However, most of Mrs. Morello's interactions with Chris are based on the same misconceptions identified in Payne's work causing her sincere concern to be offensive and indicative of a person having misconceptions and thinking from a deficit model. Students who feel misunderstood and disenfranchised often appear to misbehave which usually reflects their resistance to the identities that their teachers unknowingly construct.

Teachers, Historically Marginalized Students, and Cultural Capital

Another way that historically marginalized students tend to mismatch culturally with their teachers in schools can be understood though the lens of cultural capital. Students, based on the context in which they live experience and attain different forms of cultural and social capital that potentially affords them a higher status in society. Cultural capital comes in the form of knowledge, skills, dispositions, and other advantages. Students bring with them to school different forms of cultural and social capital. Middle class parents often provide their children with cultural capital conducive to the dominant culture that our educational system embraces. Historically marginalized students often possess a different type of capital not understood or accepted in classrooms. Building on Bourdieu's (1973) notion of cultural capital, Lareau (1987) contributes to the cultural mismatch discourse by demonstrating the differences in capital students bring that is more conducive to teacher expectations. She contends that society affords middle and upper class parents the experiences needed to help their children educationally, and they have a clearer understanding of how the education system works and expectations of teachers because of their professional and social networks.

Lareau (1987) also argues that working class parents tend to have relationships with schools characterized by separation and that they believe the teachers are responsible for educating their children. This is due to the notion that working class parents tend to have lower occupational status compared to teachers. In turn, working class parents defer to teachers as professionals. Working class parents do in fact help their children at home, but can rarely sustain their efforts because they often feel that they lack the education necessary for effectively help their children. This is especially true as their children advance in school. This causes the parents to defer the responsibilities of teaching back to the school. Students in this context come to school lacking capital that teachers expect for them to have. Teachers often lack an understanding of the realities and cultural nuances described in this section. Furthermore, their beliefs, misconceptions, and deficit model

thinking contribute to and explain some of the reasons why the disproportionate discipline of Black & Hispanic students exists.

The Cultural Mismatch between Institutions Transited by Historically Marginalized Students

The second tenet discusses the various contexts that historically marginalized students navigate and explains how those institutions often conflict with one another. These contexts include but are not limited to the students' school, communities, home, family, gender, peers, and subgroups within schools (Lareau, 1987, 1989; Noguera, 2003a, 2003b; Otoya-Knapp, 2001). During these interactions, students negotiate various social and cultural identities, which affect their behaviors and experiences at school. Many of these norms are specific to race, meaning that they are shared within race but may not be known or understood across race groups. Part of the challenge for Black and Latino students is the constant transit of these different worlds institutionally. There is a connection between the lack of understanding that teachers and schools hold regarding various cultural codes that these students exhibit. Likewise, Blacks and Latino students may not know when to switch to the cultural identity that is more compatible with their school's culture.

Carter (2005) argues that there is a juncture associated with Black and Latino students' limited access to power codes, resources, and cultural knowledge. The other part of this juncture is the students' resistance to school that rejects or negates to reflect their cultural values. Carter asserts that the failure of both groups to reconcile these differences, leads to academic disengagement and increased discipline issues. Likewise, when cultural dissidence exists between the three systems discipline issues increase. Anderson's ethnographic work (1973) illustrates how historically marginalized students transit at least

two of those institutions, home and school, and discusses how the cultural mismatch between each system affect students in schools.

In *Code of the Street*, Anderson (1994) provides insight into issues of nuanced identities within the urban American community. His description of stratified urban African American culture could potentially help educators mostly described by the literature as middle class white females understand the cultural realities that poor urban Black students face and how many of these realities serve as barriers in the classroom. Anderson discusses the basic struggle that various children of color undergo to survive and argues that children come into the classroom with a lot of experience having to navigate multiple groups such as their homes, variances within their families, dynamics across extended families, their neighborhoods, and the various other categories discussed in the article. Anderson's argument undergirds issues of cultural dissidence between schools norms and the norms that student of color bring to the classroom and how teachers often misconstrue them as misbehavior. The notion of cultural code switching becomes salient in terms of knowledge that educators need in to order build inclusive school culture and effective learning communities in classrooms

Knowledge of these transit experiences can create more culturally relevant curriculum, teacher preparation, teacher induction, professional development. This knowledge can also help teachers distinguish between culturally appropriate behaviors and actual student misbehavior. To illustrate this point, Anderson (1994) described how the need for a child to prove his toughness on the streets influences how he protects that identity through a defiant act. He described this act as way to save face in the classroom just as is needed on the streets. How could a teacher's knowledge of something as basic as this increase the effectiveness and sincerity of his/her response to the child? Ladson-Billings' (1995), study of teachers of successful African American students with the purpose of moving towards a culturally relevant pedagogy supports this frame of thinking because it

resists the deficit model thinking and shifts to strategies that prove to be effective. It also highlights the abilities and cultural knowledge that children and teachers bring to the table. This stance also supports Freire's (1970) notion of liberating pedagogy and the idea that children do not come to school with blank slate minds but argued that children come to schools with rich experiences that could be used to enhance their learning as well as the teacher's. Children such as those discussed in Anderson's work not only have a wealth of social knowledge, they also have multiple identities in which they wrestle daily. Policymakers and educators at all levels must give attention to these realities when making decisions affecting learning. Ignoring these realities when making decisions affecting learning can further disenfranchise historically marginalized students from academic participation and influence negative behaviors that affect or add to the disproportionate discipline issues salient in schools.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

This research considered how six elementary school students identified for Tier III behavioral supports experience and perceive classroom and school culture. It also explores student behaviors within the SWPBIS context. Students in Tier III were invited to share their perspectives regarding their school interactions. Their participation provided rich descriptions that highlighted their feelings and behavioral responses. This study employed the narrative inquiry approach. Narratives provide a space to understand the lived experience as well as how individuals perceive and describe their experiences and realities (Chase, 2005; Creswell, 2008). This study includes students' voices that have not been considered in the conversations surrounding SWPBIS. This study also examines teachers' and other adults' understanding of ways of supporting historically marginalized students receiving Tier III behavioral support as well as ways that values and perceptions of teachers and their students converge and diverge. I specifically seek to understand if there was a cultural dissidence[6] between students their teachers, and how issues related to their contrasting and conflicting cultural values, norms, and experiences affected students' perceptions of school. I also seek to understand how tensions that these students encountered while transiting multiple institutions affect their behavior and perceptions of their teachers and school (see Appendix A for research timeline).

Research Questions

This study is guided by the following research Questions.

1. How do African American and Latino student participants, identified by their schools as being in Tier III and needing significant behavioral supports, experience the school, and classroom climate in a SWPBIS context?

[6] Cultural dissidence is a term that I use interchangeably with the cultural mismatch construct.

2. How do their teachers and other adults describe and understand ways to support them in Tier III?
3. In what ways do the students' experiences converge and diverge with their teachers' and other adults' descriptions and understandings of those experiences?

Site Selection

This study involved three elementary schools: Darwin, Mayville, and Pennington in the Lovington School District. Lovington consists of a predominantly White teaching staff and student population located in the Midwest (see tables 2.1 and 2.2). Of the 1,391 students currently in the three elementary schools, there are -1% Native/American Indians, 9.6% Asians, 14.6% African Americans, 59.3% Whites, 8.1% Hispanics, and 9.8% Multi-racial. Ninety-four % of the teaching staff across the three schools is White, and 6% are Black. The district ranks high at a national level for its high school. It also has the history of being a high performing school district. The district is also known for its racial, cultural, and economical diversity in comparison to other neighboring school districts. SWBPIS has been implemented in each of the three elementary schools for at least three years. Additionally, staff has engaged in ongoing monthly behavior data review meetings to monitor the progress of their students and have provided support where needed.

Table 3.1 Student Demographics across the Three Sites s of 2013-2014

	Darwin School	**Mayville School**	**Pennington School**
White	53.6%	79.5%	60%
Black	15.2%	7.3%	20.2%
Native/American Indian	-1%	0%	-1%
Asians	6.6%	3.1%	8%
Hispanics/Latinos	10.5%	4.2%	5.2%
Multiracial	13.3%	5.1%	4%
Free and Reduced	52%	19%	43%

Table 3.2 Staff Demographics across the Three Sites as of 2013-2014

	Darwin School	Mayville School	Pennington School
White	88%	96%	100%
Black	12%	4%	0%

Selection of Participants

In December 2013, I introduced the study to the Lovington Elementary staff and distributed introductory letters to parents, principals, and teachers outlining the general purpose of the investigation, the procedures, and the rights of the participants. I asked each elementary school to provide me with de-identified student behavior data. I used the data to determine how many students had five or more ODRs and were receiving Tier III behavioral supports. Time was then arranged for interviews at the convenience of the students and staff in each of the schools. The goal was to interview students during non-instructional times. I then arranged a time that was best for students to introduce the study to them.

Student participants were selected from this pool of students based on the following criteria.

1. Participant identified as Black/African American or Latino in 3rd and 4th grade
2. Participant had received five or more behavioral referrals and are in Tier III for behavior supports

Teacher and principal recommendation were used in buildings where there were more than three students per building meeting the study criteria (see Table 2.3).

Table 3.3 Interview Matrix for Student and Adult Participants

Darwin School	Mayville School	Pennington School
Katina (Student)	Aaron (Student)	Frannie (Student)
Jaden (Student)	Dan (Teacher)	Evan (Student)
Jeremy (Student)	Lydia (Social Worker)	Laura (Principal)
Karen (Teacher)	Donna (Principal)	

Table 3.3 (cont'd)

Dee (Teacher)		
Carl (Social Worker)		
Ronald (Principal)		

After the screening process, consent letters were sent to students identified by the principals and teachers. At the end of the screening process, six students were selected and agreed to participate in this study. The parental, student, and teacher consent forms were signed and returned prior to participation and before any data collection was collected (see Appendices B-E). I received approval from the Superintendent's Office and the Office of Instructional Services as well as the principals in the three elementary schools to conduct this study.

African American and/or Latino students in grade three and/or four enrolled at each of the three elementary schools were selected to participate in the study. I chose third and fourth grade students within the elementary context, because they had more school experience to draw from than students in K-2 who were new to their educational experiences. Additionally, third and fourth grade students strengthened the validity of the study by confirming the accuracy of the interviews. School-wide Information System (SWIS) data were used to identify students in each school who had five or more behavior referrals during the 2013-2014 school year. Participants were selected if the school placed them in Tier III for behavioral supports (Please see Appendix A for the dissertation timeline).

Within the SWPBIS framework, a student with five or more office discipline referrals (ODRs) was classified as needing tertiary or intensive behavioral interventions. I also looked at previous years to see if these students had five or more referrals during the school year to understand whether there was a trend associated with the student and adult participants. Looking at the prior year also provided information related to adult trend information. Afterwards, I looked specifically at the demographic breakdown of students

with five or more behavior referrals and confirmed that there was a disproportionate rate of discipline for Latino and/or African American students. This information strengthened the need for the study. The process above yielded six student participants for the study.

Adults Participants: I invited third and fourth grade teachers, principals and social workers from each of the three schools who worked with the identified students as participants in this study. I attended a principals' meeting to introduce my study to all of the principals and requested the opportunity to attend staff meetings at each building. During each of these meetings, I shared a power point that described the study and answered all questions. I then let the staff know that only the adults who worked with selected student participants would be invited to participate in the study. The principals then contacted each teacher and asked them if they were interested in participating. After principals made initial contact and teachers agreed to participate, I contacted each teacher to answer questions and confirmed interviews. I worked with principals to set up interviews, and principals worked with their staff members to schedule interviews at each of the sites.

Data Collection

In order to address the research questions of this investigation, data was collected through student and adult interviews, review of discipline data, and office discipline referrals.

Student Interviews: Individual 45-minute semi-structured interviews were conducted during the months of January and February 2014. Each interview began with informal questions to break the ice, build rapport, and help each student participant feel at ease to share freely. The purpose of these interviews (see Appendix F) was to focus on the participants' experiences in schools and perceptions of school culture and their own behavior. Additionally, I wanted to understand more about how students describe the

behaviors they used within their school experiences and interactions with adults. I divided the student interviews into five activities in order to support younger students discussing their experiences.

- *Ask Me a Question:* I used this activity as a precursor to the warm-up questions that helped me to understand more about how students felt about their schools. During this activity, I allowed the student participants to ask me two questions to help them feel more comfortable.
- *Emotion Chart & Feelings toward School:* I used this activity as a follow-up from the warm-up questions to delve deeper into each student's perceptions of their school's climate. During this activity, many of the questions asked the students to identify how they felt using the emotion chart. Often, I asked them to tell me more about why they chose that emotion. The emotion chart is an eleven by seventeen poster with a spectrum of student faces displaying various emotions (see figure 3.1 and Appendix F).

  Figure 3.1 Emotion Chart

- *Four Quadrant Drawings*: I utilized this activity to learn about how students viewed themselves at home and school. I also wanted to understand more their beliefs of how their teachers, other adults, and students perceived them. During this activity, I asked each student participant to create four pictures of themselves in the four quadrants specific to the four areas mentioned above (see Appendix F).
- *Emotion Chart & Perception of School Climate:* I used this chart to understand more about the student participants' perceptions of the support that they receive from the adults at their schools as well as their perceptions of their school climate. During this activity, two of the questions asked the students to identify how they felt using the emotion chart. I then asked them to tell me more about why they chose that emotion (see figure 3.1 and Appendix F).
- *Behavior Incident Form and Emotion Chart:* I used this activity to learn more about each student's most recent incident prior to the interviews. I reassured them that they were helping me to learn more about how positive behavior supports worked in their schools and that they were not in any trouble. During this activity, I asked students to use the emotion chart to identify how they felt about their experiences. I then asked them to tell me more about why they chose that emotion (see figure 3.1 and Appendix F).

These interviews provided me with information regarding the student participants' experiences and behaviors within the SWPBIS context. Use of the activity protocols such as the sketches and emotion chart provided me with opportunities to have each student elaborate more about their experiences that they may not have considered. The interviews were open ended, leaving me the opportunity to conduct second interviews with some of the student participants as questions arose from some of the preliminary analysis of the data.

Adult Interviews: Individual 60-minute semi-structured interviews were conducted January through February 2014. Each interview began with informal questions to break the ice,

build rapport, and help each adult participant feel at ease to share freely. These interviews were with adults who had interacted with one or more of the six student participants on a regular basis (see Appendix H). I also asked participants to describe how they have supported their students in Tier III and the behaviors their students exhibit. These interviews provided information regarding the adult participants' understanding of their students' and their own experiences and behaviors. Adult participants included school staff (teachers, principals, and support staff) that interacted with each participant on a regular basis. These interviews were open ended as described. This is important, because I needed to conduct second interviews with some of the adult participants as questions surfaced from some of the preliminary analysis of the data.

I used the same interview protocol (See Appendix H) for each adult participant. I chose to ask the same questions to each adult participant because students in Tier III for behavioral supports usually displayed unwanted behaviors in various areas of the school that were observed by different adults. I also wanted to identify similarities and differences with regard to how adults understood how they supported students in Tier III. The classroom teachers were able to provide insight about how students in Tier III behaved in the classroom and in other spaces in the school. The principal provided insight about how students in Tier III responded to consequences/discipline and rewards. The principals were also able to share how their students in Tier III processed their behavioral choices in a more private space, whereas the classroom teacher provided insight on how students processed or responded in public spaces. The school social workers were able to provide insight about how students in Tier III responded in both spaces along with what students revealed about their feelings and interactions with other adults.

Documents and Artifacts: Office discipline referrals were used in this study to support the interview process. Documents can reveal insight about how people view lived experiences. Office discipline referrals (ODRs) were used every time a student was sent to the office for misbehavior at each of the study sites. These forms provided an understanding of the type of behaviors that the participants exhibited and how adults represented, described, and addressed these behaviors.

Data Analysis

I engaged in four levels of analysis. First, during the interviews, I took notes that included experiences and ideas that seemed critical to the interviewee and that seemed to relate to the literature and my research questions. I also noted ideas and experiences that seemed to contrast with the literature and across interviews. As I interviewed each participant, I captured reoccurring experiences within buildings, across buildings, and between student and adult participants. There were several codes from my interview notes. This represented my first level of coding. Second, I then went through my notes and used highlighters to look for themes across all of the experiences. This involved regrouping the experiences and placing them under the larger ideas that represented the several smaller ideas and themes. Several themes emerged.

1. Building Relationships
2. Respect and the Culture of Caring "I got your back"
3. The Idea of Location "Children are in a different place"
4. Transiting Multiple Institutions
5. Time and Training
6. Other Barriers in SWPBIS Schools
7. Creating a Safe Space for Children
8. Dominant Culture of Power other Students & Teachers
9. Teacher Beliefs/Deficit Model Thinking

10. Scripting & Scapegoating/Negative Mining

Third, I created a matrix and listed each of the major themes as headers in each column. I then placed all of the text from the interview notes under each theme as they fit. Next, I reread each interview and chunked data that seemed to fit under each of the major themes. Next, I reread the transcribed interview and listened to the recorded version. I wanted to be sure that I understood and captured and organized the experiences contextually. I also wanted to see if I missed any ideas or experiences that represent other major themes.

Finally, I carefully read each of the major themes to see if the data from the interviews fit. During this portion of the analysis, I began removing data that seemed out of context or did not fit with the major theme. As I worked through this process, I began seeing some redundancy across themes. Therefore, I revisited the themes and look for opportunities to merge or refine some of the major themes. From this work, five themes emerged and were used as the major findings of this study:

1. The Idea of Cultural and Emotional Location
2. Teacher/Adult Beliefs: Deficit Thinking
3. Scripting, and Scapegoating
4. Building Relationships
5. Culture of Caring

I went into this study with some ideas and assumptions about the research questions, which are outlined earlier in the researcher reflexivity section. These assumptions included the ideas that adults were unintentionally doing things that adversely affected students. Primarily, I sought to understand the experiences of students in Tier 3 and the adults' understanding of those experiences. There was discrepant data. While I sought to understand the harmful practices of schooling, the data included several examples of adults doing helpful things that were supportive of students and was included in the five major

findings. Thus, the findings included helpful and harmful adult practices that affected students in this study.

Data Analysis-Validity

During this study, I used several strategies to address issues of validity. First, I collected and triangulated across the following three data sources: student interview, adult interviews, and review of data referrals. Second, I addressed interpretive validity by systematically drawing evidence from the interviews, citing participants' own words, and documenting transcript page numbers to tie my interpretations to the data. Third, I used grounded theory and thematic analysis to code my interviews and observations and looked for emerging themes based on the evidence for the collected data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Fourth, I performed member checks by giving transcripts back to the participants and having them confirm whether the text represented what they said. Fifth, I had external audits done by an outside person who examined my research process and product (Glesne 2011). Sixth, I addressed bias by interviewing participants in three different schools. Participants had experiences contextual to their environments and provided diversity in their responses. I wrote before and after interviews to address my preconceived opinions and reflected upon my biases. Finally, I received feedback from members of my committee and discussed my own researcher biases and interpretations.

Benefits and Limitations

Results from this study may provide a deeper understanding of cultural values, behaviors, and norms between historically marginalized students and adults that might be unintentionally at odds with one another. This research could help educators develop strategies within SWPBIS for supporting students in more proactive and positive ways that also addresses the discipline gap of historically marginalized students. There are also limitations in this study. This study cannot be generalized to larger populations due to the

small participant and school sample. Additionally, use of observations would have strengthened the finding of this study through thicker descriptions.

Researcher Reflections

During this research, I kept in mind that my personal experiences and journey influenced the research process. I understood that there was a complex relationship between what I bring to the table and how I represent the findings and the narratives of the participants in this investigation. I am an African American female educator who, during her own experiences as an elementary student, was marginalized. While I had a handful of amazing teachers who really cared about my wellbeing in many ways I experienced cultural mismatch. Although I did not understand it at the time, I felt and experienced many instances where adults in the schools who did not understand me culturally, personally, or my realities, made decisions and took actions that affected my learning opportunities and educational journey. This work is so important to me, because I now understand that we as educators cannot afford to be ignorant of how our lack of understanding about the role that cultural understanding plays in students' success. Too many harmful unintentional consequences of decision-making in schools place marginalized students at a disadvantage.

One of the practices with harmful unintentional consequences that affected me as a marginalized student was tracking and the hidden curriculum in my high school. I recall my high school counselor, a caring woman who I had no reason to distrust asking me what I wanted to do after high school. When I told her that I wanted to become a doctor, she told me to consider jobs that I could do after high school and that I did not need to take advanced math courses because they were for boys. As I now reflect on those moments, I see how my guidance counselor placed me on a track to joining the work force rather than preparing for higher education. I did not have the educational guidance or support to make decisions concerning what was best for me. My counselor knew that I wanted to go to

college at the time to study medicine. However, she discouraged me from the necessary courses and encouraged me to take basic courses and vocation classes. My family and the adults at my school did not have awareness of tracking, the hidden curriculum or other structures that perpetuated social reproduction or about oppressive systems and institutional practices and how they affected me as an underprivileged student. Because of that lack of knowledge, some of their decisions unintentionally affected me in harmful ways. What assumption(s) or lack of knowledge did my counselor have that allowed her to position me for a working class education?

This experience of lacking the power to choose my educational journey infringes on Americans' general view of society as a meritocracy. A major assumption of this view is that individuals are on a leveled playing field; that is, structural barriers that impede movement across economic strata are non-existent. According to this perception, an individual must work diligently and in doing so can achieve social mobility (Bowles & Gintis, 1976). However, this assumption not only ignores the diverse social, cultural, and economic conditions that affect students' learning and, their learning environment it also ignores structures such as tracking that affect or limit their opportunity, access and outcomes for certain students. Scholars of social reproduction theories have highlighted such issues (Pierre Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, 1990; Bowles & Gintis, 1976). For example, students from lower and higher socio-economic levels often have different and difficult school experiences because of the cultural mismatch between their home environment and the environment that is valued in schools and teachers and other adults. I refer to these mismatches as unrealized differences of realities. I bring this knowledge and personal experience to this research.

Although I did not understand that certain structures were influencing my education, I did know that I did not want to become a part of the social reproduction cycle like my family, lacking access to education, and living in poverty without direction and a clear sense

of purpose. Because of Mrs. Aaron's guidance, I took basic classes and selected courses that did not carry a lot of academic weight and built a foundation conducive to being successful in higher education. I later learned that being in a working class school district prepared me to remain in the working class through what Anyon describes as the hidden curriculum and Bourdieu describes as an aspect of social and cultural reproduction (Anyon, 1980, 1981; Pierre Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977, 1990). The hidden curriculum concept expresses the idea that schools do more than simply transmit knowledge, as directed by the prescribed curriculum. Challenging the normality and fixation given to school curriculum, hidden curriculum exposes the social implications and political underpinnings perpetuated in school curriculum in order to explain certain unintended outcomes reproduced in modern educative activities (Anyon, 1980, 1981; Paulo Freire & Ramos, 1970). Meighan puts it more plainly, "The hidden curriculum is taught by the school, not by any teacher...something is coming across to the pupils which, may never be spoken in the English lesson or prayed about in assembly. They are picking-up an approach to living and an attitude to learning" (Meighan, Barton, & Walker, 1981).

In spite of my high school counselor's unintentional harmful influence, I was determined to go to college because I had heard all of my life from various people in my family and through the media that education was the vehicle out of poverty. I did complete high school and entered college two years after meeting with my guidance counselor. However, when I got there, I had to take prerequisites in writing, math and even failed my first writing course. It was amazing to me that I had received decent grades through high school making the honor roll list frequently; yet, I was not prepared for higher education.

In many ways, my personal experiences have strengthened my work as a teacher, principal, and curriculum director. I have been able to bring knowledge about cultural mismatch and institutional practices into my decision-making and actions with the hope that

unintentional harmful practices towards students are prevented or minimized. I come to this study with biases, passions, and assumptions, some of which are listed below:

1. Student social and academic success is greatly affected by interactions that occur in schools. I base my belief on Berger and Luckmann's notion that man does not develop in isolation from social interaction (Berger & Luckmann, 1966).
2. Many of our current teachers who receive formal teacher education are often not prepared to understand their students culturally nor do they understand what systems and institutions affect them as learners. (Hunter Quartz & Group, 2003; Jonathan Kozol, 1991; Kozol, 2005; Zeichner, 2003).
3. Children do not come to school with blank slate minds but with rich experiences that could be used to enhance their learning as well as the teachers (Paulo Freire, 1995).
4. Teachers want their students to be successful but do not always understand how to support them.
5. If we want to understand how to help students experience success in schools, we should ask them about their experiences and learn from them.
6. My experiences as a once marginalized student and educator will influence my interpretation and representation of student and staff narratives. On one hand, I bring understanding to the research regarding cultural mismatch and on the other hand, I bring biases about how adults in schools behave and make decisions.

CHAPTER 4

OVERVIEW OF SCHOOL, STAFF MEMBERS, AND STUDENTS

This chapter provides an overview of the participants and each elementary school in the Lovington School District. Embedded in this overview are the voices of the students and staff. During the interviews, the "idea of location[7]" surfaced several times. This theme is essential to the overview, because it helps explain the various contexts or spaces that students occupy at any given day/moment while in school. The idea of location connects with the literature that discusses the various contexts that historically marginalized students navigated and explains how those institutions were often in conflict with one another. These contexts included but were not limited to the students' school, communities, home, family, peers, and subgroups within schools (Lareau, 1987, 1989; Noguera, 2003a, 2003b; Otoya-Knapp, 2001). During interaction in these spaces, students negotiated various social and cultural identities, which affected their behaviors and experiences at school. In the interviews, the idea of location included the above descriptions and the emotional space that a student occupies directly related to current or past experiences in life, such as the loss of a loved one, failing a test or feeling mistreated.

Lovington School District's Elementary Buildings

Lovington School District is a midsized suburban school district located in the Midwest. There are four K-4 elementary schools in the Lovington District: Mayville, Pennington, Darwin, and Remington. Three of the four buildings are included in this study. Lovington also has two 5-6 buildings, a middle school, and high school. Of the 1,391 students enrolled in the three elementary schools, there are -1% Native/American Indians, 9.6% Asians, 14.6% African Americans, 59.3% Whites, and 8.1% Hispanics and 9.8 Multi-racial. 94% of the staff across the three schools is White and 6% are Black. This district ranks high at a national level for its high school. It also has the history of being a high-performing school district. The district is also known for its racial cultural and economic

[7] Locations, spaces, and institutions will be used interchangeably to describe similar context in this study.

diversity in comparison to other neighboring school districts given its location near a research-intensive university. The State Department of Education has also cited the district for having a disproportionate special education referral and discipline rate for African American students in the last few years. SWBPIS has been implemented at varying levels in each of the three elementary schools for at least three years. Additionally, staff in each of the buildings have held ongoing monthly behavior data review meetings to monitor the progress of their students and provide supports where needed.

The History of Lovington City

Inside of Lovington, some of the places where these students lived looked very different from what is visible in the Lovington School District. There is the community at large that encompasses all of the families and students. Socio-historical context as well as the movement of people shaped the Lovington community over time. In Lovington's past were issues of redlining and White families working to create an exclusive community by keeping Blacks out. It has a history of wealth to the point that rich families today are classified as "old money". Old money is associated with the idea that their wealth has been institutionalized over time and is highly regarded. There is also "new money" which means some familys' wealth has not historically existed and lacks history of "old money".

There is classism and stratification even within these two wealth groups. The Lovington School District is located near a major university. This university brings in students and families to the area from national and international locations. Thus, there are the educated families whose wealth is their intellectual property and contribution to the community. There are middle class families and poor families looking to live the "American Dream" who have moved into the Lovington community over time. These historical and geographical features have created a diverse and close-knit community. It has also created racial and socioeconomic divides that have shaped this community.

These phenomena created some dynamics within the Loving School District at each of the schools as well. Today, the schools serve as fractals of the community. The Mayville school community, for example, is filled with students of parents who are faculty at the university as well as "old money" families and poor families. Therefore, the student population comes from a mixture of "haves" and "have nots" in the areas of formal education and wealth. At Darwin, there is a sharp divide between families with a lot of wealth and families with very little money. In this case, the families with money are generally White and dominate in population whereas most of the poor families are Black or Latino. There are also students from middle and upper middle class families. Pennington, similar to Mayville, consists of students whose parents who are on the university faculty as well as "new money", middle class, and poor families. Therefore, the student population come from the "haves" and "have nots" in the areas of formal education and middle class wealth.

Lovington School District at a Glance

Mission Statement

At the heart of Lovington's work is its mission to nurture each child, educate all students and build world citizens.

Vision Statement

Lovington Public Schools strives to provide every student with exemplary instruction in equitable learning environments designed to educate the whole child. In partnership with the community, LPS endeavors to affirm cultural differences and nurture intellectual curiosity, collaboration, creativity, critical thinking, and effective communication with the goal that every student graduates to become a productive member of society.

