Perpetuating a Culture of White Behavior: The Experiences of Non-Native Speaking Hispanic Students in a PBIS School

Author: Margo Fraczek

Boston College

Lynch School of Education

Department of Educational Administration & Higher Education

Educational Administration

PERPATUATING A CULTURE OF WHITE BEHAVIOR: THE EXPERIENCES OF NON-NATIVE SPEAKING HISPANIC STUDENTS IN A PBIS SCHOOL

Dissertation by

MARGO STETSON FRACZEK

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ABSTRACT

PERPETUATING A CULTURE OF WHITE BEHAVIOR: THE EXPERIENCES OF NON-NATIVE SPEAKING STUDENTS IN A PBIS SCHOOL

By

Margo Stetson Fraczek

Dissertation Chair: Dr. Elizabeth Twomey

This phenomenological study investigated the effects of a Positive Behavior Intervention and Support (PBIS) Program on non-native speaking Hispanic students in a public middle school. The purpose of the study is to discover whether the PBIS program alleviates, intensifies or does not change the degree of bias towards minority students currently in existence through traditional discipline models. It also intends to discover whether the experience of the Hispanic students is similar to the intent of the program as determined by the implementing staff. Finally, this study will investigate whether a program that explicitly teaches values reflects the white, middle class backgrounds of the staff and whether this is detrimental to the primarily minority student population at the school.

An outside researcher who had previously spent time at the school site as a principal intern conducted this qualitative, phenomenological study. The researcher used the following data collection tools: individual semi-formal interviews, focus group discussions, observations, and document analysis. The research occurred over approximately six weeks.

The study concluded that the values taught through PBIS were designed to bring the students into the teachers' world, a world considered superior to the students as well as universal. This indicated that the teachers held a deficit model of culture towards the students' culture. Another finding indicated a need on the part of the staff to be aware of the students' relationship with their family as they implement any discipline program, especially one that explicitly teaches values. Finally, the study found a need for teachers to build positive relationships with all students, especially those with disciplinary issues. It was through positive relationships with the students deemed "problems" by the school and their parents that the teachers were able to reduce problem behaviors.

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Though only one name goes on the byline, a dissertation cannot be completed alone. There were many people who have helped my progress and kept me going over the past four years, including:

- The staff and students at the Robert Gould Shaw School in Leekslip, without their cooperation, thoughtfulness, and insight I would not have a dissertation.
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DEDICATION

So may people have helped me as I have completed this journey. I dedicate this dissertation to my husband Jim who has supported me throughout, my daughter Cecelia who took good long naps at crucial moments and provided happy distraction when it was truly needed. Finally, I dedicate this project to all of my former students who inspired me to be a better teacher and leader and who continue to be the reason I strive for excellence.

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Introduction

The controversial punishment of the 'Jena Six', where 6 black high school students were imprisoned and face over 100 years in jail for beating a white student (Goodman, 2007), the arresting of a Florida kindergartner and other high profile disciplinary cases have heightened the public's interest in how public schools respond to disruptive student behavior. Though only extreme cases garner media attention, it is the daily disruptions that cause real problems for educators and students. Finding a disciplinary program that minimizes distractions, reduces exclusions, and allows teachers to focus on teaching and learning is the Holy Grail of practicing educators. Over the past century, various techniques have reached wide scale implementation only to be found lacking. The newest of these programs, Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS), is currently experiencing growing success. The program was initially used in affluent, suburban settings and has gained support from researchers, practitioners and policy makers. More recently, it has spread to urban areas with more diverse populations. This study evaluates the PBIS program in order to illuminate potential barriers for implementing the program in schools with large populations of Hispanic non-native speakers.

The Problem

Disruptive student behavior and school discipline remain a major concern for parents, educators, and the nation (Rose & Gallup, 1999; 2000; 2003; 2005; 2006; 2007).

This apprehension is multi-faceted and includes concerns about safety and student learning as well as bias and discrimination towards marginalized groups. When schools fail to address both discrimination and safety concerns, it can result in student perceptions of injustice as well as parental dissatisfaction.

Discipline is often defined as the degree of order and structure a school maintains to ensure student learning (Mukuria, 2002). However, school disciplinary actions go far beyond order and structure. They incorporate educators' constructions of right and wrong (Gable, Hester, Hester, Hendrickson, & Sze, 2005), students' perceptions of appropriate behavior (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008), and the response of social institutions to the need to teach students pro-social behaviors. How effectively a school manages discipline impacts the pool of teachers that are available for hire, the retention of staff, the ability of all students to achieve academic standards and the overall climate of the school (Mukuria, 2002). Current disciplinary policies place teachers with the solitary responsibility of maintaining control within their classrooms. When teachers fail to maintain control, the disruptive student is referred to the office. The most common consequence for an office referral is suspension. However, suspension has proven to be ineffective in deterring problem behavior or creating a safe and positive school climate (Skiba & Sprague, 2008).

The failure of current disciplinary policies has led to the increasing implementation of PBIS. PBIS, a whole-school prevention based behavior management plan, focuses on breaking up the contingencies that maintain student antisocial behavior

(Sugai & Horner, 2002). It includes three tiers of interventions focused on different levels of student behavior management. The primary or universal tier encompasses the whole school in teaching pro-social behaviors. The second tier focuses on small groups of students who have failed to respond to the pro-social incentives of the primary tier. The tertiary tier involves individual interventions for students who exhibit chronic behavior problems (Sugai & Horner, 2006; 2008; Bradshaw, Reinke, Brown, Bevans, Leaf, 2008). PBIS purports that school wide systems are more efficient, and that current reactive and punitive practices alienate the children with the least social competencies causing an increase in inappropriate behavior (Gable et al., 2005). PBIS teaches pro-social behaviors and requires educators to reinforce positive behaviors while reprimanding negative. It offers schools a plan for creating and sustaining a positive school climate while helping those students with limited social competency gain necessary skills.

Yet, questions remain about the use of PBIS with students from outside the dominant American culture. With the population of Spanish speaking students growing three times faster than national school growth (Waters, 2007; National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, 2002), it is unclear whether PBIS will show similar positive results with this population. The literature reviewing how non-native speakers perceive American schools and American disciplinary practices in general is inconsistent at best, with no literature available on how these students perceive PBIS.

Potential issues may also arise from the shift in demographics of the student population, without a similar shift in the teaching population. Caucasian teachers from

the dominant American culture populate the majority of American schools. This disparity between student and teacher populations can lead to tensions, disconnect and cultural mismatches when it comes to disciplinary practices. For more than 25 years, studies have shown that disciplinary consequences are applied inconsistently and discriminatorily to minority students (Mukuria, 2002; Skiba, Michael, Nardo & Peterson, 2002; Skiba &Peterson, 2003; Skiba & Sprague, 2008). Not surprisingly, students from minority groups are aware of this bias and react to it in various ways. Many view it as intentional and deliberate and resist its imposition upon their actions. Some minority students view all discipline as imposed by the dominant culture and believe that integration means denying the culture and values of home. Students from minority cultures perceive events differently from their dominant culture teachers and may refuse to accept or abide by norms they feel have been determined by authority figures who do not understand or care about them (Mukuria, 2002; Sheets, 2002)

Cultural disparity does not reside solely between students and faculty; it is part of the discipline program as well. PBIS is a program that teaches students appropriate behavior. Who has determined what is appropriate and inappropriate? How were those norms established? It is possible that PBIS unintentionally assumes whiteness or white behavior as the norm (Dutro, Kazemi, Balf, & Lin, 2008), creating a cultural mismatch and opportunities for bias against students from different cultures. This leaves those whose values and experiences exist outside of the program norms with a difficult choice: assimilate and lose a part of their identity or resist and lose access to education.

Purpose of the Study

The complications that arise when discipline and culture intersect are numerous. There is a possibility that Hispanic non-native speakers will perceive the purpose of PBIS differently than intended by the program's developers. Additionally, the use of primarily Caucasian teachers in the implementation and daily operation of the program can create the tensions noted previously. This study intends to evaluate the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers within a PBIS program in order to illuminate potential barriers for implementing the program in schools with large populations of Hispanic non-native speakers.

There is significant literature that indicates a difference in how minority students perceive discipline versus teachers. Through a series of semi-formal interviews, I intend to look at the perceptions of Hispanic non-native speakers on school disciplinary practices under PBIS. It will be of interest to determine whether students feel the program is equitable in its administration, whether the value-based instruction is in alignment with their home cultures, and how they perceive compliance with the system. In addition,the researcherwill look at the perceptions of the teachers who implement PBIS. It will be informative to talk to teachers who are in the regular education areas (who teach both native and non-native speakers) as well as with those who work primarily with English Language Learners in order to contrast their understandings of the program.

This study will make several comparisons in order to understand how PBIS works with this minority population. The researcher will compare the experience of the study's Hispanic non-native speaking students against the current literature on cultural theory and resistance theory. This will provide valuable information because of the evidence that indicates African American students perceive discipline (not PBIS specifically) in ways which align with cultural and resistance theories. The research on other minority groups is inconclusive and limited. This study will add to the literature on Hispanic/Latino non-native speakers' perceptions of the PBIS program in relation to cultural and resistance theories. Furthermore, it may illuminate how the values taught through PBIS are viewed as universally true, disguising the advantages within the system for members of the dominant group (Robbins, 2007). This study will also compare how dominant culture teachers perceive the values taught through the PBIS program with the perceptions of Hispanic non-native speaking students' in order to expose potential tensions that may be an impediment to success. Finally, this study will compare the home disciplinary values of Hispanic non-native speakers with their perception of the disciplinary values taught through PBIS. There are assumptions among the dominant white community in America that the values held by the white middle class are the norm with all other value systems viewed as inferior (Rodriguez, 2000). These assumptions create impossible standards for students from other cultures. This comparison will illuminate potential obstacles that this program may face for long-term success.

Research Questions

- Research Question 1: What issues impact the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers under a PBIS program? (I.e. resistance, cultural mismatch)
- Research Question 2: How does the perception of the Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports program differ between Hispanic non-native speaking students versus dominant culture teachers?
- Research Question 3: Do Hispanic non-native speakers understand and accept the values taught through the program?

Conceptual Framework

Based upon the understanding of cultural and resistance theory and influenced by the literature on school discipline and marginalized groups, there are several themes that may appear through the course of this research. One theme, substantiated by the literature, is that minority students receive unfair treatment with regard to school discipline due to a predominantly white teaching staff. Though there is no literature on this theme as it relates to PBIS, looking at how other discipline systems affect minority students may predict how minority students fare under PBIS. A second theme is the tensions that arise from a change in student demographics to a more diverse and multilingual population, which has not been matched by a change in teacher demographics. A third theme is how student's perspectives on PBIS and its delivery to students will differ from the teachers' perspectives who implement the program. Finally, this study may reveal that the values taught through PBIS will reflect the dominant culture norms of the teaching staff, which may create tensions with the Hispanic student

population. To discuss how these themes relate to PBIS, it is necessary to outline the basic tenets of PBIS and its methods of implementation.

Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports

Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS) is a "structure and process that organizes, implements, and evaluates multiple initiatives that are related to social behavior improvements" (Barrett, Bradshaw, & Lewis-Palmer, 2008, p.106). As previously noted, exclusionary methods of discipline have not successfully promoted pro-social behaviors and often contribute to the frequency and severity of problem behaviors (Safran & Oswald, 2003). Due to the deficiencies of reactionary discipline programs, PBIS has gained support and seen greater inclusion in public schools over the past decade. To effectively analyze PBIS, it is necessary to outline the background and development of Positive Behavior Support systems, the structure and major components of PBIS specifically, and review reports that detail its success in various settings.

The Development of PBIS

PBIS has its foundations in the field of applied behavior analysis and is designed to create a positive school environment through proactive behavior policies (Safran & Oswald, 2003). It was designed with an understanding that all students need some instruction in social competencies and that social skills can be taught in the same fashion as academics. PBIS supporters believe that along with prevention, instruction is the key to effective behavior management (Skiba & Peterson, 2003). The literature describes three essential components of effective behavior management at the whole school level: (1) verbal explanations of behavioral expectations that are reiterated at regular intervals

throughout the school year and visibly posted around the school, (2) classroom, school and other rules that are explicit, positively framed and defined by a common language used by staff and students in all settings, and (3) responses by teachers and staff to both positive and negative behaviors (Skiba & Peterson, 2003; Skiba & Sprague, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002; Warren et al., 2006). The philosophy behind PBIS holds that when educators fail to provide positive reinforcement for appropriate behavior as or more often than negative, they will continue to see negative behavior (Sugai & Horner, 2002). There have been several models of positive behavior supports designed to increase a school's capacity for sustaining innovative approaches to discipline including Effective Behavior Support and the Safe and Responsible Schools program. The research and development done within these and other similar programs led to the clearly defined approach that is PBIS (Skiba & Peterson, 2003).

Describing and Defining PBIS

PBIS is a multi-tiered system that provides three levels of support for creating a positive school environment. The three tiers are designed to teach appropriate behaviors at the universal whole-school level, to small groups of students identified with particular behavior modification needs (truancy, tardiness), and to individuals with more severe needs including but not limited to students with diagnosed emotional and behavioral disorders (Barrett et al., 2008; Bradshaw et al., 2008; George, Harrower & Knoster, 2003; Safran & Oswald, 2003; Sugai & Horner, 2002). The three primary levels of support include developing classroom rules and expectations, addressing non-classroom areas, and maintaining universal expectations for behavior (Safran & Oswald, 2003; Sugai &

Horner, 2002). For all levels and support areas, the emphasis is on a data driven approach to teaching pro-social behaviors to all students. The universal tier includes the entire student body, while the universal supports include training all teachers to manage behavior effectively and positively in the classroom, and the creation of a whole-school rewards program to encourage positive behaviors (Safran & Oswald, 2003). All other interventions are determined by collaborative groups of teachers and faculty with decisions based on evidence collected through office discipline referrals (ODR), teacher and staff input and direct observation (often done by researchers helping with implementation) (Barrett et al., 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002; Warren et al., 2006).

Implementation of PBIS follows six steps (1) the creation of collaborative teams of teachers, administrators and (sometimes) parents to define desired outcomes for student and staff behavior (2) acceptance among the staff to adopt the program, often negotiated at 80% (3) the use of data to determine necessary areas for intervention (4) planning of interventions that are based in behavioral science theories and are empirically validated, (5) the implementation of a system level change (from school to district) and (6) the monitoring and evaluation of the program at regular intervals in order to make adjustments and modifications as necessary (George, Harrower & Knoster, 2003; Sugai & Horner, 2002; Warren et al., 2006). At some schools, connections are also made to additional resource providers like counseling and mental health services, though this was not documented consistently throughout the literature (Warren et. al, 2006).

Minority Students Experience In American Disciplinary Policies

Over the past 25 years, there have been several studies that indicate a level of bias towards minority students in school punishment (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008; Mukuria, 2002; Noguera, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba & Peterson, 2003; Skiba & Sprague, 2008). Minority students are disproportionately represented in suspension and expulsions as well as office disciplinary referrals even after holding for socioeconomic status (Skiba & Peterson, 2003). This disproportion occurs in part because discipline practices are applied inconsistently and are often based on subjective criteria (Skiba et al., 2002) that increase the frequency of punishment for marginalized groups that do not abide by dominant culture norms. A seminal study by Skiba, Michael, Nardo and Peterson found that many of the hypothesized contributors to racial bias in discipline (variations in statistical methodology, socioeconomic status, and disproportionate rates of misbehavior) did not explain the overrepresentation of minority students (2002). Though the studies on Latino and Hispanic students have a greater rate of variability than those done of African American students, it is possible that PBIS creates a similar disproportion for Hispanic students.

The Values of PBIS

One of the key elements of PBIS is defining the desired outcomes for student behavior by the PBIS team (Sugai & Horner, 2002). The team, made up primarily of teachers, administrators and other school staff[1], determine these outcomes and design the

[1] Though the program encourages the inclusion of parents onto the team, most of the studies state a need to improve relations with families and incorporate them more in the

three tiers of support around those desired behaviors (Warren et al., 2006). In a school where the staff and the students come from the same culture the desired outcomes by the staff will be understood and accepted by the students and their families. However, in most urban settings, the staff are members of the dominant culture, while the students are from a minority culture. Cultural theory indicates that in this situation the dominant culture teachers, who hold power over the minority students, may be defining these desired outcomes in ways that advantage white students and disadvantage all others. The values taught through PBIS may assume "whiteness" as the norm against which the students' behaviors are measured (Dutro et al., 2008).

Minority Populations versus the Dominant Culture Teaching Core

The implementation of PBIS illuminates tensions between dominant culture teachers and minority students. Beyond the theme of teaching alternate values through PBIS lies a theme of existing tensions between dominant culture teachers and minority students. In many urban school settings, there is evidence that teachers are having trouble relating to an increasingly diverse student population (Gable, 2005). Add to this the increased alienation of students when discipline appears to be administered unfairly, and resistant behavior should not be a surprise (Sheets, 2002). Resistance theory applies in this situation when students operationalize their opposition to the school through a variety of methods, including forms of dress, truancy and work avoidance (Willis, 1977).

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design process. This indicates that the PBIS team frequently does not include individuals from outside the school.

Discipline from the Teacher and the Student Perspective

One possible theme that may arise in this study is the differences in teacher and students' perceptions of discipline. While teachers perceive that disciplinary problems reside within individual students, students see the problem to be in the teacher's reaction to a behavior event (Sheets, 2002). With the added tension between dominant culture teachers and minority students, this mismatch in perception is magnified.

Teachers reflect the norms associated with the dominant culture (Sheets, 2002). When minority students behave in ways that fall outside of those norms teachers react in order to reduce or remove the aberrant behavior. Teachers are predisposed to view minority students as having more negative attitudes than their white peers (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008). This results in a disproportionate number of disciplinary actions for minority students. Since teachers believe (despite evidence to the contrary) that the removal of disruptive students will keep them away from the good students and increase classroom productivity (Noguera, 2003), removal is the most common form of disciplinary action.

Students perceive this process differently, with perceptions of unfairness highest among those groups of students who are most likely to be punished (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008). Students note that disruptive behavior is blamed on the "usual suspects" first, regardless of which student actually caused the disruption (Turner, 2003). Students view behavioral issues as individual events that should be punished independently of other infractions. When teachers look at a student's cumulative record after an incident, students perceive this as teachers creating a case to make the desired punishment justified

(Sheets, 2002). It will be interesting to see if PBIS, with its focus on prevention and non-removal, reduces students' perceptions of unfairness in school discipline or creates a larger divide because of the dominant culture values that are implied in the program.

Significance of the Study

The study of non-native speakers in a PBIS disciplinary system is significant for the field of education and implementers of PBIS. While the literature on PBIS and its effectiveness is growing, there is no evidence that this program has similar effects with students who come from outside the dominant American culture. PBIS is based on teaching predetermined pro-social behaviors in a system structure; this indicates the need to examine tensions that may derail the previously noted positive effects of PBIS. As PBIS becomes accepted and widely used throughout the nation, the knowledge that can be gained from looking at how Hispanic non-native speakers work within the PBIS system will add significant new understanding of PBIS. This will help schools with large populations of English Language Learners (ELL) and Hispanic students determine whether this program is an appropriate tool for their school or district.

With 20% of the nations children speaking a language other than English at home and ELL students as the fastest growing school age population (National Clearinghouse for English Language Acquisition, 2002), how these students fare in our schools both socially and academically is significant. Many students have behavior issues at school; however, those from marginalized groups often incur more frequent and more severe punishment due to the cultural mismatch between teachers and students (Gable et al., 2005; Dutro et al., 2008). The potential for misunderstanding is increasing because of a

significant increase in minority student populations that has not been matched by an increase in the number of minority educators (Profiled and Punished, 2002). By increasing the body of knowledge on how non-native speakers understand PBIS, schools that use PBIS will be better equipped to create positive learning environments for different cultural groups of students.

There is no literature that examines how minority students fare under PBIS. Yet, there is a significant body of literature that indicates the disparate treatment minority populations receive under most disciplinary systems (Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba & Sprague, 2008; Skiba & Peterson, 2003). Due to this history of discriminatory practice, it is necessary to determine if PBIS represents a behavior management system that alleviates or exacerbates these issues. Though this study will narrow its view to the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers under PBIS, it may indicate a need to look more closely at how all minority groups fare under a system that is gaining popularity across the nation.