Lovington's Discipline Gap

For several years, the State Michigan Department of Education has cited the Lovington School District for its disproportionate number of discipline and special education referrals for Black students as compared to those for White students. The district has worked over the last six years to address its achievement gap between Black and White students as well as infuse professional development for teachers and support staff concerning cultural competency as a response to the discipline gap. Additionally, the district adopted SWPBIS to address behaviors in a more positive and less punitive way. The efforts to infuse cultural awareness and competency have been met with a high level of resistance from staff, especially at the secondary level. Some resistance also occurred at the elementary level but in more subtle forms.

Participant Narratives

The participants in this study bring to this study a diverse array of experiences in teaching and learning. The staff members shared a lot about their journeys and what they felt was their most important role as educators. They spoke candidly during interviews and communicated a care and concern for students and the direction in which education was headed. The students were exceptional. They taught me a lot about how some kids experience school. They also taught me a lot about school culture from their perspectives. Below I discuss the background of the staff members.

Lovington's Staff Backgrounds

RONALD is a White male who serves as the principal at Darwin elementary school. Prior to being a principal, he served as a teacher and had high honors in his role as a classroom teacher. Ronald is in his early 40s. He has worked in education for a total of 21 years. This includes one year in California with various roles, 18 years as a third-grade teacher in another school district, and two years as a building principal at Darwin Elementary school. Ronald also spends time consulting, and does a lot of work with math and science through STEM. He has a Bachelor's degree in fine arts, and received his Master

of Education Degree in 1994, after working as a professional woodworker for six years. Ronald is currently working on his dissertation in education, which he hopes to conclude next year. His dissertation is in curriculum, instruction, and assessment, with a focus on STEM education.

Ronald believes that his role as a building administrator is to serve and support his classroom teachers, staff, students, and their families. He spends time going into classrooms and teaching alongside his classroom teachers as well as working to implement multi-tiered systems of support within his school. Ronald discussed using careful observation to understand best practices within his building in order to uplift the work of everyone. He prides himself on focusing on the strengths of others in order to develop a positive school culture and improve student achievement. During his interview, Ronald made it clear that he also has Native American ancestry. He smiles all the time as he goes through the building interacting with students and staff. Ronald is the principal where Jaden, Katina, and Jeremy attend school. SWPBIS has been implemented in Ronald's school for nearly four years. However, due to a lack of implementation fidelity, he had to revamp the system two years ago as a new principal. He is the third principal at Donley in the last five years.

CARL is a social worker at Darwin elementary school. He is in his sixth year at Darwin. Carl is an African-American male in his early forties who worked a few years as a social worker in Child Protective Services and foster care system. Carl also worked at an alternative school in a neighboring state as a one-on-one behavior specialist and a counselor for two years. He eventually moved his social work into Lovington high school prior to working at Darwin. Carl has spent his career in education building very strong and positive relationships with children, especially those who seem to need more support with social and emotional behavior.

Carl has a very calm demeanor. Carl works very closely with Ronald the principal at Darwin. He also works very closely with the classroom teachers, especially those with students who need additional support. He works primarily with students who are on his caseload. However, under the multi-tiered system of support, Carl also works with several students outside his caseload, particularly those who are in Tier 3 for behavior supports. Carl works in the same building as Jaden, Katina, and Jeremy. He has provided social and emotional support to all three students.

DEE is a White female, who works at Darwin as an elementary teacher. She is currently a fourth-grade teacher. She is in her late early fifties. Dee is Jeremy's teacher. She has been in education for ten years. All ten of her years as an educator have been at Darwin Elementary. She spent one year as a kindergarten overload paraprofessional, eight years as a first grade teacher, and one year as a fourth grade teacher. Her Bachelor's Degree is in Finance from the University of Connecticut. She spent over ten years working in finance/sales before going back to school and getting a Master's Degree in Elementary Education. Dee feels that her most important role in school is to be a role model for her students and to ignite a love of learning for the kids in her class. She spoke of wanting them to be challenged, confident, and willing to take risks while at the same time feeling safe and nurtured.

KAREN is a White female who teaches fourth grade at Darwin. She works closely with her students in her classroom and displays a compassionate stance towards teaching, learning, and her students. She communicated deep care for her students, and when she spoke about them I could see that there was care and concern. She works closely with Carl to implement Why Try, a program aimed at supporting students with behavioral needs. It seems that Ronald, Karen, and Carl do a great deal of work aimed at supporting students in Tier 3. Karen also has previous experience in special education. Throughout the interviews,

she talked a lot about how that background has helped her work closely with students in some very supportive ways. Karen is Jaden's and Katina's classroom teacher.

LAURA is a White female who just completed her first year as the principal at Pennington. Prior to Pennington, she worked as the interim principal at another school in the district for one year and as principal of that school the following year. Earlier still she also worked as the social worker at Darwin where Carl now serves. Laura has a Bachelor's Degree in social work and a Master's Degree in social work administration. She also has her K-12 educational certificate. Laura has worked in education for twelve years. Seven and a half of those years have been in Lovington. Laura has served in several roles. Prior to her principal role Laura served as the district multi-tiered system of support (MTSS) Coach. As the district's MTSS Coach, she supported the implementation of MTSS throughout the district.

Laura used the MTSS problem-solving model to support student achievement utilizing data to make both instructional and curricular decisions. In this role, she worked closely with all principals in each of the district's eight buildings to implement MTSS. Laura feels that her number one role as principal is to support her staff in order to increase student achievement and allow students to reach their potential. She believes that staff must be supported with time, resources, and emotional care. Laura is a child and family advocate for all students. She has been praised for her ability to relate with students and their parents in a positive way. Others spoke of the respect she has garnered from faculty, parents, and students for her problem solving ability, commitment, and fairness.

DONNA is a White female who just completed her first year as principal at Mayville Elementary School. She has been in education for twenty years. She spent seventeen years teaching math and English language arts at the middle school level. Donna served as an assistant principal at a neighboring middle school. She has a Bachelor's Degree in Elementary Education from the University of Michigan with a math major and minors in

language arts and social studies. Her Master's Degree is in K-12 Educational Administration. Donna feels that her most important role as an administrator is to support teachers in providing high quality instruction and support students academically and behaviorally. Donna talked a lot about the importance of building in supports for students at a universal level so that they get the help they need early in their schooling. She seemed to be most concerned with teachers taking ownership of their students' outcomes and their own professional practices.

DAN is a White male and has been in education for twenty-five. Teaching is his third career after having worked in advertising and retail management. Dan said that he moved to education because he always enjoyed helping and watching kids learn. He has worked in Lovington for twenty-three years. Of the twenty-three years, Dan has been at Mayville for twenty-one years. He has a Bachelor's Degree and did his teaching credential work for a year in California. Dan sees his role as being an active and supportive teaching colleague and a person willing to speak up about educational issues. As a teacher of children, he feels that he needs to be a role model and a supportive adult willing to help with any needs that students have. Dan spoke candidly about his belief that education is headed down the wrong path. He feels that testing and accountability have taken over and are crushing the needs of many children in which he expressed deep sadness. He feels that there is an overall lack of thought about children's needs in our current educational landscape.

LYDIA is a White female who taught for seven years, one year in Missouri and the rest in a neighboring city that has a large Black population, prior to her LPS role as a school social worker. She has served as the social worker for twenty-eight years in LPS at Mayville and several other schools. Lydia has her Bachelor's Degree in elementary education and a Master's Degree in social work. Lydia is a child and family advocate. She is passionate about helping students who are having difficulty. Lydia works with all staff and communicates to them that everything they do is about the child. For her, the child is the

center of educational decisions. She is most known for her strong belief that all behavior is communication. This governs her approach when working with staff, families, and in the community to support students. With Lydia at the table, staff has been challenged to reflect on their practices rather than focusing on the student. She feels her most important role is to help out with the emotional health of students, staff, and families so that on any given day, each student is in the best individual learning environment to help them be a successful learner.

Lovington's Student Backgrounds

JEREMY is a nine-year-old male in fourth grade. He is a multiracial boy whose mother is White and whose father is African-American. He lives with both parents. Jeremy is the second of five boys in his family. Although he has repeated no grades in school, he has received Title I services each of his years in elementary school. According to the data and his principal, Jeremy had a history of aggressive behavior up until this last year, but he continues to struggle academically. Jeremy loves school and shared that he looks forward to coming to school daily. According to the adults in his school, Jeremy is very savvy, what some would call street smart, or having life wisdom. Jeremy shared that he loves math. He and his classmates do fun things like math, wrestling, and games related to Reading Street.

Jeremy shared that he gets to write fun stories, use a trifold, and write story lines in school. He especially likes social studies, because he enjoys learning about government and how it is tied to his class pledge. What seems most important to Jeremy is for the adults in school to like him and see him as a special person. He also really wants to control his anger. During the interviews, he mentioned the need to control his anger several times. When asked about these issues with anger, Jeremy shared that he gets angry when people argue with him. Then he said that it's just hard, and when he was asked what's hard he replied:

Because um, because I'm not like used to getting along with adults, because kids I get along with, because adults they'll just, adults they talk about their stuff and kids talk about their stuff. And well mostly; well I don't know.

He did share that adults (teachers, lunch monitors, parents etc.) constantly tell him that he needs to control his anger.

JADEN is a ten-year-old male. He lives with his mother and his younger brother; his father is incarcerated. Hehas struggled academically throughout his elementary experience. He repeated first grade and has shameful feelings about that situation. Jaden is multiracial having both African-American and Hispanic heritage. He has received Title I services every year for literacy support. According to Ronald, this year Jaden exhibited great control in learning to manage his short temper and minimizing his level of physical aggression. Jaden shared that he loves school and learning. Jaden shared that he really loves gym, math, art and music. He also talked about his class pledge. He talked about how the Bucket Filler Class pledge and Pledge of Allegiance are important to his class and that people can't just say the pledge; they have to mean it and live it. Jaden is very keen on what is happening around him, and he has a good sense of what is right and wrong as well as fair and unfair. He talked a lot about feeling that students could do things to him and get away with it. He felt that the adults were not smart enough to know when other students were lying. Jaden described an incident where two students lied on him and the principal (not Ronald at the time) took their side of the story.

Jaden: She [the principal] just said, she said I pushed him and lied on me when I said, when I was like that ain't, and he fell on a girl, cause we were on a hill.

Ruth: What do you think the school could do to help when that happens so that you can feel…?

Jaden: Man I wish they had a lie detector test to see the truth

Jaden He also shared that Chris, the social worker, understands him. Jaden shared that he trusts Chris and only goes to him to solve problems.

KATINA is a nine-year-old fourth grader. She is an African-American girl and lives with her mother and sister. Her biological father is involved in her life. She has attended three different elementary schools. Katina struggles academically in school. This year, Katina received both Title I support in literacy. Katina also said that she loves school. Katina discussed that she is nice person when people don't make her angry. When asked what kinds of things make you angry, she replied "when people yell at me" or "mess with my little sister". She also shared that her mother told her to defend her sister if someone hits her.

> Well, she [her mother] told us if somebody hits us or somebody hits my little sister she needs to hit them back because that's, cause she doesn't want people to boss us around cause like they're not, unless they're like older and stuff like that, but if they're like our age and they're pushing us and stuff like that, we have the right to do that same thing back.

ETHAN is a male student in the third grade. He is multiracial, his mother is White, and his father is Hispanic. Ethan's parents are extremely bright and work hard to support his school needs. They both have a difficult time understanding his mental health problems, and work with his doctor, a therapist, and the school to support him.

Ethan was diagnosed with Attention Deficit Hyperactive Disorder and anxiety disorder. He has an individual education plan to support his academic and behavioral needs. He is below benchmark for math, mostly because he gets extremely anxious when working on math in school. There is a behavior plan in place to support him. Ethan is extremely bright, but struggles significantly to make and keep friends. During the interviews, Ethan shared that he did not like going to physical education (PE) because his PE teacher was too naggy. He also shared that his PE teacher thinks he is a bad student because he can't stay on the black line. He also got in trouble and was sent to the office.

> Ethan: Well yeah, the gym teacher thinks that I'm being very much of a bad student.

Ethan: Yeah the gym teacher was trying and she was just nagging and nagging, telling me to stay on the line when I was staying on it, it was happening a lot.

Ruth: Okay. Okay. And did you feel like she treated you fairly?

Ethan: No.

Ruth: And tell me what happened? Why didn't you feel like she treated you fairly?

Ethan: Because she was nagging to me and the whole entire…

Ruth: And what does nagging look like?

Ethan: Nagging is telling someone to stay on some...and telling someone what to do in a rude way without any manners; like instead of saying 'stay on the line' so she should really use manners. She was saying she was being polite, but kind of, just being very you know naggy like. She was being rude to me.

FRANNIE is a female student in the fourth grade. She is biracial, and her mother is White and her father is African American. Her parents are divorced; however, they work together to support Frannie's education. They are involved and advocate for Frannie. Frannie's parents at times struggle to communicate their feelings or needs for Frannie. Laura shared that she has gotten to know her parents, and it has become easier to understand their point of view. Frannie is below benchmark in reading and math and attends intervention for both academic areas. Frannie struggles to stay on task in class, and it is clear that is because the work is too difficult for her to complete independently. Increased differentiation by the classroom teacher is needed. Socially, Frannie worked this year to find her voice and personality.

Frannie shared that she wanted to be liked by students and adults. Her principal said that sometimes Frannie makes poor social decisions in hopes that others will notice and like her. Frannie has an extremely upbeat personality and is wonderful to be around. She also strives to seek the approval of adults around her. Frannie works hard and wants to do well. Laura shared that Frannie has a lot of strengths and can be successful if the staff is

successful in supporting her. Frannie shared that her teacher (who opted not to participate in this study) often treats her poorly and looks for reasons to discipline her. She cried during the interview and said she felt in the eye of her teacher that she could never do anything right. She also shared several times that her teachers did not help her when students were doing hurtful things to her.

Frannie: Well, there was, um so there, there is one kid in my class and so he was making... he was teasing me, he was calling me names and like I was dumb and stuff like that and I told the teacher and she told me that I was just being a tattletale and I got in trouble instead of the person who was teasing.

Ruth: And how did that make you feel?

Frannie: Mad.

Frannie talked about feeling that her teacher did not like her and sent her to the office when others reported things she did. However, when others did things to her, the teacher did not do anything about it.

AARON is a nine-year-old male in fourth grade. He is an African American male. Aaron's parents are divorced, and his father is remarried. Aaron has a little sister from his father's second marriage. Aaron lives with his mom but he also spends a week or two with his dad and stepmom. Aaron has received special education services for an emotional impairment. Aaron spends his time in his general education classroom. He has the support of Dan and the emotional impairment teacher (who did not participate in the study due to time constraints). According to the data, Aaron has had a history of non-compliant behaviors that also included aggressive behavior. All of the adults working with him in this interview talked about how much Aaron has progressed in his behavior and in his response to conflict at school over the last year. Aaron reported that he enjoys being in his class placement this

year and talked about how pleased he was with Dan. He didn't expect to get along so well with him. Aaron really wants everyone to know that he is working hard to be a good student. He also discussed wanting people not to be afraid of him.

Aaron: Well sometimes like, if I'm around them and they look at me, and then they, I think they're talking about me when a teacher comes by.

Ruth: Uh huh. And why do you feel that way?

Aaron: Because normally I get talked about because I've done wrong and stuff. I try to do right, but I just do wrong sometimes.

Ruth: Sometimes? Okay and how do you feel about that? How do you feel about them feeling afraid or thinking that they feel afraid? You can show me another picture [Aaron mentioned people being afraid of him earlier in the interview].

Aaron: Sad.

Ruth: Sad? And why do you feel sad? Why did you point to that picture?

Aaron: Because, well, since they're afraid of me, I just feel sad that the grownups don't think of me as a normal kid, like, they, I'm a kid, but just they don't like treat me like a normal kid sometimes. They usually talk about my bad things and stuff and then sometimes I don't even know what they're talking about.

These schools and the participants in this study have backgrounds and stories. Chapter 5 Introduces and discusses themes found from the data collected in the form of individual interviews and document analysis.

CHAPTER 5

CHILDREN ARE IN A DIFFERENT PLACE ALL THE TIME: THE IDEA OF CULTURAL AND EMOTIONAL LOCATIONS

The African American and Latino students in this study constantly navigated different emotional and/or cultural spaces that affected their responses to school norms and expectations (D. Carter, 2003; P. Carter, 2005; Delpit & Dowdy, 2002). Teachers, other adults, and students identified cultural and emotional locations as two major spaces students occupy during the school day. The following three chapters answer my research questions (see Table 5.1): (1) How do African American and Latino student participants, identified by their schools as being in Tier III and needing significant behavioral supports, experience the school, and classroom climate in a SWPBIS context? (2) How do their teachers and other adults describe and understand ways to support them in Tier III? (3) In what ways do the students' experiences converge and diverge with their teachers' and other adults' descriptions and understandings of those experiences?

In this chapter, I am concerned with adults, who often did not realize their students occupied and navigate different cultural and emotional spaces that were constantly changing. Thus, the classroom space, as negotiated by student and teacher, was often typified by misunderstanding and misinterpretation. This also plays out in other places in school with other staff. These episodes of miscommunication characterized classroom and school norms and staged adults against student. These misunderstanding and misinterpretations caused adults' understanding of these students as oppositional rather than cultural or emotional responses. This lack of understanding is often due to a cultural mismatch between teachers, other staff and students as well as home and school. In the next section, I began by discussing the cultural locations of students in the Lovington School District in relationship to their teachers, other staff, classroom, and school-wide norms.

Table 5.1 Data Analysis Outline of Chapters 5-8

Research Questions:

1. How do African American and Latino student participants, identified by their schools as being in Tier III and needing significant behavioral supports, experience the school, and classroom climate in a SWPBIS context?
2. How do their teachers and other adults describe and understand ways to support them in Tier III?
3. In what ways do the students' experiences converge and diverge with their teachers' and other adults' descriptions and understandings of those experiences?

	Main Findings /Theme /Chapter Titles	Findings/Sections
Ch 5	**CHILDREN ARE IN A DIFFERENT PLACE ALL THE TIME: THE IDEA OF LOCATION** **Key Finding 1:** Children are constantly navigating different emotional and/or cultural spaces that affect their responses to school norms and expectations. **Argument:** Adults often don't realize that students occupy and navigate different spaces that are constantly changing and often misunderstand or misinterpret their responses/behavior as oppositional behavior. This lack of understanding is due to a cultural mismatch.	1. Cultural Locations: Transiting Institutions a. Communication as a Cultural Match or Mismatch b. Norms for Problem Solving 2. Transiting Emotional Locations 3. Conclusion
Ch 6	**DEFICIT MODEL THINKING AND HARMFUL CYCLICAL OPPRESSIVE PRACTICES (HCOPS)** **Key Finding 2:** Adults and students described harmful cyclical oppressive practices where African American and/Latino students in T3 experienced consistent scapegoating by their peers and adults. Furthermore narratives were unintentionally forged that placed students in a negative context. **Argument:** Teacher beliefs influenced by deficit model thinking about African American and/Latino students in T3	1. Teacher Perception, Deficit Thinking, and Scripting a. Deficit thinking b. Labeling c. Making Majors out of minors 2. Scapegoating: Guilty and no chance of being innocent 3. Conclusion
Ch 7	**PROFIT MODEL THINKING AND HELPFUL CYCLICAL LIBERATORY PRACTICES (HCLPS)** **Key Finding 3:** Adults and students described helpful cyclical liberatory practices (HCLPS) of teachers that were experienced by African American and/Latino students in T3 for behavioral supports. These HCLPS countered the harmful oppressive practices (HOPS) experienced by African American and/Latino students in T3 for behavioral supports. **Argument:** Safe spaces were created in the schools/classrooms where teacher participants and other adults built trust and caring relationships with African American and/Latino students in T3 for behavior. I also argue that building relationships through respect and the culture of caring served as counter narratives to the HCOPS occurring with these students in the participating schools. These counter narratives served as helpful aspects of school for the students participating in this study. Finally, I discuss how teachers operated from both models and the mixed messages this created within their context.	1. Building Positive Relationships a. Layers of support b. Respect and trust c. Contact and connections 2. The Culture of Caring : Creating Safe Spaces a. Watching out for students' wellbeing b. Honoring student voices 3. Conclusion
Ch 8	Discussion, Implications and Conclusions	

Cultural Locations: Students Transiting Home and School

The African American and Latino student participants navigated various contexts between home and school. These contexts include cultural norms, social codes, and values that were often in conflict with one another. The literature on culture discusses this phenomenon and include the students' school, home, family, gender, peers, and subgroups within schools (Lareau, 1987, 1989; Noguera, 2003a, 2003b; Otoya-Knapp, 2001). During these interactions, students negotiated various social and cultural identities, which affected their behaviors and experiences at school. Part of the challenge for student participants was the constant transiting of these different spaces. There was a general lack of understanding the teacher participants and schools held regarding various cultural codes that these students possessed. Delpit (1988) discussed the experiences of miscommunication between white teachers and students of color along with their frustration. Delpit described the culture of power as having rules and codes that are explicit only to those who already have access to this culture (teachers, principals, other adults, etc.). Likewise, their students may not have known when to utilize codes that were more compatible with their school's culture. Both adult and student participants described similar interactions and experiences that served as helpful or harmful aspects of schooling. Language and norm dissonance were two areas that surfaced when considering students navigating between home and school.

Communication as a Cultural Match or Mismatch

In the context of this study, language was culturally framed, and there were both helpful and harmful aspects of communication between students and adults in schools. Often, the language used by the students in Tier 3 reflected the culture of their homes and communities where they lived. The language codes used in participating classrooms were not always conducive to the codes used in homes and other spaces that these students transited outside of schools (D. Carter, 2003; P. Carter, 2005; Delpit & Dowdy, 2002). One

harmful aspect of schooling in this study involved teachers and other adults not understanding that some of their students lived in homes where parents use directive communication. Lareau (2002) in her ethnographic study of social class and the rearing of Black and White children found that Black families typically used directive communication. Additionally, Lareau defined directive language use as primarily one way from the parent where the child rarely questions or challenges the adults. In these exchanges, negotiations between the parent and the child do not occur. Black parents in her study tended to use firm directives and expected prompt, positive responses from their children. A helpful aspect of schooling involved adults in the three schools who understood and positively embraced this phenomenon. Some teachers and adults in the schools viewed directive communication as harsh and/or negative. This form of communication is not negative. It represents a cultural code based on a different set of norms and values prevalent in the African American community. Directive communication provides a clear expectation and communicates caring.

One example of harmful adult behaviors occurred was when teachers failed to make their expectations clear or made them up along the way. This caused confusion and frustration for students, especially in Tier 3. Frannie felt that other adults in the school really cared about her wellbeing and learning. However, she had difficulty when interacting with her classroom teacher. These difficulties made Frannie feel that she could never do right which led to an internal struggle for her that sometimes played out in her response to others in school. There were moments when she cried as she described her frustration with the teacher making up and changing rules along the way.

> She (the teacher) makes the rules and so we might not know all of them. They tells, she (the teacher) tells some of them, like she'll, will make up some, like she'll make up some rules, but in the year and then um, and then like she'll have a bunch of other rules and um we won't know what they are and she'll tell us something to do, and like that we had to do and we didn't do it.

When asked if she felt that the rules were made up along the way, she responded:

> "Yeah, we know some of the expectations but they change, Only some of them, like the ones that are like coming along, like she'll tell us one that she had made just recently, but the ones that had, like are old and stuff, she won't tell us cause she'll expect us to know them, but we might not know them because it's her rules and other teachers probably that we have been with didn't have those rules" (Frannie).

One premise of SWPBIS training that these three schools participated in is that the expected behaviors are identified, explicitly taught, and made highly visible to all students. In Frannie's example, not being clear, using non-directive communication with their students, and changing the rules along the way served as harmful aspects of schooling. It served as a harmful practice because Frannie could have experienced a more directive approach where she did not have to figure out the expectations. There may have been some confusion for the students who were accustomed to directive communication at home and who were now faced with unclear rules that were constantly changing. Frannie had to figure out what was expected and whether or not following them was optional.

Carl at Darwin described, "keeping it real" as a way of using directive communication in his attempts to be honest with his students in Tier 3, and provided a strategy that served as a helpful aspect of schooling. He also discussed that his students opened themselves up to him, which may have been attributed to his ability to speak with an understanding of his students' cultural locations.

> Yeah you know what, most of the time I'm just real with the kids. I can talk to them about consequences of their behaviors and they seem to take well to what I have to say because I just, I can bring it to their level where they understand more and it's not an adult lecturing at them; it's someone who is demonstrating an ability to understand where they're coming from and then it's definitely. I think they feel safer to tell me exactly what happened because I spend a lot of time doing conflict

> resolution and they can walk away from a situation and actually they've shaken hands with their peer and they're walking away with at least one or two tools on how to better handle the situation the next time around.

In the example above, four important things resonate: the idea of "feeling safe", "being at their level", "taking the time" and a "sense of justice". Being at their level represented a location or space that his students occupied. By recognizing his students' cultural locations and making them feel safe, Carl gained access into their emotional and social space. By taking the time and allowing his students opportunities tell their side of the story, he honored their voices and broke the silence barrier described in an earlier section. His students got a sense that they were being heard and that they had a chance at a fair outcome. This got at the sense of justice that students spoke about to Darwin. Because Carl's students felt that he was at their level, Carl was granted access where he was able to support their problem solving process. These helpful aspects of adult behaviors countered some of the silencing that occurred in other spaces of the school. According to the literature, Carl served as a cultural broker for his students by providing them with the necessary skills to be successful in school (D. Carter, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1997). According to Carter Andrews (2008)

Norms for Problem Solving

Another cultural mismatch that occurred between adults and students in Lovington involved norms related to solving problems. There were norms in these schools regarding student conflict resolution that involved student reporting or their use of positive verbal mediation. However, these norms were in direct conflict with what some of the students were taught at home by their parents. This was very apparent during student interviews in at least two of the schools, Darwin and Pennington. At Darwin, the social worker described scenarios of two of the students and their siblings. The first student and his brother were bullied at their previous school. By the time they got to Darwin they were in defense mode,

and their parent's expectations regarding conflict resolution did not coincide with the school's expectations.

> Yeah Jeremy, he is quiet, he's laid back. Um they were bullied at their other school so they came here and they being he and his older sibling who is at Wheatly school; they came over with a chip on their shoulder. We met with dad at one point because they were displaying bullying behaviors ,so they went from being a victim to being the aggressor and when dad came in, you know it seemed like the whole family was still distraught over what they went through and the dad's, the dad is clearly teaching these boys to whip other kids' butts, so what, what do you do with that as a kid? You know if your parent is directing you to fight someone, you're supposed to following the rule. So, and dad made it clear to me, and at the time Mrs. Kingsly, that I don't care if my kids get suspended, they're not going to get they butts whipped. So we have a lot, and I'm going to tell you probably 80% of the kids who end up in physical altercations; that's what their parents are telling them.

Carl described another incident that occurred on the school bus involving a different student named Katina and her sister. According to Carl, Katina was involved in a physical incident because a boy was picking on her little sister. Katina explained to Carl that her mother told her when somebody messes with her little sister that she is supposed to "kick their butt". Carl explained that he couldn't tell her differently and that he could only tell her what the rules were in school as well as what consequences would be for her actions, if she did what her mom told her to do.

> So a lot of our, I've, I've come to realize a lot of our parents are telling our kids to fight when someone hits them and her [Katina] mom told her the same thing.

Katina corroborated this mismatch between expectations at home and at school. She described similar rules from her parents. According to Katina, her mother told her to

protect her little sister. When asked about the things that upset her about being picked on, Katina stated,

Katina: Um, one thing is when people like boss my sister around and they don't even know her like because I ..; there's a little boy on the bus who would come to school and he's hitting her and I told him; you hit her I'm gonna tell my mom. And then he'll, oh you can tell; they like you can go tell your mom. And then my mom would tell me, if somebody touches your little sister and they're older than you, you need to let them know that that's not okay.

Ruth: Okay. All right. So she tells you to let them know that it's not okay?

Katina: Uh huh.

Ruth: And what does she tell you to do if they continue to bother your sister or you?

Katina: Well, she told us if somebody hits us or somebody hits my little sister she needs to hit them back because that's, cause she doesn't want people to boss us around cause like they're not, unless they're like older and stuff like that, but if they're like our age and they're pushing us and stuff like that, we have the right to do that same thing back.

Katina's account is an example of how there was a cultural mismatch between home and school regarding solving physical and verbal conflicts between students. The school's culture did not consider other forms of more culturally nuanced problem solving. This does not mean that students should solve problems by being physical. However, having had an understanding of why parents may tell their children to defend themselves and their siblings may have presented opportunities for schools to include these understandings of the students' r behavior systems. Frannie described the same scenario at Mayville and Pennington where she reported incidents to her teachers and only was punished.

Ruth: Okay. Have you had moments where you were being teased and you got in trouble, but you were the one being teased?

Frannie: Yes. Well, there was, um so there, there is one kid in my class and so he was making... he was teasing me, he was calling me names and like I was dumb and stuff like that and I told the teacher and she told me that I was just being a tattletale and I got in trouble instead of the person who was teasing.