Unlike traditional disciplinary methods, PBIS relies on the direct instruction of pro-social behaviors. As the majority of educators come from the dominant culture, they may unintentionally create a set of values that reflect dominant culture norms. For some students this may create a cultural mismatch. Values in one culture may be represented differently in another. With students in a less powerful position than teachers, this may create misunderstandings that lead to a larger number of referrals for students from outside the dominant culture. For other non-native students, accepting the value-based

rules taught through PBIS may represent a rejection of the home culture causing disconnect and resistance by students from the non-dominant culture, again leading to a disproportionate amount of office referrals. One benefit of the PBIS is the amount of flexibility present in the specific interventions. Each school creates its own interventions for each implementation tier and determines the school's important values. This flexibility may allow for differences in the student population of each school. Yet, the preponderance of dominant culture teachers in every school (regardless of student population) may perpetuate disparity in the development of culturally appropriate rules.

This study is significant because of the popularity and wide scale acceptance of the PBIS program. More districts and schools are adopting this program including those districts with an increasing number of Hispanic non-native speakers. PBIS has already been adopted statewide in Maryland, which includes several districts with significant populations of non-native speakers. Though early research efforts indicate the program is successful, none of those studies disaggregated their data to look at how different sub-groups faired under the program (Barrett, Bradshaw, & Lewis-Palmer, 2008; Bradshaw et al., 2008). PBIS has been cited as a successful behavior management plan in both No Child Left Behind Act and the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act. Both pieces of legislation are directly tied to the amount of funding state and school districts receive. Districts that choose to implement programs cited in NCLB and IDEA (such as PBIS) are more likely to gain federal funding, making the programs within these pieces of legislation highly desirable for schools and districts. Therefore, as both pieces of legislation are extremely influential determining factors for implementing new programs,

understanding the effect of PBIS on a fast growing population in public schools is imperative.

Methodology

The main research question includes the examination of how the perceptions of Hispanic non-native speakers toward PBIS correspond to the perspectives of the dominant teachers who implement the program. Due to the experiential nature of the question, the researcher will use a qualitative phenomenological study. A phenomenological study looks for meaning within an event or phenomena with the purpose of understanding the lived human experience (Crist & Tanner, 2003).

It is difficult to understand how different people perceive different events or programs; the nature of this understanding lends itself to a qualitative phenomenological study. The researcher will interview five students and five teachers about their knowledge and understanding of the PBIS program. The sample of students will be drawn from those who have graduated from Limited English Proficiency (LEP) status for 3-5 years and have received an average number of disciplinary referrals. The first criterion for inclusion in the sample indicates the students will have knowledge of both their own home culture and the dominant culture as they have encountered it during their time in the United States. It will also be possible to conduct the interviews in English. This is important as the researcher does not speak Spanish, and using a translator may result in less valid findings. The second criterion ensures that the students have been exposed to both the universal and the secondary tier interventions (for students who do

not respond to universal interventions) and that these students will be familiar with disciplinary consequences. The teachers for the study will be recruited on a volunteer basis. The sample of teachers will be drawn from both regular education and English Language Instruction.

The sample of teachers and students will be recruited from the Robert Gould Shaw [2]middle school in the post-industrial, economically depressed town of Leekslip, MA in New England. The current population (approximately 72,000) is 60% Hispanic/Latino and has a median household income of approximately $28,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

The data will be analyzed looking for themes that can be generalized to relevant theory. To analyze the data, the researcher will transcribe the interview data and use a coding process to identify relevant themes. In addition, other researchers will look at samples from the data to help determine if the previously found themes are valid. Though some of the themes may be drawn from the literature on cultural and resistance theory, the reseacher will also look for additional themes that data exposes.

Limitations

There are several limitations for this study including the small sample size of the study, the use of purposeful sampling in selection, the large percentage of Hispanic students at the research site, and the potential for researcher bias.

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[2] All names have been changed for the purpose confidentiality.

The small size of the sample is one limitation for this study. By limiting the number of students and teachers to five and four respectively, the researcher is limiting the scope of the study. It is possible that the particular students and teachers chosen will not reflect the views of the staff or student populations, limiting the ability of this study to reflect the overall experience of the staff and student populations.

The use of purposeful sampling presents similar limitations to those above. There is a chance that the data will reflect a particular perspective that is not indicative of the school as a whole and only applies to the individuals chosen for the student sample. A similar concern may be reflected in the teachers who choose to participate; they may not be reflective of the staff as a whole. It is also important to note that persons labeled as Hispanic by the school do not represent a homogenous group with one set of values and beliefs. Therefore, generalizations should not be made across cultural groups, as there may be significant within group differences.

Another limitation is the over-representation of Hispanic students in the school's population. Since this is not representative of the majority of public schools, it could create a skew in the data. Additionally, the experience of Hispanic students in a school where they are not a minority population may alter expected outcomes and be significantly different from what may be experienced by students in a school with a more diverse population. However, the fact that the majority of the teaching staff is from the dominant American culture creates a need for the study as it relates to the research question.

One limitation of all studies is researcher bias. The researcher's beliefs in the inherent bias of disciplinary systems may influence the perceptions of the students' and teachers' experience with PBIS. Additionally the researcher's previous relationship with the school (as a principal practicum site) may influence the level of trust with the students and their willingness to answer truthfully and may bias the researcher's perceptions of the teachers' response because of the prior relationship with the faculty. The researcher's prior relationship with the staff created the need for an additional criterion for selecting the teachers for the study. Part of the criteria includes choosing teachers that had minimal or no contact with the researcher during the previous year.

Definition of Terms

Positive Behavior Interventions and Support (PBIS): For the study, this term is inclusive of all school wide disciplinary programs that use a three-tiered (universal, small group targeted, individual interventions) model of behavior support that focuses on preventive rather than reactionary methods of behavior management. Other terms that are synonymous with PBIS in the literature are Positive Behavior Supports[3] (PBS), and Emotional Behavior Supports (EBS).

*Disruptive Behavior***:** Classroom or common area behavior that is "visible, public … and perceived and judged by the teacher as competing" (Sheets, 1995, p.7) with the desired academic or social activity.

[3] Though it should be noted that Positive Behavior Supports used in psychology fields employ similar tactics but are aimed at individuals not groups.

Hispanic: This term is defined by the U.S. Census Bureau as "people who classify themselves in one of the specific Spanish, Hispanic, Latino categories listed on the Census 2000 questionnaire" (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000). This includes a wide range of Spanish speaking populations from Puerto Rico, Central and South America, Spain and other Spanish speaking countries.

Non-native speakers: Students who speak a second language at home and who have their primary fluency in that language. For the purpose of this study, non-native speakers are categorized as those students who graduated from Limited English Proficiency (LEP) status in the past 3-5 years.

Limited English Proficiency: Students who do not speak English as their primary language and are limited in their ability to read, write, speak, and understand English. (LEP Interagency, 2008)

English Language Learners: Term for non-native speakers who are currently learning English. It includes both LEP and more advanced learners. (LEP Interagency, 2008)

Behavior supports: Strategies employed by teachers, administrators and mental health workers designed to increase students' pro-social behaviors while decreasing inappropriate behaviors. These strategies may be designed for groups or individuals.

Regular Education Teachers: Teachers who work with the majority student populations. Their classes may include students with special needs and ELL students but the position requires no specialized certification in those areas.

English as a Second Language staff: Staff that is specifically trained and certified to work with ELL students. They may pull students out of class for direct instruction or support them in the classroom. At times, ESL teachers work with regular education teachers in a co-teaching model.

Exclusionary practices: For this study, this term indicates any disciplinary practice that requires a student be removed from the classroom. This includes out-of-class time outs, Office Disciplinary Referrals, suspensions, and expulsions.

Office Disciplinary Referrals (ODR): This term indicates when a student is referred to the office for disciplinary action due to violation of classroom rules. An ODR is usually written by a classroom teacher and includes a summary of the event and proposed consequence. The administrator completes the process by determining the final consequence for the misbehavior indicated.

Whole-School Discipline: There is a difference between whole school discipline versus classroom management strategies that are conducted solely by the classroom teacher within the confines of the classroom. Whole-school discipline involves any infractions whose punishments fall outside the purview of the classroom teacher. This may include weapons violations, fights, swearing, or recurrent inappropriate behavior. Whole school discipline occurs when the student in question is sent from the classroom with an Office

Disciplinary Referral (ODR) and recourse occurs from the administration. Though PBIS incorporates all discipline issues (including classroom management) into the program, recorded behavior issues are limited to those that result in an ODR.

Overview

Chapter One of this dissertation contained an introduction to the problem as well as a rationale for the purpose of this study. It provided a brief outline of the methodological design and the significance of the research problem. It also provided a brief review of the literature outlining the conceptual rationale for this study.

Chapter Two presented a review of the relevant literature which included a brief history of disciplinary practices leading to the most current practices in schools, an outline of PBIS, its tenets and basic principals as well as the current level of success. The literature review also included the relevant literature on cultural theory and the experience of minority students with public school discipline and discussed how mismatches in teacher and student cultures can lead to resistance and bias in disciplinary application.

Chapter Three outlined the methodologies used in this study. It restated the research questions and the design of the qualitative phenomenological study. It provided a detailed description of phenomenology and how this methodology fits with the current study. It outlined the sample and sampling techniques as well as the data analysis process of the study. It described the use of individual interviews, focus group interviews, observations, and document analysis aimed at discovering the lived experience of non-

native speaking Hispanic students in a PBIS school. It also outlined the analysis process that maintains the philosophical aspects of a phenomenological study.

Chapter Four discussed findings of the data. It used the framework of the phenomenological life worlds to present essential and subset themes. Chapter Five summarized the findings and discussed how they related to the research questions, the themes in Chapter One, and the literature in Chapter Two. The chapter concluded with recommendations for future research as well as for policy and practice.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

Gallop polls over the past thirty years have shown that discipline is consistently one of the top concerns in public education (Irvin, 1997; Rose & Gallup, 1999, 2000; 2003; 2005; 2006). School discipline involves any and all procedures and interventions that create a learning atmosphere that is safe and conducive to student achievement. "Discipline is teaching children how to make better choices about their behavior... to be responsible… to think for themselves…that they have the power to choose how they behave" (Severe, 1999, p.15). Though there have been several high profile events that garnered significant media attention, the real issues lie in the day-to-day operations of our public schools. The need for an effective and efficient discipline system has created an industry of disciplinary programs, including the system under review in this study, Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS). To outline the need for the current study, this review will provide a brief history of American disciplinary systems to show why the PBIS program was developed. Further, it will include a detailed description of the PBIS program, including analysis of relevant studies that indicate the degree of success the program has found thus far. Finally, this literature review will analyze the current state of minorities in discipline: their historical overrepresentation, the issues of cultural mismatch that are growing with an increasingly diverse population, and the effects of biased discipline systems on the educational attainment of student from minority populations.

I will not be discussing any connection between discipline and school violence. After several high profile events (at Columbine High School and others located in the Northwest) several studies were conducted to determine connections between school discipline and school violence. Despite an increase in adolescent violence and an escalation in concerns about violence (by teachers and administrators), there is no evidence supporting an increase in the number of occurrences of school violence (Metzler, Biglan, Rusby, & Sprague, 2001). In fact, the majority of discipline problems involve non-violent interactions (Costenbader & Markson, 1998).

History of Discipline

Conceptions of effective school discipline in the early twentieth century stipulated that any disciplinary act at school should be made with the objectivity that is associated with judges and courts of law (Bagley, 1914). The notion of discipline being done in a calm, objective manner became an underlying design element for all subsequent discipline plans.

Corporal Punishment

Corporal punishment is the use of physical coercion to discourage inappropriate behaviors (Bagley, 1914). Used consistently during the early part of the twentieth century, the use of corporal punishment has diminished considerably as it has found to be cruel and ineffective. Currently, 28 states have a ban against corporal punishment and nine others have district level bans that cover the majority of the state (Palmer, 2005). Due to the lack of relevance and legal prohibition, no further discussion of corporal

punishment is pertinent. As corporal punishment lost its place in school discipline, a new punitive measure gained significance. The use of exclusionary measures (school suspension and expulsion) was seen as the future of educational discipline.

Suspension

Suspension is a widely used practice for deterring problem behaviors in schools. Suspension is used as a "consequence of a student's inappropriate behavior, [it] requires that a student absent him/herself from the classroom or from the school for a specified period of time" (Costenbader & Markson, 1998, p. 59). Over the past decade, many studies have been conducted on the effectiveness of both in-school and out-of-school suspensions.

A study conducted by Costenbader and Markson surveyed 750 students in four separate school settings. The students answered questions pertaining to their own experience as it related to suspension. Data was collected using a random-sample of 150 students. Forty-one percent of the respondents reported that they had been suspended at some point in their educational history. Of that group, 68% reported that they did not find suspension helpful in reducing problem behaviors (1998). A second study, done by Morgan-D'Atrio, Northup, LaFleur and Spera (1996) found similar results in the effectiveness of school discipline policies that included suspension. This study focused on the inconsistent application of the policy. The researchers found that 45% of disciplinary actions did not follow the written school policy and 20% of suspensions violated the policy (Morgan-D'Atrio et al., 1996).

The Morgan-D'Atrio study found that suspension only works for students who wish to be in the school setting. For example, suspension is counterintuitive as a program to reinforce attendance or to reduce tardiness or class skipping. Furthermore, the results showed that suspension does not effectively reduce behavior problems or deter recurrent offenders (Morgan-D'Atrio et al., 1996). The limitations of this study were the lack of program fidelity, inconsistent application, and the use of student self-report.

The ineffectiveness of out-of-school suspension has led to an increase in the use of in-school suspension. Robert Morris and Angela Howard in, "Designing an Effective In-School Suspension Program" (2003), examined four popular models of in-school suspension. During an in-school suspension (ISS) students remain in school but out of the classroom for a predetermined amount of time (3-5 days on average) while they continue to receive academic work, sent by their regular classroom teacher (Morris & Howard, 2003). The four categories of ISS programs Morris & Howard (2003) reviewed are punitive, academic, therapeutic, and a combination of academic and therapeutic. In the punitive model, the premise is that the child wishes to disrupt the classroom and through his/her removal the behavior will be eliminated. The academic model is founded on the idea that students who cause disruption do so because they are experiencing learning difficulties. If those difficulties are addressed, the misbehavior will cease. In the therapeutic model, students are taught problem solving skills to prevent the recurrence of misbehaviors (Morris & Howard, 2003). The combination model promotes the idea that each situation of misbehavior is different and should be assessed individually (Morris & Howard, 2003). The study indicated varying degrees of success

with ISS programs. ISS programs that did not include some form of counseling showed minimal success and in some cases failed (Morris & Howard, 2003). When the program included a counseling element that promoted positive adult relationships and sensitivity to students' feelings along with a sense of control for the student, ISS was more successful (Morris & Howard, 2003).

As suspension programs became more prevalent, a discipline program arose that incorporated both in and out-of school suspension policies, but added a high-stakes element: zero-tolerance.

Zero-Tolerance

In a zero-tolerance program all offenses are punished with equal severity, with no consideration of the seriousness of the crime (Skiba & Peterson, 1999). Zero-tolerance policies did not begin as school discipline, but as an anti-drug policy designed for U.S and State officials. As the policy lost attractiveness with the government, it gained popularity as a school discipline policy, initially aimed at reducing violence in schools (Skiba & Peterson, 1999). Zero-tolerance policies called for the suspension or expulsion of students who violated school policies. Though intended for use against more serious offenses (gang-related activities, drugs, violence), it was later adopted "as a way to take action against students who caused school disruption" (Skiba & Peterson, 1999, p.372).

As stated earlier, recent studies have not found any significant increase in violent behaviors in schools, making zero-tolerance policies ineffective and unnecessary. Furthermore, because there was no outside pressure for accountability for zero-tolerance

programs, the effectiveness was unknown before or during the early stages of implementation (Skiba & Peterson, 1999). Subsequently, there is no evidence that supports the idea that a zero-tolerance policy lowers school violence or is effective at reducing problem behaviors (Skiba & Peterson, 1999). The exclusionary practice of zero-tolerance enhances the problems (greater drop-out rates, low academic achievement and recurrence of problem behaviors) and mimics the same ineffectiveness as school suspension (Costenbader & Markson, 1998; Skiba & Peterson, 1999).

While some schools were implementing zero-tolerance policies, other districts developed or implemented comprehensive school-wide discipline programs focused on behavior modification and social competency. The focus on social competency has led to the development of a new style of school discipline, Effective/Positive Behavior Supports.

Effective/Positive Behavior Support

The Effective Behavior Support (EBS) or Positive Behavior Support (PBS) models of discipline are precursors to the PBIS program being used at the school in the current study. An EBS or PBS program included: (1) teaching students appropriate social behaviors, (2) positive reinforcement by staff members of appropriate behaviors, (3) a limited number of rules that are clearly defined for staff and students, (4) consequences for misbehavior that are consistent and fair and (5) constant monitoring and data collection about student behaviors in order to reevaluate the plan (Metzler et al., 2001; Nelson, Martella, & Marchand-Martella, 2002; Newcomer, Lewis, & Powers, 2002).

The only difference between a PBS and an EBS is the inclusion of a Statement of Purpose by the school leadership that incorporates the goals of the PBS (Newcomer, Lewis, & Powers, 2002).

Three studies conducted on the effectiveness of PBS and EBS programs collected data from multiple school communities with similar demographics (Metzler et al., 2001; Nelson, Martella, & Marchand-Martella, 2002; Newcomer, Lewis, & Powers, 2002). The data for the EBS study, in the form of surveys, were collected by the research staff during an intervention implementation (Metzler et al., 2001). In the study by Nelson, Martella, & Marchand-Martella (2002), seven elementary schools participated and data were collected on EBS through academic assessment scores, disciplinary records and Student Safety Surveys. In the Newcomer, Lewis, and Powers study (2002) the data for PBS were collected on a larger scale. The Office of Special Education Programs Center on Positive Behavioral Interventions and Support collected data from 500 schools in the U.S. who use PBS programs.

All three studies indicated positive effects on school discipline. For the two EBS studies, the positive effects were greater during the implementation year when extra support was available to the schools (Metzler et al., 2001; Nelson, Martella, & Marchand-Martella, 2002; Newcomer, Lewis, & Powers, 2002). In both the EBS and PBS studies, the number of disciplinary referrals declined and the number of students who reported receiving praise increased. Some concerns with the EBS program included a lack of capacity for schools to maintain all aspects of the program once the extra support from

the research teams was removed. For all three studies, long-term stability of the intervention was not determined and the programs were less effective when there was uneven staff support (Metzler et al., 2001; Nelson, Martella, & Marchand-Martella, 2002; Newcomer, Lewis, & Palmer, 2002).

The limited success of EBS and PBS led to a more fully developed program, Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports that incorporates similar strategies and interventions.

The Development of PBIS

PBIS was developed from behavior modification concepts like Effective Behavior Supports and Positive Behavior Supports. These new adaptive behavior disciplinary systems were created because of the inability of traditional discipline systems to meet the needs of parents, teachers and administrators. Previous methods (such as exclusion, suspension and zero-tolerance) had proven ineffective in reducing problem behaviors or improving school climate (Sugai & Horner, 2002). PBIS provides an alternative approach to school discipline that is based in functional and behavioral science.

The Need for PBIS

As with all new discipline systems, PBIS stems from a perceived need to improve the discipline and academic quality of schools. Teachers often cite frustration with school discipline as the number one issue for leaving teaching (Warren et al., 2006). Parents consistently cite safety and school discipline as the most concerning school issue

(Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008). These concerns are legitimate, for when schools cannot establish a positive and safe school culture, academic gains are lost and those students who need the most social, emotional, and educational care may not receive the services they need (Sugai & Horner, 2008). Though many of the discipline programs mentioned previously are still in effect throughout the country, the ineffectiveness of these programs has created a need for a different style of whole-school discipline. Furthermore, the increasing population of students with social-emotional needs (Barrett, Bradshaw, & Lewis-Palmer, 2008), indicates that schools with ineffective discipline policies will only become more ineffective and chaotic over time.

Why Typical Discipline Procedures Fail

Teachers are typically the first to encounter inappropriate student behavior, yet few are trained to recognize and implement appropriate interventions for problem students (Gable et al., 2005). Due to this lack of knowledge, most teachers engage in actions aimed at reducing or eliminating the problem behavior as quickly as possible (Sugai & Horner, 2002). The most common response is for the teacher to remove the problem student, which they believe will improve the safety and climate of the classroom (Noguera, 2003; Gable et al., 2005). Though these reactive procedures are associated with short-term results (Sugai & Horner, 2002), the use of punitive removal tactics alienates students, especially those with the most severe behavior issues. This in turn causes more intense and frequent disruptive behavior (Gable et al., 2005; Safran & Oswald, 2003).

Once removed from the classroom, the student comes under the direction of the administration. The most common form of disciplinary action taken by the office is suspension. Suspension is a reactive practice that has been proven to be ineffective in reducing problem behaviors or improving individual students behavior (Morgan-D'Atrio et al., 1996; Skiba & Sprague, 2008). The underlying problem with suspension is its exclusion of children from the classroom, which means excluding children from learning (Skiba & Sprague, 2008). Excluding students from learning is a dangerous practice as time spent on learning is the best predictor of positive academic outcomes (Skiba & Sprague, 2008). Suspension also decreases a student's ability to create positive connections at the school; studies have shown that schools that foster high levels of school engagement have lower levels of inappropriate behavior (Eamon & Altshuler, 2004).

Inconsistent application is another problem with traditional disciplinary systems. Suspension is often used when an administrator is uncertain about what to do for a student with chronic behavior problems (Skiba & Sprague, 2008) and is often the consequence regardless of what the school discipline policy indicates as the appropriate action. Current disciplinary policies use a method of increasing consequences. The more times a student is sent to the office (regardless of reason), the more severe the punishment. This is thought to teach the student that inappropriate behavior is unacceptable (Sugai & Horner, 2006). Suspension punishes students who cause disciplinary problems without considering what preventive methods may prove more effective (Horner, Todd, Lewis-Palmer, Irvin, Sugai, & Boland, 2004).

A New Style of Discipline

The creators of PBIS, George Sugai and Robert Horner, believed that the answer to ineffective discipline policies is located in applied behavior theory which "emphasizes the lawfulness of behavior, interplay between physiology and environment, and ability to affect behavior through environmental manipulations" (Sugai & Horner, 2006, p.247). Studies have shown that interventions based on applied behavior analysis were consistently more successful than other behavior modification techniques (Gresham, 2004). Sugai and Horner outlined a program that incorporates the entire student body in a three-tiered system similar to those used effectively in other systems-based approaches to education (Gresham, 2004). This system includes teaching students positive patterns of behavior and encouraging students to understand their previous negative behaviors (Walker & Horner, 1996; Weiss & Knoster, 2008). PBIS uses functional behavior assessments (FBA) to identify students who will need personalized interventions in order to be successful. An FBA is a diagnostic tool that collects "information regarding antecedents, behaviors, and consequences to determine the function ("cause" or purpose) of behavior" (Gresham, 2004, p.334). An FBA is considered to be person-centered and able to provide important information that can lead to appropriate behavior correcting interventions (Weiss & Knoster, 2008).

Defining PBIS

The previous section detailed the origins of PBIS, the development of the program due to the needs of schools, and the failure of traditional disciplinary practices.

It also noted how PBIS was based on behavioral analysis and practiced behavior modification used by behavior specialists.

Based on that background, PBIS has a series of tenets that underlie its organization and practices. A brief description of each tenet from Sugai & Horner (2008) follows:

- *Prevention* must be a priority in decreasing the (a) development, (b) future occurrences, and (c) worsening of emotional and behavioral problems.
- Priority must be directed toward *research-based* interventions and practices.
- A *full continuum* of effective, efficient, and relevant academic and behavior interventions and supports is needed to support all students and their families.
- A *comprehensive system* of school-based mental-health must unify and integrate education, public health, child and family welfare, juvenile justice, and mental health.
- *Research-to-practice* must consider the careful transition and adaptation of research-based interventions and practices to real living, teaching, and learning environments.
- Self-assessment, continuous progress monitoring, and systematic *data-based decision making* must guide selection, adoption, adaption, implementation, and evaluation of intervention decisions.

- Research-based practices must be supported directly and formally by establishing *local behavioral capacity* for leadership, coordination, training, evaluation, and political support (p.69).

Prevention

The PBIS program is founded upon the concept of prevention; by anticipating and preventing situations that cause inappropriate behavior, schools can reduce the frequency and intensity of problems (Simonsen, Sugai, &Negron, 2008). In order to change behavior, schools must change the school's environment, recognizing problem areas and practices that lead to inappropriate behavior. Along with a change in environment, the PBIS program believes that direct instruction of appropriate behaviors is also necessary to reduce problem behaviors. To prevent problem behavior through changing environments and teaching appropriate behaviors, PBIS uses a systems based approach that collects and analyzes data for decision-making purposes. Defining problem and appropriate behaviors is not explicitly done by PBIS but by the local school district. This can lead to problems with cultural discrepancies that will be discussed later in this literature review. It is through this process that PBIS expects to change the disciplinary practices and overall culture of schools (Sugai & Horner, 2006).

The goal of a preventive approach is to establish a positive school climate that fosters changing students inappropriate behaviors instead of maintaining a cycle of increased punishment and consequences (Bradshaw et al., 2008; Eber, Lewis-Palmer, & Pacchiano, 2002). The program takes a proactive approach to student behavior in order

to alter situations and provide students with positive approaches to problem solving before the situation escalates (Bradshaw et al., 2008, Safran & Oswald, 2003). Some of the strategies that PBIS employs are changing the environmental factors that maintain antisocial behavior patterns for individuals and groups, increasing the number of opportunities for students to realize academic success, and prioritizing preventive interventions over reactionary punitive measures (Sugai & Horner, 2002).

Environmental Change

One of the most important methods of prevention is changing the environments and practices that help maintain or cause inappropriate behavior. PBIS does not require schools to remove existing structures. Instead, it emphasizes complementing and adjusting the existing structures in order to create more effective school environments (Eber, Lewis-Palmer, & Pacchiano, 2002; Sugai & Horner, 2008; Sugai et al., 2000). An effective school environment is one that promotes pro-social behaviors, minimizes school-wide behavior problems, and focuses on academics more than discipline (Sugai & Horner, 2008). An effective school environment helps build a school's capacity to work with all students while focusing on those students that need the most support. The purpose of changing the school's environment is to eliminate risk factors associated with recurring problem behaviors while creating more opportunities for students' academic success. Changing the environments that create problem behaviors includes: increasing and actively monitoring non-classroom areas, training teachers to have less aggressive responses to inappropriate behavior in the classroom; and training the staff to create an

atmosphere where appropriate behavior is rewarded and acknowledged regularly (Sugai & Horner, 2006; 2008).

Teaching Pro-Social Behaviors

One of the methods that the PBIS program uses to accomplish both preventive based discipline and changes in the environment is teaching all students appropriate pro-social behaviors. PBIS emphasizes the need for direct instruction of appropriate behaviors conducted in a similar manner as academic instruction (Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006; 2008). The instruction focuses on teaching expected behaviors in a variety of settings (hallways, classroom, cafeteria) with consistency throughout the school. This provides students with the procedures for preventing behavior that leads to disciplinary consequences by replacing it with appropriate pro-social behaviors (Oswald, Safran, & Johanson, 2005; Sugai & Horner, 2002, Warren et al., 2006). The program includes creating learning environments where students have the opportunity to practice the desired behaviors and receive positive reinforcement when pro-social behaviors are used (Sugai & Horner, 2006; 2008). This tenet of PBIS is founded in the idea that all students need some amount of instruction in appropriate behavior in social settings (Skiba & Peterson, 2003).

A Systems-Based Approach

PBIS uses a systems-based approach to enact change in schools' disciplinary practices. The program emphasizes the need for teachers and staff members to play prominent roles in all aspects of the program for it to be successful and sustained. The

organization of PBIS is based on the principle of systems-level change that is consistently performed by all. The use of a systems-based approach removes the problem from within the child, placing it in the environment.

PBIS uses a systems based approach to change student and staff behaviors around discipline. A systems-based program's success is based on the capacity of the organization's members to move towards a goal (Sugai & Horner, 2006; 2008). In the case of PBIS, that goal is a reduction in inappropriate student behaviors and an increase in academic achievement (Scott & Barrett, 2004). To foster this increased organizational capacity, PBIS requires significant buy-in from all staff. The belief is that for the PBIS program to be successful a critical mass of faculty and staff must be involved in the design and implementation of the program (George, Harrower, & Knoster, 2003). The PBIS program is not relegated to individual classrooms under the individual direction of teachers. It incorporates all members of the staff from cafeteria workers to the principal. The entire system of the school (and district in some instances) undergoes structural alterations (Sugai & Horner, 2002).

Data-Based Decision Making

The use of data-based decision making is a fundamental element of PBIS. The program requires that the interventions used are research-based programs that have been proven successful (Sugai & Horner, 2002). PBIS uses empirically validated interventions in order to sustain change (Sugai & Horner, 2002). The reliance on empirically validated practices may be one reason that PBIS has been cited as an appropriate intervention in

both the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act and the No Child Left Behind legislation, both of which recommend the use of empirically validated programs.

In addition, PBIS requires the use of local data to decide when interventions are implemented and which are used (Sugai & Horner, 2006). A requirement of the PBIS program is the creation of a leadership team made up of administrators, teachers, and behavior specialists who use the data collected to determine which interventions should be used and which students should be involved in a particular intervention (Safran & Oswald, 2003; Warren et al., 2006). The program recommends the use of Office Disciplinary Referrals (ODR) as a measurement tool for identifying problem behaviors and locations before implementing new strategies (Safran & Oswald, 2003). The use of data-based decision making is done in order to sustain high fidelity implementation of the program. Past educational programs have faltered after initially strong implementation because of a lack of re-evaluation and adaptive changes as the dynamics within the school changed. The use of data driven decision-making by PBIS intends to eliminate or reduce this attrition (Sugai & Horner, 2002, 2006).

The central tenets of PBIS: prevention, environmental change, pro-social instruction, systems-based approach, and data based decision-making provide insight into the beliefs behind the system. The organization and structure of the PBIS program define how the system works within a school or district.

The Structure of PBIS

The organization and structures of PBIS compose a large part of the program itself. The program's use of a three-tiered model designed to change student and staff behaviors is similar to other successful educational programs and is based on a model developed for public health organizations (Horner et al., 2004). Other structural components of PBIS are the creation of a leadership team, the instruction of pro-social behaviors and clearly defined expectations, the use of active supervision in both classroom and non-classroom settings, and a defined continuum of responses for inappropriate student behavior (Sugai & Horner, 2008).

A Universal Approach

As mentioned previously, PBIS uses a systems approach to reduce problem behaviors in school. The program is structured to address problems that arise in the four main areas where school disciplinary action occurs: classroom, non-classroom, school-wide and individual student issues (George, Harrower, & Knoster, 2003; Safran & Oswald, 2003; Sugai & Horner, 2002). Previous disciplinary systems have dealt primarily with classroom disciplinary problems that only become discipline referrals if the teacher is unable to address the situation. However, research has shown that approximately 50% of problem behaviors happen in non-classroom settings (hallways, cafeterias) where the lack of established routines and clear expectations lead to increased problem behaviors with undefined responses for teachers or administrators to take (Safran & Oswald, 2003). PBIS trains staff to implement pre-correction strategies and

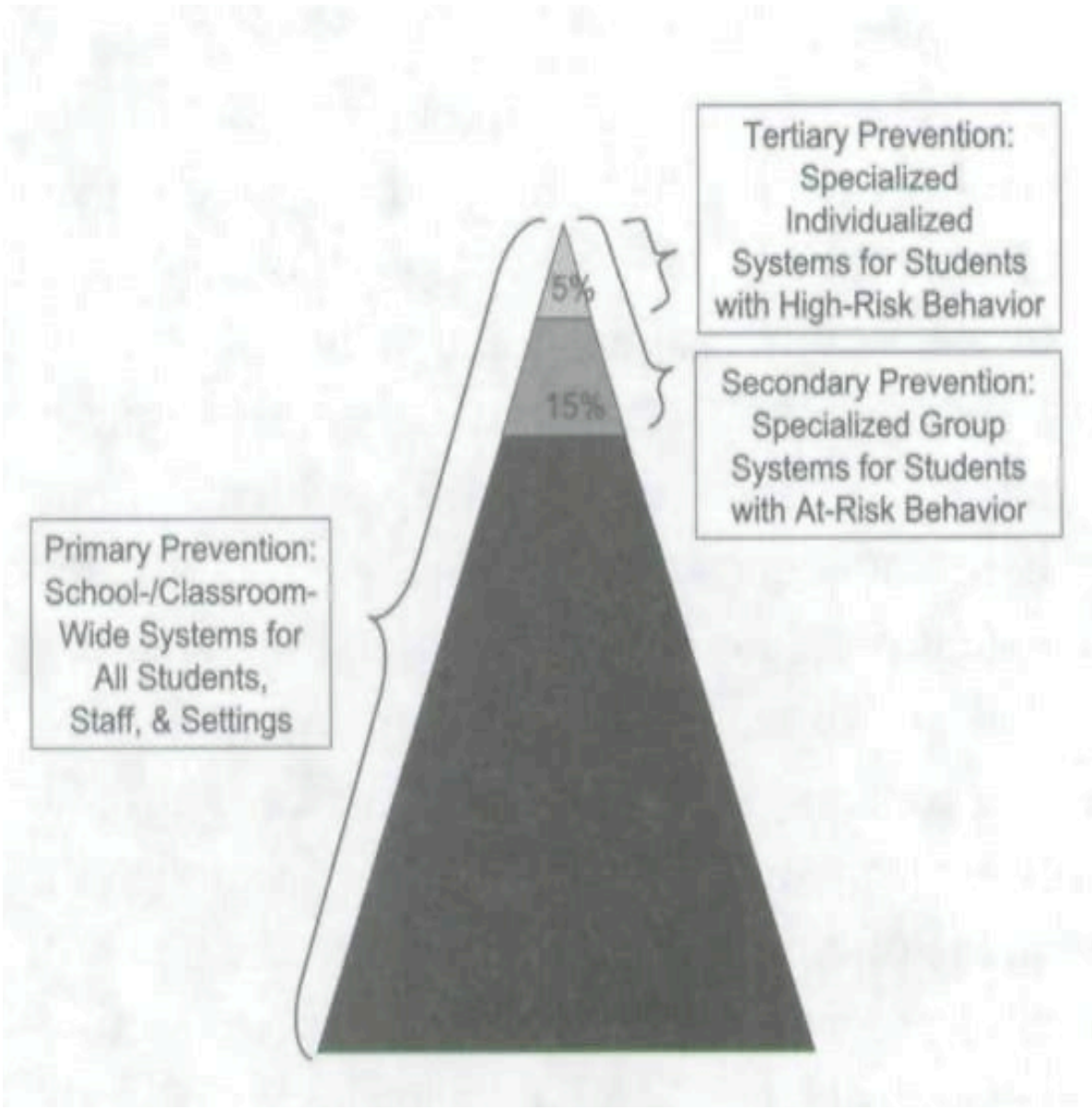
social skills training for all students in order to reduce the potential for problems in non-classroom settings (Safran & Oswald, 2003). One commonly used pre-correction strategy is active supervision where staff prevent inappropriate behavior by moving around and visually scanning the environment (cafeteria, hallway, playground) while interacting with students in a positive manner (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008). These practices are also used in classroom settings along with other interventions. These interventions are focused on the entire student body and work on classroom and non-classroom aspects of school discipline. PBIS also includes a three tiered model of interventions that deal with both individual and groups in terms of increasing pro-social behaviors.

The Three Tiers of PBIS

Along with dealing primarily with classroom related disciplinary issues, schools typically focus on individual students when dealing with problem behaviors in an attempt to teach these students that their individual actions will not be tolerated (Sugai & Horner, 2002). PBIS attempts to address the system of school behavior through the use of a three-tiered model for interventions and support. The primary or universal tier includes the entire student body and the whole school staff; the secondary tier involves small groups of students, who do not respond to the universal interventions, working with designated teachers on specific interventions; the tertiary tier is for those students who have chronic and often diagnosed behavior problems and includes support from the behavior modification staff (George, Harrower, & Knowster, 2003; Horner et al., 2004;

Scott & Barrett, 2004; Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006; 2008). The three tiers are outlined in Figure 1.

Figure 1: The three-tiered model for PBIS interventions.



(Sugai & Horner, 2006, p.247)

The primary or universal tier is designed for the entire student body and includes strategies that proactively teach and reinforce positive student behaviors while reducing inappropriate student behaviors (George, Harrower, & Knoster, 2003; Sugai & Horner, 2008). Data is used to determine the appropriate interventions and to evaluate if pre-determined outcomes have been met for the school as a whole (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008). The universal tier works for approximately 80% of the student population, setting the rules and expectations for the entire school, and eliminating or reducing problem behaviors for the majority of the student population (Sugai & Horner, 2008; Walker & Horner, 1996).

Interventions at the universal level include a reward system for appropriate behaviors and establishing clear expectations for all students in a wide range of school areas (Warren et al., 2006). Universal supports include training all teachers to handle inappropriate student behavior in a manner that deescalates situations, reorganizing classroom and non-classroom environments to decrease instances of problem behaviors and instructing staff in the use of positive reinforcement and other prevention strategies (Safran & Oswald, 2003). Research indicates that the supports of the primary tier lead to greater consistency among staff members, an increase in positive student-teacher interaction and a decrease in ODRs (Simonsen, Sugai & Negron, 2008)

The secondary tier works with the 10-15% of the student population who did not respond to the interventions at the universal level (Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006; 2008). These interventions are done with groups of students and used in a uniform manner.

They may address issues of tardiness, truancy, excessive talking and other repetitive infractions that cause consistent though low intensity disruption to academic and social performance at school (Sugai & Horner, 2008). The goal of secondary tier interventions is to prevent problem behaviors from becoming chronic or escalating into high-intensity situations (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008).

The tertiary tier deals with the 1-5% of the student population that require highly individualized behavior plans. Students in this tier have chronic behavior problems and are often diagnosed with emotional disabilities (George, Harrower, & Knoster, 2003; Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2008). In the tertiary tier, a student's preferred outcomes and interventions are determined by a team that includes teachers and administrators and, at times, parents. After outcomes are identified, systems are designed to provide multiple levels of support for the individual student and the staff who works with him/her within the school (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008).

The Leadership Team

Another fundamental component of PBIS is the leadership team. The team includes teachers, administrators, members of the school counseling team and members from mental health partners (Warren et al., 2006). The primary function of the team is to coordinate the efforts of all staff members and organize and implement the interventions for all three tiers, creating a team approach to problem solving (Barrett, Bradshaw, & Lewis-Palmer, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006). There are school-based teams that coordinate services for students within the individual schools, conducting the referral

service for students in need of tier two or three interventions as well as providing leadership, support, and training to the staff. The school-based team uses data to determine necessary interventions, as well as evaluating the program's success or failure. The team regularly shares this data with the school staff (Barrett, Bradshaw, & Lewis-Palmer, 2008; Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2006). These teams are connected with district level teams that coordinate community services and facilitate communication between principals and administrators throughout the district (Barrett, Bradshaw, & Lewis, 2008). The use of leadership teams is supported through research that indicates the importance of on-site assistance for the fidelity and continued sustainability of programs. A leadership team increases the visibility of the program, maintains implementation, and maximizes outcomes (Barrett, Bradshaw, & Lewis-Palmer, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2006). Like most system-level programs, it is unclear whether the PBIS program could be sustained without a strong leadership team (Safran & Oswald, 2003).