Ruth: And how did that make you feel?

Frannie: Mad.

A few important ideas surfaced in the examples above provided by Carl, Katina, and Frannie. First, Carl did not tell his students that they should not do what their parents told them to do regarding self-defense in school. Nor did he tell his students that their values or ways of thinking were wrong. Instead, he acknowledged his students' ways of solving problems were different from those of the school. His way of supporting this group of students was by "keeping it real" and telling them the potential outcomes for their choices in the school setting. Carl fostered intrinsic behavioral choices because the students then had the freedom to weigh the information he provided them and make personal, rather than forced, choices.

Another idea that surfaced and that was that the parents' code for solving the problem actually matched the schools but was not perceived that way by Carl or the school. It seemed to be linked to a history of social injustice for students. This injustice is linked to the silencing that occurred with Katina and her classroom teacher after she reported an incident where she was being picked on. In Katina's case, her teacher did not take the time to locate her cultural location to "kick butt" if nothing is done about it. Nor did she provide Katina a sense of justice. The idea that cultural spaces is highlighted in Noguera (2003b) work where he introduced the ideas that youth cultures exist and that these spaces are

often impenetrable and incomprehensible by adults. Finally, this example represented a clear difference in the way that teachers like Carl and Karen worked with students to solve problems and the way that Frannie's teacher worked to solve problems.

While Carl and other adults in the two schools recognized that parents told their children to defend themselves, they seemed to miss that parents such as Katina's had directed them to report incidents to the adult first. Parents like Katina's usually told their children to protect themselves only after students had told adults about the conflict where they were the victim and perceive that nothing was done about it. Thus, the mismatch sometimes occurred when students were silenced, falsely accused, or felt that their reporting had been denied or ignored. Another and even more complex example of students transiting home and school is illustrated in Karen's description of Jeremy's parents influence on his behavior at school.

> So Jeremy, Jeremy; I had his older brother. Jeremy struggles a lot with the academics and it's very difficult work for him and there's a very mixed message he gets between Mom and Dad about school and about life in general. (short laugh) And Mom works here in the lunchroom and will do pretty much anything to support, that you ask. But he's just limited too, with what his abilities are, so there's that kind of struggle there. The older brother it was a little easier for and for Jeremy it's…he struggles more with it. So um Dad is very um, oh gosh harsh and argumentative and it's almost like Jeremy's behavior can flip on a dime between the two. He's got very good manners and can be the sweetest gentleman you've ever seen, but if something makes him mad you see this part that comes out that, for the first time you see it, it will shock you; it is that drastically different. He's very physical, very, very verbal.

This example is complex because the student was transiting various contexts where he had learned multiple ways of responding to problems. Those ways of responding were in conflict

between home and school and home where the two parents provided him with opposing expectations. Jeremy received mixed messages from his mom, dad, and teacher. His teacher was aware of these conflicting values but viewed the mother's values as being more in line with the school's in a positive light. However, she viewed his dad's values in a negative light, because it felt directive and oppositional and it did not coincide with the school cultural norms. This left her trying to understand how to support Jeremy as a whole child. On one hand, she perceived Jeremy in a positive way. On the other hand, she didn't know how to respond to the side of Jeremy that mirrored his father. This complex example shows the teacher unknowingly creating harmful narratives about Jeremy. This example and the previous ones illustrates that there are some very caring teachers in the Lovington School District who in their efforts to positively support students in Tier 3 actually behaved in ways that were both helpful and harmful. This seemed to be the case for how rules were made at the classroom level versus the school level.

When asked about the rules in school, Carl described them as being very different from the rules in the homes of the African American and Latino students. Considering how ways of solving problems varied culturally, it seemed that the schools in Lovington should have provided students the opportunity to help develop the norms and expectations of school.

Ruth: Can you talk about what the rules are here?

Carl: Yeah so the rules are definitely; there's a no hitting policy and you know as bucket fillers, which is our system, one of our positive behavior systems in place, is as a bucket filler we're supposed to focus on safe hands, safe feet, being respectful, and being a learner. So you know I had to remind Katina that that's what she should be focused on in a school setting, and that it's different. You know rules at home and rules at school are different and should be treated differently. But um, she made it clear to me that her mom told her, if someone hits your sister at school you're supposed to override the

school rules and do what I tell you to do, which is to fight them to protect your sister. So I, you know you really can't touch that. I understand where the student's coming from and that's got to be confusing for a kid, because you're supposed to follow your parent's rules, but also there's these school expectations and rules in place that are conflicting.

Carl and Karen seemed to understand that some students were given expectations at home that did not reflect the rules at school. Yet, the school continued to make rules without allowing the students to play a role in creating the norms that they were subjected to daily. Carl and Karen indicated that they thought students should have had a voice in the development of school expectations. They both saw a connection between student voice and their ability to better navigate experiences in school. When asked what role did they see students playing in creating the rules, Carl and Karen agreed that they should have had a role. However, the students did not have voice in the development of school expectations beyond their classrooms.

Karen: I think through discussion it would be helpful if we could hear from the kids their knowledge of what are the current rules. You know sometimes the rules aren't clear to the kids so if there's clarity on what the rules are, I think that we have a better chance of addressing the expectations of the rules. I think kids should have a role in the making up some of the rules they experience and see; things that we don't get to see because we're not in their same peer group. So out at recess, you know they have their little cultures that staff members never get a chance to even observe and they're completely unaware of them. So I think it'd be helpful just to have the kids sit with a team who comes up with expectations, because hearing from a little one

might give an insight on an area or topic or a concern that we're not even aware of.

Ruth: And do you have that, is that a practice in the school now, the students make the school rules, school code, the expectations?

Karen: Not to my knowledge, not to my knowledge. I know parents may have some weigh in as a community within the school, but not the students.

Karen in her example above discussed an additional culture that students transited on the playground and how adults were not aware of the codes and nuances associated with the norms of those "little cultures" that existed during recess. Those same "little cultures" existed in the classrooms within the class culture at large, and students in Tier 3 benefitted more from participating in the creation of expectations. One of the direct benefits from their participation included discussions that provided teachers and other adults in the schools insight about interactions within subcultural student groups.

Rather than engaging students in setting school norms at Darwin, Ronald, in his efforts to improve behavior, discussed how he did a one-man show in an assembly. During the assembly, he did all of the creating and instituting of the norms and expectations. He spoke so proudly of the decrease of office referrals because of his work. While his intentions and actions were positive in seeking solutions for building-wide issues between student and adults, student voice and teacher voice were absent from the process. Perhaps some collaboration with teachers and students could have enhanced expectations in a way where the cultures of students were a part of the established school norms.

> So this particular school, as I recognized the behavior expectations and learning coming together with the lessons, I was still aware of the underutilization of bucket-filling. We said we were a bucket-filling school but that was not the case. And so in January of 2013, I did a one-man assembly where I wrote a song about bucket-filling and had all the kids in the gym and made it abundantly clear that this was the expectation for my teachers and

students and then put a ream of bucket-filling slips in all the classroom teachers' mailboxes and started having regular school- wide recognitions for all of our many achievements. It started creating a new habit of mind, which was very powerful. Office referral data started to decline. With this year I made it a school goal as far as school improvement that we were going to cut office referrals by 30 percent. We've actually done way more than that.

While office referrals had significantly decreased, students, teachers and the social worker communicated that teachers at Darwin were frustrated and disengaged, because they felt that the principal did not address behaviors. Students said that they were still being falsely accused and had to work on their anger. The social worker said that teachers were not learning how to be more culturally aware or sensitive and that this had further disenfranchised their students in Tier 3, especially their African American boys. He also said that SWBPIS did not work for all students.

Carl: After being exposed to some of the training, they need to regroup on the School Wide Positive Behavior Supports. Um, these techniques don't work for every kid. You know the fortunate part is, some of these children's parents have the same approach as the School Wide Positive Behavior Support so that works well when, it makes a well-rounded disciplinary bubble for that kid, you know we're getting the same thing at home that we're getting at school. For these other kids whose parents don't practice these techniques at home, it's new to them and it doesn't mean that it's wrong, but they don't react to it, they don't respond to it favorably, so it's ineffective for a particular group of kids, and not all minority kids. There are kids of all colors who just, of all cultures, who just that School Wide Positive Behavior approach is just not effective to them, they get it differently at home.

Carl said that the African American subgroup seemed to struggle the most and that the strategies that teachers and other staff had been working so diligently to implement

were not working for the that subgroup. He attributed this failureto the students being so different culturally.

> It's just different for them (minority groups) and my understanding is they put these supports in place to help kids, but I don't think, and not to... criticize it. But yeah, I don't think that enough thought was put into it looking over the cultural diversity belt, we'll say. It's, the thought was put into it, to cater to a certain group and I understand that the goal was to capture all groups, but they need to modify it…
> I definitely see more challenges with male than females, however there are some challenges with some of our females um, but as far you know having to identify which seems to be more at risk, I would say African American males.

Carl claimed that SWPBIS did not work for everyone. However, according to Carl, specifically, SWPBIS appeared to work less for students with low income and? Black students especially Black males. Carl attributed this problem to Black males not wanting to be controlled or manipulated into behaving in a certain way.

Having knowledge of multiple institutions such as home, school, etc. seemed to have made a difference for the school social worker at Darwin who has had many experiences working within the social services system. Not only did he have experience from working in the social services field but he is also an African American male who brought experience from his personal life to school. Being a Black male did not mean that his experiences were identical to that of Black and Latino students. However, being Black meant that he probably had to navigate multiple cultural codes. During the interview, Carl mentioned the difficulty of being a Black male working in a majority White education system. Carl's experiences might explain why Carl was able to "get at their levels" and understood their cultural and emotional locations during the school day. In the example below, Ronald, spoke to Carl's attributes as strengths that have helped him to cross cultural boundaries with their students. Especially those needing behavioral supports in Tier 3

> The other elements that he (Carl) has which so unique because he worked in the CPS system and he worked in the foster care system. He has a wealth of knowledge about resources and about what many children are grappling with. Thatis important for kids because he can connect with them in a way that feels safe. He and I will work together and even do this with parents and it's also a beautiful piece. He's an African American man, I'm a Caucasian male. Some families when we come in as a united front and we're working together, we becomes an irrefutable team, you know. They see us as this almost interracial marriage that you know we're committed to each other and to the kids in the building and that it's all about the team. And it pulls for some families where the race had been an issue before, it comes off the table. It truly comes off the table because they hear us talking about their children and what we see in their children and the strengths in their children, which we both emphasize. Then they become less defensive and more partners with us, which I love.

Issues of representation and cultural capital were two areas that surfaced from Ronald's example. Ronald's statement indicated that for Black and Latino students, he thought about representation rather than cultural understanding. Representation was important. However, Ronald talked more about how the adults treated them and made him feel. He seemed to focus more on whether or not they adults at Darwin understood or genuinely liked him.

Ronald's notion of he and Carl being an "irrefutable team" and "interracial marriage" indicates perceived cultural differences between Ronald, the White male, Carl, the Black male, and Black families. It also indicated that without Carl at the table that Ronald had been denied access into the cultural spaces of his Black and Latino families. In this example, Ronald lacked what P. Carter (2003) referred to as non-dominant cultural capital. This non-dominant culture discussed by Carter includes race. In the case of Ronald, he was now the White male lacking non-dominant capital. However, the Black families and

students rather than Ronald were still the ones at risk due to his lack of access into their cultural spaces. Ronald's comments show his awareness that as a White person he did not have the set of values and norms that he needed to interact with a Black family. This problem is obsviously tied to race. He recognized that Carl had access to this knowledge because he was Black. Thus, Ronald needed Carl in order to enter into these spaces with families, which suggested two at least things. First, that race played an important role in Ron's ability to support the Black families in his school. It also suggested deficits in Ronald's non-dominant cultural capital needed to enter those spaces where problems affecting students could have been addressed. Carter's study (2005) addressed the academic disengagement of Black and Latino and the notion of Black cultural capital, which suggests that these cultural differences exist and that in many cases, they are racially based. This means then that Ronald needed more of an understanding of the social cues and values shared within and associated with Black families.

In the next example, Carl also provided examples of how the lack of understanding by other adults, different values, and ways of knowing affected students in Tier 3.

Carl: I think it's a major impact and I think it's unfortunate that, you know a lot of teachers try to relate and to even come across as if they actually do relate, but children can sense them not being in tune with the children's reality. And I know that there have been some concerns particularly at this school where parents don't feel like a teacher understands or can relate to their culture or where they're coming from or their circumstances. Definitely there has been some concerns about whether or not teachers are capable or able to meet the students' needs based on their lack of culture diversity, so.

Ruth: Can you talk more about that? When you talk about the culture diversity, tell me more about where you see that happening or tell me more about that?

Carl: So um, I would have to say from being here there are certain teachers that just seem to lack that diversity, but the scary part is they lead on like they are diverse, but that's their mouth saying one thing and their actions show something else. And I get a chance to talk with kids and they open up to me and tell me how they feel and uh, a number of kids feel like they're not being treated fairly and in some cases, not all cases, but in some cases because of their race.

Ruth: How do you address those types of concerns when students share them with you?

Carl: I have brought it to teachers' attention in the past, um I also just sit down and explain to students that um, specifically minority students, that it shouldn't be this way but it's, you're going to work harder and it is harder for some minorities, because people, due to people's lack of understanding, so.

Carl's statement and Ronald's statements from earlier illustrates that parents and students at Darwin felt that the adults didn't understand who they were and therefore may not have been able to meet their need. These students mentioned to Carl that they also believed that race played a role in the way that they were being treated. For Carl's students, this was an example and acknowledgement of racism occurring in their educational spaces. Furthermore, students at Darwin indicated that they did not want teachers to pretend they understood them because it made matters worse due to students already feeling silenced and labeled. Carl's ability to" keep it real" with his students and their concerns about being silenced and being falsely accused allowed students to have real conversations. Carl's support also provided positive racial socialization for his students (Carter Andrews, 2008). Carl stated earlier that he told his students that they were going to have to work harder because of their race. For Carl's students, this positive socialization began when he "kept it

real" with them by telling them that they would have to work harder and by raising their critical awareness of this reality.

Carl mentioned in his last statement how hard it was for his Black and Latino students due to people's "lack of cultural understanding". This lack of cultural understanding of the adults in the Lovington schools led to several instances of silencing. Silencing was a harmful aspect of schooling for the student participants when they realized there was an injustice that they just had to succumb to and that not much could be or was done about. Essentially two types of silencing occurred. The first was this silent understanding that the rules were different for them because of their color. In many ways, the adults and student participants knew it and spoke of it. Additionally, based on the students and adults, the parents were aware as well. However, this understanding was rarely addressed in any of the schools.

The second type of silencing occurred across the three schools when adults falsely accused the students in Tier 3. Students shared instances where they either had not been able to tell their sides of the story, were ignored, or were not seen as not telling the truth when conflicts had occurred. Students across the study also talked about how they were automatically assumed to be guilty. This silencing occurred subconsciously by the many of adults in schools.

These types of silencing by the adults across the schools caused their students in Tier 3 to feel disenfranchised, which for some of them led to a sense of hopelessness, anger, and resistance. Being disenfranchised meant that students felt they did not have access to the same justice or treatment as their White counterparts. Frannie in her example discussed feeling silenced and disenfranchisement when her teacher spent time with White students at recess but never with her. She also shared how her teacher automatically assumed that she was at fault when conflicts occurred even in times when Frannie reported being the victim.

Ruth: You bring up a really good point that I want to ask a question about because I was going to ask you to describe your teacher, but I feel like you're describing her. But before I even do that, everything you just said to me about what you don't like, how does it make you feel when those things happen to you? About when she falsely accuses you, or have you guys get in line and if you get the wrong answer you have to go to the end of the line and you might be hungry, when someone teases you and she doesn't give them consequences; how does that make you feel in class, in your classroom, about your classroom?

Frannie: Probably sad; can I pick one alone?

Ruth: You sure can.

Frannie: Sad, afraid, and angry.

Ruth: Sad, afraid, and angry and do you ever talk about those feelings with anybody at school? Do you think it would be helpful if you could tell people about how you feel?

Frannie: Yeah. But most of the time, like Ms. Beryl if I tell her something she'll like say just get over it or ignore them or do something like to…

Ruth: And how does that make you feel?

Frannie: (Crying) Even more worse because like I try to, I try to um get over it and I can't, so it's kind of hard for me to get over what happened.

Ruth: Right. And I can tell that that's upsetting you even as you're talking about it.

Can you tell me, do you think your teacher understands you as a person? Are you okay? Do you want to keep going or do you want to…

Frannie: (Drying her eyes) Yeah, we can keep going.

Ruth: Okay.

Frannie: Um no.

Ruth: Can you tell me about that, what doesn't she understand about you?

Frannie: How like she um handles things cause she doesn't know what's going on at home, she doesn't know how my life has been, and she doesn't know how like I feel and she won't let me like talk to her or anything about it.

Ruth: And how does that make you feel, is there a picture here for that or more than one?

Frannie: Um, there is not a picture...

Ruth: Okay. Does it hurt, if there were a picture there about feeling hurt, would you choose that one?

Frannie: Yeah.

Ruth: Okay. And do you feel like, does that hurt affect your behavior? Do you think that it makes your behavior better or worse?

Frannie: It probably, I don't, I would just make my um, it probably makes me just shy, I don't want to talk to people, I'll ignore them, or like I won't speak to them and then I'll say sorry about what I had done. It wasn't like, cause some people, how I act it affects them and so if I say sorry, they'll still be mad at me and then the next day I'll be mad at them because they weren't like talking to me or anything and it makes it worse because they're trying to say sorry to me.

In the example above some of the adults in schools such as Frannie's teacher didn't realize that by ignoring their students' reports of being bothered by other students. This caused them to feel disenfranchised from their peers, school and learning. Furthermore, Frannie's example above showed that this lack of justice that she had experienced caused her to transit more spaces that were emotional such as feeling shy, afraid, embarrassed, and

angry. Jeremy and Jaden also reported incidents where the rules were different for them and this made them feel like they should handle their own conflicts rather than getting help. They all reported feeling sad and angry when these experiences occurred. This disenfranchisement of students led to forms of disengagement and resistance that widened the behavior gap.

Transiting Emotional Locations

Not only did these students transit cultural experiences between their homes and schools, they also came to school navigating various emotional locations. These emotional locations constantly changed for students, affected how they perceived situations, and how they responded to their teachers, other adults, and peers in their schools. When the adults working in the participating schools failed to locate their students in Tier 3 emotionally, they often misinterpreted their behaviors as oppositional or inappropriate. Likewise, when the adults understood the emotional location of their students, they were able to problem solve with them rather than simply writing off their behavior as problem behavior. These understandings of emotional locations or the lack thereof represented helpful and harmful adult-student interactions in this study. There were instances where these understandings led to the creation of caring environments as well as instances that led to the disenfranchisement of students.

Dan provided an important and helpful perspective supportive of students in Tier 3. Don shared that when his student in Tier 3 became angry or upset he provided him space and time to process his anger and to find a calm place. Dave stated that "children are always in a different place". Dave also shared that he cared enough to provide his student with the space to process and think. This tied with Aaron saying "don't talk to me, I just need time". It would have been harmful for Don to continue talking to his student, who in that moment needed time to process and make decisions about his behavior. Additionally,

Aaron's comment had been misconstrued by other adults in the building as disrespectful whereas he was merely asking for space to deal with his emotions. When the adult did not provide him time, Aaron and other student participants felt that the adult did not care. This mismatch of culture codes created harmful experiences for the student. However, Don's strategy represented a way of caring and understanding that students could be in one emotional location in one moment and in a very different place in the next moment. Cooper (2013) and Valenzuela (1999a) described this caring as a relational type of practice where the school staff takes the time to understand the child beyond the technicalities of teaching them. Don further explained that his job was not to control his student's behavior but to help him understand how to process his emotions and work towards a solution based on the student's values. In the case of Don and Aaron, resolution was not forced on the student.

Karen at Darwin discussed another example of helping students navigate emotional spaces. In this example, Karen recognized that her student dealt with some emotional issues that affected her behavior and learning rather than viewing her from a deficit model.

> Katina, right now and I'm just, I'm kind of stuck on her because she's kind of spiraling downward. We haven't had that conference. She's the only one I haven't had that conference with. She probably knows that and it's probably not feeling very good to her right now. So I'm gonna try as I can, I'm taking the numbers home, they're in my bag tonight. We're gonna try some nighttime, but whatever to make a call, but I just feel like; I don't want to let up on her with the academic piece because she is very, very bright. But it's really starting to affect her academics because she's not engaged right now. And so I don't know what the next strategy is gonna be for her. I'm tempted to pull back to get some positive things going for her, but I don't want to pull back because she's such a bright student. But there's obviously emotional things that are getting in the way right now.

It appeared that there was an internal struggle going on with Karen. Internally, she battled with whether to focus on academics or "pull back" so she could support Katina in her current emotional location. Karen appeared to be working from a positive perspective. Her strategies also seemed to be similar to Don's with Aaron in terms of knowing which battles to fight. "The battles" seemed to be twofold, battle with student and battle with self. In either case, Karen's and Don's approaches seemed to be student centered.

Karen also described how she created a safe space for her students in the classroom through class meetings. Creating a safe space involved Karen listening to her students and teaching them how to care for one another. How could this level of support and intentional work on behalf of the adults affect positive change for students in Tier 3 at the building level?

> We need to…every couple of weeks, at least once a month, stop and say what's going well and what's not going well? What do we like, what do we want to change? But we also just have class meetings and probably I feel these have been at least more significant this year with um; what's one thing you want to share that you haven't had a chance to tell anybody because life's just been so busy? And it is amazing some of the things we'll learn about each other that you would never otherwise have known. And you know sometimes it's simple as you know, "I watched a movie with my mom last night and we had a really good time," or, "My dad's an idiot." And I'm like, "Whoa, whoa, wait a minute you know we all get upset, that's a strong word, let's back up." "No, my dad's an idiot, he punched somebody last night and now he's in jail." And you knew that he just needed to get that off. Is it the most appropriate time or place? But I feel like if your community is set up okay, kids aren't judging you know and they have a little bit of understanding why he's coming in with a frown on his face every morning you.

There is evidence here of students navigating between? home and school as well as multiple emotional locations between their lived experiences at home and school. This also served

as an example of a teacher creating a safe space for children. This space involved Karen establishing positive relationships with her students, tapping into their intrinsic values, and fostering teamwork and an environment of caring.

The idea of emotional location surfaced across several of the interviews including Frannie's and Laura's at Pennington.

Ruth: Okay. Do you feel successful in school?

Frannie: Um ah sometimes.

Ruth: And can you describe the things that make you feel successful?

Frannie: I probably do better than most, some of the other kids in the class.

Ruth: Uh huh. Uh huh. And so, and what about unsuccessful?

Frannie: Probably not all the time, but I can feel unsuccessful. Like I, it was a spelling test day and everybody had, I didn't get to practice that much because it was the week that my grandmother had died and um I had only... everybody got 20 out of 20 plus bonus points and I had only got like 15 out of 20.

Ruth: Did the teacher let you retake the test?

Frannie: No. She doesn't like it's, it's take the test, she grades them, you give them to her, and then that's what you, and then you have to put them in your cubby or locker.

Ruth: Okay. And how'd that make you feel?

Frannie: A little sad about it because I didn't get to take, retake the test or get another chance to go over the words because then I didn't... now cause now I don't really get to know how the words are spelled and how like I don't get to learn them more, like learn them how all the other kids do.

In this example, a harmful aspect of schooling occurred. Frannie described how the loss of her grandmother led to her not passing her spelling test. Laura, the principal understood

this. However, Frannie's teacher did not have this understanding and punished her for acting out. Frannie's acting out was due to her feeling defeated from failing the spelling test. In this case, Frannie was navigating at least two emotional locations simultaneously: grief from losing a loved one whom she described as being very close to and the emotion of fear, shame, and embarrassment associated to failing a test and being viewed as unintelligent by her peers and teacher. Maslow's (1968) foundational work identified a hierarchy of needs for children, one being emotional safety and wellbeing. Fannie's teacher did not consider her emotions need in that moment and her punitive response added another layer of emotions for Frannie to navigate.

Conclusion

Black and Latino children constantly navigated different emotional and cultural spaces that affected their responses to school norms and expectations. This chapter considered issues related to adults, who often did or did not realize the different cultural and emotional spaces their students occupied and how that often conflicted with or supported their abilities to follow that class and school norms. There were several examples where the classroom space, negotiated by student and teacher, often showed understanding or misunderstanding and misinterpretation. These episodes of miscommunication led to negative experiences and caused adults to view students as oppositional whereas understandings of students' locations led to more positive experiences for student.

CHAPTER 6

DEFICIT MODEL THINKING AND HARMFUL CYCLICAL OPPRESSIVE PRACTICES

> …last December at a staff meeting with my staff I showcased looking at our SWIS data. I broke it down, disaggregated it down, looking at culture and looking at economically disadvantaged kids and particularly African American students. And we had a high disproportionate number of African American and multiracial students being sent to the office when compared to the demographic of our school. And so I posed the question to the staff whether this…you know I wasn't insinuating, but I did pose the question to the staff: Is it possible that there is an unintended bias our being tolerant of some students' behavior as opposed to behavior of other students? That was an uncomfortable conversation, but I think they heard me loud and clear. I then showcased a number of videos from effective teachers working in very diverse settings and I wanted the teachers to analyze their own practice; to think in terms of how their instruction looks compared to that of other teachers in centers that were showing high, effective abilities of closing the achievement gap, and that was also a very interesting opportunity. (Ronald)

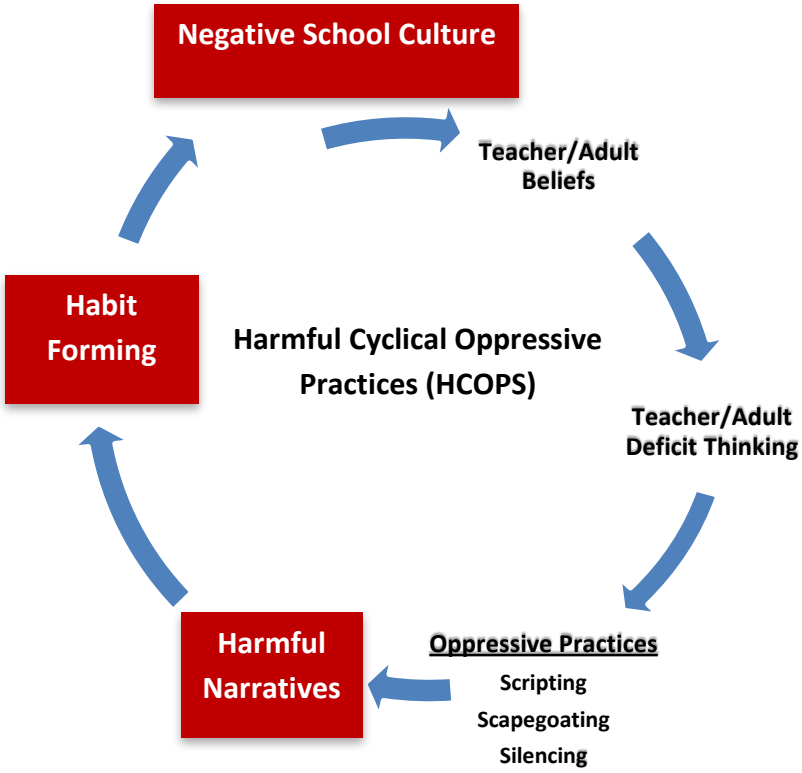
This chapter discusses ways in which the adult participants' beliefs modeled deficit thinking, scripting and scapegoating of student participants in Tier 3. The adults and students described instances where African American and/Latino students in Tier 3 experienced consistent scapegoating by their peers and adults. Furthermore narratives were unintentionally constructed that placed students in a negative context. I argue that the teacher beliefs influenced by deficit model thinking about African American and Latino students in Tier 3 led to scripting and scapegoating and created harmful narratives that further perpetuated a cultural mismatch. The deficit thinking, scripting, and scapegoating that occurred in the schools in this study were cyclical, habit forming, and contributed to a negative school culture for students in Tier 3.