Teaching Pro-social Behaviors

Key aspects of PBIS that involve the whole school are strategies such as direct instruction of appropriate behaviors and active supervision. Research has indicated that there are links between proactive social skills instruction and a reduction in the number of behavior problems within a school (Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006; 2008). The instructional components of the program involve classroom teachers outlining, defining, and providing direct instruction around a set of clearly defined expectations for students

using a common language (Sugai & Horner, 2002). Similar to academic subjects, lessons are taught about appropriate school behaviors and students are provided with opportunities to practice appropriate behaviors in a variety of school settings. The lessons follow a consistent format: state the expectation, define and describe appropriate behaviors, model those behaviors, have students practice the expected behavior, and assess student understanding. PBIS recommends that the leadership team create scripted lessons that the teachers can follow. (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008). In addition to teaching pro-social behaviors, PBIS trains staff members in the previously described active supervision strategies. This provides students with additional opportunities for positive behavior recognition and instruction (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008).

Continuum of Consequences

The final structural piece of PBIS involves responses to inappropriate behavior. Though the program focuses on positive interactions with students through noting and acknowledging when students use appropriate behaviors, there are structures in place that help schools respond to inappropriate behavior (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008). The first response is correction, which is stopping the inappropriate behavior and reminding the student(s) of what behaviors are expected. If that does not solve the problem, it may be necessary to re-teach appropriate behaviors. If this becomes a chronic behavior, the teacher/staff refers the student to the leadership team and the student enters either tier two or tier three (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006; 2008). The purpose of this process is to create a consistent response to all inappropriate

behaviors that increases in intensity and support as the behavior problem continues or escalates (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002).

Implementing PBIS

Considering the complex structure of PBIS, implementing and sustaining the program over time is challenging. As a result, there are several preconditions that PBIS recommends for schools or districts that wish to implement the program. Additionally, the implementation process is clearly defined and outlined for schools that decide to use the program, which enables schools to get the program started and maintain levels of fidelity.

Preconditions for PBIS

As PBIS is a school-wide program, staff buy-in is a precondition of implementing PBIS in a school. The administration must secure a level of 80% school-wide staff support for the program (Bradshaw et al., 2008; Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002). Additionally, the administration at both the school and district level must commit to supporting the program, placing it on the school's improvement plan at a priority level (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008).

The PBIS program takes approximately three to five years for successful and complete implementation. Though schools may be able to reach 80% fidelity in implementation within two years, significant and sustained changes in student behavior may take three to five years (Bradshaw et al., 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2006).

Implementation

Once a school and district have met the preconditions the implementation process begins. There are several steps, all designed to support the staff as well as sustain fidelity to the program over time. First, the school must establish the leadership team described previously (Sugai & Horner, 2002). This team will identify desired behavior outcomes, establish the interventions for the universal tier, and set up staff trainings in teaching and supporting positive behaviors (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008). The team, along with the school staff will identify measureable and achievable long-term outcomes (Sugai & Horner, 2006). These outcomes are translated into 3-5 positively stated expectations. The leadership team defines the expectations for all school settings and teachers use academic instructional practices to teach the expectations and appropriate behaviors associated with each expectation (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008).

Another fundamental aspect of the implementation process is the use of data-based decision making. Data is collected and analyzed by the leadership team looking for high frequency behaviors and problem areas in the school. These findings are shared with the staff as a method of determining appropriate interventions for all students. To do this, schools must have an information system for tracking student disciplinary data, such as Office Disciplinary Referrals (ODR). To be useful, data should be kept on infractions using clear definitions for all types of inappropriate behavior. This data can then be used to evaluate the effectiveness of current practices as well as to determine

needed interventions (Bradshaw et al., 2008; Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006).

Successful implementation occurs when program components are implemented with at least 80% fidelity by staff (Bradshaw et al., 2008). Sustained high-fidelity implementation occurs when teachers continue to consistently use the interventions and their training when dealing with student behavior. High-fidelity implementation is associated with the direct instruction of expectations and pro-social behaviors, the development of positive relationships between staff and students, and the consistent use of reinforcement for positive behaviors (Sugai & Horner, 2006). For these connections to occur, teachers and administrators need to be trained in PBIS and staff members need continuing support and reinforcement to use PBIS methods consistently throughout the school year (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008). Studies suggest that schools that do not provide training in PBIS techniques may implement components of the program but will regress to the use of more traditional disciplinary methods and will not be able to maintain consistency when it comes to the use of positive reinforcement for appropriate behaviors (Bradshaw et al., 2008, Sugai & Horner, 2006).

PBIS is a behavior modification system that has been in practice over the past decade. It has recently gained greater prominence and several studies have been conducted on school-level and district-level implementation of the program.

Research on PBIS

There have been several major studies that examine the effectiveness and implementation fidelity of PBIS in a variety of settings. These studies were conducted in both suburban and urban districts and encompass a range of students, schools and districts. The studies have illuminated three areas for discussion: the effect of PBIS on the frequency of inappropriate behaviors, the effect on student and teacher behaviors, and the effect on non-classroom behaviors. Additionally, a significant study was conducted in the state of Maryland where PBIS has been adopted as a state mandate.

A Quantitative Approach

The majority of studies evaluating PBIS have been quantitative and focused on determining the effectiveness of the program. The effectiveness of the program is typically determined by a change in the number of Office Disciplinary Referrals (ODR). An ODR is when a student engages in behavior deemed inappropriate by a member of the staff where the resulting school action includes a referral to the office with a permanent record (Irvin, Tobin, Sprague, Sugai, & Vincent, 2004). A high frequency occurrence of ODRs is associated with a high degree of student disorder. ODRs have been used as measures of student behavior by researchers and districts. They are frequently used to judge a school's behavior climate and are indicators of an intervention's success or failure (Irvin et al., 2004).

A Reduction In Office Disciplinary Referrals

Several studies conducted in large ethnically and racially diverse urban schools found that the implementation of PBIS resulted in significant decreases (from 20-60%) in ODRs and other categories tracked by the schools (Horner et al., 2004, Safran & Oswald, 2003; Warren et al., 2006). A study conducted by Eber, Lewis-Palmer, and Pacchiano also found through self-report surveys of 185 schools that PBIS reduced ODRs by 16% per day, in-school suspensions by 14% per day, and out-of-school suspensions by 8% per day though it should be noted that this data was not tested for statistical significance (2002). The limitations of these studies include an inability to generalize to other populations, the use of self-report instead of direct observation reduces validity, and an inability to determine which interventions led to the reduction in ODRs (Eber, Lewis-Palmer, and Pacchiano, 2002; Horner et al., 2004, Safran & Oswald, 2003; Warren et al., 2006).

Changes in Student and Teacher Behaviors

A study conducted by Safran and Oswald (2003) on PBIS indicated the effect of PBIS on student and teacher behaviors. One of the intents of PBIS is to change how teachers interact with students in problem situations. Several studies indicated that teachers recognized a change in how they approached student behaviors (Safran & Oswald, 2003; Warren et al., 2006). The Safran and Oswald (2003) study found an overall increase in the frequency of rewarding pro-social behaviors and a decrease in aversive, punitive methods towards inappropriate behavior; there was also an increase in

staff interactions with students which lead to a reduction in problem behaviors and teachers used more direct intervention strategies and social skills instruction (Safran & Oswald, 2003). The findings from the Safran and Oswald study support the effectiveness of PBIS in changing teacher behaviors (2003).

Studies also found that the change in teacher behaviors (increased interaction, reward systems, etc.) resulted in a decrease in problem behaviors by students (Safran & Oswald, 2003; Warren et al., 2006). A study conducted in Maryland (which will be discussed in greater detail below) found that all indicators of inappropriate behavior decreased in both the first and second years of implementation (Scott & Barrett, 2004). This study also measured the amount of time spent by students, teachers and administrators on discipline and found the amount of time decreased during both implementation years (Scott & Barrett, 2004).

The limitations of these studies include inability to make causal inferences, low reliability of measurement, and a lack of generalization beyond immediate settings (Safran & Oswald, 2003; Scott & Barrett, 2004). These studies also found several shortcomings with the PBIS program. The study conducted by Warren et al. found district imposed outside factors resulted in a decline in the gains made during the first two years of the program. This indicated a need to include the entire system in the program in order to maintain results (2006). Additionally, Safran & Oswald found that 72% of PBIS rewards were given out by 25% of the staff indicating a potential lack of program fidelity across the school (2003).

Effects in Non-Classroom Settings

The PBIS program also attempts to change student behavior in non-classroom/non-academic settings. Though most of the studies indicated an overall reduction in non-classroom inappropriate behaviors, one study conducted by Oswald, Safran, and Johanson (2005) looked specifically at the effect of PBIS on non-academic settings. This particular study was conducted in a small, rural school that was implementing PBIS using consultants. The research team took baseline data in specific areas of the school (hallways, stairwells, and playground) before implementation, looking for specific inappropriate behaviors that had been pre-determined by the school staff (running, jumping, pushing, etc.). After training from the consultants, teachers taught students the expected behaviors for all areas. After collecting a second set of data from the same locations, the research team found a statistically significant difference in pre- and post-intervention behaviors suggesting that PBIS interventions can result in a reduction in inappropriate behaviors in non-classroom settings (Oswald, Safran, & Johanson, 2005).

The limitations from this study were the lack of random assignment for students into treatment and control groups, the lack of data on program implementation fidelity, the lack of data on the individual components of the program, and low levels of observational consistency (Oswald, Safran, & Johanson, 2005).

PBIS in Maryland

There are two studies of significance on PBIS conducted in the state of Maryland, which has implemented PBIS statewide. The PBIS Maryland Initiative was created in 1998 and was a collaboration between the Maryland State Department of Education, Sheppard Pratt Health System, and John Hopkins University (Barrett, Bradshaw, Lewis-Palmer, 2008). All 24 school districts participated in the PBIS implementation with (at the time of the study) five districts having a critical mass of schools using PBIS. In all, 467 Maryland schools have been trained in PBIS, approximately 33% of the state's schools (Barrett, Bradshaw, Lewis-Palmer, 2008). The Maryland PBIS team developed the Implementation Phases Inventory (IPI) to document the level and fidelity of implementation and the sustainability of the program over time. It includes questions from the School-wide Evaluation Tool (SET) developed by PBIS as well as other measures of PBIS (Barrett, Bradshaw, Lewis-Palmer, 2008). The SET was used because it has demonstrated test-retest reliability (Horner et al., 2004).

Of the 467 schools implementing PBIS, 249 submitted an IPI for 2006 (Barrett, Bradshaw, Lewis-Palmer, 2008). Of the elementary schools, 43% reported fewer ODRs per 100 students per school day compared to the national average. Middle schools reported 33% fewer and high schools reported 37% fewer ODRs per 100 students than the national average from the school-wide information system (SWIS). Comparing pre- and post-intervention suspension rates for the 2005-2006 school year indicates a reduction in suspension rates in schools that provide PBIS training (Barrett, Bradshaw,

Lewis-Palmer, 2008). As this data was collected and analyzed for the purpose of improving the implementation process as well as program sustainability, limitations of the study were not noted.

The second study, also conducted in the Maryland School District, in conjunction with the PBIS Maryland Initiative, consisted of 37 elementary schools that volunteered to participate in a randomized trial of PBIS. Twenty-one schools received training in PBIS and began implementation, with the remaining 16 schools refraining from implementation and training for the duration of the 3-year study (Bradshaw et al., 2008). Data were collected using the SET mentioned previously. The primary purpose of the study was to determine the effect of training in PBIS on the implementation of the program. Schools from intervention and control schools were matched based on specific demographics including percentage of students with free/reduced lunch, percentage of minority students, and the "urbanicity" of the school (Bradshaw et al., 2008).

The results of the study indicate that schools trained in PBIS outperformed control schools in program fidelity throughout the three years of the study and trained schools that reached 80% implementation fidelity by the end of year one maintained high levels of fidelity through year two (Bradshaw et al., 2008). This indicates that training in PBIS results in high-fidelity implementation with greater sustainability of the program over time (Bradshaw et al., 2008).

There is a gap in the literature on PBIS in relation to students from minority populations. None of the studies reviewed indicated that the data had been disaggregated

in order to view the effectiveness of the program for particular groups. Additionally, no studies were found that looked at whether the PBIS program increases, decreases or maintains the status quo in terms of the overrepresentation of minority students in school discipline. Similarly, no studies were found that analyzed the effectiveness of PBIS for non-native speaking students from different cultures. The researcherwas also unable to find any qualitative studies on PBIS, indicating a lack of knowledge of the lived-experience of students in a PBIS system. This indicates a need for the current study.

Discrimination in American Public School Discipline Systems

Having analyzed the various forms of discipline in the US over the past century and reviewed the PBIS program in particular, it is also necessary to look at the experience of minority students, Hispanic non-native speakers in particular, in American disciplinary systems. This course of study will illuminate the problems that minority students encounter in schools throughout the nation. Though presently there is no literature on the experience of minority students in a PBIS disciplinary system, the literature on discriminatory disciplinary practices will illuminate potential issues that may arise in the current study.

This section of the literature review will cover how minority students are overrepresented in disciplinary infractions, along with several prominent theories as to why this occurs. As cultural mismatch is one of the most significant and often cited reasons for disciplinary discrimination it will be examined more closely. Additionally, it will be of interest to investigate the effects of a biased discipline system on minority

students, and examine the literature on minority students' experience in the disciplinary system.

Overrepresentation

There have been many studies over the past 25 years that indicate that minority students are overrepresented in disciplinary infractions. Minority students are overrepresented not only in the frequency of infractions but in the severity of the consequences as well (Arcia, Kupchik & Ellis, 2008; Eamon & Atshuler, 2004; Gordon, 2000; Mukuria, 2002; Noguera, 2003; Rausch & Skiba, 2004; Skiba & Peterson, 2003; Skiba et al., 2002; Skiba & Sprague, 2008). For example, in San Diego in the 2000-2001 school year, Latino and African American students were 53% of total public school enrollment but accounted for 72% of suspension and 76% of expulsions. The year before, African Americans were two times and Latino students were three times more likely to be expelled than white students (Profiled and Punished, 2002). Similarly, a study conducted in Boston, Massachusetts using the Racial Justice Report Card noted that while African American students represented 55% of the total district population, they made up 70% of all suspensions and expulsions (Gordon, Piana, & Keleher, 2000). Inner city schools with larger minority populations have higher levels of disciplinary infractions and suspensions overall, with African American students being suspended two times as often as white students (Mukuria, 2002). Though several studies indicate that poverty or socio-economic-status (SES) may be a factor in this racial disparity, responding research found that minority students are punished more severely than white

students even after controlling for SES and that race and ethnicity are not associated with higher levels of misbehavior (Eamon & Altshuler, 2004; Skiba & Sprague, 2008; Skiba et al., 2002). In other words, though minority students do not act out or misbehave more frequently than their white counterparts, they are punished more often and with more severe consequences (Gordon, Piana, & Keleher, 2000).

Though much of the above data focuses on African American students, Hispanic students have similar experiences within the disciplinary system. For example, in Indiana, Hispanic students are suspended and expelled at rates that are two times higher than white students, with both African American and Hispanic students having a higher risk of school removal for minor and major infractions than white students (Rausch & Skiba, 2004). Additionally, Latino and Hispanic students are more likely than white or African American students to receive surveillance by school staff and are more frequently punished for their style of dress (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008).

Reasons for Disparity

From the literature it is clear that there is a disparity between the percentage of minority students that attend public schools and the frequency of minority students being subject to the disciplinary system. However, the fact of bias in a system does not indicate a single cause. At this point, it may be useful to examine several prominent reasons that minority students are overrepresented in public school discipline.

One potential reason for the overrepresentation is that current disciplinary policies and practices disadvantage minority students (Profiled and Punished, 2002). School

disciplinary practices rarely vary, regardless of location or student population. Many policies are designed for the dominant culture of primarily white, middle class students. With the current and continuing shift in demographics of the student population, it is possible that students from outside the dominant culture are being disadvantaged (while students from within the dominant culture are being advantaged) by typical disciplinary practices (Jackson, 2001; Profiled & Punished, 2002). Currently, "schools are dominated by privileged groups, especially White middle-class European American" (Jackson, 2001, p.3) students, as well as dominant culture teachers which contributes to students from different cultures being seen as behaving outside of the norm; these behaviors are labeled as inappropriate and punished, leaving white students in their advantaged position (Mickelson, 2003; Weller, Romney, & Orr, 1987). This disparity that disadvantages minority students may be linked to the public school's inability to incorporate multiple cultural perspectives into the culture, practices, and policies of the school (Mickelson, 2003).

Another potential cause for overrepresentation is the heightened use of control related disciplinary practices (like zero tolerance) in schools with larger populations of minority students (Noguera, 2003). These schools, often with urban, low-income populations are more likely to place an emphasis on control than academic rigor. This may increase the number of disciplinary infractions for students in the school as a small disruption leads to a more severe consequence than would have occurred in a less control oriented school (Noguera, 2003). Furthermore, there is evidence that suggests using punitive, control oriented tactics (over rewarding, proactive methods) alienates students

and triggers more inappropriate behaviors in students with behavioral and emotional needs (Gable et al., 2005). This concept of cultural mismatch and its effects for non-native speaking Hispanic students will be discussed in greater detail later.

Another factor that affects the proportion of minority students referred for disciplinary problems is the type of infractions for which the students are referred. Minority students are routinely referred for more subjective infractions than their white counterparts (Gordon, Piana, & Keleher, 2000; Jackson, 2001; Kupchik & Ellis, 2008; Rausch & Skiba, 2004; Skiba et al., 2002). "A Study of Teacher Referrals to the School Counselor" by Jackson found that teachers describing African American and Hispanic student behavior for counseling referrals used words such as 'disrespectful' and 'hostile' while descriptions of white students being referred usually included concerns about home life or other issues outside the child that caused the behavior (2001). Though a referral for counseling is different than a disciplinary referral, the language use does indicate that teachers view student behaviors from different cultures differently. The teachers' perceptions were that African American and Hispanic students were the cause of their problems as opposed to white children where environmental factors played a greater role (Jackson, 2001). Similarly, the literature indicates that educators are predisposed to view minority students as having more negative attitudes than white students (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008). This may cause a more severe reaction in teachers when confronted with a minority student that leads to an office referral, which may not have occurred with a white student (Skiba et al., 2002). Overall, minority students are referred for more subjective reasons, like disrespect or attitude problems, than white students who are

primarily referred for objective infractions such as cigarette smoking, or fighting (Skiba et al., 2002).

Countering Common Conceptions About Disciplinary Discrimination

Many studies, including several of those discussed above, find indicators of bias in disciplinary systems but indicate that this bias may not be caused by discrimination on the part of schools but may be due to other factors, such as socio-economic status or higher rates of inappropriate behavior by minority students. A study conducted by Skiba, Michael, Nardo, and Peterson (2002) attempted to analyze the possibility that race made a contribution to disciplinary inequality that was separate from other factors. This study intended to examine three common hypotheses for minority students' statistical disproportion in disciplinary actions. The researchers chose a quantitative methodology because the fact of statistical overrepresentation is not an indicator of bias alone and the use of a direct survey of racial attitudes through self-report would be susceptible to the participants' need for social acceptability (Skiba et al., 2002). The three common assumptions tested in this study were (1) statistical artifact (the bias resulting from different measures and data tools being used by different studies), (2) the high connectivity between race and socio-economic status, and (3) that minority students misbehave at higher rates than white students (Skiba et al., 2002).

The study by Skiba, Michael, Nardo, and Peterson (2002) was conducted with middle school students in a large, urban, midwestern public school district. The data was drawn from 11, 001 students in 19 middle schools during the 1994-1995 school year.

The students were divided between sixth, seventh, eighth grade and (four) ninth grade students. The majority of the students were either black or white with very small populations of Latino, Asian American, and Native American populations. Socio-economic status was determined by eligibility for free or reduced cost lunch with 73.4% of students meeting that criteria (Skiba et al., 2002).

The data on disciplinary referrals and consequence was drawn from the existing district wide database that used 33 different codes for disciplinary referral. The data was transferred from the district database and the data was reorganized to place student as the unit of analysis (Skiba et al., 2002).

In the analysis for statistical artifact the researchers determined that there was no single criterion for determining how large a statistical difference indicated overrepresentation. The researchers chose a 10% of population criterion to determine overrepresentation (Skiba et al., 2002). Using this criterion, males and black students were overrepresented in the number of office referrals, suspensions, and expulsions. This disproportion increased from number of suspensions to number of expulsions. This supports the idea that racial disparity in disciplinary referrals is not due to statistical artifact. Regardless of the methodology and the use of a standard criterion measure of 10%, students of color were overrepresented in disciplinary occurrence (Skiba et al., 2002).

Discriminant analysis was used to test the assumption that minority students are overrepresented in discipline measures because they misbehave more frequently and

exhibit more severe behaviors than their white counterparts (Skiba et al., 2002). The results of this analysis found no evidence that black students (who had a greater number of referrals) were referred for a greater variety of offenses or for more serious behaviors. The results did indicate two different patterns in the types of behaviors that resulted in referral for black and white students. White students were referred more frequently for objective incidents (smoking, truancy, vandalism), while black students were referred for more subjective offenses (disrespect, excessive noise, loitering) (Skiba et al., 2002). It should be noted that this study looked primarily at black students. Though it may be implied that other minority students have a similar experience with discipline in school, each minority group deserves individual attention and findings should not be generalized to all minorities.

This study found no evidence that supports the three hypotheses (statistical artifact, SES status, and more frequent or intense infractions by minority students) for the disproportionality of minority students in disciplinary infractions. In fact, this study found implications that the disparity lies in the actions of the adults who give out referrals rather than in the students who commit the infractions (Skiba et al., 2002).

The limitations of this study included the many potential sources for error in the data between the event and its input into the database. Additionally, there are many other factors that should be investigated in order to better understand the reason for the overrepresentation of minority students in school disciplinary infractions (Skiba et al., 2002).

The literature provides significant proof that minority students are overrepresented in school discipline. Since the previous study indicated several misconceptions about how and why this occurs, it is necessary to look more closely at the issue of cultural mismatch (a more recent hypothesis for overrepresentation) as it applies to the experience of non-native speaking Hispanic students' in American schools.

Cultural Mismatch

From the literature, we have seen that students from minority populations are overrepresented in school disciplinary actions. They are punished more severely and more frequently than their white counterparts (Skiba & Peterson, 2003). One of the primary reasons for this occurrence is the issue of cultural mismatch between dominant culture teachers and their diverse student populations. Cultural mismatch has had detrimental affects on the experience of minority students in American public schools. It affects how teachers perceive the actions and beliefs of minority students, which leads to the increase in perceived inappropriate behavior by these groups.

Causes of Cultural Mismatch

Cultural mismatch is the result of a significant shift in the demographics of the student population that has not been matched by the teaching force (Profiled and Punished, 2002). The number of immigrant students has more than doubled in the past 15 years with the number of ELL students increasing by 46% from 1990-2000 (National Center for English Language Acquisition, 2008; Waters, 2007). Yet the bulk of the teaching force remains white and middle-class, creating difficulties for teachers in

relating to their increasingly diverse student population (Gable et al., 2005; National Center for Educational Statistics). The growing population of non-native speaking students live in homes where a different language is spoken and come from countries with different beliefs and values regarding educational practices. These cultural differences are resulting in different educational outcomes for students from different backgrounds (Mickelson, 2003). This is because certain cultural values around educational practices are more aligned with dominant American educational values, advantaging those students while disadvantaging others. However, the literature is unclear as to how the educational values of less successful minority groups differ from minority groups that have found success in American schools (Mickelson, 2003).

The negative results of cultural mismatch occur because members of the dominant culture do not consider their actions and beliefs as culturally anchored, instead they are viewed as absolute truths (Garza, 2000; Rodriguez & Villaverde, 2000). Similarly, schools present curriculum, values and behaviors as universally true which obfuscates the fact that schools are run by the dominant culture using dominant culture values (Robbins, 2007). This perception leaves groups from outside the dominant culture to attempt to attain "whiteness" or risk being labeled as troublemakers (Rodriguez & Villaverde, 2000). Unless a school makes the effort to understand the multiple, complex cultures that their students come from, schools will continue to recreate systems of assimilation or failure for minority students (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003).

The Effects of Cultural Mismatch on Teacher Perceptions and Actions

A significant effect of cultural mismatch exhibits itself through the perceptions of teachers towards students from outside the dominant culture. These perceptions lower teachers' expectations of students from different cultures as well as create a deficit model for particular student cultures.

Lowered teacher expectations of students in terms of academic ability is one cause of cultural mismatch that can lead to increased student disciplinary action (Dutro et al., 2008). Cultural mismatch perpetuates the inequalities and underachievement of students from outside the dominant culture (Dutro et al., 2008). Studies have shown that teachers' expectations of students affect how well students learn and how high they achieve (Profiled & Punished, 2002). When teachers perceive students from minority groups as less capable than their white peers, minority students are affected by this belief and are influenced by the judgment of their teachers, which results in lowered academic performance and lowered attachment to school (Atwater, 2008). When students become disengaged, they exhibit more inappropriate behaviors, and students with frequent behavior referrals report that teachers have low expectations of them (Noguera, 2003) This causes students to disengage from the educational process entirely as they believe it will not offer them an equitable chance at a successful future (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008; Mickelson, 2003).

A second outcome of cultural mismatch is also related to teachers' perceptions of non-dominant cultures. Many teachers hold a deficit model view of non-white cultural

practices, viewing students from other cultures who may speak other languages as less able or disadvantaged intellectually and culturally. The perception is that the values and beliefs held by the non-dominant culture are inadequate when compared to dominant cultural norms (Gutierrez & Rogoff, 2003). Students respond to this perception by either attempting to assimilate into the dominant culture and rejecting their home culture or by resisting the institutionalized acculturation of the school (Sheets, 1995).

As an example of the effects of the deficit model of cultural perception, a study (Atwater, 2008) looked at the effects of teacher "color-blindness" (when teachers verbally indicate that they do not see race within their students) on minority students. The study indicated that the degree of motivation, learning, creativity, and leadership was rated higher for white students by their teachers. Additionally, the more accultured the minority student was to white cultural norms the higher the student was rated in those categories (Atwater, 2008). This indicates that, regardless of intent, teachers associate white behaviors with "good" or appropriate student behaviors and other behaviors (which may be culturally related) as inappropriate or "bad". Overall, this study indicated that teachers viewed students' non-white home culture as an obstacle or deficit to their success.

The Role of Dominant Culture Values in Cultural Mismatch

The role of the dominant culture in cultural mismatch is one of silence. The dominant white middle class culture is viewed not as a defined culture but as a normal state of being; it reflects the bar by which all other cultures are measured (Atwater, 2008;

Dutro et al., 2008; Garza, 2000; Rodriguez & Villaverde, 2000). This complicates the difficulties students from non-dominant cultures encounter when dealing with the cultural mismatch of schools. Members of the dominant group do not perceive this as an intersection of two cultures but as a group of outsiders who need to adopt correct, appropriate behaviors. When these marginalized students are unable or unwilling to assimilate, interventions are created to "help" them adopt dominant culture norms. In addition, consequences are enforced to dissuade students from what dominant culture teachers consider unacceptable behaviors, with little consideration for the cultural backgrounds of the students (Walker & Horner, 1996).

Cultural mismatch is a major factor in the overrepresentation of minority students in school discipline. The causes of this disparity are important to determine in order to frame how the present study will look at the experience of non-native speaking students in a values based behavior program. In addition to the causes, it is important to look at the effects of a biased disciplinary system, both the response of students from non-dominant cultures as well as the effects on the schools that serve these groups.

Schools as a Biased System

A biased disciplinary system affects all members of the school community. It affects the perceived role that schools play in society, how students from disadvantaged groups view education and school policies, and the culture of individual schools and districts. To gain a better understanding of the experience of Hispanic students in a

dominant culture disciplinary program, it is informative to discuss the effects of bias that are present in traditional systems which may be evident in PBIS as well.

Schools Replicate Society

One of the most troubling aspects of a discipline system that disadvantages minority students is the implication that schools replicate society and reproduce the existing inequalities between races, cultures and economic classes (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008; Mickelson, 2003). Schools are systems and are based on boundaries, typically identified as traditions or norms (Beilharz, 2007). The purpose of a system is to assimilate difference in order to perpetuate the organization. This maintains the status quo, a comfortable position for those in power, while disenfranchising those deemed as "others", neutralizing their power to change the system (Beilharz, 2007). Discipline policies are the manifestation of the school systems norms and beliefs. When students do not adapt or abide by the policies, they become subject to the punitive effects. What exacerbates this issue for students from outside the dominant culture is the use of highly subjective criteria for determining appropriate behavior (attitude, dress, disrespect); the more subjective the criteria the greater room for biased enforcement based on dominant culture norms (Gordon, Piana, Kelleher, 2000).

In the literature there is evidence that some schools have begun to address this issue, attempting to change the structure of the school system in order to dispel and (eventually) eliminate a system that advantages dominant culture students. These schools incorporate practices that look at changing the entire social structure of schools, including

curriculum, disciplinary systems, and pedagogical practices. Schools that aimed at supporting more equitable practices addressed discipline problems by changing the entire culture of the school to one that represents a more diverse student body (Profiled and Punished, 2002). They attempt to hire teachers from diverse backgrounds in order to provide a larger knowledge base for teachers to draw from when working with non-white students; they incorporate students' home cultures into the curriculum in meaningful ways, and attempt to make connections between students' home and school experience (Dutro et al., 2008; Profiled and Punished, 2002).

It is significant to look at student resistance to school as it directly relates to the overrepresentation of minority students in disciplinary measures. It is also informative to look at how students view behaviors that are deemed inappropriate by the school as that also affects a student's likelihood to receive disciplinary sanction.

Resistance to American Schools

Resistance theory is one potential explanation for minority students lowered achievement in schools. Resistance theorists attribute the negative connection that minority students make with schools as a response to the disconnect they feel between the ideology of school as the pathway to success and the actual situation of members of their racial/ethic/class community (Mickelson, 2003). They reject the implied social contract that schools offer, because they do not perceive giving up their freedom as resulting in benefit for their future (Noguera, 2003). Furthermore, students recognize that schools represent the beliefs and values of the dominant culture and view assimilation as a

rejection of their own minority identity (Mickelson, 2003). A school's curriculum and policies are not seen as representative of the minority student, which causes the student to resist and/or actively reject a structure that is perceived as imposed by the dominant group (Mukuria, 2002; Noguera, 2003).

Many of the methods employed by students in their resistance efforts are deemed as inappropriate behaviors by staff and result in disciplinary action. The main idea of resistance is to counter the culture that the staff attempts to create in the school (Willis, 1977). The rejecting behavior impacts the school in a significant and visual manner. For example, students disobey the dress code, wearing clothing deemed inappropriate by the staff or wearing a uniform in a manner that is non-conforming. For students to "win" with this behavior, they must resist the school in a manner that will be challenged by the staff, for example avoiding work, or using forged notes to get out of class (Willis, 1977). All of these behaviors result in school determined consequences and may have an affect on the number of minority students involved in school discipline.

The preceding definition of resistance theory is based upon an active resistance to an authority group. Students from non-dominant cultures may also engage in a more passive resistance that reflects the cultural discontinuity that they feel with the dominant culture staff (Sheets, 1995). These students who do not reflect the desired cultural patterns and beliefs of the dominant culture fail to accept these beliefs as norms and as a result do not perceive their actions as inappropriate (Sheets, 2002). Resistance from

these students is a result of the student's need to meet their home and internal values and beliefs which may be in conflict with dominant culture behaviors (Sheets, 2002).

Both types of resistance stem from similar student perceptions: that the students from marginalized cultures are viewed by the staff as academically and culturally inferior (Sheets, 2002). Minority students often believe that they are treated worse than their white counterparts, and believe that this unfair application of rules and consequences is done intentionally (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008). Minority students also internalize these perceptions of inferiority from the staff and believe that they are not on the same successful trajectory as white students, which also causes these students to refuse to comply with school's values on both academic and behavior issues (Eamon & Altshuler, 2004; Noguera, 2003).

One qualitative study that illustrates the effects of resistance theory on student perceptions of disciplinary outcomes was conducted with four Chicano high school students who were chosen for the study based on the frequency and severity of their behavior issues (Sheets, 2002). Data was collected through interviews, home visits, focus groups, and classroom observations. This study explored the experience of Chicano students in school discipline through the motives, values, and attitudes of the students involved (Sheets, 2002).

The study by Sheets (2002) found several themes for student behavior that resulted in disciplinary action. The first theme indicated that the students had feelings of alienation from the staff. They believed that teachers viewed the Chicano students as

academically and culturally inferior based upon comments teachers made (Sheets, 2002). Another theme outlined how teachers and students viewed discipline events differently. Students viewed an event as a stand alone occurrence, where their perspective should be heard. Teachers viewed inappropriate behavior as cumulative and often did not listen to what were perceived as repetitious excuses. Furthermore, students perceived an overall injustice in rule application; minority students were punished more often because of race and ethnicity (Sheets, 2002). Disciplinary action was also a result of resistance and solidarity. Students aimed to entertain peers and generate admiration by defying teachers and causing disruption for the amusement of classmates. This occurred more frequently in classes where the students perceived the teacher as incompetent or racist (Sheets, 2002). Though the small sample size limits the ability to generalize this study, the themes outline several factors that contribute to the overrepresentation of minority students in discipline as well as exemplify some of the results of a biased disciplinary system.

Though the current study does not intend to explore the effects of a biased discipline system on the parents or families of minority students, it is important to note that the effects go beyond the school doors. Teachers of minority students use their behavior to make static and categorical judgments about the cultures and values of the students, without making similar generalizations about inappropriate behaviors from students of the dominant culture (Dutro et al., 2008; Guitierrez & Rogoff, 2003).

The Experience of Hispanic Non-Native Speakers in School Discipline

The literature on non-native speakers experience in school discipline is limited and inconclusive, outlining the need for the current study as well as the need for even more studies looking at this particular population. Similarly, the literature on Hispanic students experience in school discipline is often tied to African American students. Though there may be similarities in their experience, Hispanic students are a growing population that is culturally different from African American students and deserves individual scrutiny (Skiba et al., 2002). Unfortunately, the literature is also lacking for this group of students. This clearly creates a void in the literature that the present study will only begin to fill.

Conclusion

The history of ineffective disciplinary measures from corporal punishment, to in- and out-of-school suspension has led the education community to search for a new system for managing student behavior. PBIS hopes to fill that void by creating positive school cultures through the use of preventive approaches that change inappropriate student behavior. Though this system appears to be a step away from punitive and biased measures of the past, it remains to be seen whether a program that was developed for the white middle class, that teaches behaviors based upon those cultural norms, can be effective in our nations increasingly diverse public schools.

There remain unanswered questions about the experience of non-native speaking Hispanic students in a PBIS school. Chapter three will outline how the current study will

use a phenomenological approach to examine those experiences. The chapter will describe the steps that will be taken including the use of semi-structured interviews and a thematic analysis of the resulting narratives. The results will illuminate how this particular group experiences the values of PBIS as taught from a dominant culture staff and how the perspectives of the students may differ from the perspectives of the teachers implementing the program.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

This study examined the lived experience of non-native speaking Hispanic students in a Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS) program. It examined how this particular group of students understood and made meaning from the values taught through PBIS by comparing the perspectives of the students towards the discipline program to the perspectives of the dominant culture teaching staff. Chapter three outlines the research design by describing the various methods that successfully explored the experience of the students in the study. These methods included (1) semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with students and teachers; (2) a focus group interview with the students; and (3) the use of thematic coding that incorporated the existential life-worlds (corporeal, temporal, spatial, and relational) that are the foundation of phenomenological research. Additionally, the chapter defines phenomenology and explains why it is the appropriate methodological approach for ascertaining the experience of this particular group of students. The chapter also defines the step-by-step process of data analysis and reporting, including the use of open and thematic coding, narrative summaries, and the use of member checking, where analytical findings are taken back to participants for validation. The chapter concludes by defining a framework for discussing the findings including how the data will be connected to themes from the literature review, cultural and resistance theories, and the research questions.

Research Questions

- Research Question 1: What issues impact the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers under a PBIS program?
- Research Question 2: How does the perception of the Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports program differ between Hispanic non-native speaking students versus dominant culture teachers?
- Research Question 3: How do Hispanic non-native speakers understand the values taught through the program?

Research Design

The design of this study followed a qualitative phenomenological design focused on the experience of individuals within the their life world and how they make meaning from experience (Holstein & Gubrium, 2005; Rossman & Rallis, 2003). For human beings, making meaning is an essential part of living. Human beings make meaning of events and relationships throughout their lifetime. "We extract meanings encoded in information and align that meaning with previously constructed meanings" (Starratt, 2003, p.34). Qualitative research provided the researcher access to those meanings through the participant's words. It is through participant interviews that the researcher understands how he/she relates to the world in which he/she lives. Qualitative research, phenomenological qualitative research in particular, looks beyond the facts of the phenomena under scrutiny to the meaning of the event for the participant. Qualitative

methods incorporate the context of the individual, which is essential to making meaning. Meaning making takes place within the context of the participant's culture, community, and language (Starratt, 2003). Qualitative phenomenological research maintains an authentic connection between the analytic findings of the researcher and the original meaning and context of the participant towards the phenomena of study. Phenomenology asserts that an individual's meaning of a lived experience can be discovered through the participant's dialog and the researcher's reflection (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

The understanding of how adults and children make meaning is particularly important for education. Pedagogy is the means by which educators help students construct knowledge. This process of constructing knowledge is complex and varied for each child a teacher encounters. Though pedagogy typically refers to the acquisition of academic knowledge, it also refers to the instructional method for teaching social behaviors or values, which is the purpose of PBIS. Studying pedagogy effectively requires an ability to understand how others make meaning from a particular experience. Without an understanding of how children make meaning from the information and experiences they encounter in school, educators cannot be certain that students are learning from their teaching methods rather then memorizing bits of information. "Pedagogy requires a hermeneutic ability to make interpretive sense of the phenomena of the lifeworld in order to see the pedagogic significance of situations and relations of living with children" (van Manen, 1990, p.2). The use of phenomenology to study pedagogical practices is an appropriate choice because it allows researchers to make sense of how children make meaning.

Additionally, the choice of a qualitative methodology is a sensible one because the aim of this study is to "understand the social world as it is … from the perspective of individual experience" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003, p.46). This study looked at how students who have not complied with the norms of their social world (school) make meaning of those rules. Each participant's story provided unique insights into the phenomena of school and home values and how they intersect. The use of narratives, or stories, was an effective method for understanding how each participant made meaning from their experiences (Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Qualitative research provides themes, theories, and rich descriptions for events and processes that cannot be captured through quantitative methods (Merriam, 1989). A qualitative methodology allows the researcher to discover the meanings that underlie a particular human experience. Since education is a dynamic field where process outweighs product and human experience is of the utmost importance, qualitative research methods are better able to access meaning, understand a process, and investigate human experience (Merriam, 1989). Though quantitative measures are able (and have been used) to assess the viability and success of PBIS, such measures have been unable to study how the students and teachers experience the program. The choice of a qualitative methodology is appropriate because the purpose of this study is not to make generalizations to a larger population or to predict potential outcomes (Crist & Tanner, 2003), but to provide description, interpretation and critical analysis of the lived experience of non-native speaking Hispanic students in the PBIS program.

Research Methodology

The use of phenomenology was best suited to examine the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers in a PBIS school because of phenomenology's focus on interpreting the lived experience of humans through the four life-world existentials: the corporeal, relational, spatial, and temporal (Thomas, 2005; van Manen, 1990). The existential life-worlds provided an organizational framework for examining the interconnections between the codes, themes, and meanings discovered through the study (Willis, personal communication, 2009). Since experience is defined through the participant's perspectives, not the "facts" of the case, using a methodology that focused on the interpretation of experience was essential. "Since explanation is not discovered but created, it is never given with fact, but is always simply a probable interpretation" (Merleau-Ponty, 1945, p.133).