Scripting refers to how African American and Latino students' identities are socially constructed within their schools. Scripting is based on Berger and Luckmann (1966) foundational work on the social construction of reality. This concept is based on how the ideas, beliefs, and mental representations of social interactions become habituated forms of reality that are played out and reproduced or practiced by others within various social

systems. Scripting in this case involved normalized stereotypes based on deficit thinking and beliefs that somehow culture and race determined academic learning and behavior. Scripting has been described prior to this study. Scripting is connected to how the identities of Blacks and Latinos have been constructed over time in our country and is tied to race. It stems from the ways that Blacks were socialized from the time that they were enslaved and brought to this country in chains. It continues today in the form of racial profiling such as the stop-and-frisk that began in the New York area beginning in the 90's. These institutional forms of racism affect how Blacks and Latinos are viewed in society at large, that somehow, something is inherently wrong with individuals because of the color of their skin. Schools serve as microcosms of larger society and have been strongly influenced by these beliefs and oppressive practices. These stereotypes and misconceptions held by adults in this study about their students socially constructed students' identities in ways that adversely influenced their peer relations, behaviors, and experiences in school. Scapegoating seemed to be a direct consequence of scripting. According to Dictionary.com, a scapegoat is "a person or group made to bear the blame for others or to suffer in their place." The word scapegoat derives from Biblical times in Christian faith when the high priest let goats loose in the wilderness after the sins of the people were laid upon the goats (Lev. 16:8,10,26). In Biblical terms, people did not pay the penalty for their sins; the goat in this case took on the sins. In this study, scapegoating involved the adults and other students putting the onus for misbehavior on the students in Tier 3.

As the identities of the students participants were socially constructed in negative ways, they became easy targets for other students, teachers, staff, and parents to blame for their own misbehaviors. These negative constructions of students in Tier 3 allowed for some harmful cyclical oppressive practices (HCOPS) to be established (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1 Harmful Cyclical Oppressive Practices (HCOPS)



The HCOPS model is the first of two theory practice models discussed in chapters 6 and 7. These practice models are based on Bourdieu's theory (1990) practice models on teacher belief. Pierre Bourdieu (1990) discussed habitus as systems or structures composed of schemes of perception, values, beliefs, and action that influence people's use of practical knowledge and is based on cultural norms that people have been predisposed. Essentially, Lovington staff members functioned within cultural constraints of which they became products. When thinking about the two practice models used in this study, teachers and other adults continued a system of thought and harmful practices tied to our country's socio-historical context in regards to race, class, and hegemony.

This model was created to explain how these HCOPS created negative school cultures that disenfranchised students in Tier 3. In the HCOPS model, the process begins with teacher and staff beliefs based on a deficit model of thinking that has become normalized and reified. Their deficit thinking is influenced by the biases mentioned above

and that Ronald shared in the opening quote. However, it is also based on Freire's (1970) blank slate frame that suggests that students come to school without knowledge and teachers have to fill them with knowledge. Others have built of Freire's work discussing ideas such as subtractive schooling and deficit thinking that adults in school often have about their students (Paulo Freire, 1970; Kirkland, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 1997; Noguera, 2003b, 2008; Paris, 2012; Valenzuela, 1999a). In the case of this study, the school staff assumed that some students did not know how to behave. The deficit component is that the school staff did not consider that students came to school with ideas of how to behave. However, the students' behavior systems were in some cases vastly different from that of the school for cultural and social reasons. Instead of understanding this reality, adults created negative narratives of students by scripting them when the behaviors did not match their cultural models implemented in schools. Adults in the school also manipulated behaviors forcing students into the assimilation of their cultural frame for behaving.

As students are scripted and manipulated, they became frustrated, and angry, and other students placed blame on them when conflict occurred because they perceived that the adults had already deemed students in Tier 3 to be guilty any time an incident occurred. Thus, these scripted students experienced silencing when the adults failed to properly investigate incidents and immediately believed the other student(s). This silencing led to students feeling isolated. These harmful practices hurt students. However, these practices were also oppressive because students were placed at a disadvantage and power was placed in the hands of adults and other students who had been labeled "good students".

There are several definitions for oppression. This study drew from the *Social Work Dictionary* to define oppression in the context of this study. Thus, oppression is:

> "The social act of placing severe restrictions on an individual, group or institution. Typically, a government or political organization that is in power places these restrictions formally or covertly on oppressed groups so that they may be exploited and less

> able to compete with other social groups. The oppressed individual or group is devalued, exploited and deprived of privileges by the individual or group which has more power (Barker, 2003)."

When students were scripted and scapegoated, they tended to suffer academically, as noted in the SWPBIS literature in chapter 2. In many ways, they were denied the right to fair treatment, positive reputations, access to social groups, and equal academic opportunities.

The adult participants shared stories of how they worked to support their students in Tier 3. These teacher and adult dispositions were either from a deficit perspective or from a profit perspective and sometimes fluctuated between both paradigms. In this chapter, the deficit perspective and consequent behaviors of the adult participants will be examined and the profit perspective will be explored in chapter 7. I begin by discussing how school staff perceptions demonstrated deficit thinking and scripting as they sought to support their students in Tier 3 in the Lovington School District.

Adult Perception, Deficit Thinking, and Scripting

Three patterns of practice were used in the Lovington elementary schools directly related to scripting: deficit thinking, labeling, and making majors out of minors.

Deficit Thinking

Most if not all of the teachers that I interviewed discussed strengths that their students in Tier 3 brought to school. However, their strengths were often embedded in deficit thinking and actions. I am not sure that adults understood how to utilize students' strengths when misbehavior or perceived misbehavior occurred. The first example of deficit thinking and scripting became clear as Carl, the social worker at Darwin, described classrooms that had the most "problem behaviors".

> Honestly, I am seeing a lot of children who don't seem to have learned some basic social skills at home. So we're seeing temper tantrums, in most cases kids who,

when they get told no we have a problem; it instantly becomes a push-back situation where they want to challenge adults and I'm seeing a lot of disrespect towards adults coming from first graders.

Initially, Carl described the problem as being the children's fault and attributed it to disrespect, temper tantrums etc. He didn't consider that the issues could have been environmental to the school. Considering the school environment and adult practice as reasons for student misbehavior supported profit thinking rather than deficit thinking because adults did not assume that the problem was directly related to the student alone. Instead, they examined their own practices. Lydia the social worker at Mayville believed that all student behavior whether appropriate or inappropriate was a form of communication.

Ruth: Uh huh. Okay. You've talked a little bit about this already that the training that you all sought for students that needed additional support, that you felt like it was lacking from, that you needed someone with more experience to do that training, more skill sets to do that. What do you think is most difficult about supporting students who need that intensive support?

Lydia: The thing that I think is about the hardest is, what are they communicating to us when they behave in a certain way, and that's the key, because then if we know that, then we have a much better way of responding. And I think as adults, it's very hard to not just jump into some kind of judgmental…um, whatever, with children (Over talking) keeping the judgment out of it.

Lydia's analysis was to look to the why of the behavior and not just immediately look at the child as the source of the problem ; this immediately takes the attention off the student and directs it at other factors. Another point that she made was that the adults in her school needed to think in nonjudgmental ways when dealing with student behaviors. Lydia's

response and disposition was in contrast with that of Carl. However, Carl's follow up response appeared to contradict his first statement. While he initially assigned the problem to the child, he shifted to other reasons for the students' behaviors in first grade. In the example below, Carl fluctuated back and forth between deficit thinking and profit thinking. It was as if he was continually processing the questions, his understanding, and the events that occurred in his school.

Carl: These, these children had different classroom management and so that maybe some of the teachers lack the PBIS skills, um maybe they didn't practice them, but there seems to be a different group of kids, along with a different response from the teachers.

Ruth: Okay. And are you noticing anything particular about that when you say that, can you tell me more?

Carl: About the, well...

Ruth: Different, you said particular groups of kids and particular groups of adults, what are you seeing with that, what tends to be the pattern?

Carl: I would say a lack of tolerance. It just seems like the easier kids are easily managed by their teachers and maybe teachers are experiencing children or behaviors that they haven't experienced before or that they have not really learned to address in the past; and management is just not a strength right now for some teachers, with particular behaviors.

Ruth: In those cases where management may not be a strength, are you seeing a larger like concentration of behavior needs or problems?

Carl: Yes, those two are coupled together, which makes it unfair for the teacher, I get that. You know we have teachers who had a great class the year before and then now they have five behaviors that are out of control, which pretty much take away learning time from the whole class, so. And what's not

> happening is these teachers don't have skills to refer back to because this is the first time for them, maybe there's been one or two kids in the past, but now there's five and it's like; what do I do with this?

First, Carl realized and admitted that teachers in his building lacked adequate experience and skills needed to support their students. He identified these skills as classroom management skills. He then says that the teachers were the victims because they somehow got a "bad" batch of students and they were not prepared to handle "particular behaviors". This referring to students as a "good" versus a "bad" batch is an example of scripting. It served as a harmful thought process regarding the very students for whom he had expressed genuine care in previous examples. This also served an an example of Carl sliding back and forth between the two practice models. These mixed messages were communicated in various spaces in his school. They created a narrative about particular students who needed support but also about prevailing systems of practice and mindsets in the context of this study. Adults throughout the interviews made comments about having "good groups of students" in one year versus having "problem behavior groups" in subsequent years. The script in each case was the same: "this is an easier class" or "that was a tough class" referring to the students. Even teachers, such as Karen, who talked about creating a safe space for her students, did not treat overall classroom management issues as school or personal problems.

The notion of "behavior also surfaced in Carl's description and reflected the problematic construct discussed in chapter 2, where the emphasis was on the student as the problem. Carl did not emphasize the lack of skill or training on behalf of the adults as the problem rather he spoke of the child in deficit ways; the students were labeled which perpetuated the cycle of scripting students in Tier 3. These exchanges brought forth the question when adults encountered students who appeared to have significant behavioral issues: what comes first, the chicken or the egg? In other words, which came first, problem

behavior or the lack of classroom management and cultural understanding? Below is another example of a teacher moving back and forward between deficit and profit thinking. When asked how her background working with emotionally impaired children has helped her in her work with students in Tier 3, Karen stated:

> A great deal. It's always been a passion of mine and now that I'm in Gen Ed... well that's funny because when I first made the transition it's like; well we need IEPs on all these kids and we need to fix them all. And it was really hard to let go of that; owning each and every piece and letting those other people that are out there that's your support system to be supportive. But you soon learn you have to do that or you're gonna die... (laughter) because you just can't um…you just can't save them all. But even over the summer going into 4th grade knowing that, you know we tried some WhyTry lessons last year with our kiddos. I wanted more information on that and Carl and I right now are taking 10 of our top most at-risk kids during our lunch period for about 10 weeks and I think we're gonna have to stop it then, although I feel like we're just kind of starting to click with some of these kids, because there's 10 more.

In the example above it is evident that Karen exhibited care for her students and her work. However, she also moved back and forth between deficit and profit thinking. She held the belief that students who were having learning and/or behavioral challenges needed to be saved from self-destruction or from their tough lives outside of school. While she quickly realized that she couldn't save them all, she still viewed them as incapable of personal agency. She also saw special education as an answer. These two thought processes lend themselves to deficit thinking and contribute to the disproportionality of African American students in special education amongst her students.

Karen's ideas of "saving" students involved imposing PBIS and middle class White rules/values on students. Karen's thought process in this example represented deficit

thinking and scripting. In the example above it appeared that teachers, principals, and social workers with special education experience seem to have more strategies and ways of supporting students and that these strategies were not offered through PBIS training. It appeared that teachers and special education support staff supported students in ways that represented nontechnical form of caring. This same pattern occurred with Laura, Karen, Carl, and Lydia who all have special education backgrounds.

Deficit thinking and scripting not only happened to students but to some of their parents. Carl talked a lot about the importance of building relationships with parents. For the most part, it was clear that Carl placed a high value on the school-parent partnership. However, as Carl discussed parents of his students in Tier 3, he continued to move back and forth between profit and deficit thinking.

> Carl: So I'd say most effective is the parent relationship that's built. The second most effective is helping the kid to understand how important they are and that they make a difference. And again where that's not successful is where I don't have the parental support. The kid can get up, dust himself off and try again, but then when they get to go home and be that unruly kid without the parent giving them what they need, and that is appropriate discipline and structure, it's hard for them to separate school from home. And it's much easier to be disrespectful to an adult here because my mom let's me yell at her or cuss at her. So yeah, least effective is not having that parental support.

When Carl discussed respect in the context of his school, he spoke from a deficit model. First, he focused on the lack of respect that children showed and for the most part, blamed it on the lack of home training, parent involvement, and deficiencies in the home. Carl talked about students culturally transiting between school and home and how home negatively affected their behavior at school. This was an example of harmful deficit

thinking. When asked about possible deficiencies in the school setting with school culture or teachers' skill set, Carl was not able to move past parental and student issues to consider other potential reasons for student behavior. The question was rephrased multiple times to push his thinking beyond the child and parents. He was able to shift to other areas such as lack of teacher training or classroom management.

> Carl: I understand it's a difference of teaching styles and from one teacher to the next they're all unique. They all have something and they may all lack something. Um unfortunately, this challenging group of 1st graders that we have is a result of lack of behavioral management as kindergartners. And you know I don't want to blame any teachers for it. You know last year two of our teachers really needed help, um me doing my part doing what I can, but again I think in that case, they were lacking the appropriate PBIS approach and training.

This same deficit thinking occurred even when discussing establishing relationships with the parents. Carl spoke in terms of providing support for parents because they came to the table lacking the knowledge and skills to help their own children. Carl meant well, in fact, when he described how he supports students; his descriptions show the respect and the culture of caring described in the literature reviewed in chapter 2. Carl also continued to fluctuate between deficit and profit thinking. His use of language and descriptions scripted parents in the same ways that students have been scripted in the study with statements such as: the "the parents don't have a clue", "there is no discipline in the home", the parents allow the student to do whatever" and "there is a lack of support in the home". Carl acknowledged that the schools were lacking some supports. However, he did not make the connection between the two that perhaps one begot the other. Carl's lack of awareness that he moved between the two models was evident in the following example

> It is so important that I build relationships with the parents. And I was just at an EI training last week, they talked about every approach you could think of, PBIS, whatever, whatever, but they never brought up the parents, and keep in mind that this, the audience, there were three African Americans and 45, 50 non-African Americans and non-minorities. And I had to keep bringing that up on two or three questions that were asked; like you have to contact with the parents, you have to connect with the parents. I think often parents, some of our minority parents, are viewed as unreasonable and the attempt to even try to build a relationship with them is not made at all and that's the biggest downfall because if you can reel the parent in you can, you have a better chance of making a difference in the kid's life. A lot of our parents are lost, they don't have a clue you know and I've heard so many people say; well this is my first kid or this is my first teenager, and some people have too much pride. But there's a big issue with trust with minority parents, they do not trust opening up and sharing with the school district since I've worked for it. They're always, you know conversations with parents is; I don't trust them white people, I just got to put it out there, and I understand why.

Carl says that he really tries to connect with parents because of the lack of trust they have with teachers and staff. He shared his desire to provide them with resources because they often told him that they didn't feel that the White staff could do anything to support them. Carl also felt that he served as a buffer when parents and teachers don't get along. Carl discussed listening to the parents' complaints about teachers and scheduling meetings to problem solve for the sake of the child. During these meetings, Carl admitted that he played a neutral role.

In the examples above, it was clear that Carl valued building relationships with his parents. He also shared several examples where he acted and thought from a profit model. However, in this case, Carl fluctuated back to profit thinking by describing how teachers worked/behaved based on deficit model thinking. He also touched on how these

perceptions affected teacher's abilities to build respectful and caring relationships with their students. Carl's deficit thinking affected his ability to serve as that same cultural broker for parents as he did with his students in chapter 4. In chapter 4, Carl discussed how he kept it real with his students by making them aware of some of the oppressive forces at work within their school culture. First, he communicated to his students that they would have to work harder and be better because of their skin color. Then he shared how he spent time providing his students tools needed to be successful in a predominately culturally White school.

In the parent example, Carl served as a bridge rather than cultural broker when he discussed how he had to play a neutral role between the parents and teachers at Darwin School. A cultural broker would have exposed these oppressive acts to the family and provided the parents with tools to successfully navigate meetings and cultural norms at school. Carl set up meetings and brought parents and staff together without providing that support and the resources needed to navigate conversations. This was important because Carl discussed how many of the Black parents shared that they did not trust the staff or feel that they could support their kids. Carl played dual roles, that of bridge and broker. These roles were politically charged. When Carl played the neutral role, he sometimes acted as a bridge that allowed for scripting, silencing, and deficit thinking prevail within the teaching ranks in the school. In many ways, Carl was providing teachers access to parents' cultural spaces that would otherwise be denied. Based on his descriptions, the adults entered those spaces lacking cultural understanding which in the long run for these students and their parents contributed to a lack of trust and safe spaces where parents can engage and solve problems involving their children.

Labeling: From Description to Personification and Human to Inhuman

Teacher beliefs shaped by the examples of deficit thinking and scripting described in the previous section created opportunities for labeling of students to occur. Throughout the interviews, there were many adjectives and some phrases used to describe the behaviors of

students. The adults used words like "problem behavior", "athletic, needy", "talented", "academically challenged", "those kids", "these kids", "unruly", "angry", "at-risk"," Tier 3 students", "difficult", "emotional problem", and "disruptive". These words were personified in their descriptions such that the students began to be described in ways where they were no longer the human but the expressions personified. These unintentional scripting processes influenced students and played out in their own negative self-descriptions and self-identifying. The first unintentional example of scripting by labeling can be seen in Ronald's statement below. Keep in mind that Ronald was also the same principal in the previous section that tried to raise awareness amongst his staff of their unintentional biases and lack of tolerance for some behaviors over others.

> …I think for my particular building, and I can speak to this building, the staff dysfunction was somewhat rampant, but at the same time I think there was a history not with the former administrator but the one prior to that where I think that administrator liked to handle all the problems and liked the discipline. And I truly mean that word, the discipline, meaning the punitive piece. And for a classroom teacher who is trying to teach a group of students and they have a disruption in the room I think they found it quite easy to get rid of the disruption and let someone else handle the problem without really resolving the problem; without really getting to the root of the problem; without thinking about the children's feelings and trying to amend those and strategically teach them alternatives on other options; how they could've handled things differently.

The way some of the adults named behaviors and students added deficit thinking and scripting to the school culture. Other teachers were affected by this culture of deficit thinking according to the accounts provided by the students. In the example above, Ronald clearly reflected the harmful practices in his school prior to his tenure. It was also clear that Ronald desired to address some of what he called "dysfunction" amongst the staff.

However, in his effort to change the culture to a more positive and functional one, he added to deficit thinking by using labeling words to describe students in Tier 3. In his case, "a disruption" in the class shifted from a description, the action of the student, to replacing the student with "the disruption". The student became the problem in this example.

This culture did not create safe spaces for the student participants. In fact, it maintained a status quo of injustice as students and other adults were taught to respond to "the disruption" as the problem child who was then easily scripted and scapegoated by others. It was important to note that Ronald did not intentionally see the child as a disruption. However, the ways in which adults describe these students became reified over time. Thus, "remove the disruption", the behavior interrupting learning, over time shifted from an emphasis on the behavior to the child. This was how scripting moved from deficit thinking to actualization. According to the student participants, their peers gained more power in their abilities to manipulate situations such as the one Ronald described earlier concerning the incident with Katina and another student.

Another example of scripting was evidenced in a part of a conversation where Carl described how training has helped him to support students. Carl discussed using his social work training as the foundation for supporting students. In this case, Carl is describing non-violence crises training:

> I thought it (non-violence crises training) was very helpful, it teaches you to defuse an angry kid who could potentially be violent against himself or peers or staff members in his or her environment; definitely helpful the biggest thing in learning to defuse, learning to carefully pick and choose your own battles with an angry kid.

Rather than describing the student as being angry or acting violent, Carl labeled him an angry child. Carl did more than describe the child's emotions. As mentioned earlier, scripting also occurred in how students were described. There is a difference between "the child is angry", and the "angry child". These ways of describing were unintentional and subtle, but after a while, other adults, and the actual students began referring to the child

as angry rather than by name. In fact, the students continuously talked about being angry, being seen as angry, and needing to work on not being angry. As the students participated in the interviews, they did not appear to be angry. They appeared to be more frustrated and taking on self-fulfilling prophesies of being the angry kids. Karen did the same thing in the example below. When asked how much time she spent getting to know her students, Karen did some scripting and labeling without knowing it.

> Um, well I will tell you I don't feel like I take enough time. I always feel like I want more time. Your time goes to those kids that pull you, either because they're Tier 3 kids and they've shown up on some data list or because their behavior, you know pulls you in that direction. And then you know you get the kids that do everything right and say everything right and they sort of sail in the middle. And my heart goes out to that group probably the most because they deserve it just as much as anybody else, but because they make good choices they don't get it as often. But you know apparently they're getting something somewhere or they wouldn't be in that group. And so you know it never feels like enough. I can even think of, you know how many times they're walking out that door at the end of the day; I'm saying I didn't have a conversation with that kid at all today, everything went from one thing to another to another to another. But it's important.

Karen spent time developing relationships with her students in Tier 3. However, she made a comment that represented a deficit model of thinking because she believed there were students in Tier 3 and then there were "the kids that get everything right" who were getting something from somewhere; the kids in Tier 3 were not. In this case, she was labeling students by acknowledging, "some kids are perfect". Karen's intent was positive but her beliefs served as a hindrance to the process i.e. teachers who unknowingly thought this way allowed their student in Tier 3 to be scripted and scapegoated when they had conflict with "the kid that always got it right". This form of injustice connected to the cultural mismatch

between the teacher/school norms and their students in Tier 3. Karen provided other examples where labeling and scripting were evident.

Karen: I don't know, strategies that don't work, I don't know. Whatever we're doing right now is not working; (short laugh) at least with Katina. You know Jeremy, his piece is almost a little easier for me to deal with because a lot of it comes down to the academics and we have to just really differentiate the curriculum for him to make him feel successful. With Katina, there's that…she's smart and there's that little EI piece in there and she gets it. And I think that like a lot of EI kids, there's anger in there that they're dealing with because they know they're getting a raw deal.

Ruth: Hmm and could you talk more about the raw deal piece?

Karen: Well yeah, you know I think back at my EI kids, and I remember when we were in K-6 buildings and one of my 6th grade girls called me and they had just done the grocery shopping and she forgot to save enough money out for them to take the bus home. She was already starting to take over those responsibilities because Mom, very involved in drugs, wasn't.

According to Karen, the "raw deal" came from what was happening in the students' personal world. Embedded in Karen's comments were labeling, scripting, and deficit thinking. While some of Katina's and other students' issues stemmed from home, issues of scripting negatively affected her in school. Karen's deficit thinking caused her to respond in a harmful way to Katina. This response occurred when Katina had an incident with a girl whose mother, according to the social worker Carl and Katina, was mean to her. Yet, Karen did not consider that Katina was innocent because Katina had been scripted as being angry and hurtful to other students. She was scapegoated in that situation because "the kid

that always gets it right" could not have possibly provoked her. Karen went on to describe the situation.

> Well she showed up and within a half-hour, she was in a screaming match with another student in the class; I mean to the point where I had to kind of get between them. I thought it was…she was letting go of it for the time being, but then no sooner turned around and she was making another jab at the same student. And I said, "We got to go talk to Mr. Alexander [Carl], I think you need some time.

In Katina's case, the girl that "gets it right all the time" scapegoated her, and Karen missed an opportunity to be fair. Culturally, Katina discussed that her mother told her to defend herself and her little sister. Therefore, when the student was secretly being mean to her, she responded the way she had learned to respond at home. This represented that mismatch of cultural codes between Katina and the student, Katina and the school norms, and Katina and her teacher. Katina (Black) was seen as yelling at the other student, a code not accepted in school, but the student (White) who was being mean went under the radar. This harmful practice of Karen's hurt Katina. Ronald made some moves that supported Katina in ways countered the scripting that Karen had utilized.

Carl described scripting, labeling and deficit thinking in his statement below.

> Those Tier 3 students here just seem to require more attention, more guidance. They make a lot of poor choices and in a lot of cases it's a lack of social skills. They seem to be the neediest and it's unfortunate, because there are kids who I don't have to talk to, but I don't even know their names because I don't get that contact, I don't get that interaction with them. So in a way the Tier 3 students take away the relationship building process for the other kids who don't have any problems; and I'm not upset about that, but I have noticed the difference it makes. When I'm walking down the hallway, kids who I don't know are crying 'Mr. Anderson' and it's like hey, you know I can't call them by their name.

Carl labeled his students in several ways. First, he started with "those Tier 3 students". Then he provided meaning such as “neediest”, “poor choices” and “lack of social skills” to the words "those kids". Other adults reified the meaning he assigned to "those kids". It seemed that almost every time they used the phrase "those kids" it usually meant "needy", "problem behavior", “angry”, etc. The next way Carl labeled and scripted his students was by blaming them for taking away from the rest of the students the right to have relationships with the adults in the school. Carl did not consider that students in Tier 3 came to school with ideas about how to behave, instead school culture codes were imposed on "those students". Because Carl and other adults in the study constantly vacillated between deficit and profit model thinking, when the students looked, sounded, or acted differently, they were considered to be misbehaving. Here is another example of Karen labeling in similar ways as Carl:

> But he (referring to Jaden) is definitely difficult. And many students like him, maybe not with the AI label, but emotional problems. There are some really difficult kids we’re faced with on a daily basis and I'm…we can never have enough strategies for those kids. And I do feel like you know the PBIS things have helped. But I would imagine that new teachers coming in, there’s got to be moments they’re pretty worried and pretty scared on dealing with some of the behaviors and difficult children that we’re seeing without getting a lot of that background and training and they don’t have that much experience behind them yet to tap on. So yeah.

Karen provided scripting through labeling by referring to her students as "difficult" rather than having difficulty. Although she initially referred to one of her students with autism, she spoke from a deficit model. She also scripted this student and others who did not have autistic disorders. This labeling and scripting was connected to issues associated with the foundational constructs of PBIS. Because the concepts used to describe the SWPBIS construct were not defined in the literature many of the definitions use concepts such as preventative strategies, altering school environments, changes in school practices, and

problem behaviors as premises for needing SWPBIS. Furthermore, the PBIS constructs focused on student behavior rather than student and adult behavior.

The PBIS construct that school staff worked from has deficit model components because its descriptions focused more on the problem behaviors of students and not on proactive measures that teachers and schools can take to be proactive i.e., better classroom management, building positive relationships, involving families, effective teaching strategies, and cultural competency. Just as the term, "problem behavior" is problematic in the literature, so are the words used to describe the students in this study. First, these terms carry a negative connotation and have caused the adults to work from the same deficit model mentioned above that assigns causes of negative behavior to the student or individual. Likewise, the practices to change the behaviors were imposed on the student by school officials. In these cases, the adults considered how the schools, or practices by school officials, school cultural norms, budgetary decisions, or policy had supported or encouraged "problem behaviors" in student participants.

The second area to be addressed is the notion that new teachers are afraid because of the student's behavior. This represented another way that the students were scripted in this study. In the example below, Aaron at Mayville and Jeremy at Darwin spoke of feeling that adults, teachers, and students were afraid of them because they have had problems with being angry.

Ruth: Okay. And, um, do you feel like you are an important member at Mayville? Show me a picture, um, do you feel like you're an important member at Mayville?

Aaron: Yes, I mean.

Ruth: Okay. Show me a picture that tells me how you feel about that, about being, um, a member in this school. Proud? And can you talk about that, why do you feel proud about being a member at Mayville?

Aaron: Because then everybody knows me and they don't have to say, "Who is that kid?" and stuff. They could just know me, and they can call me by my name and, um, they can talk to me sometimes.

Ruth: Okay, and have you always felt that way at Mayville like when you first came…

Aaron: Yes.

Ruth: to Mayville when you were younger?

Aaron: Yes.

Ruth: Okay. Um, and you feel like the teachers and the staff and all the people in the building see you as an important member of Mayville? Okay. How do you feel the adults feel about you at school? Point to a picture that shows how you feel about that. How do you think they feel about you, the adults in the school? Afraid? Can you talk about that?

Aaron: Well sometimes like, if I'm around them and they look at me, and then they, I think they're talking about me when a teacher comes by.

Ruth: Uh huh. And why do you feel that way?

Aaron: Because normally I get talked about because I've done wrong and stuff…

Ruth: Like try ---. (over talking)

Aaron: I try to do right, but I just do wrong sometimes.

Ruth: Sometimes? Okay, and how do you feel about that? How do you feel about them feeling afraid or thinking that they feel afraid?

Aaron: Um.

Ruth: You can show me another picture.

Aaron: Sad.

Ruth: Sad? And why do you feel sad? Why did you point to that picture?

Aaron: Because, well, since they're afraid of me, I just feel sad that the grownups don't think of me as a normal kid, like, they, I'm a kid, but just they don't like treat me like a normal kid sometimes. They usually talk about my bad things and stuff and then sometimes I don't even know what they're talking about.

Ruth: What would you like for them, what would you like for them to know about how you feel?

Aaron: I'm doing the best I can to be a nice kid and I'm trying my, trying to be nice, nicer and not be mean to, and hurt people.

When asked how adults felt about him, Aaron pointed to the picture of the face with the afraid emotion. In the description above, Aaron had been labeled as an angry kid and scripted as someone to fear. When asked how he felt, he pointed to the picture with the sad face. Aaron wanted to be seen by the adults as a normal kid. Aaron struggled to create a positive reputation in this environment because his teacher confirmed that he had been labeled by his peers and other adults in his school. Aaron's teacher has really worked with him this year to help him think of positive ways of solving problems and navigating spaces in the school. In many ways, Dan had served as a cultural broker, having demonstrated profit thinking, and fostered personal accountability in Aaron rather than having tried to control or manipulate his behavior.

Dan's positive ways of supporting Aaron were helpful. However, Aaron did not spend all of his time during the school year in Dan's class. He also navigated five other areas of the school where other adults and students interacted with him. It was in those spaces where Aaron did not always feel safe and where there was a lack of caring and relationship building between Aaron, some of his peers and other adults. In these spaces, harmful

cyclical oppressive practices (HCOPS) occurred. In these places adults worked primarily from deficit thinking, manipulated behaviors, engaged in scripting and scapegoating. These destructive practices created unsafe spaces for the students and contributed to a negative school culture. When Dan was asked why Aaron perceived the adults to be afraid of him, he explained that Aaron had a history in the school, and that it was not a positive one. He admitted that while Aaron had improved overall in his ability to respond in social situations that his past had not escaped him.

> Ruth: Is there anything that you can think of in terms of why he might feel like people might be afraid of him in the building, adults?
>
> Dan: Well I think because when he [Aaron] started he was fully, I think in the EI program and he had some behaviors physically that were different than other kids. And um at times may have had, and I don't remember seeing this, but sometimes may have been, have to physically be taken down to the EI room. And as you see that happening, it's like well; you know as a teacher you may think, well that's a kid that wow, is pretty aggressive, has some problems and I'm thinking maybe that's why he's thinking that, because that may have happened to him and people saw that and now they think that well he's a kid that's gonna you know just break out and be physical or do something like that; and they may be afraid of that.

In the example above, Dan shared some of Aaron's history. In sharing, he was able to confirm some of Aaron's behaviors but mostly he was constructing Aaron's identity based on hearsay. Note that Dan mentioned he did not recall seeing it but that Aaron had to be restrained and carried to another place where he couldn't hurt anyone. While Dan did not do this intentionally, the descriptions that he provided was indicative of labeling that scripted Aaron's in his social setting. This scripting wasn't created by Dan but by the adults who passed stories along about Aaron's behavior over time. Thus, this script was owned by

other adults and students in the school and has had a negative impact on Aaron's experiences at school and in his personal thinking about his identity.

Aaron said in the previous statement that he wanted people to know that he was normal and that he was trying and doing the best he could. Aaron did not understand that how the school's culture and positionality of the adults had placed him at a disadvantage. Positionality is related to how adults' beliefs and values that have been constructed over time. These ways of thinking and believing are rooted in our socio-historical context and affected the beliefs the adults held about their students in Tier 3 and about African American and Latino students in general. This same type of labeling and scripting took place with Frannie at Pennington School and Jaden, Katina, and Jeremy at Darwin School. In the example below, Jeremy describes this labeling and scripting.

Jeremy: Because I was the um, because well see every parent in this school knows that I'm, like get mad sometimes and if I get mad, they'll know like what I do. Like how I get um mad and then I start like to um, if somebody like yells at me, I'll just say, I'll just say some words and if they keep on saying stuff to me, I'll just have to go to the principal's office or I'll just go there by myself.

Ruth: And what kind of words do you say when you get mad and they hear you?

Jeremy: I'll just say be quiet and then if they say shut up back, say shut up to me, I'll just say it back.

Ruth: Do you stand up to them when they're picking on you or when this happens and…

Jeremy: Yes.

Ruth: ...what does that look like when you're standing up to them? What do you do?

Jeremy: Um I'll just say, we'll just get in an argument and then he'll start lying about some things and then he, then he will just bring stuff back from like mostly like to and like this summer and…

Ruth: The student brings stuff up?

Jeremy: Yeah.

Ruth: Does anyone else bring stuff up that you've done in the past?

Jeremy: Um-um.

Ruth: No, and you said the parents all, you said most of the parents know that you get angry?

Jeremy: Yeah.

Ruth: How does that make you feel?

Jeremy: Well it um, mad.

Jeremy was able to articulate that the adults and students see him as being angry. He made the statement that all of the parents knew about his anger. How would all parents know about him being angry? This was either in his mind or had been placed there through labeling and scripting. Jeremy also mentioned that when conflict occurred between him and other students, people reminded him of his past behaviors. When asked which people, he said the students and adults bring up his past. This type of scripting based on the accounts of the students had been embedded in the culture of the school, and students in Tier 3 struggled to overcome labeling from past decisions they had made. Additionally, neither the adults nor the students were aware of how the school culture or adult behaviors had contributed to the past behaviors of students in Tier 3. In this study, in many cases, the entire onus was placed on the child or parents of the child. Although labeling and scripting occurred with these students, they worked against the grain to rewrite those negative narratives.

Ruth: Tell me what, why did you draw yourself with a smile on your face?

Jeremy: Hmm, I don't know because sometimes I like to smile.

Ruth: You like to smile?

Jeremy: Yeah.

Ruth: When you're in class, is that how you feel?

Jeremy: Uh huh.

Ruth: What about when you're doing work? Is that how you feel?

Jeremy: Yes.

Ruth: Is this how you want people to see you? And how is that?

Jeremy: Because I don't want people to have me, like see me like angry. I just want people to see me like happy and proud (p 17 Jeremy).

In this example, Jeremy was un-scripting himself. In Jeremy's mind, people in the school community viewed him as the "angry child". When they saw him they didn't see the child Jeremy, they saw anger. Angry in this case was personified and the child was dehumanized. This made it easier to dismiss the possibility that he may not have been the one causing the conflict. However, when drawing the picture he said that people saw him in a negative light but that was not who he was. His drawing and description countered the negative scripting that had taken place. Jeremy wanted the adults, parents, and students to see him as a happy and proud student. He therefore used strategies in school to control his anger without getting to what was really making him angry. In school, mistreatment from other students or disrespect made him angry. However, the focus of the adults was on Jeremy's behavior rather than the antecedent to his behavior. This focus on Jeremy's behavior tended to make majors out of minors. It also contributed to scapegoating which will be discussed following the next section.

Making Majors Out of Minors

In this section, deficit thinking and scripting in the form of turning minor behaviors in to major incidents is discussed. Within SWPBIS, office referrals took on two forms: majors and minors. Minor referrals were written up for misbehaviors that required quick redirection

from the teacher or another adult. Minor behaviors did not take a lot of time from instruction and learning and should have been handled by the adult in class or near the incident. According to the literature, minor behaviors are low intensity and may include students being off task during instruction, minor conflicts between students, physical contact, teasing, disagreements etc. (Todd, Horner, & Tobin, 2010). Major behaviors require more time to address and are usually handled in the office. These referrals potentially can take a lot of time away from instruction and learning (McIntosh, Frank, & Spaulding, 2010; T. Tobin, Sugai, & Colvin, 1996; T. J. Tobin & Sugai, 1999).

Major behaviors were more chronic and included fighting, bullying, physical contact, obscene profanity, any form of harassment i.e. sexual, defiance, etc. In the first example below, Laura discusses how the African American students in Tier 3 at her school were often referred to the office for discipline. These students were often referred to the office for minor behaviors that had turned into major behaviors and blown out of proportion.

Ruth: Do you see any type of relationship between the students' cultural backgrounds or racial backgrounds in write-ups or referrals in relationships to Frannie and her teacher or even in your building in general?

Laura: Um I would say with…with two…two teachers in particular; a first grade teacher and then her fourth grade teacher that really um if you just look overall who has been referred from the classroom how many times um there's certainly a difference um with African-American students. There just really has been and um...

Ruth: And have you had any conversations about that with those teachers? I know this is your first year in the building and you're building relationships, trust, and rapport.

Laura: There hasn't been direct conversations like, "I'm noticing the students that you are writing up are your black students." Um the conversations that have happened is, "Okay I see this write up for Frannie. I'm not…you know it's…it's…first of all it's not a major referral, this is something that you need to you know…" and then we've discarded those.

In this example, Laura admitts that she had not addressed the disproportionality of discipline of Black students in her fourth grade. However, she attempts to address the issue of teachers who were scripting students by making major student behaviors out of minors. Although Laura attempts to counter this scripting for Frannie, she was working against a cultural grain of scripting and negative mining. Laura says that she did not process minor behavior referrals as if they were major. She wrote them off and worked to support her students. She personally worked to support students like Frannie but failed to stop the harmful practice of labeling and scripting occurring in her building. Therefore, in the mind of the other adults and other students, students in Tier 3 were seen as having repetitive significant behaviors. Here Laura illustrates that HOPS is occurring with Frannie:

> um you know we had a recent event. We just had a recent situation and it's a locker situation where she was accused of going into somebody's locker and stealing and there was absolutely zero evidence; zero evidence from the student who had the…whose locker it was with the gummy bears. There was no evidence to support it. She's never stolen in the past; I mean zero evidence. Um and the teacher wrote it up as a major and I went back and said, "There's no evidence to support this. You can't just because somebody thought something happened say that it was truth," and it ended up not being um a major referral. We did have to investigate and talk with Frannie? and um I'm not even sure how she's…she's probably still upset about it. She probably still doesn't know if she's in trouble or not quite honestly. I can

guarantee you she's really confused about whether or not she's in trouble with that situation, even though I've said to her there's no consequences here, Um you know there's no evidence Frannie? that you've done this. I don't believe that you stole anything. Um the locker's right next to it and Frannie? said there's so many times that I just open up that locker and go in without even…and then notice it's not my locker um; which absolutely, she's…she's busy and she's social in the hallway; absolutely her last thing on her mind is going into you know making sure it's her locker. So there's some strong…um and even as I'm like reflecting and processing this with you the more I'm going oh my gosh why…now that I'm sitting and just thinking about it, several examples are popping into my head where it's like oh wow. She has to be feeling um discouraged about her relationship with her teacher this year.

Several issues stand out in this example. Frannie was guilty in the mind of her classroom teacher and other adults when behavioral incidents occurred although there was no evidence that supported her being guilty. Laura investigated each incident and supported Frannie. However, she did not realize that two of her teachers had systematically sent students of color to the office for minor behaviors that those teachers had classified as majors. Additionally, students like Frannie were falsely accused for things they did not do. Although Laura did not give Frannie a consequence, Frannie suffered the consequence of being labeled and scripted. The social and emotional toll that these harmful practices had on Frannie and other students was psychologically damaging. When behavioral incidents occurred, these students were scripted through their teachers turning minors into majors. What disheartened Laura was Frannie feeling silenced and disenfranchised.

Frannie: Like some, like I told you some people make fun of me and sometimes Ms. Bashford she disagrees with me and says stuff that I don’t do, and then she’ll give me a consequence for doing something that I didn’t do

or talking while she was talking, when she wasn't talking. Like I was already talking and she started talking and I was just finishing a sentence or something and she has like gave me a consequence for just that one time.

Ruth: Do you think she's fair?

Frannie: Um, not all the time, but she can be fair.

Ruth: Okay. And at what times do you feel like she's not fair?

Frannie: When like if like we're doing like math races or something, um like the people who like don't get an answer right can go get their snack or something and if some people get an answer right, they have to go back at the end of the line when somebody really, really wants to eat or they're really, really hungry cause they didn't have breakfast. Or like one time I was going into the classroom and she had talked to me about something and um it was, it was like, and another person said I did something when I hadn't done anything and she said... and I told her something that she said she didn't do, and she told Ms. Martin about it and Ms. Bashford had made it a major when it wasn't and Ms. Martin had made it a minor when um, and I think Ms. Martin is mostly all the time fair about things because she understands what it is.

Frannie corroborated that her teacher turned her minor behaviors into major behaviors. She also described instances where her teacher falsely accused her for behaviors she had not displayed or for things that she had not done. Another harmful practice highlighted by Frannie was how easily her peers had falsely accused her and how without any investigation her teacher had believed the accusers.

The practice of scripting through turning minor behaviors into major behaviors occurred across the other participating schools in the Lovington School District. Ronald at

Darwin discusses how scripting was a norm embedded in the culture of the school when he began his tenure. Several teachers were writing up a high volume of minor behaviors referrals and sending students to the office.

> I made it clear that there is no reason a student should ever be sent to me unless you have already addressed this problem and you have contacted the parents. Once that has taken place, I absolutely can get involved; clearly, if there is a safety concern, clearly, if things are so disruptive, you need support immediately in the moment. I will be there. But more often than not the behaviors of the teachers were such that if there was any infraction that wasn't even a major infraction the child was removed from the classroom, was sent to the office to sit on the "bad boy bench" and wait for proper discipline. So behaviors from teachers is vastly different now. Teachers are managing the students in their classroom and they are managing the behaviors of the students in the classroom

In the example above, HCOPS was in full force at this school. The teachers' beliefs were based on deficit thinking. Sadly, the teachers were using punitive practices to control and manipulate students' behaviors rather than fostering personal accountability. These actions were not only harmful but did not support the principles of SWPBIS. While there is some behavior manipulation embedded in the constructs of SWPBIS, the premise is five positives to one negative. The focus should have been on the positive behaviors rather than the unwanted behaviors. SWPBIS calls for giving attention to five wanted behaviors for attention to each unwanted behavior. This behavior manipulation, frequent writing of behavioral referrals, turning minors to majors had led to scripting and scapegoating. These destructive practices created a negative school cultures across the schools in Lovington School District especially for students in Tier 3.

Scapegoating: Guilty and no Chance of Being Innocent

Deficit thinking and scripting led to and allowed for scapegoating across the three schools. This scapegoating took the form of harmful and destructive practices that silenced

and disenfranchised students in this study. Ronald at Darwin provided several accounts of students in Tier 3 being scapegoating in his school:

> It did help with the new hires that I brought in who had a more positive approach and more faith in students and then the teachers had already started to practice better mediation, better conflict resolution; giving kids an opportunity to show that they're not always to blame (laughing) because they're often accused unnecessarily…I think the kids have been scapegoated and it almost doesn't matter who they're with. It doesn't matter because I believe that when children are viewed as "a problem child" they are the first that an adult will look at when there is a problem and that child is present. I think that's an unfortunate aspect of human nature but it just so happens that these kids are on the receiving end of that.

The scapegoating that occurred in Ronald's school also happened in the other two Lovington elementary schools. Students across each building shared examples of their peers and school staff scapegoating them. It seemed that out of the six student participants that Jaden, a student at Ronald's school, experienced the highest level of scapegoating. During his interview, he spoke candidly and with much emotion of feeling scapegoated by several students and adults. Jaden spoke about students lying about him and always getting away with it. Much of this occurred prior to Ronald's tenure but continued with other adults in the building after he became principal at Darwin.

> Jaden: Like one time out, like in the first grade I was playing basketball and then one of my friends was, well thought he was my friend, guarded me and I just shot it and made it and he got mad cause everyone was like, oh. So when I walked away to grab the ball after I shot it and made it, he pushed me, so I pushed him back.
>
> Ruth: And what happened in that incident did you all end up having to go anywhere or talk to anyone?

Jaden: Cause he and then, and then he tried to, and then he um, and then a girl tried to get and then…a girl that's his friend tried um, tried to come behind me and put my hands like that, behind my back.

Ruth: Tie them behind your back?

Jaden: Uh huh but I was, I shook out of it.

Ruth: Did she, what happened when you did that?

Jaden: She ended up falling.

Ruth: And then what happened, did you have to go to the principal's office?

Jaden: Well and then the other kid tried to hit me and I hit him. He tried to hit me in my face, so I hit him in his and then I, and then I don't get help; I got suspended, but he hit me first.

Ruth: So you got suspended, how many days were you suspended?

Jaden: Only a day.

Ruth: How did that make you feel?

Jaden: It made me feel mad, because he started it and I got, and I'm the one that ended up paying the price.

Ruth: Uh huh. How did that make you feel about school and the adults at school?

Jaden: That made me feel mad, like wow, wow, he hit me first, but I get suspended how come we both couldn't just get suspended?

Ruth: Right, did you feel like things were fair?

Jaden: Things weren't fair just because that, like.

Ruth: Uh huh, and who was the adult that suspended you?

Jaden: The principal.

In the example above, Jaden describes an incident where several students and adults scapegoated him. Hesays that the incident began when he made a basketball shot. Of course, he had responded the way his parents had told him and that was to defend himself.

As more students got involved, Jaden found himself in a situation that didn't match with the norms of the school culture that expected students to report being antagonized. In cases like this where students were getting physical, how did a student negotiate the school's expectations to get help? It seemed that everything occurred so quickly that Jaden responded in his most comfortable code, which led to his suspension. He was really upset and surprised that no other student was suspended. Jaden shared that there were other students involved who had not been suspended. This left Jaden feeling unfairly treated, silenced, and baffled. When asked if he had gotten a chance to tell his side of the story. He responded with 'no'. They would not let him tell his side of the story.

Ruth: So they listened to everything you said?

Jaden: Well they tried to stop me when I said, when they, cause they thought that that my story wasn't true when I say she tried to grab me.

Jaden was like a faucet during the interview. He was finally able to discuss things that had happened to him, where no one either listened to or believed his account of the incidents. He really seemed frustrated with the fact the students had lied and were automatically believed by the adults handling the situation.

Ruth: Do you feel like when you came to the office for that, that people listened to you?

Jaden: Yeah. I knew they listened to me.

Ruth: Did people believe your story?

Jaden: But, yeah. But I just knew. But like this, but like this girl named Gracie, all and her and her friend Hadley like she was all... like she would always just, oh, she was... They were like, like cause one time they said, cause we both went down the slide at the same time, but there was a big puddle and I didn't know so she stopped, but I ain't know they stopped so I just kept going down the slide and I accidentally hit 'em and they got wet. And I was like oops, sorry. And

then they was like, no and then so they... And if, and when I tried to tell the teacher that I didn't mean to do it, they would, since they, since it was a two on one match, they took their story.

Ruth: How did that make you feel when they took your story?

Jaden: Cause I was like.

Ruth: You can show me pictures, angry. And when you, when they didn't believe your story and you got angry how did you respond?

Jaden: I actually just kept it to myself on my insights.

Ruth: Kept it to yourself. How does that make you feel about being in school when you have to keep all those things in? That's a lot.

Jaden: Well actually when I get home, actually when I get home, actually when I just get out of here on the bus, I just let it all out.

In this example, Jaden was beside himself with frustration and anger about feeling silenced. Jaden felt that they should have listened to his side of the story and taken seriously his account of what occurred. Because so much scripting and labeling had occurred, some of the adults didn't realize that they were on automatic pilot, assuming Jaden was guilty. Some of the adults shared that time was an issue when dealing with behavioral issues and that they don't have a lot of time to investigate each incident; hence it became easy to take the stories of the students and make a quick judgment about who was right and wrong in their actions. The danger in this was the embedded HOPS that placed some students such as Jaden at a disadvantage. Although Jaden could see progress in the way that conflict was handled by the adults in his school, he still felt that he was scapegoated because students lied and because they had not been scripted and that adults were more likely to believe them over him. In the example below, Jaden shares his sentiments regarding the level of lying that continues to take place that causes him to carry the burden of his peers' actions.

Ruth: What do you think changed between first grade and fourth grade where people, the adults solve, when they are solving the problems? Do you feel like they're listening to you and believing you?

Jaden: Yeah, yeah.

Ruth: So you feel like its fair now?

Jaden: Yeah.

Ruth: So did the girl get in trouble when she hit you in the back?

Jaden: No because they sometimes they just lie they way out of it.

Ruth: So do you think the school does a good job of finding out what the truth is?

Jaden: Sometimes no, because the kid, because sometimes like Gracie, she didn't tell when she hit me in my back.

Ruth: Okay.

Jaden: She just said, she said I pushed him and lied on me when I said, when I was like that ain't, and he fell on a girl, cause we were on a hill.

Ruth: What do you think the school could do to help when that happens so that you can feel…?

Jaden: Man I wish they had a lie detector test.

Ruth: Okay. Alright.

Jaden: To see the truth.

Jaden provided example after example of feeling silenced and scapegoated by students. His examples supported the argument that scripting and labeling led to or made it easy for students in Tier 3 to be scapegoated. Furthermore, his accounts supported the argument that when a cycle of scripting and scapegoating becomes entrenched in the school practices, it createss a hostile environment for a student in Tier 3; it also does more. A negative culture is created in the school where students who have not been scripted participated in a deeper level of labeling and scripting because they were unintentionally allowed to lie and

get away with it. The more students saw that they could get away with, the more they engaged in scapegoating which led to a deeper level of scripting until the scapegoated students felt angry, frustrated, silenced, disenfranchised and, for some, developed negative self-images.

In the next example, Jeremy, another student at Darwin School provided an example of how he had been scapegoated:

Ruth: When do you think it was? When do you think the last time you came to the office?

Jeremy: Uh when it was like library day and this um, it was the time where we had like, the last time we had library and we um, and then we had to um... Well the last time I had to come to the office because somebody snatched a book out of my hand and the teacher, then Ms. --- wanted to talk to me about it, so I wouldn't get really mad at them.

Ruth: Uh huh. So when was that? Do you remember what month when they snatched that library book out of your hands?

Jeremy: January.

Ruth: Okay. And you came to the office.

Jeremy: Yeah.

Ruth: Okay. And why did they, why did you come? Who sent you to the office?

Jeremy: I mean well he, he told me, he, we went in here and he talked to me and um, he had to pull me out of the library and take me to his office.

Ruth: And then why did he pull you out? Were you upset?

Jeremy: Yeah.

Ruth: Were you, and what were you doing?

Jeremy: I was mad.

Ruth: You were mad. What were you doing when he took you out? Were you saying anything? Were you doing anything?

Jeremy: Uh uh. No I took, I said um why you just going to lie about it and then he um, the person said, I'm not even lying. And then he tried to argue with me and I said I'm not even going to argue with you because I'm not doing that stuff.

Ruth: Why do you think they took you out of the library and not him?

Jeremy: Because I was the um, because well see every parent in this school knows that I'm, like get mad sometimes and if I get mad, they'll know like what I do. Like how I get um mad and then I start like to um, if somebody like yells at me, I'll just say, I'll just say some words and if they keep on saying stuff to me, I'll just have to go to the principal's office or I'll just go there by myself.

Jeremy provides evidence of how being scripted by parents and other adults allowed his peers to lie about him so that he was the one who received the consequence. In this case, Jeremy admitted that he was angry and that he was pulled from the library because he got angry. However, the adults were not aware that over time scripting and scapegoating led to students being angry and acting out even more. Although the principal addressed both students' behaviors, Jeremy was the student pulled from the class. While the purpose of pulling him out was to support him, it further scripted him because he had been seen by others as being angry and disruptive.

Katina, another student at Darwin describes similar practices:

Ruth: Okay. And then how, so do you think that the adult treated you and the others treated you fairly during that, when you were working out the problem?

Katina: Well, kind of...

Ruth: Tell me about that when you say kind of.

Katina: because I said something, I felt she like she would believe the other person instead of me because when I was telling the truth and then she was, she put a lie into the story.

Ruth: The adult put a lie into the story?

Katina: No Maddie, my friend.

Ruth: Maddie and the adult believed her?

Katina: Uh huh.

Ruth: Why do you think she believed her and not you?

Katina: Well, Maddie is a good person and she really does help people in stuff like that, she's a nice person, but I'm not sure why the teacher believe her.

Ruth: Okay. Why do you think she might've believed her? You said you think because she's a nice a person?

Katina: Well she's nice and all, but probably because they usually talk to each other almost every day.

Ruth: The adult talks to her every day?

Katina: Yeah

Ruth: Does the adult talk to you every day?

Katina: No.

Ruth: Why do you think the adult doesn't talk to you every day?

Katina: Well, probably because I sit places, she'll probably say hi and we talk about sports sometimes, he'll probably talk with us about sports and stuff, but usually she won't talk to me like that.

Ruth: And how does that make you feel that she talks to Maddie that way but she doesn't talk to you?

Katina: Well I don't feel like a feel like a type of ways probably I... it's like okay, well if you want to talk to her and then she can talk to her

because in, I'm talking to my friends and then so if Maddie wants to talk to the teacher then she can.

Ruth: Would you like for the teacher to talk to you more the way she talks to Maddie or treat you the way that she treats Maddie?

Katina: Well sometimes, when I like sit alone.

Katina felt that the teacher did not believe her because she had not taken the time to get to know her and that the teacher may have had some bias in favor of the other student. Katina also shared that the other student was a "good student". While she did not call herself a "bad person", she did not say that she was a "good person". Furthermore, Katina did not communicate that the teacher saw her as "good person" in the same ways that she saw the other student. There was an even more subversive scripting here. There was an unspoken message about which students got into Katina's mind and into the mind of the teacher. Thus, the teacher did not realize how she had treated the other student versus how she had related to Katina and how this had affected her ability to be fair with Katina when incidents such as the one above had occurred.

In the previous section, scapegoating was revealed in Frannie's case where her teacher found her to be guilty in each situation without investigating the truth of what really occurred. Frannie, a student at Pennington described other examples such as the one Laura shared below. Frannie felt that she would never have been able to get anything right with her teacher. This student felt so marginalized, and it affected her self-image in ways that literally brought her to tears throughout our interview. There were times when I attempted to stop the interview, but it was clear that Frannie wanted to tell her story because she had felt silenced since being in kindergarten at Mayville and Pennington for the last five years.

Laura: I certainly have noticed and I think Frannie in a roundabout way has said to me in the past is that she's feeling like no matter what she does um in her homeroom teacher's class, Ms. Bashford's class um that she's not going to win.

Ruth: Wow.

Laura: And um there's been a couple of times where um there's been an office referral. Um just for an example after school um we have students stay in the office until their parents come. Well Frannie had left the office to go get a drink and the teacher saw her and reprimanded her for that and then wrote it up even though there were other students in the hallway.

Ruth: She talked about that.

Laura: Uh huh. Um that was one that you know I had to talk with Frannie bout, the mom about, the teacher about and I just um…I have seen referrals come down for Frannie that wouldn't come down for other students from that teacher or from any teacher, quite honestly. Um and then I notice when I go and gather more information if I'm investigating the situation, that I really can't put a whole lot of stock into what I hear from that teacher. I actually feel more comfortable with what Frannie tells me or other students tell me because I think she has little patience at this point with Frannie.

Ronald discusses how we have to confront the adult behaviors that marginalize our students leaving them feeling hopeless in this statement:

> And I…you know these are good well-intentioned adults but I just believe that because of their context, because of their own life experiences, they're…they don't recognize that it happens and calling it…you know calling their attention to it and being cognizant of these unintended remarks, stereotypes, generalizations, assumptions that people make, send a message to every kid in that class. And we can either perpetuate those stereotypes or challenge them. And I think more often than not, they're perpetuated. And so a kid who is feeling marginalized in some respect because of the classroom culture starts developing a self-perception that is

> inaccurate and their approach to the world then becomes shaped by those experiences and impacts all of their interactions with others, as does the children who is…the child who's not marginalized who then perpetuates similar behaviors of marginalization being unintended, but it still happens.

Throughout this chapter, most of the HCOPS have been described as occurring primarily unintentionally by staff. Ronald also believed that this was true and named some of the practices that he had observed. Some of the practices that Ronald identified included stereotyping; making assumptions, generalizations that created self-fulfilling prophesies further marginalizing students in Tier 3. Ronald also confirmed that these practices and perceptions held by his staff have been perpetuated confirming the theory that these practices are cyclical, harmful, and embedded in the culture of the school.