Life-World Existentials

Phenomenology provided a structure to explore and interpret the experience of others in ways that provided authentic information that was concerned with meaning (van Manen, 1990). The use of the four life-world existentials provided access to the human experience in a holistic manner. Using the four life-world existentials as a structure for analysis provided the researcher with a framework as the interviews were conducted and analysis occured. The researcher looked for these four elements in order to authentically understand "other people's experiences and their reflections on their experiences in order

to … come to an understanding of the deeper meaning or significance of an aspect of the human experience" (van Manen, 1990, p.62)

The corporeal refers to the experience of the body in the world, both as action and as object. It describes the participant's physical embodiment during the phenomena. For example, the corporeal indicates physical pain or a feeling of physical inferiority towards others. The corporeal also indicates actions the body takes during the phenomena, like running, pushing, or turning away. According to Merleau-Ponty (1945) the phenomenological researcher interprets how the subject's body is used in the experience, how it is viewed, the appearance, and the physical role played through the sense of the corporeal.

The relational life-world existential provides access to the subject's relationships with themselves and with others during the phenomena of study. It allows the researcher access to the subject's awareness of others in terms of judgment, empathy, anger and irritation. The relational emerges when the participant talks about the other people involved in the incident. It may note judgment, potential harm, or a feeling of being nurtured. It also provides access to the subject's awareness of their relationships and how they view others (Pollio, Henley, & Thompson, 1997).

The spatial life-world existential allows access to the subject's perceptions of place and environment as well as relational distances; how far/distant or near/close the experience occurs. It includes the context of the event and the participant's placement in that environment. The spatial emerges through the participant's memories of safety or

danger, their proximity to others and to specific places. Though direct reflection on spatiality is uncommon, space is experienced through how it affects the way we feel. Whether it is a vast forest making a person feel small, or a tight fitting airplane seat making the same person feel enormous, meaning related to spatiality is evident in how that space is described (van Manen, 1990).

The temporal life-world existential illuminates how time is experienced during the phenomena, accepting that time is a subjective experience for all people that changes as people move through a variety of events (Thomas, 2005). How time appears in the text from interviews and narratives provides important information about the experience of the subject. Focusing on how the subject experiences time can provide insights into the intensity and feeling of importance of the event. In schools, time is an important distinguishing factor between teachers and students. A class period that speeds by for a teacher is excruciatingly long for a student. All four existentials provide the researcher with access to what is figural to the subject, allowing the researcher to gain an authentic understanding of the subject's experience and the meaning of that experience for the subject (Thomas, 2005; van Manen, 1990).

Phenomenological Interview

The use of interview in phenomenology as the primary data collection tool is another reason that phenomenology was an appropriate methodology for this study. The interview is the primary data collection in phenomenology because "it provides a situation where the participants' descriptions can be explored, illuminated and gently

probed" (Wimpenny & Gass, 2000, p.1487). The interview serves several purposes in phenomenology. It is a means for gathering narrative material that can be used by the researcher to develop a deeper understanding of a particular lived experience. It can also be used to develop a relationship with the participant that enables a greater depth of conversation, allowing the researcher greater access to the meaning of the participant's lived experience (van Manen, 1990).

Though interviews in phenomenology are semi-structured, it is important to recognize that they need to be guided by the question(s) that created the study (van Manen, 1990). The researcher needs to remain focused on the particular experience under study and be prepared with prompts and redirects that will guide the participant's answers towards that topic. The research questions should be the guiding structure behind all interviews.

Though other methods (observation, artifact analysis) were employed to generate further understanding and enhance validity, the use of the subject's own words to explore the phenomena was the most direct way to understand the experience of the subject and for the researcher to co-create interpretations with participants from those narratives that were meaningful and truthful (Crist & Tanner, 2003). As the purpose of this study was to understand the experience of others, phenomenology provided an appropriate structure for collecting, analyzing and reporting the data on the experience of Hispanic non-native speaking students in a PBIS school.

Phenomenological Reflection

Reflection is an important piece of phenomenological study. It is both an effective method for minimizing researcher bias as well as a useful tool for discovering meaning in the lived experience of the participants. At the beginning of the research process, before interviews were begun and data were collected, the researcher bracketed her own beliefs and experiences with discipline systems in general and the PBIS program in particular. Bracketing allowed the researcher to recognize her own orientation to the phenomena in order to distance her experience from that of the participants, which allowed new impressions to be formed about the phenomena of study (LeVasseur, 2003). The researcher bracketed by starting a journal (which was kept throughout the research process) for recording her own beliefs in regards to the phenomena of discipline and PBIS. Along with allowing for greater openness to new ideas about the phenomena, this reflective process also made the researcher aware of the structure of her own experience and increased her capacity to recognize that certain aspects of the participant's experience resonated with the researcher's experience (van Manen, 1990). Since the researcher understood this connection, she was able to distinguish between important themes for the participants and themes that resonated with the researcher. This knowledge helped the researcher maintain focus on the participant's lived experience, minimizing the effect of researcher bias.

Sample

The Site

The researcher collected data at the Robert Gould Shaw [4]middle school in the post-industrial, economically depressed town of Leekslip, MA in New England. The town of Leekslip was a booming mill town during the 19th and early 20th centuries. The need for workers in the mills caused a significant influx of immigrant workers in the 1890's. By 1910, 48% of the population of Leekslip was foreign born (Leekslip History Center, 2009). During the 1940's and 1950's, the majority of the mills were shut down or relocated leaving a primarily foreign, low-skilled work force with few employment opportunities. The current population (approximately 72,000) is 60% Hispanic/Latino and has a median household income of approximately $28,000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2000).

The Robert Gould Shaw is one of 11 public schools serving middle school students (grades 6-8) in the district. The school has 523 students, and the primary racial demographic is Hispanic (93.5%). There is a significant population of English Language Learners at the school (14.5%) and the majority of the student population (87.4%) does not use English as their first language (Leekslip Public Schools, 2008). This location provides a large pool of potential student subjects for this study, as a major criterion for participant selection is that all the students in the study come from homes where English is not the primary language.

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[4] All names have been changed for the purpose confidentiality.

Teacher Participants

The teachers were purposefully selected for the study. The criterion for teacher selection was that they taught in the middle school grades of sixth, seventh, and eighth. Demographically, the teachers were members of the dominant culture for public school teachers defined as Caucasian and middle class (NCES, 2009). The criterion for the selected teachers and selected students ensured a greater degree of homogeny within the perspectives of the two groups. Though every individual member of a culture is unique, there are similarities in values and beliefs within particular cultures. The comparison of the teachers' and the students' values and beliefs provided more information because the differences within the group were minimized, which emphasized the differences between the two groups. Three of the teachers were recruited from the regular education classes and two were recruited from the English Language Learner classes. The ELL teachers were not dual language teachers, their classes had a higher number of ELL students and they had been trained in ELL instructional methods. The teachers were full time, fully credentialed teachers. The seventh grade teachers were recruited through the researcher's presentations during their weekly team meetings. The eighth and sixth grade teachers were recruited during lunchtime presentations. Teachers were provided with a small token of appreciation for participating in the study, a gift card to a local coffee shop.

After discussing the PBIS program with one of the PBIS coaches, the researcher asked the coach if he was willing to submit to an interview. The coach was willing and

was interviewed after all of the teachers had been interviewed. He was also provided with a gift card as a token of appreciation.

Student Participants

The students were also purposefully selected for the study. All students who participated in the study had at some point in their educational history been designated as Limited English Proficient; these were students for whom English was not a first language. Demographically, the selected students were Hispanic as determined by their school identification profiles. Specifically, the students' ethnic backgrounds were Puerto Rican or Dominican. Though socio-economic status was not a defining criteria for participation in the study nor were the students asked about their family's income, it was likely that the majority of the students selected fell within the low-income category as 91.3% of the students were listed as low-income in the school's profile (Leekslip Public Schools, 2008). These criteria ensured that the students' home culture was not that of the dominant white middle-class culture, making this group of students culturally and ethnically different from the teachers being interviewed. Additionally, the students were chosen based upon their inclusion in recorded disciplinary action. As the focus of the study was the school's PBIS disciplinary prevention program and how students experience this disciplinary system, it was important that the students had experience with multiple aspects of the program. The researcher chose students with disciplinary infractions because the students' experience with "getting in trouble" was a condition for interaction with the school discipline system. If a student had never been in trouble, it

was unlikely that they had relevant experiences to share. Also, students with recorded disciplinary actions would have experienced the consequences the school had determined as appropriate as well as the interventions devised to promote pro-social behaviors for students with disciplinary issues. These students were able to provide more insight into the effectiveness of PBIS in promoting positive behaviors, and were able to contribute information for comparison with teachers' perspectives about why students' fail to comply with the rules. The students selected were told about the study after consent forms were sent to the parents (in both English and Spanish) describing the study, their child's potential involvement and how the confidentiality of the students would be maintained throughout the duration of the study. Additionally, the principal included a letter to the parents that outlined the schools separation from the study but indicated his approval for the study. After sending home notices, the researcher spoke briefly with each recruited student to further explain the study and answer questions. If the student indicated interest in the study, the researcher supplied them with an additional set of papers to take home to their parents. Only students who returned signed consent forms were included in the study.

Confidentiality

In order to maintain the confidentiality of the students and teachers, the initial sets of interviews were conducted in a private setting away from the administrative offices of the school. All students' names and identifiers were changed and only the students involved in the study and the researcher knew which students participated. Pseudonyms

were used in all interview transcripts, narratives and reports and all information pertaining to the study was secured in a locked storage file. Students were told that they only had to share as much as they felt comfortable with about any topic that came up during the interview. By ensuring confidentiality through distance, anonymity, and secured files it was anticipated that the students would share more about their experiences with school discipline and their feelings and perceptions towards those experiences. The students knew that they were free from repercussions based on their interviews and as a result might have been inclined to share more authentically about their experience. The focus group for the students was conducted away from administrative offices and the students involved were not identified during the research process or within the study. Students were asked to share in the group only to the degree that they felt comfortable. Additionally, the teachers were not identified in the study and all interviews were conducted in private with all documents being stored in a secure location. All teachers signed consent forms and were made aware that they only have to share to the degree that they felt comfortable.

Data Collection Procedures

To gather the data for this study, approval was obtained from the principal of the school where the study was conducted. After gaining his approval, the researcher contacted the district office and submitted a proposal for approval. After obtaining approval from the Superintendent of Leekslip Public Schools, the proposal was submitted to the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at Boston College for approval. The proposal

contained all documents to be given to participants including consent forms for adults and students, information sheets for teachers, and participation requirements for students. The documents for students and parents were submitted in both English and Spanish.

After obtaining the necessary approval from all parties, recruitment of participants began. The researcher requested a list of students who had graduated from LEP status over the past three years and a list of students who had committed offenses that resulted in disciplinary action (detention, in-school or out-of-school suspension) more than three times during the current school year. The researcher used these lists to determine 10-12 potential student participants. After sending information out to the students' parents, these students were approached individually by the researcher, provided information, and informed that they would not miss class for this study, and that all interviews would take place on school grounds during non-academic times (lunch, recess, after school). Students were also informed that they would receive a small incentive for participating in the study. After consent forms were returned from the parents, five students who fit the criteria were contacted and the first of two interviews were scheduled.

During this same period, the researcher attended the seventh grade teachers' weekly team meeting and ate lunch with the grade six and eight teams. A description of the study was presented and teachers were informed of the level of their participation (a single one-hour interview). The researcher also noted that a small incentive for participation was included. The researcher left an email and phone number and asked that teachers willing to participate contact the researcher within one week. The

researcher also approached the ELL teachers to ask specifically if they would be willing to participate as their perspectives on the PBIS program and non-native speaking students would be valuable. Five teachers were selected from the responding volunteers, given consent forms, and interviews were scheduled.

Once all the participants were selected the interviews began. The researcher conducted interviews and analyzed data simultaneously throughout this period. Collecting the interview data took approximately 6 weeks, dependent largely on the students schedules in regards to state testing and other important school activities. Interview protocols, consent forms, and information sheets are attached in the appendices.

Triangulation of the data was accomplished through the data obtained from teacher and student interviews, data collected from the student focus group, the use of Office Disciplinary Referrals for additional information on why students are referred to the office, and from field note observations of teacher and student behaviors collected by the researcher during interviews.

Method of Data Analysis

The researcher used Hyper-Transcribe to convert the oral interviews to text documents. The researcher transcribed the majority of the interviews in order to become more knowledgeable about the data. By hearing the interviews multiple times, the researcher was able to recognize, through tone as well as word choice, areas of significance for the participants. The second set of student interviews were

professionally transcribed in order to complete analysis before the focus group. The analysis for this study followed the approach described by van Manen in *Researching Lived Experience: Human Science for an Action Sensitive Pedagogy* (1990). Though according to van Manen there is no blueprint for conducting phenomenological research, using an approach that allows the researcher to "orient oneself in a strong way to the question of meaning" (1990, p.53) focuses the data analysis towards the lived experience that is the foundation of phenomenological research. Though steps are described individually for simplicity, it should be noted that the researcher used the constant comparison method as described by Glaser and Strauss (1967). The constant comparison method is the process of collecting and analyzing data simultaneously. This method allowed the researcher to conduct later interviews that focused on themes that arose from earlier interviews. The phenomenological method of data analysis described by van Manen uses a multi-level form of coding of the data collected. First, each interview was read individually, looking for patterns that connect to the themes and research questions of the study (van Manen, 1990). After interviews were read individually, the researcher looked across interviews to see which themes and patterns appeared throughout the data. Looking at student and teacher data separately was informative as different themes emerged. After this initial coding process, the researcher went through the data a second time, looking for the four life-world existentials of phenomenological research (corporeal, relational, spatial, and temporal). The researcher looked specifically at how the themes and patterns that had already emerged from the data connected to these four concepts (van Manen, 1990). Sections of text that illuminate the themes and the

existentials were noted and collected. These data pieces were used to explain and illustrate themes. The phenomenological analytic process required the researcher to interpret the data, going beyond mere presentation of participant's text; "studies which do little more than present and organize transcripts fall short of their interpretive and narrative task" (van Manen, 1990, p.167). Therefore, after the coding process, the researcher wrote summaries of each interview with an emphasis on placing the themes, patterns and life-worlds back into the context of each individual interview in order to maintain meaning for each participant (van Manen, 1990). During the data analysis process, the researcher reviewed the data analysis and summaries with the participants as a member checking procedure to establish validity of the findings with the participants. The researcher also kept a journal of the research process including the researcher's ongoing thoughts, interpretations, and biases. This was used as an audit trail for the study, which increased validity of the findings. All materials generated through the data analysis process were locked and secured in order to maintain confidentiality.

Since analysis was conducted simultaneously with interviews, some validation procedures were imbedded within the interview protocols. Validation was sought through questions that asked for elaboration around experiences that were spoken of by multiple participants. Additionally, the researcher reiterated meanings heard and recorded from the participants to ensure that the participant's meaning of the phenomenon (not the researcher's) remained primary.

Chapter 4

In chapter four the data will be reported using essential and subset themes that connect to the research questions, literature review, and phenomenological life-world existentials. These themes will be described using summaries of narratives as well as selections of direct text that best illuminate the meaning behind a particular theme. The themes will be discussed within the structure of the four life-world existentials of phenomenological research. The analysis of data and themes lead to chapter 5 where the findings will be presented in a manner that provides answers to the research questions and connects the findings to the relevant literature and conceptual frames work from Chapters One and Two.

Chapter 4: The Findings

Introduction

Chapter Four describes the participants and setting of the study and outlines the findings as they relate to the four phenomenological existential life worlds (corporeal, spatial, relational, and temporal) with the intent of answering the following research questions:

- Research Question 1: What issues impact the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers under a PBIS program? (i.e. resistance, cultural mismatch)
- Research Question 2: How does the perception of the Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports program differ between Hispanic non-native speaking students versus dominant culture teachers?
- Research Question 3: Do Hispanic non-native speakers understand and accept the values taught through the program?

The four existential life worlds are tools used in phenomenology to allow others to share a particular experience. The corporeal life world explores the physical aspects of the experience. The spatial life world examines how participants encounter both physical and metaphoric space during a phenomenon. The temporal life world describes how the participants understand time, and the relational life world examines the relationships between the participants and any other people involved in an experience.

As the framework for this research was phenomenological, the four life worlds within phenomenology will provide the framework for this chapter. Within the four different life worlds there were five essential themes that emerged from the research.

The findings are divided into the five essential themes and additional subset themes that connect to each of the five essential themes. All four life worlds overlap and interact with each other during any shared experience. Any human experience is complex and multifaceted, making it impossible to fully separate an experience into its composite parts: in this case the four existential life worlds. For example, when one student spoke about her experiences at the school, the spatial life world was predominant. The school was a space in which she felt uncomfortable (she felt watched by the teachers' which made her uneasy) as opposed to her home, a space that was comforting to her. Yet her description of the school as an uncomfortable space brought up corporeal elements of being "looked at" as well as relational elements of being disrespected. For the purpose of this chapter, themes have been placed in their predominant life world. Finally, even though each life world played a part in the students' and teachers' experience, not every phenomenological finding was fundamental to this study. Three of the four life worlds provided findings that were significant. However, the findings from the corporeal life world were not relevant to the study. As a result, there are no findings that could be meaningfully placed within the corporeal life world.

Several of the findings include references to the students' Hispanic culture and its influence on the students' understanding of the PBIS and disciplinary programs. The use of the phrase "Hispanic culture" does not indicate a homogenous group of people with a single set of values. Hispanic ethnicity includes people from a wide range of countries, races, and backgrounds with values that are dynamic and equally as varied. Within Hispanic cultural values, however, there are several shared common beliefs that influence

how Hispanic people understand and make meaning of the world around them. These include *familismo,* the strong ties of familial relationships; *respeto*, the giving and receiving of respect; and *personilismo*, the appreciation of the individual. While there are many more beliefs associated with Hispanic culture these three are the most relevant to this study.

In chapter 5 the researcher will summarize and discuss the findings in relation to the research questions making connections to the literature reviewed in chapter two and the conceptual framework discussed in chapter one. Additionally, chapter five will present suggestions for future research, practice, and policy.

Context of The Study

The District

The Leekslip School District [5]is located approximately 20 miles outside a major New England city. Though once a booming mill town, Leekslip has been declining economically for decades. There is minimal opportunity for employment and virtually no growth in revenue. Though there have been several attempts to revitalize the area since the closing of the mills a century ago, there has been little success. There are a few neighborhoods with older, well cared for homes, however, the majority of the city is economically depressed. This problem has intensified since the current recession has left many homes empty from foreclosure. The unemployment rate is high and many families

[5] All names of participants and locations have been changed to preserve confidentiality.

receive state assistance. The school district itself is over 90% funded by state funds and the city's budget barely covers basic services. The district serves a predominantly low income, Hispanic population with many of the students coming from state housing, foster homes and homeless shelters.

There are fifteen elementary schools, seven middle schools, and one high school that serve the community. All the elementary and middle schools (with the exception of the School for Exceptional Studies) are community schools serving the students who live in the neighborhoods surrounding the school building. Several of the schools, including the Shaw School, have been rebuilt or remodeled during the past decade. This often creates a visual dichotomy between the new school building and the old, worn homes and public housing units located around the school. The Leekslip district serves over 12,000 students in pre-k through 12th grade. The majority of the students (83%) qualify for free and reduced lunch, a national indicator of poverty, and a similar percentage speak a language other than English at home. Approximately one quarter of the students are English Language Learners as classified by the district using the state English Language Proficiency Benchmarks and Outcomes and 17% qualify for special education services.

The School Site

This study took place at the Robert Gould Shaw School in the city of Leekslip. The school is located on a hill about one mile from downtown. It is surrounded on three sides by large public housing projects and multi-family dwellings. Behind the school is a small neighborhood of single-family homes, though it is unclear whether these homes

belong to the Shaw School area or the neighboring school. As mentioned previously, all of the schools in Leekslip are neighborhood schools and the majority of the students walk to school each day.

The school building stands out in the neighborhood. From its appearance, it is reasonable to assume that it is the newest building in the area. There are large sidewalks surrounding the building with baseball fields and basketball courts behind it. There are several noticeable cameras on the roof pointing towards the front doors which are located in a glass wall in the center of the building. The interior of the building also feels new. Everything is clean and well cared for; there are many displays of student work throughout the halls and in the entryway.

The Teacher Participants

There were five teachers and one PBIS coach interviewed for the study. All of the teachers were pleased to spend some time with the researcher, willingly giving up prep periods and after school hours. The researcher was welcomed into their classrooms throughout the research period. This positive attitude was due in part to the researchers past relationship with the teachers. During the 2007-2008 school year the researcher completed a principal practicum at the Shaw School.

The five teachers and the PBIS coach self-designated as Caucasian, though one teacher (Catherine) also noted her Portuguese descent. The majority of the teachers' interviewed lived in the area surrounding Leekslip and had resided in New England for most of their lives. None of the teachers lived in Leekslip nor had any of the teachers

grown up there. While two of the teachers were designed as ELL teachers, all were monolingual, speaking only English. Though the researcher did not ask about the teachers' income level, based upon the median teacher salary for the district, it is reasonable to assume that they were from the middle class.

Frank, the PBIS coach had worked at the Shaw School for four years. He offered to be interviewed about PBIS when the researcher was asking about discipline forms. He was young and energetic and, based on informal observations, seemed to enjoy working with students on their disciplinary issues. It was apparent from his interviews that he held very strong beliefs about what appropriate student behavior looked like, what good parenting involved, and was knowledgeable about the families in the community.

Pamela was an eighth grade teacher who had been teaching in Leekslip for the longest period of time of those interviewed. She was a member of the PBIS leadership team. She had been at the Shaw School since it opened. She, like many of the other teachers, started teaching in Leekslip because there was an opening, but stayed because she enjoyed working with this population of students. She often made reference to the difference between American values and the values of the students and their families at the Shaw School. Pamela was small in stature but a very powerful teacher with both the students and the teachers. She was open and willing to talk during the interview and spoke quickly and with intensity. It was clear that Pamela did not put up with nonsense from anyone.

Evelyn was one of two job changing teachers at the school. A job changer is a teacher who had a previous career outside of the school system and chose to give up that profession to become a teacher. She taught language arts and math in the seventh grade. Previously, she had been a lawyer. She was also a member of the leadership team. She spoke of her students with a clear feeling of personal responsibility for their achievement. She mentioned doing home visits and attending community events in order to get to know the parents. She understood teaching to be more than a job contained in the classroom. She spoke quickly during the interview, often overlapping the questions with her answers. Though she volunteered to be interviewed finding time was a challenge. She also appeared to be nervous when we started the interview but relaxed and opened up after the first few questions. She seemed to be doing many things at once. For instance during our interview she corrected papers, set up a meeting with a parent, and met with one of the PBIS coaches.

Steve was in his first year of teaching. He taught seventh grade science. He had also changed jobs, from landscaping, the year before. His wife was also a teacher in Leekslip and he referenced her knowledge often. It was clear that he looked to her for guidance and support as he started his teaching career. Steve was soft spoken and had a very relaxed and calm demeanor. He held an optimistic and hopeful outlook towards students and education. These attributes came out during his interview, particularly when he spoke of building relationships with students.

Catherine was the only sixth grade teacher interviewed. She was focused and thoughtful throughout the interview. She looked at the researcher during the entire interview and often thought for several seconds before answering questions. Catherine also acknowledged how little she knew of what the parents and families of her students valued and was much more cognizant of not being judgmental of their actions. She also made significant efforts to connect with parents and the community, similar to Evelyn.

Leah was an eighth grade math teacher who had been teaching at the Shaw School since it opened. She was near retirement and had a varied career in multiple districts and with various age groups. During the interview Leah was very expressive about her concerns for the students at the school, in particular those who had behavior troubles. Her answers were soft spoken but filled with anxiety; she was concerned that many of these students did not have a bright future ahead of them. Her answers were detailed and connected her past teaching experiences to her present situation in Leekslip. Leah took several minutes to consider and answer each question, often apologizing for taking to long to answer or providing too much information.

The Student Participants

There were five student participants, four girls and a boy. Three of the students were in eighth grade and two in the sixth grade. The seventh grade was not intentionally avoided. The predominance of females and eighth grade students was due to the small number of students who fit the criteria and who were willing to participate. The criteria for inclusion in the study was a previous designation of LEP status, where English was

not the student's first language, an identification with Hispanic ethnicity, and a minimum of five disciplinary infractions in the past year. Most of the students were open and engaging even during the first interview. By the time of the focus group all of the students felt comfortable with the researcher and willing to share their experiences.

All of the students had spent the majority of their lives in Leekslip, with four of the five being born in the United States. All of the students were second-generation continental U. S. residents; their parents had moved to Leekslip from Puerto Rico or the Dominican Republic. All of the students were bilingual, speaking both Spanish and English at home, though several of the students' parents spoke only Spanish. Three of the students came from single-parent homes, one student came from a two-parent home, and one student came from a multi-generational home.

Julia was in the sixth grade and lived with her mother and older sister. She was the most distrustful of the students. Though she shared more at the focus group than any other time, her increased comfort was more due to the presence of the other students than a developed relationship with the researcher. Julia appeared to have a negative and wary attitude towards the adults in the school. During the first interview she shared very little, answering, "I don't know" or giving only monosyllabic answers. This improved during the second interview but she was still reticent to share much about her home life. She was most forthcoming with school related events.

Inez was in the eighth grade and lived with her mother and younger sister. Inez was very open to talking about both home and school life. During her one-on-one

interviews Inez would think about answers and take her time describing the events. However, during the focus group she was more distracted and was influenced by some of the other girls. During the focus group she often did not pay attention to the discussion until she was asked a specific question and then would have to get clarification from the researcher or the group. Her demeanor during the focus group indicated that she was more of a follower of the other two eighth grade girls.

Maria was in the eighth grade and lived with her mother, two older sisters (one 19 and one 16 years old) and her older sister's children. Her 16-year-old sister was pregnant at the time of the interview. Maria was the most reflective of all of the students. Her answers were thoughtful and revealed an ability to look at her incidents as both personal events and in the abstract. She was able to reflect on why she behaved a certain way and how it related to her life and background. She clearly saw the divide between school and home and was able to speak meaningfully about that separation. She was also interested in the work the researcher was doing and was the only student to ask about confidentiality and the research process when initially recruited.

Matias was the only boy interviewed. He was in the sixth grade and lived with his mother, stepfather, and two younger siblings. His aunt also lived in the same building and had a parental role as well. Matias was open to discussing both family life and issues at school. He was honest about the issues he felt were a problem for him. During his interviews Matias' would interweave several different (but similar) incidents together as one. Later in the conversation it would become clear that he was speaking of different

events. How Matias linked events was informative to the researcher. It illustrated how he made meaning from these events. During his second interview about school discipline Matias was more linear when describing events, recounting each incident as a single event. During the focus group Matias spoke very little, seemingly overwhelmed by the eighth grade girls that were more forceful and vocal during the discussion.

Anne was the most talkative of all of the students. She provided a wealth of information. She spoke of several events at once and interwove stories and events together in order to address the researcher's questions. In her answers, Anne included other students, unrelated events, and sub stories attached to the question she was answering. She was happy to share events about both home and school life and was cognizant of her role in her behavior issues. At times, Anna would pause and think about a question. These answers reflected her ability to make meaningful connections about her experiences. During the focus group, Anne was the most difficult student to keep on-task. It was a challenge to allow all the students to participate since Anne wanted to share all the time. She did view Maria as a leader and listen to her when Maria would tell her to relax or quiet down.

The Study Results

The Spatial Life World

The spatial life world involves the lived experience of space. It describes how human beings relate to and live in the space around them. For the students and teachers in this study this included the physical spaces of school and home, and the more abstract

concept of community. The spatial world also explains feelings about space, in particular, how humans experience both physical and metaphorical space in their lives and their relationships.

The spatial life world provided one essential theme and four subset themes. The essential theme described a finding that suggests how *both* the teachers' and the students' interviews imparted a sense of separation between the teachers/school and the students/community. This space was never eliminated; but teachers who made an effort to understand the community by engaging parents and students outside of school were seen to reduce this gap. Under this essential theme of separateness were four subset themes that related to the spatial distance between the school and the community. The first subset theme involves how the two groups viewed the community served by the school. While the teachers viewed the community as a bad and dangerous place, the students had a more complex understanding of their community. The second subset theme addresses how the students view their home as a sacred space full of trusting and caring people while school is often an angry or uncomfortable place. The third subset theme describes the teachers' belief in the value of separating problem students. There was a belief among the teachers that problem students needed a separate space for classroom control and learning to be maintained. The final subset theme found a separation between the PBIS program and the school's discipline system. Though PBIS is a disciplinary program, at the Shaw School, it was viewed as a reward program, separate from the discipline system.

Essential Theme One: The School is Not a Part of the Community.

The spatial life world's one essential theme found a sense of separation between the teachers and the school and the students and their community *despite* the central location of the school in the neighborhood. The teachers/school and students/community are separated by a space that is never eliminated in this study. The school belongs to the teachers and their 'world' and the community belongs to the students and their 'world'.

This finding of 'separation' was evident in both the teacher and the student interviews. When asked about her community, Julia said that she didn't know much about the community because she hung out at the school. Both Anna and Inez remarked that it was the school's responsibility to clean and care for the school building because it belonged to the school and the school staff. This finding indicated that the students' beliefs were influenced by their Hispanic cultural understanding of the importance of *familismo,* a powerful attachment and loyalty directed toward family (Ruiz, 2006). The students felt obliged to help and support the family to which they had strong ties. Because of the separation between the school and the community this feeling did not extend to the school. Anna and Maria remarked that the staff's responsibility to clean the school was similar to their responsibility to care for their homes and their neighborhood. All of the students spoke of the school as a separate place from their community, regardless of the fact that the school is centrally located in the neighborhood. Similarly, Steve, the science teacher, spoke of the students from the Shaw School seeing Leekslip as "their whole world, you know, it only takes two seconds to get away from here and then

the rest of the world operates under these values [the values taught through PBIS]". Leah, the math teacher, demonstrated the separation between the teachers and the students when she spoke of what her students and their families valued, "I don't see it as a majority of them saying that this is very important for them to get an education". Leah viewed an interest in education as attending school events, checking homework, and coming to meetings. To be involved in your child's education you had to come into the school building. The families and their values were not part of the same culture as the teachers' and their culture. Teacher involvement in students' lives also happened at the school. Only Evelyn spoke of attending community events or reaching out to students at their homes. The school building and staff remained separate entities from the community.

This finding of separation begins to outline the teachers' cultural model and illustrate how the teachers viewed their culture as superior to the students'. The teachers' cultural model reflected their dominant cultural background with a foundation in individual achievement and a belief that American society is a meritocracy. The teachers' beliefs surrounding the students' culture will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

Subset Theme 1: The Students Held a More Complex View of Their Community than the Staff at the School

When asked about their community, whether they considered it good or bad place the students all described their community as a good place where there were some bad

people who did bad things. The teachers, however, primarily referred to the community as a bad, dangerous, and socio-economically deprived place. The teachers emphasized that the students should be trying to elevate themselves out of their current situation, out of this community. Several of the students were cognizant of how their community was viewed by the staff at the school as evident in their interviews.

When asked to describe their community, the students' answers illustrated the finding that they understood the complex nature of any community. Maria said, "To me I like it because I am already used to all the bad stuff, it's not like total bad thing", she went on to describe her view of the neighborhood "There are gang members; there are also students who care about their school education". The students understood that there were "bad people" in their community who left trash and garbage in the streets, graffiti buildings, and caused violence and destruction. However, for the students, these destructive elements did not *define* the community. They viewed their community, especially within the project or small neighborhood where they lived, as an extended family that cared for each other and the physical space. Anna noted that the neighbor upstairs often cared for her and her sister when her Mom had appointments. Inez commented that "my Mom takes us out to the park, and every time she takes a bag with her …she tells us to pick stuff up and put it in the bag". Because the students' Hispanic culture reflects a collectivist mentality, the entire community was part of the students' "family". Their Hispanic ethnicity influenced their feelings and loyalty towards this family. The students did not see the community as a place they (as an individual) needed

to escape from but rather as a place where the members of the community should collaborate to benefit all.

The students' view of the community was in contrast to how the teachers described the community in which the students lived. Though not asked directly whether they felt the students come from a good or bad community, a negative description of the community was expressed when they described the students' homes and values. Steve talked about the PBIS values as being "all good values that they may not see out on the street everyday". He went on to describe that many parents didn't let their children out after school because of the dangerous neighborhood. Leah, Pamela, Frank, and Steve all mentioned that the students live in the projects and are "very low-income and a lot of one, uh, one-parent [families]". The researcher found that the predominant view of the teaching staff was that the students' community is poor financially, populated with dangerous people and is an unsafe area. When planning events, like the PBIS fun Fridays, the staff would refrain from events that would cost the students money. The school routinely held parent conferences and school dances during daytime hours to ensure student and staff safety. Administrators regularly sent safety officers on home visits and maintained security officers at the school's entrance during all school hours, including extra-curricular events.

Subset Theme 2: To the Students, Home is a Welcoming Place and School is an Uncomfortable Place

When discussing their homes the students described them as a safe, welcoming places with trusting, caring adults. School was described as more variable. At times it could be angry and uncomfortable "I usually don't get mad [at my house] cause it's my house. I feel comfortable at my house. But I usually swear in school cause I get angry" (Maria). The students often felt that teachers didn't like them:

Julia: My teachers they're rude.

Researcher: What do you mean when you say that?

Julia: That they don't, it seems like they do not like you.

Researcher: What makes you think they do not like you?

Julia: By the way they talk to you, look at you.

At times the students did feel comfortable at school though several mentioned the presence of other family members and friends as being the reason for this level of comfort. Students mentioned that some teachers were caring and understanding and in those classrooms, they felt safe.

The findings indicate that home was considered a safe and comfortable place, even when the students got in trouble. Maria noted that she didn't get mad at her house or swear at her Mom or sisters very often, yet she commented that, "in school I swear so

much". Home was also considered a safe, comfortable place because there were people there that you could talk to, "every time I have to, like, talk to them, they understand" (Inez). Home was spoken of as a sacred place because there were people that cared about the students. The students' behavior (less swearing, more obedience) and how they spoke of responsibilities and respect reflected a heightened sense of respect that was absent from their conversations about school. For example, Maria noted that everyone had an active role in cleaning and caring for their home, "You're not supposed to just be there", as well as the need to be respectful to your mother "it's not appropriate to swear at your Mom". When asked about cleaning and respecting people at school, the students felt it should be more reciprocal. They would be respectful as long as they felt respected by the teachers. The students felt respected by the teachers when they were treated as individuals and when they believed the teachers cared about them. This included teachers speaking to the students outside of class about non-school activities, and helping the students to manage their behavior issues in a manner with which the students understood. For example, Anna felt respected by a teacher who allowed her to take small breaks when her attention issues became problematic. The students equated care with respect.

Subset Theme 3: Problem Students Need Their own Space in Order for Control and Learning to be Maintained

All of the teachers spoke of the need to separate problem students. This finding was expressed in two ways, the need for a temporary separation during an incident (or to

prevent an incident) as well as a need to create a separate learning environment for students with chronic behavior issues. Catherine believed that the district needed a "good, old-fashioned alternative school", Pamela also felt that an alternative program for problem students was necessary for both the teachers and the students "I truly believe that there's quite a few kids that we are not doing a service to keeping em in a classroom of 25".

The researcher found that all of the teachers used separation as a tool to deescalate a situation. Some of the teachers would move the child to a separate table or into the hallway until they calmed down, others would send them to the office "just to separate them. I think it's best to have them removed and have a conversation with someone else" (Steve). Frank, the PBIS coach also used separation as a way to calm a situation and get a student ready to return to class, "we have these two offices across the hall that we'll use for time-outs". All of the teachers mentioned that sending students to the office was something they tried to avoid.

Some of the teachers also mentioned the need to separate themselves from the situation. When asked why they typically sent students to the office several of the teacher's noted that it occurred when they felt they could no longer be professional and in control. Catherine stated that she sent a student to the office because "we needed to separate for my own (pause) I was losing myself". Pamela also mentioned that she asks students to leave when she finds herself engaging with the student in an argument, escalating the situation. The teachers believed a situation needed to be deescalated when

their sense of order and control had been disturbed. While students' also used space and time to calm down after a behavior event, their need to deescalate was seen as a way to control themselves versus the need to control others reflected by the teachers. This further reflects the teachers' cultural behavior model that valued quiet and order, which will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Subset Theme 4: PBIS is Separate from the School Discipline System

As the teachers were discussing the PBIS program and school discipline it became clear that these two programs were not connected. This finding indicates that the teachers viewed PBIS as the positive, reward program for good students and discipline as a program for students who did not comply with the rules. Steve saw the two as clearly separated "the kids who are, um, the bad side of it they don't get a whole lot of participation in the good side of it". The school discipline forms corroborated this separation. The levels of infractions that are clearly stated on the student referral form do not reference the four R's of the PBIS program. During observations, the researcher did not observe the PBIS coaches (who conduct the disciplinary referrals) using the four R's in their language as they spoke to the students about their reasons for being referred. None of the students mentioned the four R's when asked what administrators talked to them about when they were sent to the office.

How space is used and felt by participants in a disciplinary event is a significant factor in school discipline. Many of the themes that came out of the spatial life world also contain elements of the temporal. Time in school is considered valuable and moving

quickly to teachers while it often drags and is wasted time to students. There were several temporal themes that will be discussed next.

Temporal Life World

Time is often a significant factor in school, especially with regard to discipline. The temporal life world held one essential theme and three subset themes that were informative to the research. The essential theme describes how the values taught through PBIS come from the teachers' past experiences. The three subset temporal themes are as follows: (1) students need time after an incident to relax and calm down without adult interference; (2) the administrator who spoke to a student after an incident would bring up unrelated infractions from a student's past; and (3) there was a belief among the students' families that children should be allowed to behave as children. The parents did not want their children to grow up too fast.

Essential Theme 2: The Values Taught Through PBIS are Influenced by the Teachers' Past

When asked about the origin of the values taught through PBIS and why these particular values were chosen all of the teachers stated that the values were considered necessary (i.e. the students were not learning them at home) and were based in the values from the teachers' upbringing as well as how they raised their own children. The data indicated that the values taught through the PBIS program reflected the middle class backgrounds of the teaching staff. They spoke of showing respect by clapping at assemblies, being on time, removing hats indoors, and speaking respectfully to adults.

They wanted the students to understand the benefits of hard work, and to gain an understanding of the benefits of individual achievement. This finding further supports the notion that the teachers' cultural model emphasized individual achievement and the belief in meritocracy, whereby achievement is gained through talent and hard work without the benefit of privilege, class, race, or wealth.

When asked why the values being taught through PBIS and the four R's were chosen all five teachers and the PBIS coach believed that these values were lacking in the students. Steve noted that while the students "understand the values that we are trying to teach them" explicitly teaching these values is necessary because the students do not see these values "out on the street everyday from people in their neighborhood". This statement informed the researcher that Steve's cultural model reflected his belief in the absolute acceptance of his values, which were reflective of the dominant culture. Furthermore, it illustrated the negative associations Steve held toward the students' culture. It should be noted that Steve was not alone in these beliefs. They were reflected by several of the teachers interviewed. Frank said that the PBIS values are similar to those from his own life experience; these were values that were taught in his home and that he was currently teaching to his children. When asked, Evelyn said that these values come from our "heritage, our background, the way I was raised". She was the only teacher to connect the PBIS values to cultural norms. The teachers' deficit model of thinking will be further discussed in Chapter Five.

Subset Theme 1: Childhood is a Time When Children Should be Allowed to be Children

The findings imply that there was a familial belief, evident in the students' interviews, that children were expected to behave 'like children', participating in children's activities, free from adult responsibilities, up to a certain age. Responsibilities were added slowly and the expectation that students would in engage in children's behaviors, such as playing outside with friends, remained throughout middle school.

All of the students mentioned that they went out "to play" after school. The few rules at home primarily revolved around homework, curfews and cleaning. Julia mentioned that her mother did not require her or her sister to do chores until they were eight or nine years old. Matias commented, "I mostly don't have to the dishes because I'm either doing my homework or outside playing". When the students got in trouble the punishment was usually a restriction from going outside to play. Both the eight grade and the sixth grade students mentioned playing after school using that specific language. They did not say they were 'hanging out' or going to the mall or other teenage activities but playing outside. The parents encouraged this activity, keeping their children in child roles, as opposed to pushing them to take on more adult responsibilities and pastimes.