Conclusion

This chapter discusses ways in which the teacher participants' beliefs modeled deficit thinking, scripting and scapegoating of student participants in Tier 3. The adults and students described instances where students in Tier 3 experienced consistent scapegoating by their peers and adults. Consequently, narratives were unintentionally rendered placing students in Tier 3 in a negative context. Deficit thinking, scripting, and scapegoating occurred across each of the schools in a cyclical, habit-forming manner and contributed to a negative school culture for students in Tier 3. This chapter highlights practices that are harmful to the students. However, several helpful and positive practices also occurred that counter the hurtful practices. These practices will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

PROFIT MODEL THINKING AND HELPFUL CYCLICAL LIBERATORY PRACTICES (HCLPS)

"Relationships with teachers are key". Donna

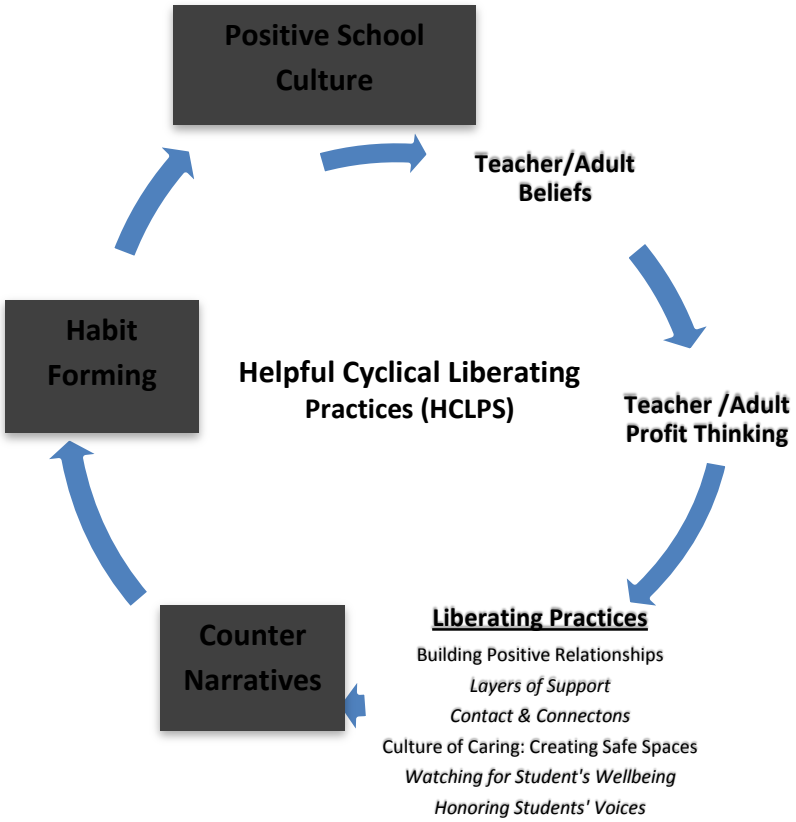
> "And so being able to be self-reflective first is where it has to start and it has to start with the adults. Because if the adults can be reflective about their interactions with children and be cognizant of what is communicated to kids, both intentionally and unintentionally, we have the potential to support our children in a different way and move beyond these sad self-fulfilling prophecies that kids start falling into based upon their own self-perceptions." Ronald

Building positive relationships and creating a culture of caring emerged as two major themes in this study. Building positive relationships involved providing layers of support, respect and trust, contact and connections. Teachers and other adults who watched out for students rather than watching them for the purposes of negative mining created a culture of caring. The culture of caring also involved adults honoring their students' voices. I argue that safe spaces were created in the schools/classrooms where teacher participants and other adults built trust and caring relationships with African American and Latino students placed in Tier 3 for behavior. I also argue that building relationships through respect and the culture of caring served as counter narratives of these students in the participating schools. This study defined scripting as negative ideas, beliefs, and assumptions used to define students that were reified over time. These scripts were often difficult to change because they were a result of systems of thought and ways of knowing that had been normed. Thus, counter narrative is defined in this study as un-scripting the original negative narrative. The definition of counter narrative in this study is based on Delgado's (Delgado, 1989) definition of counter storytelling that critical race theorists use as a research tool to challenge dominant myths and expose how white privilege systemically perpetuates inequalities in education. Adults who used HCLPS provided counter narratives of students and challenged dominant myths about their identities across the three schools.

These counter narratives served as helpful aspects of school for the students participating in this study. Building relationships, respect, and a culture of caring has been defined or described by many in the literature as a necessary component for educating African American and Latino students (Gay, 2000; Kirkland, 2009, 2013; Kirkland & Jackson, 2009; Ladson-Billings, 1997; Noguera, 2003b; Valenzuela, 1999a). In most of the conversations with teachers who mostly operated from the HCLPS model discussed various forms of caring, respect, and the essentiality of building relationships and having connections with their students. These terms are interconnected but are also nuanced in how they played out. Caring and respect have similar meaning for students but play out differently.

For students, both terms are directly associated with the students' identities and how they are socially constructed in school. These two terms also mean very different things for teacher and students. For teachers, these two terms are related to their ability to teach and manage their classrooms. Building relationships were also similar in its meaning for students and teachers but also different. These ways of caring, respecting, creating safe spaces, and building trust were helpful cyclical liberating practices (HCLPS) (see Figure 7.1). This model was created to theorize how adults used of HCLPs created counter narratives to scripting and scapegoating of the students in Tier 3.

Figure 7.1 Helpful Cyclical Liberating Practices (HCLPS)



In the HCLPS model, the process begins with teacher and staff believing in profit model thinking. These ways that teachers created safe spaces involved beliefs based on profit thinking. Kirkland (2013) defined profit-based thinking as teachers interrogating their own practices as contributing to the lack of success of students rather than assigning blame to the student. Profit thinking entailed adults having an understanding that students bring something to the school setting and that they don't need to be fixed, manipulated, or controlled. Some of the teacher participants fostered personal accountability by using HCLPS. In these classrooms, students used personal accountability to solve problems while maintaining integrity.

When adults in this study worked from profit thinking, their students learned more about self-regulation and personal responsibility. A lot of their ability to navigate school and conflicts that surfaced in school became internal expressions and representations of

thought. These practices decreased scripting and scapegoating in the safe spaces created within the school. These spaces tended to be in a few classrooms where teachers practiced HCLPS, worked to be fair, and honored student voice. They also occurred in spaces with adults such as social workers and principals who also functioned under the HCLPS model. It is important to note that while the teachers discussed in this chapter used several HCLPS strategies, they also vacillated between models. This presented some interesting challenges and began to account for why students still struggled when HCLPS were in place.

Building Positive Relationships

Building positive relationships with students, an HCLPS practice, was essential to supporting the students in this study. Students described ways in which building relationships helped them. They also provided descriptions of what it meant for adults to build positive rapport with them. Teachers in this study also described ways in which they had built positive relationships with their students. These relationships involved students feeling supported, respected, having contact and connections with various adults. Students and adults also shared the need for trust to be established.

Layers of Support

One of the ways some adults discussed building relationships with students in Tier 3 was by providing them with layers of support. The idea of layers of support stems from the idea that teachers can support students in their classrooms but it does not account for the other areas that students navigate throughout the school day. Within these other spaces, students interact with various adults. In this study, layers of support served as a HCLPS. Research suggests that the performance of African Americans is influenced primarily by the social support and encouragement that they receive from teachers and other adults (Foster, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1997; Noguera, 2003b, 2008). Layers of support provided students with multiple opportunities to have several positive relationships with various adults throughout the day. Mentoring was one way that teachers and other adults in the school

provided layers of support to some of the student participants. Donna at Mayville School assigned several adults to students in Tier 3 to support them. Donna also shared that there were staff members in the school who in addition to their regular assigned roles and responsibilities interacted with students needing Tier 3 supports. Those layers of support included: a special education male teacher, a female social worker, a male parent who started a mentoring program at the school, a new male lunch monitor who supported students during unstructured time, the classroom teacher, music and PE teacher. All of these adults supported students in different capacities that provided students like Aaron with multiple contacts and positive interactions. These adults also focused on making contact and building positive rapports with students.

Based on Donna's examples, students like Aaron experienced multiple positive adult interactions. Aaron spent time with the social worker, classroom teacher, special education teacher, and a parent mentor who was intentionally selected because he was a Black male. He also spent time with the physical education teacher, music teacher, and other adults who built relationships with him. Aaron also spent time with the principal. These interactions between Aaron and other adults in his school were positive, sincere, and genuine. Even with all of the layers of support, the principal at Mayville felt that it wasn't enough. It seemed however, that this level of HCLPS implementation was absent from the other two schools.

Aaron reported fewer experiences where he was falsely accused or felt silenced than the other student participants. In fact, Aaron reported that this school year had been more positive for him than his earlier years. When asked to point to pictures that showed how he felt about coming to school, he chose pictures with the proud, happy, and excited emotions. When asked how he felt about the adults in the building, he also chose similar emotions. When asked about his classroom teacher, he chose proud and surprised. He explained that he was surprised that his teacher was nice, cool, understanding, and fun. He also said that

this made him feel proud of his teacher for caring and looking out for him. Each adult interviewed at Mayville confirmed that this was a better year for him.

When Donna was asked to talk about Aaron in general as a student, she said that staff had immediately introduced her to Aaron when she came in as the new principal at Mayville. Donna shared that while she did not share a history with Aaron, she had heard from various adults that he was a very different child and had vastly improved his behavior due to maturity. She then described her observations of his current behavior as shutting down very easily when frustrated which she found to be challenging. She discussed the importance of building a relationship with him and that he had not really opened up to letting her in his emotional space. According to Donna, Aaron needed time to reset before she could help him after he became frustrated and shut staff out. Based on Donna's example, scripting occurred for this child in his early years. However, there was a noticeable change in the culture when the new principal rejected the script presented to her and began to see Aaron for who he was and where he struggled. She then moved away from the deficit thinking that Aaron was a problem and saw a need for Aaron to have positive relationships and interactions with adults in the building. Here Donna continues to share more about Aaron, the support he has received, and her approach:

> I haven't seen him be physical ever. I've seen him be emotional and get very upset, with crying; the crying has come typically when it's been mentioned that his mom or his dad are going to be called and that's when he breaks down and gets very, very upset and then starts to um… how do I put this? He then starts to turn the tables and lash out at; "You must want to never see me again, you must want me to get beat tonight, you must want me..." you know that if you're doing this to me this is, he turns the tables quickly if he thinks his parents are gonna find out about a choice he's made. His major support comes from Mr. Price's classroom teacher and Shawn, his EI teacher and they have… I mean of course Shawn has more long-standing long-term relationship with him. So I've had to try a few things with Aaron this year

> when I've tried to support him or process with him because I didn't know what worked or what didn't work and some of his actions, I would say are very passive aggressive in terms of; okay Aaron you need to get this out of your locker and walk down to the cafeteria and he'll do it, but there is 45 things that will happen in between and he'll do it as his pace, on his time, and so he's kind of saying to you; "I'm gonna comply, but I'm still gonna set my own parameters with how I comply." So he's sharp.

In this example, Donna, the new principal at Mayville is aware that Aaron needed layers of support and acknowledges that his main source of support came from two teachers in the building. Donna was also aware that Aaron would not be controlled or manipulated and that he had his own knowledge about how to behave. One thing that she missed was acknowledging his parents as his main source of support. Donna was aware that he used a level of manipulation when it came to his parents and did not judge the culture of his home in terms of discipline methods that might have been used by his parents. There seemed to be a level of cultural understanding and acceptance of Aaron's parents as supportive and helpful. It was clear that a partnership existed between home and school.

> We've had… we've met with his family and he's shown quite a bit of progress. And then we… I think filled his head with all these positives and how great he was doing and then a couple of weeks after that he kind of took a nose dive with all kinds of things that were going on and I think he almost kind of thought; oh I got, my mom and dad heard all kinds of great things about me so (short laugh) I've got a little free rein right now. (laughter)
>
> But I, one-on-one probably only deal with Aaron maybe on a monthly basis. It's not frequently but it's also because of the support he has with his… and his classroom teacher having an intern too also frees up his classroom teacher to be able to help out with that too.

Donna shared the importance of celebrating Aaron in terms of who he was and what he had accomplished through the personal accountability that Don and Shawn helped him to develop over the course of the past school year as well as Aaron's previous principal over the last three years. This did not come solely from fostering personal accountability in Aaron but also involved fostering personal responsibility in the teachers, adults, and students with the purpose of preventing scripting and scapegoating. This had also involved fostering profit thinking and challenging predispositions and assumptions amongst staff, parents, and students. Implementing these layers of support seemed to have affected Aaron in such a way that his office referrals had decreased from daily to monthly visits.

Ruth: So he only sees you on a monthly, you know like once a month?

Donna: Maybe once a month is when it really gets serious enough where he's down here. He has very few behavioral referrals. Few, I mean very few.

These layers of support discussed by Donna took about four years to establish at Mayville and occurred as an extension of SWPBIS. These layers of support started as Tier 2 and Tier 3 behavioral support. It also seemed that the teachers and adults at Mayville sought to create meaningful relationships with Aaron and other students needing behavioral supports. Teachers and adults at Mayville School engaged in activities with their students such as spending time at recess with them, playing sports with students, and attending their students' sporting events. They also described focusing on building positive relationships with each student where every interaction was a positive one. Layers of support allowed students like Aaron to begin his school day interacting with adults throughout the building. During these positive interactions, Aaron was heard, complemented, celebrated, challenged and embraced.

Layers of support really seemed to serve as a way for adults create counter narratives of students, which had a bigger impact rather than one teacher working to make that difference for this student. In Aaron's case, several adults in the building worked with

the same goal in mind and created safe spaces for Aaron as he moved throughout the school. In the next example, Donna the principal speaks candidly about proactively helping students and preventing the need for them to be in Tier 3 by preventing the silencing and disenfranchisement that students feel coming to school. She shares that the overall decrease in the referrals of students in Tier 3 was tied to a shift in teacher behaviors and practices. According to Donna, teachers had made a shift from sending students to the office to proactively using strategies based on students' needs, which involved adjusting their practices. These strategies included providing students with self-regulated walking breaks, caring for school pets as a way of redirecting or providing calming down time, one on mentoring, layers of support etc.

When asked what caused the shift, Donna said that the staff had spent time discussing and understanding the purpose for writing office discipline referrals. This involved clarifying when a staff member should have provided a student with support and when a student might have needed to go to the office. Documentation of student behavior was required within the SWPBIS process. However, documentation did not mean disciplinary actions were needed. In fact, Donna's examples indicated a cultural shift in the thinking of staff that led to a new set of practices. Office referrals began to be more of a reflection of deficiencies on behalf of the staff and school processes rather than on deficiencies in the student. The staff had begun to rethink Tier 3. This meant that if a student needed Tier 3 support, adults had begun asking what was lacking in Tier 1 where strategies are universal for all students. When asked if Tier 3 supports were being implemented at Tier 1, Donna's response indicates that Tier 3 was being redefined by supports needed rather than office referrals:

I think so. I think it also depends like how; like if you define Tier 3 by office referrals versus defining Tier 3 by those students who need severe behavioral supports that

looks a lot different. Our data may not show that some of those kids are Tier 3 students because of so much they have in place, but they definitely in my head are/need daily behavioral supports. So I would define those kids by the support we're giving them to prevent some of those major infractions. Therefore, they may not be showing up though in some of our documentation, which we were talking about too.

Donna's reasoning for leading this cultural shift is related to three things. First, she shared that referrals were very subjective and may not reflect the actual situation. Second, she shared that the office referral piece depends on so many variables that require time for investigation that interrupt learning time for students. Third, staff really needed to begin defining who really needed Tier 3 supports based on needs rather than simply looking at the number of times the student was referred to the office. Donna believes that by waiting for office referrals to accumulate, Tier 1 could have supports that prevented students from being placed in Tier 3.

Donna is thinkingfrom a profit-based model regarding SWPBIS. Here, she is not focusing on problem behaviors as being solely on the child. She is thinking of ways of layering support as proactive measures. This requires even more of a cultural shift to where the focus is on stopping the scripting that had been occurring through the excessive documentation of unwanted student behaviors and unwarranted office referrals; students were spending more time in the office and missing instruction. This cultural shift required teachers and adults to examine their own practices, behaviors, and ways that they were scripting students. This all started with Donna's question: "why are we documenting students' behaviors? and for what purposes?"

These questions posed by Donna to her staff asked the adults to emphasizeze what they should/could do to support and address their students' behavior. According to Freire (1970), overcoming oppression through problem-posing learning requires a raised

consciousness as well as critical and liberating dialogue. In *The Trouble with Black Boys,* Noguera (2008) argues that the success of African American males can be improved by devising strategies that counter HCOPS occurring in schools.

The type of problem posing that Donna, Noguera, and Freire discuss involves addressing oppressive thinking on behalf of the staff rather than the children. Donna's problem posing provided a dialogic space for the teachers to gain a sense of agency about their own oppressive thinking. This problem posing allowed them to take part in reorganizing and reconstructing knowledge/practices rather than continuing to silence students through scripting and scapegoating. It also avoids their being absorbed and/or acculturated into dominant cultural practices and structures not reflective of their own values and ways of being.

Laura, the principal at Pennington also engaged in very similar ways of supporting students. While she hadn't worked her staff to the same level of providing layers of support, she had begun taking steps in that direction. Laura's process with her staff also involved problem posing aimed at shifting adult thinking from deficit to profit thinking regarding Black and Latino students. Laura shared that she and her staff implemented a silent mentoring program this year that involved providing support for students and teaching adults how to positively affect students in the building. Laura provided the staff with a poster that displayed pictures of the students who were struggling academically and behaviorally. This activity created awareness in teachers that they had a race-based learning and behaving problem. Frannie was one of the students displayed. The teachers had not realized that this problem was specific to African American and Latino students.

Laura asked the staff to share their views of these students as well as their experiences and contacts with the students on the poster. According to Laura, this activity sparked some negative conversations that eventually shifted to reflective conversations where many of the teachers tearfully began to see how they were scripting students in their thinking. Laura's plan mirrored Donna's. She raised a question that created a dialogic

space for staff to reflect and problem pose. First, Laura told the staff that she needed their help and then followed by asking, "How do we (she and her staff) change the negative perceptions that we have regarding students in Tier 3"? She also asked whether small positive interactions with students during the day could change past harmful practices. Laura's problem posing involved her staff looking inward about their own beliefs and practices, which eventually led to silent mentoring. Noguera (2003) argued that it is not enough to be aware of the chasms between staff and students but adults must take actions to correct the HCOPS occurring and more importantly, evaluate those actions to ensure that they are effective. Laura had begun scratching the surface of the process Noguera discussed by having her staff commit to 1 to 3 students that they would target and have these positive small contacts after which they would come back and share in staff meetings.

Laura normalized this practice by putting it as a standing agenda item during their monthly staff meetings. The staff began to learn in a community of practice, ways to reframe their thinking and support their students in positive ways. Lave and Wenger (1991) discussed how individuals thrive within a community of practice as certain norms/practices are established and situated. These HCLPS changed patterns of thought and behaviors in some of the adults at Pennington and is shown in Laura's statement:

> So (during a staff meeting) we came back and um…oh teachers were giving examples and one teacher said oh my goodness I saw so and so and it was obvious that she had a new haircut and I asked her about her haircut. And so they're all giving these (positive) examples and the PE teacher said oh yeah I have um, I have Michael and um I had…I interacted with him in gym class cause he wasn't doing the right thing. He wasn't following directions like usual so um I interacted with him and told him he needed to straighten up and dah, dah, dah. And everyone was silent and everyone was staring at me and I'm like I've got to…and how do you let that go? And I said well you know thank you for sharing but that's exactly opposite of what we're looking for in the silent mentoring. And I said I don't mean that to be harsh

but I think um we've heard some really positive examples but the one that you just gave was such a negative example that that's not going to help support the work we're doing. And I said can anyone else give some more examples or Tina, can you share a time where you were able to give him a positive because you are mentoring him; you're one of his silent mentors? And she said she couldn't. And I said anyone else silent mentoring this kiddo and can you give examples of what you've seen?

Laura shares that other adults were able to tell about their positive contact and interactions with Michael using descriptive phrases such as "very dynamic amazing kiddo". These HCLPS at Pennington served as an example of adults creating counter narratives of the students that had been scripted and viewed in a negative way by adults. Laura's problem posing did not involve the same layers of support as Mayville. However, she represented the third example of principals engaging a level of problem posing aimed at increasing teachers' critical consciousness about their thinking, assumptions, and practices regarding Black and Latino students in their building. This level of leadership and activities represents HCLPS. The staff did engage in some critical conversations regarding this race-based issue. However, a deeper level of problem posing would have involved ongoing professional development that directly addressed issues associated with their internal and deeply rooted ideas and thoughts associated with race specific to their Black and Latino students. Finally, this work also suggested that SWPBIS was not a standalone for supporting all students and influencing a more racially and culturally inclusive environment.

While Laura's layers of support were being developed, she spoke about children throughout the entire interview primarily from a profit model of thinking. Although Donna functioned from a more profit based model, she vacillated between the practice models defined in chapter 4 and 5. She constantly shared HCLPS that were being used. However, she still talked about students needing many behavioral supports from a deficit model. It seemed that the layers of support helped to improve the culture of the school and created safe spaces for students like Aaron. However, embedded in her descriptions and accounts is

language rooted in deficit thinking. Given our social-historical context, it is difficult for people to completely eliminate deficit thinking. Even when people are somewhat liberated in their thinking, our values, ideas, and beliefs are socially constructed and heavily influenced by the structures in which we develop and grow. Berger and Luckmann (1966) discuss how realities are socially constructed and how ideas and practices are reified over time. In many ways, the practice models used in this study are supported by theory that exemplified how repeated practices reify beliefs and behaviors whether profit- or deficit-based. It made sense that adults such as Donna, Ronald and others vacillated between the HCLPS and HCOPS models. Even when attempting to eliminate deficit thinking, breaking through systems of oppressive thoughts and practices is very difficult.

Respect and Trust

Respect and trust served as another way that some adults in this study built relationships with their students in Tier 3. Building trust and being respectful to students served as a HCLPS. These strategies and practices seemed to relate to the adult's ability to understand students' location and enter into a student's cultural and emotional spaces. The idea of children being in various emotional and cultural locations was discussed in Chapter 4. In this example, Carl the social worker at Darwin refers to trust as a strategy he uses with students:

Carl: Trust as a strategy - Yeah I use different strategies based on where the kid is. Um so with girls and in this case with Katina, I'm more empathetic you know I just, I hear her out and then I try to with her come up with solutions that she think would be beneficial as far as helping the situation be better.

Ruth: And why do you think you're more empathetic with her, what makes you use that strategy with her, or even though it may be a strategy, but it seems like it's...

Carl: With her being more emotional this year, I really want her to open up so I can get a better feel for what's going on and that's hard. You got to take baby

> steps because a lot of kids are told; don't you go to school telling my business, so I respect that coming from the parent and I just try to tip toe around it until the kid feels comfortable enough to share with me, what they feel like they want me to know.

Building trust in this example involved several things. First, it involved a level of empathy from the adult. Carl discussed trying to understand Katina's emotional location so that he could support the real need. The second move Carl discussed was listening to her so that he could support her with solutions that she saw as helpful. This brings up honoring the student's voice. The third thing Carl mentions is taking baby steps, which also involves understanding the emotional location of the student. He understands that to build trust that he had to wait until the student felt comfortable to share or allow Carl into his or her emotional and/or cultural space. Carl shares other HCLPS he used to support students in this study. Carl talks specifically about keeping it real with his students and telling them about consequences for their behavioral choices. He saysd that he stays away from lecturing them but rather uses conflict resolution to support students by using some culturally normed strategies for solving problems. Carl went on to say that he had sought to demonstrate to students his understanding of where they were coming from. According to Carl, this made students feel safe to solve problems with his support. In the example below, Carl also addresses the need to establish relationships with students. He shares that adults can not boss students around without first building relationships with them:

> Yeah you know what, most of the time I'm just real with the kids. I can talk to them about consequences of their behaviors and they seem to cater or they seem to take well to what I have to say because I just, I can bring it to their level where they understand more and it's not an adult lecturing at them it's someone who is demonstrating an ability to understand where they're coming from and then it's definitely; I think they feel safer to tell me exactly what happened because I spend a lot of time doing conflict resolution and they can walk away from a situation and

actually they've shaken hands with their peer and they're walking away with at least one or two tools on how to better handle the situation the next time around.

Carl also provides other ways that he has demonstrated respect for students and has built trust. He talked about being real with students and not providing them with a false sense of where they are or where he is in his approach to them. He also discusses bringing the conversation and problem solving to the students' level or emotional and/or cultural level. He feels that trust is created in these exchanges. Students feel safe to let their guards down because they don't feel threatened in those moments. They also knew that other students would not be able scapegoat them when interacting with him to solve problems. Jeremy made this very clear in chapter 6. During Jeremy's interview, he said that Carl was the only adult he felt he could trust talking to when solving problems. He felt that Carl didn't allow other students to lie about their behaviors and blame everything on him. In these examples safety is essential for adults to buildi trust into their students.

The other thing that Carl mentions is that the adults had to have relationships with their students rather than simply trying to tell them what to do or "boss them around". Carl explains that because of the trust and respect that he had built with this students, they responded well to him when the need to discipline or redirect occurred. He attributes this to the fact that students being used to him being kind, supportive, and caring. Carl discloses that most of the teachers were missing this relationship piece. When thinking about the layers of support at Mayville, would this understanding amongst teachers at Darwin have helped the teachers provide a higher level of support for students such as those in Tier 3 to have positive relationships with multiple adults?

Like Carl, Ronald had also provided ways in which he had worked to show respect and build trust for students at Darwin. Ronald shared how as a classroom teacher he had created trinkets out of wood and carved in the names for each of his students. He had used these trinkets to express his care for his students by telling them, "We are forever bound because it doesn't matter where we end up, we are always connected because of the care

that we have for one another and the respect that we have for one another". Ronald then shared that he believed that if adults truly showed kids respect not just in word but also in action, that that would make a difference. He also shared that adults have to show students that the adults consider the students to be wonderfully gifted, talented human beings. He believed that when students believe these things, that the possibilities for them become limitless. Ronald then made a profound statement:

> If they (children) hear that message (their wonderful and amazing) over and over and over again, children who have had a history of being self-defacing or being not confident or just unhappy with who they are, start seeing themselves differently and developing the wherewithal and the strength to be able to create a new image of themselves.

Ronald shares that this type of interaction with students can be engaged in by all adults and must become their priority. Ronald identifies some key concepts related to respect. First, he believes that making it a priority to demonstrate to students that you care about them is essential. For him, it meant carving wood and telling the students that they were forever connected and that he respected them. He also talks about showing students respect by embracing them for who they are rather than trying to change them. What seems to be important was this idea that by respecting students, they recreate their self-image, not the adult[??]. Therefore, in this case, the students were empowered via positive interactions to create counter narratives of the scripting that had occurred in the past. This represents profit thinking on behalf of Ronald because he believes that the actions of the adult is key rather than assigning blame for negative self-fulfilling prophesies on the kid. Perhaps the most amazing thing is his comment that he is not special and that any caring adult can use HCLPS.

Dan talked about respecting students in a very different but powerful way. Dan attended Mayville School as a child and now as a teacher at Mayville. Here he reflects on his own experiences in terms of the HOPS that negatively affected him:

> But myself, I didn't really feel a lot of connection with a whole lot of teachers going through and there was one hurtful experience in middle school, and the teacher had no idea that it was hurtful to me, but it was hurtful and it was not intentional, but it was hurtful to me. And so as an adult, I try to be careful when I'm talking to students and make sure that I know where they're at and that whatever I'm talking to them about or saying to them, is going to be helpful and not hurtful. And I think that's really important.

Dan talks about the significance of not having connections with the adults in his school experiences. However, he talks more about how his experiences had helped him to be more thoughtful and intentional about how he supports his students. Dan defines respecting students as thinking that whatever he does will either have a helpful or harmful impact on students. His response serves as a counter narrative to the dehumanizing effects of labeling and scripting discussed in chapter 6.

Dan speaks candidly about being sure to understand the emotional location of his students so that his response is based on the child's human needs rather than a punitive response to the behavior alone. Dan also discusses that this type of work requires time, something that all of the adults felt they lacked. Finally, Dan believes that his teachers did not hurt him intentionally; instead the lack of relationship and understanding of his emotional and cultural locations had resulted inharmful practices. This is important to note because Chapters 4 and 5 highlighted several harmful practices that had occurred across the three schools. However, the barriers that allowed these practices to occur need to be taken into account. Time and professional development surfaced throughout the interviews as areas affecting both HCOPS and HCLPS.

Contact and Connections

Connection and contact are another HCLPS teachers used to support their students. All of the adults who talked about the importance of contact and connections linked this concept to relationships with students. Contact and connections was discussed in several

ways. Some adults viewed contact and connections as a way to interact more positively with students in ways that did not require a lot of time. Adults who discussed contact and connections in this way felt that they really did not have time to build relationships with students due to heavy curricular demands and abundant testing. However, contact and connections were discussed by other adults as a way to build relationships with students by making time to invest in them personally. While the concepts of contact-connection and time are at odds with each other, most of the adults agreed that time is a resource they lack and it affects their abilities to build relationships with students. In this first example, Dan emphasizes the importance of making connections and investing in students. He also discusses issues with time and the ability to make the right types of connections with students, especially those not in his class:

> Last year, I knew him as Aaron down the hall. This year I know him more personally and I think that's the key. And you mentioned something about the behavior and I think that's the key for a lot of this is, the adult who is working closely with the child needs to have a close relationship. It's harder when I look at some other Tier 3 kids that I don't have in my room, it's harder, that connection is harder. You do what you can in between, in the hallways and whatever else, but you are not with them in the room, so it's a harder connection to make. And I don't feel like I have as much impact. I do what I can, but certainly if that child's in my room I feel like I can have a lot of impact on that. And that's the, I guess the hardest part of um, the frustrating part for me is you see the other kids that think like hey, if they could have that; and I'm sure their teacher does that, too. You know it depends to what degree they're invested. But you look at those kids and you say, "Boy, if I had a closer connection with that, I believe I could make a difference" and that's the hardest part, I think.

Personal connection, investment, impact, and making a difference surface as key points in Dan's example. According to Dan, knowing which students are alone does not cut it. He

links building personal relationships and making connections individually with students to having more of an impact on their success and ability to navigate the structures of school. In Dan's example, teachers had to be willing to invest personally in their students and that willingness was a precursor to establishing relationships. In a previous statement, Dan talked about choosing battles and understanding that there would be good moments and not so good moments. In those not so good moments, he realized that he was investing and so he was not willing to throw in the towel and give up.

Here investment means putting time and personal resources into something. It involves personal stake and often sacrifice. The person investing may make gains or not but they make the commitment none the less. Ronald also discussed this notion of investing and making caring for students a priority. Therefore, in this study, investing in students by building relationships and making personal connections involves making a conscious decision that the student is a priority. These were helpful practices in the participating schools. The other thing that Dan discussed was the link between making personal connections and making a difference. Karen in the example below talked about connection and viewed this as an important part of working with students in Tier 3. Ronald, Lydia, and Laura all talked about relationships in similar ways. However, Dan talked about it in a way that really felt personal. The students who according to the adults' accounts showed improvement express these connections. Here Karen shares her thoughts about connections:

> You know I think…well having children of my own, you think about and you often go back to that as a teacher; you see in your own kids that have had years that they've soared and years that they've struggled and often when that connection is not there. Those are some of their hardest years. Somehow they just don't relate to the teacher or their style or feel like they have anything in common or feel…And so it is, I guess, you know a relationship that you do establish. I guess I don't think of it so much as a relationship-relationship because relationships to me are so much time

> and there's not so much time you can give to every one of your students so to me it's more of a connection, I guess.

Karen expresses sincere thoughts about establishing personal connections with students. Karen sees connections a bit differently from Dan in that there is a difference between building relationships and making connections with students. The distinction in her definition involves time. The way that she describes time seems to be related to the idea of investment. She felt that building relationships took time she didn't have during the school day for all students. Throughout her interview, she defines personal connections as caring for students and as a way to support them as they navigate the classroom and school. Another thing that surfaces across Karen and Dan's interviews is the idea of counter narratives rather than scripting from a deficit model. When Karen discussed her students in Tier 3, she described a cultural mismatch between the student and teacher when the teacher is not necessary speaking the students' language, i.e. their code. The counter narrative that Karen provides analyses the problem as a mismatch rather than the student or the student's background. For Karen, these codes are cultural:

> I think. So we have kids coming from a lot of different backgrounds and different cultures here…But you know you can think of the ethnic backgrounds, but also subcultures within. And I think even here we have like over 19. It's um…yeah. So many kids come with so many different things and those cultures coming together present an interesting group and a challenge nonetheless for, I would think any classroom teacher to try to reach, mix? (short laugh) But from whatever culture, it ends up being; I feel like you've got to make that connection with kids. You've got to make them feel like it doesn't matter what background he comes from. It doesn't matter what color they are. It doesn't matter if they're wealthy or poor. It doesn't matter whatever um; that they matter and that they have something to contribute and that they have talents that they need to be proud of.

Karen mentions the diversity that teachers work with on a daily basis and their need to understand how to build relationships with students. While there is some unintentional deficit thinking in this example, there is evidence that she is on the journey to understanding the role of culture. Her ability to understand students and their background affects positively the connections made. She also touches on some key things. First, she acknowledges that diversity exists across and within cultures and races at Darwin. This is key and a step in becoming culturally responsive. Second, she acknowledges, despite her somewhat deficit comments that teachers have to make all students feel that they have something to contribute. Third, she shared the significance of making personal connections with students regardless of their cultural, racial, economic backgrounds. These ideals represented helpful ways of thinking about student in Tier 3.

Dan's counter narrative involves un-scripting Aaron's socially constructed identity as a problem child and as not being normal. This identity was created during his first few years at Mayville. Dan attributed Aaron's behavior issues to being with other adults who did not have close contact with him. In other words, they did not really know Aaron as a person but rather the script that adults created about him.

> I do see a difference in the classroom and other settings. In the classroom, we don't have a whole lot of issues, as there were. We have little things. I remind him about things like that. And the biggest thing for him is when he goes out of the classroom to either another classroom, whether it be special or recess to more unstructured, that's where more of the problems come in. And I think it's partly due because if he's going to another classroom that teacher may not have as close a contact with him. That goes back to again, contact with the student and connection and contact. They don't have quite as much. Not that they're doing anything wrong, they just don't have that contact. Outside is less structured, of course and so there's more of like, "I can do what I want to do" and sometimes bad decisions get involved. He's not a hurtful kid. He doesn't seek out to hurt other kids or anybody; just things

happen because of decisions he makes. The first part was…I want to go back to the first part of your question.

In the example above, Dan uses key words indicative of his profit-based thinking. There are at least three accounts of un-scripting. The first un-script is Dan's acknowledgement that Aaron was successful in class and any challenge was small and quickly redirected. This supports an earlier claim that turning minor behaviors into major behaviors creates scripting and scapegoating. Minor behaviors in Dan's class were not documented as majors nor were they referred to the principal's office, which is why Donna said she did not see him often in the office.

The second un-script is Dan's acknowledgement that the problems occurring with Aaron were due to a lack of connection with other adults in other spaces in the school. This sounds like a contradiction to earlier statements but that is because the school was in the process of developing layers of support. However, there were still spaces where layers of support have not been established at Mayville such as the playground, which was an unstructured area. The third un-script is Dan's comments about Aaron when he says that Aaron is not a hurtful kid and that he does not seek to hurt others. He then shifts to the idea of personal accountability: while Aaron is a good kid, he is still learning to make good decisions. Dan's statement also supports the argument made earlier that a teacher's performance in the classroom is . However students are often confused by first experiencing success in class where HCLPS are embedded in the culture and then experiencing failure in other spaces in the school where HCOPS are embedded in the culture.

The Culture of Caring: Creating Safe Spaces

> *I love, love, love having…I always tell parents and kids, "Bring me your schedules for sports." I really try to go to at least one of their sporting events because I think that makes a huge difference…Well they see you outside these four walls. They see that you care enough to take the time; not only the students, and their faces just light up usually; "My teacher's here." You know all of a sudden they're playing a little harder, they're standing a little straighter, whatever. But their parents also see that, too, and I*

think when you take the time then they want to take the time a little more, it's kind of a back and forth. Karen

The preceding section of this chapter discussed adults building positive relationships with their students. In this section, the culture of caring is considered. A culture of caring serves as a liberating practice and exists in the spaces at schools where teachers invest in their students by establishing personal connections and relationships. Research suggests that students perform at higher levels in schools where a culture of caring is established. According to Shann's study (1999), students across several schools were more successful socially, behaviorally, and academically in schools which combined an emphasis on academics and a culture of caring. Antrop-González and De Jesús (2006), in their efforts to advance critical care theory argued that a culture of caring involves a combination of quality interpersonal relationships between students and teachers and profit based thinking about the wealth of knowledge that students bring to school.

Valenzuela (1999) provides a framework, in her ethnographic study on caring, to explain the significance impact caring has on Latino students. She argues that once a student experiences a genuine connection, feels that the teacher clearly shows concern and total acceptance then a culture of caring is established and reciprocated. Likewise, Cooper's (2013) study confirms this culture of caring as safe, nurturing, and productive spaces. Watching out for students' wellbeing and honoring student voice were used by some teachers in this study to establish a culture of caring in their classroom. These HCLPS created safe spaces for students.

Watching Out for Students' Wellbeing

A very powerful HCLPS that surfaced in this study was the idea of personal investment and teachers communicating to their students in Tier 3 that they are completely there to watch out for their wellbeing. Two examples of an adult watching out for students' wellbeing are shared in this section. The first powerful narrative occurred with Dan and

Aaron at Mayville School. When Dan was asked to discuss students he supported in Tier 3, he spoke of Aaron:

> Yeah, I have Aaron this year, which I keep a close eye on. Sometimes he wonders you know why I'm watching him so much and why I don't watch somebody else so much. I said…and I tell him, "I watch everybody, but I do watch you because you have so much potential and I want you to reach that potential." And every time I talk to him about a difficult issue, I talk about how much potential I see in him and what I see for him in the future. And it may seem like I'm you know in his face or harping on him or whatever else, but these are the reasons why and I try to explain that to him. And we've had our you know…we've had our differences on and off. I mean there'll be sometimes where he's really angry with me and he'll say some things and I, I'm sometimes I'm kind of hurt by what he says to me, but then I remember; well this is where he's at right now, and uh, but I keep plugging alone you know with the same track and I think overall it'll pay off.

Earlier in the interview, Dan reflects on his own experiences as a student who had attended Mayville School and draws a parallel between Aaron's experiences and his. He speaks about the lack of connection and caring he had felt. Dan discusses how teachers and adults did not understand him as a child and so they had not responded to him in ways that were supportive. When asked what he thought would have been helpful for him as a student and what would have been helpful for Aaron today, Dan provided the following:

> Um, I think what might have been missing or what…and this is just a speculation, but having an adult closely invested in you as a person, as a learner, as somebody in learning community who is there watching out for you; not watching you, but watching out for you. And there's a distinction between watching and watching out for, you know. I do watch Aaron as I'm watching out for him.

The idea of investment resurfaces as a theme for building relationships and establishing a culture of caring. People invest when they when they see/feel the potential for their

investment to yield gains. Dan sees Aaron's strength and potential for greatness beyond his school years. This helped him to nurture Aaron in ways that would help Aaron to realize that potential internally. Dan's description demonstrates a relationship where caring existed. There was an exchange between Dan and Aaron where they both navigated each other's emotional and cultural spaces. Until this point, the emotional and cultural spaces of adults have not been discussed. Dan's account represents a switch.

Throughout the interview, Dan described his own emotional and cultural location. He also described ways in which he had granted Aaron access in to those spaces. This access was connected to his personal narrative as a male student. The crescendo in this account occurred when Dan described this notion of watching Aaron different from the way that Aaron had become accustomed to being watched by other adults over the past four years. Rather Dan communicated to Aaron that he was not "watching him" but "watching out for him". He watched for Aaron's back to keep Aaron in a safe space because Aaron had not learned to respond appropriately in all situations. During the interview, Dan shared that essentially, he wanted Aaron to know that he “has his back” and he has him covered. The notion of having the student's back created a powerful counter to the scripting and negative mining that Aaron experienced in his early years.

The second narrative occurred with Carl at Darwin. When asked, what his role was in the school, Carl jokingly replied, "Clean up on aisle nine". Based on Carl's response, it was clear that he had been called on by the staff to support students after the damage had been done. However, Carl shows here that he cared tremendously about his school environment and so he was constantly checking with teachers and students to make sure that they (students) are ok:

> It would be interesting to know if you could put this in writing in your report, but cleanup in aisle nine (laughter) I um, you know from one social worker to the next, we're all different. I care a lot about my environment so I actually go out of my way to each classroom just to check, peek in and see how things are going, I'm

constantly checking with teachers when there's a concerning behavior brought to my attention. Very, very important to offer positive reinforcement to kids, especially to lower self-esteem kids, but then I notice kids who don't get into trouble, who always make good grades feel left out as well, so it's my job to make them feel good too. So you know I kind of feel like the, the uncle or the father of the school and unfortunately there's a lot of kids living in single family homes and I get that feeling; and physically, you know kids want to hug all the time and you know I can tell that this kid is lacking that male support. And I'm not trying to fill anyone's shoes definitely, but just to be a positive role model for the kids lacking positive role models, even kids with father figures in their home who don't have relationships ‘cause dad's too busy always at work or whatever.

Carl speaks specifically about going into classrooms as a way of watching out for the students before misbehaviors occurred. In his case, he is not watching students for misbehavior; he actually works with students to provide them with strategies to be successful. Examples of these strategies have been shared throughout this study such as helping Black and Latino students understand that they have to work harder and that the rules are not fair. He provided strategies that were more effective in the school culture while not telling the kids directly that their ways of thinking were incorrect.

Carl also considered himself the uncle of the school. His way of watching out for students kind of served as a cultural support in that he understands from his social work experience that students come to school with difficulties such as low self-esteem, working parents, and single parents to name a few. These students may have needed that male interaction as a supplement of support. Carl shared how he understood that parents were busy or even unavailable and so he watched out for students to make sure their behavior and learning was not suffering for these reasons.

Honoring Student Voices

Another HCLPS and perhaps the most underutilized practiced described in the literature surrounding SWPBIS and in this study, is the power of valuing students' voices. A few adults in this study share ways in which they honor their student's voices and create cultures of caring. Properly investigating student conflicts, creating class pledges and holding class meetings were ways adults honored student voices. In this first example of honoring students' voices, Ronald does not allow Katina to be scapegoated by the student and treated unfairly by her teacher.

> I've been fortunate to develop a real good relationship with her and actually just today, just today spent some time with her this afternoon. Her teacher brought her down to me and she had gotten into a yelling match with one of her classmates and she sat right where you're sitting right now and as soon as she came in I said, "Just you can talk to me when you're ready; just whenever you're ready." And you know she came in mad. I closed the door, I sat down, I just waited and then she started to cry. She got embarrassed about something that happened in class and another very strong-willed little girl who, by all intents and purposes, would be…could appear as the model student if you didn't know exactly what to look for or understand kids very well; plays that role very well and so she manipulates situations. And she manipulated a situation and Katina's feelings were horribly hurt and, to save face, she postured and yelled, which is her pattern. And I've called her out on that three times this year and she's owned it every time and I was able to help her identify what feeling she really did have.

Ronald discusses how Katina's patterned response was to yell when she needed to save face. He also mentioned that he was aware of the manipulation strategies used by the "model student". This awareness allowed him to respond to Katina in a positive way. What Ronald may not have known is that Katina's yelling may have been be culturally based and heightened from feeling silenced by her teacher during the incident. Katina reported that

her teacher hadn’t listened to her and had believed the other student. Katina's teacher who worked hard to create safe spaces reported that Katina was going at the "model student”. This represents the vacillation that adults experience between the two practice models introduced in chapter 6 and 7. Ronald is aware of the scapegoating occurring with the "model student". However, the teacher? Karen was not aware and her response was directly related to a level of scripting that she unintentionally had accepted.

The scripting and scapegoating discussed in chapter 6 causes students like Katina to be angry. After so many instances of being silenced, Katina acted as an agent and yelling became a form of resistance in response to HCOPS. She wanted to be heard and, more importantly, she wanted to be treated fairly. Ronald honored her voice by not allowing her to be scapegoated by the other student. In fact, while some scripting was present in his description, his actions towards her were examples of HCLPS. First, he had not been quick to judge her. Second, he had listened to her side of the story and held the other student accountable. Third, he had served somewhat as a cultural broker by making Katina aware that she was being scapegoated and by helping her understand that there were other ways to respond when issues occurred. Delpit argues that teachers could play a major role in equipping Black students to communicate across cultures. In some ways, Delpit's (1995b) argument supports Carter's (2008) and Ladson-Billings' (1997) notion of cultural broker (D. Carter, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1997). Additionally, while Delpit's work surrounds language and the culture of power, her principles are applicable to adults equipping Black and Latino students to understand White middle class norms that dominate schools and the SWPBIS model.

While Ronald served as a cultural broker to Katina, questions surfaced at this point. What if Ronald had truly understood that Katina's patterned response of yelling was due to HCOPS occurring in other spaces of the school, and that Katina had been frustrated with these oppressive practices. How much more of a cultural broker could Ronald have been to her? More importantly, how could Ronald have educated his staff so that they were more

sensitive to the scripting and scapegoating that occurred in their classrooms and in other spaces in the school?

Another example of a teacher honoring her students' voices occurred when Dee allowed her students to create a class pledge, at their prompting. This student-led activity created caring between the students and teacher as well as between peers.

> I haven't started doing that until this year actually and we started doing the Pledge of Allegiance this year. And so some of my kids said well let's do the Bucket Filling Pledge and I said okay, so we put it up on the screen and we say it every morning and they, it's become this ritual for us and it's a nice reminder. In fact, we talked about it today because they actually had a little rough time in gym this morning. and I said, so let's remember when we're saying this pledge this isn't just us reciting something we are actually trying to live by these words. And you know so it brings up discussion, but they, it really I feel, I feel it brings us together and does give us that gentle reminder of kindness towards others, so.

In this example, Dee leads her students in the Pledge of Allegiance daily. However, when prompted by her students to create a Bucket Filler pledge, she honored her students' voices by taking their suggestion and putting it into practice making it a norm. It literally became "a ritual". Dee also valued her students' voices by emphasizing to the entire class its worth and importance. Dee and other students had used the principles of the Bucket Filler pledge to hold one another accountable for their actions. Dee's actions were HCLPS that foster personal accountability in her students rather than attempting to manipulate and/or control their behaviors. When asked what he like most about school, Jaden talked about the pledge with passion and stated how much he loved the pledge and that it was one of his favorite things about school. He also stated that students did not just say the pledge; they genuinely lived out the pledge.

Jaden: I like to play gym, math, art, music and I like to do like our pledge cause we do the Pledge of Allegiance and a Bucket Villa Pledge, and I like to do social studies and writing.

Ruth: And recess, okay. And then tell me, you said you liked the Bucket Villa Pledge, tell me about the Bucket Villa Pledge.

Jaden: Well it's a very,, well we do our United States pledge, then we do the Bucket Villa pledge, it's a really good pledge; you don't just say it, you got to mean it.

Ruth: You got to... tell me about that, you say you just don't say it, you got to mean it so tell me about that. What does it mean to mean that when you say that, when you say?

Jaden: Like cause like being Bucket feels like helping somebody not being angry and stuff, but what, when you say it you got to like mean that you're not going to do it, like you not going to be mad or something.

Jaden shares that the other students and the teacher really take the class pledge seriously and try to live it out daily. It is evident from Dee and Jaden's interviews that by honoring student voices Dee, created pride that affected students' behaviors in a helpful way. Jaden, shared that they didn't just say it, they lived it and it affected the adults in the building in a positive way. The pledge provided students in Tier 3 with positive narratives about themselves and their school culture. This teacher's decision to honor her students' voices communicated to them that she valued their ideas and cared about their wellbeing. They became contributors in their school. When teachers like Dee, Ronald, Karen, and Dan honored students' voices, they created caring and safe spaces. Several studies speak to higher levels of student learning and engagement where they are affirmed by adults and where caring, positive relationships, and safe spaces are created (Cooper, 2013; Kirkland, 2013; Noguera, 2003b, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999a, 1999b, 2002). Dee invited her students

to provide feedback about what worked and did not work in their classroom. Her willingness to make changes got at Noguera's notion of honoring student voice. Noguera argued that schools must include students' voice in decisions about what works and does not work for them (2003). The morning meetings and class pledge served as examples of teachers honoring student voices that served as a form of caring.

Dee honored her students' voices by incorporating their ideas and allowing the curriculum and class space to be negotiated between herself and her students. She also allowed them to make decisions about the culture of their learning space. Dee discussed how she had allowed her students to decide what would create a good environment. This activity involved students working in groups, using chart paper, and having discussions about behaviors, actions and dispositions that would be needed for the learning environment. According to Dee, and Jaden, the class engaged in many discussions about their classroom covering learning to behaving. These discussions centered on the question of what was working and what needed to change.

Dee's example demonstrated several HCLPS. First, she had asked the students to think about and decide what their classroom should look like, feel like, and sound like. Second, she had asked her students to determine how they could achieve the culture they wanted in their learning space. Third, she had asked her students to tell her how they wanted to be treated and, what they expected of her. This level of honoring voices promoted personal accountability in her students and classroom. Dee shared that she did not want to dictate the structure of the classroom. Dee had also allowed her students to decide how they would acknowledge the positive behaviors in the classroom. Dee's actions had created a safe space for her students to thrive. This was evident throughout Jaden's interview. He discussed enjoying coming to school and being in his class. He discussed having a good relationship with his teacher and that he felt that she cared about him and wanted him to be successful.

Karen also described how having class meetings and allowing student voice in shaping the class culture had affected her students. Although Karen felt a crunch for time due to academic demands, she had made time for class meetings. Below, she describes the purpose for the meetings as well as what she and the students had gotten out of them:

> Well a couple of ways that I see it, is that they have say in some of the things that are happening in the room. So what's going well and what's not going well? We need to…every couple of weeks, at least once a month, stop, and say what's going well and what's not going well? What do we like, what do we want to change? But we also just have class meetings and probably I feel these have been at least more significant this year with um; what's one thing you want to share that you haven't had a chance to tell anybody because life's just been so busy? And it is amazing some of the things we'll learn about each other that you would never otherwise have known. And you know sometimes it's simple as you know, "I watched a movie with my mom last night and we had a really good time," or, "My dad's an idiot." And I'm like, "Whoa, whoa, wait a minute you know we all get upset, that's a strong word, let's back up." "No, my dad's an idiot, he punched somebody last night and now he's in jail." And you knew that he just needed to get that off. Is it the most appropriate time or place? But I feel like if your community is set up okay, kids aren't judging you know and they have a little bit of understanding why he's coming in with a frown on his face every morning you know.

Karen also shared that these meetings allowed students to feel safe in school and provided them with an outlet for expressing how they were feeling and what they were dealing with. She also indicated that it provided her with a window to help her understand what has been identified in this study as emotional and cultural locations. Finally, these meetings according to Karen helped students understand one another's emotional locations.

There are several things going on here. Karen clearly worked to create safe space in her classroom. However, according to Carl's and some of her accounts, the school at large did

not provide this same level of student voice, culture of caring, and team concept. How did this affect Karen's students as they navigate their school day in the other areas of school where they interacted with other adults and students?

Karen actions really connected with work on the culture of caring (Valenzuela, 1999a). Karen had mixed feelings with two notions of caring identified in the scholarship[??]. Technical caring that was common among teacher and involved them being prepared to teach and create learning environments for students to learn. The other caring that was common among students involved taking the time to understand the cultural and emotional locations of students and using that knowledge to create safe spaces and learning opportunities for students in a negotiated context. Karen valued both; her ability to understand that her students needed class meetings so that they could share their locations represented a HCLP. Karen and Dee honored their students' voices collectively and individually by creating these opportunities during the school day. When adults like Dee, Ronald, Karen, and Dan honor students' voices, they created caring and safe spaces. Several studies speak to higher levels of student learning and engagement where students are affirmed by adults and where caring, positive relationships, and safe are created (Cooper, 2013; Kirkland, 2013; Noguera, 2003b, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999a, 1999b, 2002).

Conclusion

This chapter discusses ways in which the adult participants' built positive relationships with students. It also examine ways that adults established cultures of caring. These HCLPS create safe spaces for students within the school. While HCLPS are used by some of the adults across the schools, I began wondering why then were there students in Tier 3. How did they get there? If their teachers made helpful moves, why were they in Tier 3 for behavioral supports? Two things surfaced in this chapter that may address this. First, these students were in third and fourth grade meaning that they had spent the last four to five years navigating school and classroom cultures that may not have used strategies similar to those used by their current teachers. Additionally, the schools began

implementing SWPBIS three years ago and were at varying levels of implementation. The second consideration was the vacillation of teachers between the two practice models where teachers in some circumstances utilized HCOPS and in other circumstances utilized HCLPS. There were some cases where both were used within a single situation. Adults switching between the two models may have impeded the schools' abilities to move past HCOPS or caused confusion at a subconscious level for students in Tier 3 and for students at large. An awareness of this vacillation could change the culture to be supportive of all students. Fluctuating between HCOPS and HCLPS will be discussed further in the implication section.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

This chapter reflects upon the findings of this study and the implications for future research. Narrative inquiry is about the process of discovery through the stories of lived experiences. In this work, that process gives meaning to the lived experiences of six African American and Latino students receiving tertiary behavioral supports in three elementary schools utilizing SWPBIS. Their voices, along with the narratives of their teachers and other staff, provided a rich context of how student behaviors were shaped and supported within the SWPBIS behavioral system. The Lovington School District has a history of disproportionate number of discipline and special education referrals specific to African American students. The schools in this study worked over the last three years to implement SWPBIS in order to address this gap and increase learning for all students. However, after several years of utilizing SWPBIS this discipline gap continues to exist. As indicated in the study, there were some harmful and oppressive practices enacted by adults in the schools. While unintentional, these practices were cyclical and embedded in each of the school's culture, occurring without the awareness of the adults enacting them.

At the same time, adults and students reported several helpful and liberatory practices that served as counter narratives to the harmful practices occurring in the schools. Students who worked with adults utilizing HCOPS expressed feelings of isolation, silencing, and disenfranchisement. These students also described feeling scripted, scapegoated, and angry. Students who worked with adults utilizing the HCLPS described having some of the feelings above, because the adults interacted with other adults and students who worked from deficit thinking. However, these students also reported feeling that they had at least one or more adults who had supported them and cared for them beyond trying to control and manipulate their behaviors. This chapter discusses implications, recommendations, and end with some concluding remarks.

The purpose of this study is to understand how six Black and Latino students perceived to have persistent behavioral difficulties experienced school culture in three elementary schools utilizing SWPBIS. The goal was to address gaps in existing SWPBIS literature by examining how these students understood and described their school and classroom climates and how teachers described and understood their means of supporting them. Current research has contributed greatly to our understanding of SWPBIS (Bambara et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Debnam, et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2008; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Reinke, et al., 2008; Mass-Galloway et al., 2008; Nersesian et al., 2000; Sadler & Sugai, 2009; Sugai & Horner, 2009). However, these studies do not provided an understandingof the potential outcomes that school culture and structures have on student behaviors. It was important to look at SWPBIS through a cultural lens, because the disproportionality in discipline of Black and Latino students in the Lovington School District also exists across the nation despite growing SWPBIS efforts to support all students (Kaufman et al., 2010).

While many of the adults across the three schools viewed their high discipline rates of these students as directly related to the students' poor choices, the cultural mismatch literature as well as other sources who have drawn from this literature show that institutional and school cultural practices often contribute to these misbehaviors (D. Carter, 2003; P. Carter, 2005; Delpit, 1995b; Kirkland, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1997; Noguera, 2003a, 2003b, 2008; Paris, 2009, 2012; Valenzuela, 1999a). Throughout this study, cultural dissonance occurred in various forms such as language use, behavioral norms, values, ways of knowing, and problem solving etc. The ways in which these students experienced school depended on the adults' dispositions, knowledge, and practices. Both harmful and helpful practices occurred that affected these students in

oppressive and liberatory ways. In the next section, I discuss the major findings along with their meaning.

Summary of Major Findings

Five themes emerged from student and staff interviews across the three schools that were consistently discussed as part of participants' lived experiences and understandings. The first theme, the *idea of cultural and emotional location,* involved the notion that children are often in different places (Delpit, 1995a, 1995b; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1997; Noguera, 2003a, 2003b, 2008; Valenzuela, 1999a). The second and third themes, *teacher beliefs: deficit thinking, scripting, and scapegoating,* involved harmful cyclical oppressive practices that negatively impacted the students in this study (P. Carter, 2005; Cose, 2002; Kirkland, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Noguera, 2003a, 2003b; Tatum, 2005, 2006; Valenzuela, 1999a). The fourth and fifth themes, *building relationships and the culture of caring,* involved helpful cyclical liberatory practices that positively impacted students in this study (Antrop-González & De Jesús, 2006; Cooper, 2013; Kirkland, 2013; Shann, 1999; Valenzuela, 1999a, 1999b).

The five themes that emerged from this study suggest that there is a cultural mismatch between some students, adults, and school culture and that the SWPBIS behavior model top down approach was problematic because it did not consider nuanced cultures and student voices. Additionally, deficit thinking was embedded in its foundation (Fruchter, 2007; Noguera, 2003a). Therefore, while SWPBIS showed some promise of success for supporting positive behavior, the question remained whether or not it should be used as a standalone behavior system in elementary schools. These five themes developed according to the initial research questions that guided this study. Table 8.1 explains this study's connection of findings and research questions.

Table 8.1 Connection of Findings and Research Questions

Research Questions	Findings
How do **student** participants, identified by their schools as being in Tier III and needing tertiary behavioral supports, experience the school, and classroom climate in a SWPBIS context?	4. Cultural Locations: Transiting Institutions a. Communication as a Cultural Match or Mismatch b. Norms for Problem Solving 5. Emotional Locations 6. Teacher Perception, Deficit Thinking, and Scripting a. Deficit thinking b. Labeling c. Making Majors out of minors 7. Scapegoating: Guilty and no chance of being innocent
How do their **teachers** describe and understand ways to support them?	4. Cultural Locations: Transiting Institutions a. Communication as a Cultural Match or Mismatch b. Norms for Problem Solving 5. Emotional Locations 6. Teacher Perception, Deficit Thinking, and Scripting a. Deficit thinking b. Labeling c. Making Majors out of minors 7. Scapegoating: Guilty and no chance of being innocent 8. Building Positive Relationships a. Layers of support b. Respect and trust c. Contact and connections 9. The Culture of Caring: Creating Safe Spaces a. Watching out for your Wellbeing b. Honoring student voices
In what ways do the experiences the **student**s' experiences supports converge and diverge with their **teachers'** descriptions and understandings of those experiences?	1. Cultural Locations: Transiting Institutions a. Communication as a Cultural Match or Mismatch b. Norms for Problem Solving 2. Emotional Locations 3. Teacher Perception, Deficit Thinking, and Scripting a. Deficit thinking b. Labeling c. Making Majors out of minors 4. Scapegoating: Guilty and no chance of being innocent 5. Building Positive Relationships a. Layers of support b. Respect and trust c. Contact and connections 6. The Culture of Caring: Creating Safe Spaces a. Watching out for your Wellbeing b. Honoring student voices

What I Learned, Implications, and Recommendations for Moving Forward

The five aforementioned themes suggest that while SWPBIS shows some promise for successfully supporting positive behavior, it does not consider how to support students from culturally diverse backgrounds. These themes also suggest some teachers utilized some HCLPS while others used HOPS, and some used both. One interesting phenomenon that occurred across the study was adults vacillating back and forth between HCLPS and HCOPS. All of the adult participants did this at various points in the study. This means that on one hand they talked about how they supported students in some positive and powerful ways and, while doing so, they sometimes described students in deficit ways. Three questions arise from this study that need further investigation. 1. Does the SWPBIS behavior model work for all students? 2. What other behavior models exist that are more culturally complex or nuanced? 3. What do educators need to know in order to be more effective and productive in supporting students? I now turn to a discussion of each of these questions.

Does the SWPBIS Behavior Model Work for All students?

The first question related to the effectiveness of SWPBIS stems from several accounts provided in the narratives of students and adults. Each school had implemented SWPBIS in their buildings for over three years and shared seeing an overall decrease in office discipline referrals. However, Carl made it very clear that SWPBIS did not work for all of his students. In fact, he shared that this particular model supported primarily White middle class and affluent students. He also added that the students who it seemed to work less for were Black, Latino, and students from low-income homes, particularly Black males. Additionally, Laura shared that out of the ten of her students who were struggling the most with behavior and learning, nine were Black or Latino. These findings indicated that race matters in schools and contributed to the cultural mismatch between Black and Latino students and the adults in their schools. In this study, culture could not be considered

absent from race. There were ways of believing, thinking, knowing, and behaving that were specific to students' race. Adding to this complexity, are nuanced cultural features within the Black and Latino race groups due to a variety of factors. Race was implicit in the mismatch between students and the adults. Often adults were not aware that race matters in schools. Nor were they aware of the different norms, behaviors, and values specific to different race groups. Furthermore, most were not cognizant that these differences affected the way that they viewed and interacted with their Black and Latino students. Referring back to the SWPBIS literature, the studies did not include the cultural lens nor did they consider the voices of students. In fact, primarily White males and females conducted the SWPBIS existing research. Furthermore, SWPBIS is based on behavioral science that primarily deals with behavior manipulation (Carr et al., 2002).

SWPBIS does provide adults with a structure of providing explicit behavioral expectations, ways of monitoring, and supporting behaviors with the goal of intervening early (R. Horner & Sugai, 2000 ; Robert H. Horner et al., 1990; Robert H. Horner et al., 2010; Sugai & Horner, 2002a; Sugai & Horner, 2008, 2009; Sugai & Horner, 2006). According to the SWPBIS studies and the narratives of the adult and student participants, these are strong attributes of this behavioral model (Bambara et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Debnam, et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2008; Bradshaw, Koth, et al., 2009; Bradshaw, Reinke, et al., 2008; Mass-Galloway et al., 2008; Nersesian et al., 2000; Sadler & Sugai, 2009; Sugai & Horner, 2009). However, HCLPS such as building relationships, establishing caring environments where there is respect and trust was virtually absent from the SWPBIS literature.

There is a large body of literature that richly supports the use of HCLPS having a positive effect on culturally diverse students (Carter Andrews, 2008, 2009; P. Carter, 2005; Cooper, 2013; Gay, 2000; Kirkland, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 1995, 1997). Because SWPBIS does not consider this literature, it is a behavior model that does not consider cultural

complexities. It make sense then that after more than three years of implementing SWPBIS that there was still a discipline gap between Black and White students and that students continued to need Tier 3 supports. The adults who shared implementing some of the HCLPS discussed noticing a change in the students' behaviors and the number of times these students were referred to the office. More importantly, these adults discussed ways in which they were changing in their thinking and practice.

What Other Behavior Models Exist That are More Culturally Complex or Nuanced?

The second question deals with seeing if other more culturally nuanced behavior models exist. Currently, no other behavior models have been introduced in Lovington elementary schools that are more culturally nuanced. However, other behavior models exist such as character education, restorative justice, and conflict resolution etc. While behavior systems such as these may capture some aspects of a more culturally nuanced behavior model, they all seem to be based on similar structures such as the SWPBIS model. For example, Character Education behavior models are usually based on a set of principles, pillars, values or virtues that schools implement by having students and adults memorize or internalize the values and engage in activities aimed at embodying ideas such as honesty, stewardship, kindness, generosity, courage, freedom, justice, equality, and respect (Lewis, Robinson, & Hays, 2011). Character based behavior programs promise to develop character in schools but tend to be driven to achieve compliance to rules and conformity.

The Restorative Justice Behavior model is based on the ideas that those affected by peer conflict can be addressed by having the individuals involved work together to repair the harm done. It promises to lead to individual accountability, address the needs of all students, and use multiple pathways to solve problems (Hopkins, 2013; Karp & Breslin, 2001; Payne & Welch, 2013). There are also multiple ways to implement this behavior model in schools. The Conflict Resolution behavior model promises to decrease violence,

improve in classroom management, and enhance students' social and emotional development (Deutsch, Coleman, & Marcus, 2011; Jones, 2000). Just looking at the three models above, some behavior models may allow for a more culturally nuanced approach than others such as the restorative justice model. Some are scripted while others have a more flexible approach. The degree to which these programs consider cultural complexities is unknown. Finally, all three models the aim to address the increased violence occurring in schools (Karp & Breslin, 2001; Lewis et al., 2011).

What do Educators Need to Know in Order to be More Effective in Supporting Students?

Much can be gleaned from this study concerning what adults in schools need to know in order to more effectively support diverse students.

Learning from HCOPS Used in This Study

The HCOPS that adults used included scripting and scapegoating. Embedded in the scripting and scapegoating that occurred in the three schools were more harmful practices that students experienced such as labeling, falsely accusing, silencing and more. Students experiencing these practices described feeling angry and isolated. Adults need to know that these HCOPS exist and understand that they may in fact be doing them daily as well as how they affect already marginalized students. Adults may not be aware that their responses may be harmful to children. Furthermore, teachers have to begin to problem pose by interrogating their own practices, beliefs, and assumptions. Adults also need to be aware of deficit thinking as well as, how it affects how they support diverse students with cultural differences.

Learning from HCLPS Used in This Study

The HCLPS that adults in the schools used included building positive relationships and creating a culture of caring. Adults building positive relationships with students and creating caring cultures also included other helpful practices such as providing layers of

support, increasing contact and connections, respecting students, building trust and honoring their voices. These HCLPS created safe spaces for students and created counter narratives of students who adults and other students previously scripted. Towards that end, Adults in schools need to become aware of these strategies specific to students' emotional and cultural locations. They also need to understand more about profit based thinking and the importance of drawing from the experiences on the strengths and diversity students bring to schools to shape practice and school culture. Given that there is a body of literature and research that describe the cultural nuances that affect students and the actual practices that support African American and Latino students in schools, schools can use this knowledge to inform their practices.

Recommendations for Practice

There are implications for practice in schools. The *first recommendation* involves schools understanding the five findings and practices (HCOPS and the HCLPS) from this study. The *second recommendation* involves the three schools modifying their SWPBIS systems to include HCLPS so that SWPBIS is not a standalone program. The *third recommendation* involves increasing staff cultural awareness, competency, and sustainability, across the three schools by engaging all staff in ongoing professional development that addresses four areas.

The first area should address how their beliefs and ideas about cultural groups and other groups have been shaped by our country's socio-historical context. The second area should address issues of positionality. In other words, through professional learning adults in schools should interrogate how what they believe about various groups of people affect how they respond to students and families. They should use this knowledge to understand how their decisions position students to either be successful or not. Other areas of addressing issues of positionality should involve examining and understanding how racism has been institutionalized and how individual racism is often undetected because it is often

introduced into their subconscious as they grow up, absorbed at school, at home, and through multimedia such as entertainment. Noguera (2003a) and Fruchter (2007) examined the achievement gap between White students and Black and Latino students in urban schools. According to Fruchter, society's hegemonic class and race shape the culture of schooling. Thus, the dominant culture of power influences curriculum designs, school organization, instructional methodologies, language use, accountability systems, and disciplinary methods that often ignore historically marginalized children and their unusual experiences. While their work focused primarily on urban schools, their claims hold true in other schools which historically marginalized students attend.

The *fourth recommendation* involves saturation of cultural knowledge. During staff meetings, there should be standing agendas where staff engages in book club discussions linked to the cultural awareness and sustainability. It is not enough to only engage in quick or isolated professional development in these areas. These conversations and learning about multicultural education and cultural practices must be embedded in all school processes from school improvement to supporting students in the content areas.

The *fifth recommendation* is increasing and honoring student and parent voices. Students and parents should be given the opportunity to provide feedback about their experiences as they navigate school. These opportunities should occur several times a year through several modes of collecting feedback and be easily accessible to families. Among several benefits, this would provide adults in the schools better understanding of their school culture and any HCOPS occurring.

The *last recommendation* involves training and professional development for administrators and teacher leaders. Building Administrators and teacher leaders should receive training on courageous leadership and having difficult conversations. This will help them navigate some of the difficult conversations that they may have with staff regarding HCOPS.

Recommendations for Future Research

There are also implications for future research. More qualitative and mixed methods studies need to examine other behavioral models and evaluate them for cultural complexity. With there being numerous behavior models available, schools need to be able to use research-based models that consider issues of culture, race, and oppressive practices. Schools need to be able to decide if different behavior models are effective in addressing the needs of diverse students. Towards that end, more qualitative studies short term and longitudinal need to be done that examine the role that culture plays in implementing SWPBIS in schools. We now understand that SWPBIS should not be implemented as a standalone model because it is not a culturally nuanced system that supports all students. Qualitative and mixed methods studies that examine the role that culture plays in implementing other behavior models should occur as well. Qualitative studies are needed to advance SWPBIS scholarship to consider the social and cultural understanding that captures the perspective of the students and adults of color. Finally, qualitative and mixed methods studies need to address questions such as how students feel about the schools, relationships with teachers, academic learning, and peers relationships.

For example, a longitudinal qualitative or mix methods study could involve taking the knowledge gained from this study and engage in a three to five year action research project that involves teachers studying their current practices and engaging in problem posing discussions. This problem posing and self-interrogation within the context of their work and interactions with students would drive the inquiry of the research. Over the course of the longitudinal study, teachers would study their practice, read literature on cultural mismatch and the role that race plays in schools, problem pose around their practices, begin to rethink and design ways of interacting with and engaging students based on their new knowledge. This process would be replicated over the course of the three to five years and involve students, support staff, administrators and the community. During this process,

ongoing professional development and staff meetings would occur to support all learning and problem posing. These professional development opportunities would be led by teacher and staff with support from experienced faculty at the university level. Data collection would involve student, staff, and parent surveys, interviews, focus groups, observations etc.

Conclusion

Prior to this study, the Lovington elementary schools were using SWPBIS to support all students behaviorally with the goal to address their district's discipline gap. The findings of this study revealed that there is a cultural mismatch between students, the adults, and school. The findings also revealed that HCOPS and HCLPS occurred in the schools. The adults used varying degrees of HCOPS in the schools that frustrated and isolated students in ways that further exacerbated the behavior gap between Black and Latino students and their White counterparts. Some adults also used HCLPS in the schools that were positive and created counter narratives of students in Tier 3. If we can learn more about ways to create behavior models that are more culturally nuanced or advance current models to reflect cultural understandings and complexities, new possibilities emerge for theory, research, practice, and professional development for staff as well as how to support culturally diverse students in schools.

APPENDICES

Appendix A
Proposed Dissertation Timeline

Time	Dissertation Activities
November 2013	Submit Application to Lovington Public School
December 2013	Letter to Principal Sent Upon Approval from IRB
November 2013	IRB Submitted
December 2013	Submit and Defend DP
December 2013	Initial Screening Data Collection
December 2013	Research presentation to volunteering students/parents
	Distribute Parent and Student consent forms
January – February 2014	Conduct and Transcribe Student Interview
January – February 2014	Conduct and Transcribe Adult Interviews
March–August 2014	Data Analysis, Writing and Revisions
August 2014	Provide Committee with Dissertation Draft
September 2014	Dissertation Defense

Appendix B

Letter to Parents

December 16, 2013

Dear Parent/Guardian:

My name is Ruthie Riddle, and I am a doctoral student at Michigan State University Graduate School of Education. During the 2013-2014 school year I will be conducting a research project at _____Elementary School focused on Tier III students' perceptions and experiences of school climate in the school-wide positive behavioral support (SWPBIS) context. All students who had five or more office discipline referrals (ODR) during the 2013-2014 school year in grades 3-4 are being invited to participate in this study. My research would encompass twelve students across the three elementary schools in Lovington will be selected based on demographic data to participate in the focused study. The selected students will be interviewed once or twice during the school year. The students will be asked questions about school expectations and their academic and social interactions with their teachers and peers. They will also be asked about how and why they respond the way that they do with context of the various exchanges with adults and peers. All participants' names and identifying characteristics will be changed.

I look forward to learning from them about their experiences in the elementary setting in Lovington Schools as well as how they experience, respond to, and navigate school climate. Your child may also find this research beneficial and fun, as they will be able to have a reflective learning experience along with an opportunity to have a voice in how schools can better support students in the School-wide Positive Behavior Support (SWPBIS) context. Their participation will not only help my learning, but also the ways that teachers, staff and other adults support them to have positive and successful experiences in schools utilizing positive behavioral supports. When my findings are ready to present, I will distribute my results to the participating students and school. If you have any questions about the study, please contact me at (517) 256.3990, or at rriddle@hpsk12.net.

Parents, if you give permission for your child to participate in this study, please sign the attached form and have your child return this form to school secretary, no later than December 1, 2013. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Ruthie Riddle
Doctoral Candidate, Curriculum, Instruction, and Teacher Education
Michigan State University

Appendix C

Parent Consent Form

Dear Parents/Guardian: December 16, 2013

Thank you for considering allowing your child to participate in this research! I hope s/he will find it rewarding to teach others about his/her experiences.

Your child is being asked to participate in a research study because of their participation in Tier III behavioral support status. My research is looking to gain an understanding of Tier III students' perceptions and experiences of school climate in the school-wide positive behavioral support (SWPBIS) context.

As a participant in the research study, your child will participate in one or two audiotaped interviews in which s/he will be asked to elaborate on as well as additional, detailed questions. These interviews should not last more than 45 minutes each. I will gladly provide you with a copy of the interview protocols. Results of this study may be presented at professional conferences, in journal articles, or in a book. ***However, pseudonyms will be used so no one can be identified.***

The potential benefits for your child participating are that they may also find this research beneficial and fun, as they will be able to have a reflective learning experience along with an opportunity to have a voice in how schools can better support students in the School-wide Positive Behavior Support (SWPBIS) context. Their participation will not only help my learning, but also the ways that teachers, staff and other adults support them to have positive and successful experiences in schools utilizing positive behavioral supports.

There are no risk in this study beyond that of a typical school day experience.

The data collected for this research study will be protected on a password-protected computer or in a locked file cabinet on the campus of Michigan State University for a minimum of three years after the close of the project. Only the appointed researcher's and the Institutional Review Board will have access to the research data.

Participation is voluntary, you and your child may choose not to participate at all, or You may refuse to allow your child to participate in certain procedures or answer certain questions or discontinue their participation at any time without consequence (e.g. will not affect treatment they receive, will not affect your child's grade or evaluation, etc.). Your decision whether or not to allow your child's participation will not affect your future relations with the Lovington School District. Your child may also choose not to answer any question or request the recording device to be turned off.

The confidentiality of these interviews is very important to me. Your child's name or other identifying information will be kept private, and his/her responses will not be shared with any personnel at school. If a participant reveals an intention to hurt others or themselves, however, I will contact the school

counselor. Your child's confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. I will gladly provide your child with a copy of the interview protocols upon request.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the researchers Ruthie Riddle .

Ruthie Riddle
rriddle@hpsk12.net

If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503. You also e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at Olds Hall, 408 West Circle Drive #207, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

____YES, my child may participate in the School Wide Positive Behavior Support Study.

____No, I do not want my child to participate in this project.

_____
Student's Name

_____ _____ _____
Parent's Name Parent Signature Date

Appendix D

Student Assent Form

To be completed by the Elementary Student

Tier III Student School Climate Experience Study

Student Assent Form

Dear _____

You are being invited to participate in a study conducted by Ruthie Riddle at _____ Elementary School in Lovington during the 2013-2014 school year. Your participation will involve me interviewing you by yourself. Your interviews will be kept confidential, unless I have reason to believe that you are in immediate danger of hurting others or yourself.

You will be asked to discuss your experiences as a student here at _____School. With your permission, I will tape record the interviews in order to help me remember what you say. I will turn off the tape recorder any time you ask me to do so. After all of the tapes are transcribed, a copy will be returned to you, if you like. Participating in this research is voluntary (You do not have to participate). You may also choose not to answer questions at any time and can withdraw from this study at any time, without penalty. You may contact me with any questions or additional comments during participation and any time after the study is complete.

_____
Student's Name

_____ _____
Student's Signature Date

_____ _____
Principal Investigator's Signature Date

Contact Information

Ruthie Riddle, Principal Investigator
(517) 256-3990

Appendix E

Adult Consent Form

Dear Parents/Guardian: December 16, 2013

Thank you for considering allowing your child to participate in this research! I hope s/he will find it rewarding to teach others about his/her experiences.

You are being asked to participate in a research study because you work with student(s) who receive Tier III behavioral supports. My research is looking to gain an understanding of Tier III students' perceptions and experiences of school climate in the school-wide positive behavioral support (SWPBIS) context.

As a participant in the research study, you will participate in one or two audiotaped interviews in which you will be asked to elaborate on as well as additional, detailed questions. These interviews should not last more than 60 minutes each. I will gladly provide you with a copy of the interview protocols. Results of this study may be presented at professional conferences, in journal articles, or in a book. ***However, pseudonyms will be used so no one can be identified.***

Your participation will not only help my learning, but also the ways that teachers, staff and other adults work with students to have positive and successful experiences in schools utilizing positive behavioral supports.

There are no risk in this study beyond that of a typical school day experience.

The data collected for this research study will be protected on a password-protected computer or in a locked file cabinet on the campus of Michigan State University for a minimum of three years after the close of the project. Only the appointed researcher's and the Institutional Review Board will have access to the research data.

Participation is voluntary, you may choose not to participate at all, or you may refuse to participate in certain procedures or answer certain questions or discontinue their participation at any time without consequence. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your future work in the Lovington School District. You may also choose not to answer any question or request the recording device to be turned off.

The confidentiality of these interviews is very important to me. Your name or other identifying information will be kept private, and your responses will not be shared with any personnel at school. If a participant reveals an intention to hurt others or themselves, however, I will contact the school counselor. Your confidentiality will be protected to the maximum extent allowable by law. I will gladly provide you with a copy of the interview protocols upon request.

If you have concerns or questions about this study, such as scientific issues, how to do any part of it, or to report an injury, please contact the researchers Ruthie Riddle .

Ruthie Riddle
rriddle@hpsk12.net

If you have questions or concerns about your role and rights as a research participant, would like to obtain information or offer input, or would like to register a complaint about this study, you may contact, anonymously if you wish, the Michigan State University's Human Research Protection Program at 517-355-2180, Fax 517-432-4503. You also e-mail irb@msu.edu or regular mail at Olds Hall, 408 West Circle Drive #207, MSU, East Lansing, MI 48824.

____YES, my child may participate in the School Wide Positive Behavior Support Study.

____No, I do not want my child to participate in this project.

_____
Student's Name

_____ _____ _____
Parent's Name Parent Signature Date

Appendix F

Introductory Letter to Principal

December 16, 2013

Dear Principal:

As a doctoral candidate at the Michigan State University School of Education concentrating on the school experiences of Tier III students, I am designing my dissertation research, which will focus on learning more about how these students experience and describe their school climate. My dissertation research seeks to understand how Tier III students differ from other students and how they experience the school and classroom climate in a PBIS context. This study also examines how teachers describe and understand how they support Tier III students. I would love to understand the ways that Tier III students' experiences converge and diverge with teacher descriptions and understandings of supporting them in the PBIS school context. I would very much love to conduct this research at your school. I am deeply committed to finding ways to support students who are struggling with behavioral issues so that they can experience success during the school day and year. It would be a privilege to speak with you about my research and the ideas that I have for this study. I can accommodate your schedule to discuss the project.

My study entails individual interviews with students and adults. I hope to work with three Tier III students in your school. It is not the intent of the study to evaluate teachers or the school; I am mainly interested in the experiences of students who need tertiary behavioral supports within the PBIS school context. I will use demographic and behavioral data to select 12 students in grades 3 and 4 across the three elementary schools in Lovington. I hope to interview students once or twice between now and January of 2014, and I will gladly provide you with a copy of the interview protocols. I hope that I can introduce the study to students in mid-November when at a time that is convenient for them and for you. I will schedule interview separately with students through their classroom teachers. I will guarantee students' confidentiality, require parent permission for any student to participate, and ask only for voluntary participation from the students.

It is clearly important to have parents' support of their child's participation, and I would like the opportunity to present the study to them before they are asked for consent, so that they may ask questions and feel comfortable with the project. I also think that it is important that the parental consent form include a letter from you to indicate your support of this study. After the study is over, I will gladly return to present findings to you and your staff, as well as interested parents.

I am very excited about the opportunity to understand more about how these students make sense of their school climate and how teachers make sense of supporting them. I am enclosing my curriculum vita for you to review my background and qualifications to conduct this research. In my research, my participants and the integrity of their experiences is a priority.

This project will hopefully help the adults in the lives of these students, their parents, teachers, counselor, etc. better meet their needs by learning more about their notions of PBIS and how they experience school climate. The important contribution of your time and your students' involvement will

be most helpful in this undertaking. I hope that you will agree that this research can strengthen your academic community as well.

I look forward to speaking with you about the details of this project. I will call you to follow up in one week. Please contact me at 517.256.3990 or rriddle@hpsk12.net with any questions or ideas. Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,
Ruthie Riddle
Doctoral Candidate, Curriculum, Instruction, and Teacher Education
Michigan State University

Appendix G

Interview Protocol I Students

Interview I: Students in Tier III and School Climate

Interviewer:
Thank you for taking the time to talk with me and tell me about yourself. I really appreciate your willingness to be a part of this study. I am going to ask you questions about your interactions with your peers and teachers, school experiences, how you feel about being in school and how see yourself and your relationships with the different people in your school. There are no right or wrong answers. I just want to learn more about how you experience school. The interviews are confidential. That means that I will not share anything you say with anyone else, unless you tell me about a plan to hurt yourself or someone else, or if someone is hurting you. Anything you tell me will be private, and you will not get in trouble for anything you say. I may write about my results as a book or in articles, or I might present the findings at conferences. I will not use your name or any other information that would identify who you are. Does all that make sense?

You can tell me you do not want to answer any question you do not feel like answering, and you can stop the interview at any point. If after the interview is over, you want to withdraw from the study, I will destroy your information. You will not get in trouble for withdrawing. I am going to give your parents my information, so they can call or e-mail me if you do not want to participate anymore. I would like to record the interview. Is that okay? You can tell me to tum of the recorder at any point, if you want. All recordings will be stored on my computer at my house and labeled with a code name. The tapes will be transcribed by someone else who will not know who you are, and I will mail you the tapes after they are transcribed, if you want. Do you have any questions? Is it okay for us to start?

<u>Warm-up</u>

1. Can you state your name?
2. Is there a pretend name that you would like to give me for you?
3. Can you please talk about your experiences in school last year? What do you remember about your teacher? What did you like best about him/her?
    a. What do you remember about your classroom? What was your favorite thing about the class? Your least favorite thing?
    b. What do you remember about your
        i. Classmates?
        ii. What was your favorite thing
        iii. What was least favorite thing?
    c. What do you remember about:
        i. School more broadly
        ii. Favorite thing
        iii. Least favorite thing
4. Do you recall talking with someone about your behavior last year? If so, who was it? What do you remember? Tell me about it.

<u>Perceptions of the school climate:</u>

1. What do you like most about school? Why do you think you feel this way?
2. What do you like least about school? Why do you think you feel this way?
3. How do you feel about going to school in the mornings? Why do you think you feel this way?
4. How do you feel once you get to school? Why do you think you feel this way?
5. Do you feel like you are an important member of your school community? How does this make you feel?
6. Do feel welcomed at your school? Why do you feel this way? How long have you felt this way?
7. How do you feel the adults feel about you at your school? How does this make you feel? How does it affect your behavior?
8. What is easy about school?
9. What is hard about school? When things are hard, is there someone to help you? Who helps you with these things?
10. Can you tell me about your friends? How would you describe them?
11. Can you please describe how you feel about your teachers from last year?
    a. Can you please describe your relationship with your teacher last year? Do you feel like you understood him or her? Do you feel that s/he understood you as a person? Please tell me more. Did kids help make the rules in your school and classroom? Did you help make the rules in your school expectations in your school and classroom?

<u>Student Self Perception</u>

1. Can you describe yourself as a learner?
2. How do you describe yourself as a student? What do you have to say about your behavior?
3. How would your teacher describe you as a student? What would s/he say about your behavior?
4. How would your peers describe you as a student? What would s/he say about your behavior?
5. How would their parents describe you as a student? What would they say about your behavior?

<u>Support and school climate</u>

1. Can you talk about how your teachers have supported you over the last year?
    a. Did they help you with schoolwork? Explain.
    b. Did you ask them to help you with things not related to school? Explain.
2. What are your school's expectations for behavior?
    a. How do you feel about the school's behavior expectations?
3. What kinds of things did the adults in school do to help you with behaviors?
4. What is PBIS? What does it mean to you?
5. Describe what you know about students being in tier 1, 2, and 3.
6. What kinds of things have made you feel successful in school?
7. What kinds of things have made you feel unsuccessful in school?
8. Do you feel that you are treated the same as your classmates? Explain.

Appendix H

Interview Protocol II Adults

Interview I: Adult Understanding of Tier III Students

Interviewer:
Thank you for taking the time to talk with me and tell me about yourself. I really appreciate your willingness to be a part of this study. I am going to ask you questions about school culture, your interactions with your students in Tier III and your understanding and observations of their school experiences, your feelings, concerns and questions regarding working with Tier III students, how you support your Tier III students and your relationship with your Tier III students. There are no right or wrong answers. I just want to learn more about your understanding of SWPBIS, and ways of supporting Tier III students. The interviews are confidential. That means that I will not share anything you say with anyone else. I may write about my results as a book or in articles, or I might present the findings at conferences. I will not use your name or any other information that would identify who you are.

You can tell me you do not want to answer any question you do not feel like answering, and you can stop the interview at any point. If after the interview is over, you want to withdraw from the study, I will destroy your information. You will not get in trouble for withdrawing. I am going to give you my information, so they can call or e-mail me if you do not want to participate anymore. I would like to record the interview. Is that okay? You can tell me to turn of the recorder at any point, if you want. All recordings will be stored on my computer at my house and labeled with a code name. The tapes will be transcribed by someone else who will not know who you are, and I will mail you the tapes after they are transcribed, if you want. Do you have any questions? Is it okay for us to start?

<u>Warm-up</u>

1. Can you state your name for the record?
2. Is there a pseudonym you would like to give me for yourself?
3. Can you please talk about your experiences working in a PBIS school last year?
4. What role do you think your students should play in creating and determining school and classroom expectations
    a. What role do you allow your students to play in this process?
5. What role do you think school, teacher, and the student's culture play in student learning and school success?
6. How important is culture and student success?

Tier III

<u>Teachers' understanding of PBIS and Tier III</u>

1. What is SWPBIS?
2. Is SWPBIS implemented at your school? To what degree is it implemented?
3. Why did your school implement SWPBIS?

Strategies Teachers Use to Support Students in Tier III

1. What is your understanding of how to help Tier III students?
2. What kind of strategies did you use to support your Tier III students last year?
3. Which strategies worked or seemed to be more effective? Why do you think they worked?
4. Which strategies did not work or seemed least effective? Why do you this this was the case?

Teacher Efficacy and Support (about efficacy (for teachers) and support (for students))(Questions about PD and support)

1. What kind of training did you have in PBIS? What kind of support have you had in the PBIS implementation process?
2. Have you had enough training to help you support students across the tiers? Can you tell me more about that?
3. What tier students do you find easiest to support? Tell me more about that.
4. What tier students do you find more difficult to support? Tell me more about that.
5. Have you had training specifically on supporting students in Tier III? How much training have you had in supporting students in Tier III? Do you feel that you have had enough training to adequately support students in Tier III?

Teachers' Perceptions about Tier III Students

1. What do you recall about your students in Tier III last year? Describe them to me. What were some of their characteristics?
    a. Can you please describe the behaviors of the Tier III students you have worked with last year?
2. How much time do you spend getting to know your Tier III students?
    a. What do you know about your Tier III students' home life and cultural background?

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