This finding reflects the Hispanic cultural belief in the importance of children within the family. Related to the concept of *familismo,* children are considered extremely important and hold a special place within the family (Orozco, 2008). Sacrifices are made for children and a child's well-being is considered superior to the well-being of any other family member. By allowing their children to remain children for a longer period of

time, the Hispanic families of the students' interviewed are placing value on their childhood experiences over the need to move them into adulthood.

Subset Theme 2: The Authority that Spoke to the Student After an Incident Often Brought up Unrelated Problems From the Students' Past

The researcher asked each student what happened after they were sent to the office for a disciplinary referral. Several of the students mentioned how the administrator who discussed the incident with them would also bring up other past issues that were not related to the current disciplinary event. After getting into a fight, Inez was sent to the office and spoke to one of the disciplinary administrator. When the administrator called Inez's Mom he first brought up that she wasn't doing her homework and then discussed the fight.

Researcher: He mentioned the homework on the phone?

Inez: Yeah. He told my Mom that I wasn't doing my homework.

Researcher: Did that have anything to do with…?

Inez: The argument? No.

Julia had a similar experience when her Mom was brought in about her skipping detention. The teacher brought up her uniform violations and incomplete class work, issues that were unrelated to the immediate disciplinary event.

Similarly, the researcher found that the students were held accountable for disciplinary events that had occurred in previous years and new incidents were judged based upon that record. Matias commented that the principal had told him he was on his "last chance" this year (he was interviewed in October) because of the behavior problems from the previous year and Maria was cautioned several times by counselors and administrators "not to mess up" because she was having a good year. The students' understanding of their status at the school was informed by the relationships they held with those who told them their disciplinary status. The authority figures at the school influenced the students understanding of how discipline worked at the school. Specifically, that the students' past would be a factor in how they were viewed by school personnel. They were 'problem students' because of past events and this would influence any current disciplinary event. Consequences for a new incident were based upon their record from the previous year.

Subset Theme 3: Students Need Time to Calm Down After an Incident

The teachers and the students both spoke of needing time to relax after an incident. Though the students chafed at being told to calm down during an incident they admitted that in order to process the event and consider their own actions, they needed time to calm down. After being in a fight, Matias was able to reflect on his inability to deal with the problem until after he calmed down. "Mr. Goodwyn tried to talk to me but I didn't answer". He was too angry and needed time to calm down before he could process the event. Frank, the PBIS coach, also mentioned that providing students with a

chance to calm down is part of the disciplinary referral process, "[we] give them time to calm down and relax and stuff and then we'll speak to them when their ready to talk". These findings indicate a cultural model that valued quiet, logical discussion after an event. In particular, that dealing with children *during* an incident is counterproductive. The teachers felt that for the students to construct meaning from a disciplinary event they had to be calm and relaxed. The teachers' culture valued peace, quiet, and reason and believed that the students were "ready to talk" when they modeled those behaviors.

Additionally, both groups also spoke of how teachers use time to deescalate a situation. When describing a disciplinary event that resulted in an office referral, Evelyn mentioned several times that she "gave her [the student] a few minutes to see if she would make the right decision". Pamela was more direct and would ask the student if they needed a time out in another room in order to calm down and refocus. The students were aware of how the teachers used time to help resolve potential problems. When the students discussed teachers with whom they had a good relationship, the teacher's use of time and space to resolve an incident was a common theme. Anna described one teacher who provided her with time when she became agitated, "she tells me 'Oh, take a walk' or something and then I take a two, three minute walk and then come back…[and I'm] calm and doing my work".

The temporal life world is part of the disciplinary process in both obvious and subtle ways. Time is a tool used by the teachers to help students stay out of trouble and reflect on behavior incidents. The values taught through PBIS are affected by time, both

the teachers' past and the students' behavior in childhood become factors in how those values are accepted. The temporal life world weaves through the three other worlds and factors into the relational world as relationships are built over time and change as time passes. Though the findings for the relational life world have been separated, for ease of reporting, they are connected to both the spatial and temporal life worlds. That relationships are a significant part of school discipline is evident from the number and significance of the relational world findings.

The Relational Life World

Student-teacher relationships are a defining element of school discipline. Subsequently, the relational life world held the greatest number of findings from the study, including three essential themes and five subset themes. The first relational essential theme is that the teachers believe that the values taught through PBIS are meant to bring the students into closer compliance with what they considered the 'real' world outside of the students' community. The second relational essential theme defined a special relationship between the students and their mother. Similar in nature, the third relational essential theme describes how the students' relationship with each individual teacher affects their behavior in their classroom. The five subset themes are (1) the parents' values expressed hope for their child's future; (2) the relationship between the teacher and the parent affected the students' behavior; (3) the presence of other students affected a behavior incident; (4) the teachers believed that students with chronic behavior problems had poor relationships with themselves, their community, and their families;

and, (5) the students' expectations at home were focused on family care over individual achievement

Essential Theme 3: The Values Taught Through PBIS are Designed to Bring the Students into Closer Connection with the Teachers' World

When asked why the school chose the specific values taught through PBIS the researcher found that two answers were repeated by all of the teachers: that these values were missing in the students' lives and that these values would help the students connect and participate in the teachers' world. The teachers' world was viewed as the 'real world' with the behaviors expected being the behaviors that are valued throughout the world. Several teachers commented that these values would help the students become participating and beneficial members of society.

Several of the teachers mentioned that good behavior is what makes good citizens with "citizen" implying a meaning of good Americans. "[It] was just what we felt we could show by example to the kids and what we felt they needed to have to be (pause) effective citizens in this country". This implied a belief among the teachers that the students were not members of American society. Pamela noted that the four R's (ready, responsible, represent, respect) were created to give the students "what we felt they needed to have to be effective citizens in this country". When asked, Leah said the values taught through PBIS were "all those things that you value yourself", implying that the students were outside the American society that holds these values. She espoused the belief that when the students followed the rules and the four R's that "school would be

good" because the students would fit into the teachers' cultural norms. The teachers' both stated and implied that these values, these norms that would bring the students into American society were not present in the students' lives outside of school. Steve said "they're [the students] not always seeing these values" but that the students "understand what they're trying to get across" indicating that the students need the values and behaviors taught through PBIS in order to fully enter into American life.

In describing the values the students' needed to be successful, the teachers routinely mentioned that these values were missing from the students' homes. When asked about the students' parents' values several of the teachers' replies were predominantly negative. When asked, Pamela said "culturally, I don't see education being that much of a value either", and noting that "music and sex. Fun. Fun and games" were what the parents' valued. Similarly, Frank replied that they don't value education, getting a job, the environment, or their children. Lea also responded that the parents' "don't seem to value [an education], I don't see the majority of them saying that this is very important for them to get an education". While all of the teachers noted that some parents did value education, it was used as a qualifying statement before espousing their beliefs about the majority of the parents. The teachers believed they needed to provide the students with the values taught through the PBIS program because of their negative view of the parents' value system.

Subset Theme 1: The Parents' Values Express Their Hope for Their Child's Future

Both this theme and the previous essential theme express what values each group believed would provide the best tools for the student's future. The teachers believed that by teaching values through PBIS they were giving the students tools for success. The students' parents also taught their students values that they believed would help them obtain a successful future. Though the researcher did not speak directly to the parents, the findings infer some of the values taught in the students' homes through the rules, expectations, and punishments that the parents meted out to their children. The students were also asked about their parents' values and why they had to follow certain rules.

The researcher found that the parents valued their children's *safety* above all else. All of the students noted a curfew that they had to follow and all mentioned the need to call their parent's if they were going to be late or stay after school. For example, Inez's Mom tells her to "tell me where you're going cause if something happens I know where you are…if I don't tell her…she is going to be everywhere looking for me". Anna also mentioned how she frequently had one of the administrators call her mother when she stayed after school to verify where she was and when she would leave for home. It was clear from the interviews that the student's parents want to know where their children were at all times.

When asked why their parents had them follow particular rules the students all said that their parents cared about them and wanted what was best for them and their future. This finding further reflects the value Hispanic families place upon children.

Maria said that her mother wanted her to have "a better future than she has", Inez said that her mother wants her and her sister to grow up to be good parents, and Anna spoke of her mother's desire for her to "be someone, not a no one…like a doctor, like someone that would be famous". Finally, all of the students discussed their parent's wish that they be respected by others now and when they become adults. This value of not being disrespected was directly stated by Maria "I was taught never to be hit by nobody", and was brought up during discussions of fights and arguments at school and when the students spoke of how they were treated by some of the teachers.

Essential Theme 4: There is a Distinctive Relationship Between the Child and the Mother

After analyzing the student interviews the researcher found that there was a special relationship between the children and their mothers. She was the primary caregiver in the family and held the most power. This was true regardless of the family make-up. Whether she was the only parent, part of a partnership or parenting with an extended family, Mom made the rules and held the children accountable. This bond between the student and his/her mother created a heightened sense of respect and obedience that was not found in any other relationship. This finding reflects the Hispanic cultural belief *respeto*. While similar to the white, middle class value of respect, *respeto* places a higher value on obedience towards family members and other adults over independence and assertiveness which is equally valued by white, middle class parents (Calzada, Fernandez, and Cortes, 2010). Maria spoke of her mother's authority by saying

"[she's] my Mom. She gave birth to me and life so I have to respect that". Julia said that her mother provides her with everything she needs and when asked why she has certain rules it was because "she cares about me".

The findings indicate that the mother was also the primary authority. She made the rules and she decided the punishments. Though the students argued with their mothers at times, they also spoke of the need to respect her, as she was the most important person in their world. Matias noted that his Mom made the rules and decided the punishments, when asked what role his father played Matias noted that his father goes along with whatever his mother decides. Although Anna frequently had arguments with her mother, she respected her authority. When Anna got in trouble for cutting her own hair she was able to reflect upon and understand her mother's distress; "even though it's my hair [that I cut], my mom, when I was younger she used to comb it" so in some sense Anna's hair also belonged to her mother. Anna also stated that her mother made rules because she cares about her wellbeing.

Essential Theme 5: The Students' Relationship with the Teachers Affected Their Behavior in Class

There were several reasons the students cited for why they got in trouble in school (fighting, swearing, arguing with other students). The findings suggest that the students' desire to question authority was the primary reason they were sent to the office. Both Anna and Maria noted that they refused to change their behavior just because a teacher was in the room; they believe that students who made such changes were fake. They

refused to be intimidated by the teachers, which they believed was what most teachers wanted. Julia refused to take off the wrong color sweater, and Anna would purposely read the wrong book. Maria told a counselor that she wasn't helping her (after the counselor has said the same thing to her). The teachers in question usually described these behavior incidents as being disrespectful, while the students believed that the teacher's did not like them. The students did not respect the teachers involved in these events.

When asked, the students described the bad relationships they had with several of their teachers. Only Julia had all negative relationships. She had a deeper distrust of all adults outside of her family than the rest of the group. This included the researcher, which may have affected the interview process. Julia's distrust of adults made her appear wary and uncomfortable during her initial interview. The researcher was unable to connect with Julia and make her feel more comfortable. As a result, her answers were monosyllabic and at times she refrained from answering questions. During her second interview Julia was more responsive, but remained distant and hesitated to share her thoughts, especially about her family.

The teachers involved in the students' bad relationships were described as "too strict" and often behaved in an unprofessional manner. They would yell at the students to "be quiet", would tell the students during an incident that they "have problems". They would role their eyes at the student (Julia) make comments like "Oh, excuse me if I don't believe you" (Matias). The students found these teachers to be unapproachable, that they

talked *at* the students not *with* them, and would describe the student's problem for them. The students believed that these teachers did not like children. When asked how they knew the teacher didn't like kids, Julia responded with "they way they talk to you, and look at you". In general, these teachers were found to be untrustworthy and not deserving of respect. So the students refused to respect what they viewed as a fake, school-imposed authority. Often, a teacher's unprofessional behavior would cause or escalate an incident.

The findings indicate that the teachers with whom the students had good relationships were seen to care about the students in an individual manner. Maria noted that one teacher would regularly asked her about her day and told her if she ever needed anything to ask. Another teacher was described as allowing the students to walk around the room or take a short break when they became agitated. In general, teachers considered "good" or "liked" by the students, offered alternatives to being sent to the office. These teachers were not lenient towards misbehavior in their classrooms, but the students chose not to act out because they respected the teacher and had alternatives to relieve a situation.

Subset Theme 2: The Relationship Between the Teacher and the Parent Affected the Student's Behavior

The findings revealed that relationship between the teacher and the parent influenced how an incident was handled. When the teacher had a positive relationship with the parent the teacher would use the parent as a resource to try to deescalate an

incident. Catherine noted that even the suggestion of a call home could curb inappropriate behavior and when Evelyn described a recent behavior problem that resulted in an office referral it included a call home during the incident.

> "and I said 'I'm going to call your mother on the phone'… I got her mother on the phone and I said 'come over to the desk your mother wants to talk to you'"

Though this incident still resulted in an office visit, Evelyn was able to work with the student and the mother to resolve the problem. She felt confident that calling the student's Mother would help her with the student; she believed in a partnership between parents and teachers in educating the student.

An additional finding indicated that the teachers who had built bonds with parents had a greater capacity to work with students and reduce or resolve an incident. The positive relationship between the parent and the teacher resulted in a greater feeling of respect by the student toward the teacher. If the parent did not have a good relationship with the school or the teacher the student was more likely to disrespect the teacher and misbehave.

Subset Theme 3: The presence of other students affected a behavior incident

The presence of other students often exacerbated a behavior incident. Some of the students had trouble seeing this effect on their own incidents but noted how it affected others. For example, when asked if the presence of other students makes her talk back

more, Maria said "Not with me but, I know, with other people, yeah". However, previously, when describing a fight she was in, Maria said "[the other students] told me, like 'oh my God, Maria, you didn't hit her' and I was like 'I didn't hit her' and I grabbed the ball and I whupped it at her face".

Some of the students recognized the effect that others had on their behavior. Matias noted that he got in more trouble last year because of the class he was in, the mix of students created more problems. Anna was also aware that she was more likely to talk back to a teacher if there were other students in the room.

In particular, the findings suggest that the presence of other students affected incidents that involved a student and a teacher. The students' need not to be disrespected became heightened when there was an audience. This reflected the students' cultural understanding of respect or *respeto,* the need to be respected by others. The students' understanding of *respeto* was also influenced by the American value of teenage rebellion that is not valued by Hispanic cultures but is accepted by white middle class cultures. These two values had combined to assert a greater importance on not being disrespected over the Hispanic value of respecting all adults including teachers. The students saw how they spoke and reacted to a teacher as being true to him or herself, not changing their behavior because they were interacting with a teacher. The students believed that students who were considered 'good' were fake, changing their behavior when a teacher was present. Maria felt these 'good' students did "everything for the teacher, does a lot

of work, but when the teacher is not looking, always talking". The researcher found that being true to herself was more important to Maria than staying out of trouble.

Subset Theme 4: The Teachers Believe that Students with Chronic Behavior Issues have Poor Relationships with Themselves, their Community, and their Families

When asked why students with chronic behavior issues did not follow the rules the findings suggest that the teachers believed that these students did not have positive relationships with themselves or their families. The students' inability to work at grade level was noted by all of the teachers. Many of the teachers felt that the students did not respect themselves or believe in their own abilities enough to do grade level work. "School is hard for them. I think they feel intimidated in the classroom" (Pamela). The teachers believed that because they could not do the work the students become bored and get into trouble. Leah felt that the students were "not motivated to do the work … when I try to motivate them it irritates them".

When asked why these students failed to follow the rules many of the teachers said there was a lack of attention at home. The researcher found that the teachers felt that the students did not see the value of education in their own lives, and the teachers attributed this belief to the parents. To the teachers what was lacking was care, love, and attention to school related issues. Pamela felt that students were not getting "enough attention at home and they're looking for it at school or [there's] just something missing in their home life". Several of the teachers felt that there were no consequences for misbehavior at home so the students did not need to follow the rules.

Subset Theme 5: The Expectations for the Students at Home Revolved Around Care

When asked about rules at home the students had trouble defining specific rules, often confusing this question to be about school rules. There was little direct discussion of rules or punishments within the family. After an incident occurs, the punishment is meted out, without discussing the event. "Just never talked about it since the day I could go back outside" (Maria). However, from the interview data the findings imply that there was an understanding about what was expected from the students when they were at home. Caring for themselves and their family was their primary responsibility. The Hispanic cultural value of *familismo* was evident as the students described their home responsibilities. The family unit provides purpose and meaning to life. Caring for the family is the underlying principle behind expectations at home in contrast to the values that are the foundation of the rules at school. The students with younger siblings were responsible for picking them up after school, watching them on the weekends, and helping them with their chores. Most of the students did not see this as a hardship. Matias mentioned that he helped with his little brother and sister because he enjoyed it; it was fun to play with them. Inez responded that being punished for forgetting to pick up her sister was fair because her sister's safety is part of her responsibility. When asked what 'responsible' meant at home the students spoke of caring for family members, cleaning the house to help Mom, and taking care of your belongings without being told. The expectations also indicated how the parents care for their children. Curfew, because of the parents' safety concerns, was an important rule that always brought punishment if violated. The children were given a certain amount of independence to go out after

school or in the evenings and on weekends, however, all of the students mentioned that their parents would come looking for them if they returned late. Essentially, the students felt that the rules around curfew were fair because the rules were in place to make sure they were safe and protected. Further supporting this idea of care within the family was the fact that none of the students received a standard allowance for completing chores. Julia mentioned that her mother bought her clothes in return for the chores that she did; Matias, Maria, Anna, and Inez all said that their mothers gave them money if they had extra during the week but it was not tied to their completing chores. They all spoke of times when their Mom did not have extra money because of bills, food shopping, etc. None of the students felt it was unfair not to receive money each week or when promised. There was an understanding that Mom did the best she could for them. In general, chores were done to help the family, in particular Mom.

The previous examples describe the ethic of care that is the foundation of the students' expectations at home. This is in contrast to the expectations at school that reflected the dominant culture ideologies of individual responsibility and a discipline model that values calm, quiet, and reason. At school, the students were expected to be responsible for themselves. The teachers discouraged students from getting involved in behavior incidents. Pamela noted that "I definitely establish my routine in the year that if a fight does start I expect them to stay in their seat" and Catherine explained that she tries to teach the students that "you don't laugh at it, you don't encourage it". This contrasts with how behavior incidents occur at home. Inez noted that her older brother would reinforce her mother's rules, admonishing Inez when she violated her curfew. Similarly,

Maria discussed how her older sisters would also remind her to complete chores and would enforce punishments set out by her mother. This finding indicates the two different disciplinary models the students are asked to follow. How these different models impact the students understanding of the discipline system and PBIS will be discussed in Chapter Five.

Along with home expectations the reasons that students got in trouble at home reflected the idea of care for self and others and was tied to the special role of the mother. The reason that students got in trouble at home was for violating their Mothers' trust. Anna cut her hair after her mother said no. Inez got in trouble for forgetting to pick up her sister. Matias broke a window costing his Mom money. Matias also noted that as long as he told the truth his Mother was not upset, his being trustworthy was more important. Both Maria and Anna noted that they often got in trouble for talking back to their mother.

Findings of the Shared Experience

Some of the data could not be placed meaningfully within only one phenomenological life world. These findings incorporate all four worlds and describe how the two groups (the teachers and the students) derived different meanings from a single shared experience. These findings are related to the research questions, providing information about specific components of PBIS and the school discipline system, which were viewed as two separate entities. The first finding describes how the four R's (respect, responsible, represent, and ready) of PBIS hold different meanings for the

students at home than at school. Each physical space (the school and the students' homes) placed different meanings upon a single set of words. Additionally, the relationship between the students and the adults in each location constructed separate meanings for the four R words. The second discusses the teachers understanding of the four R's of PBIS. The final finding of shared experience describes how the students determine a fair or unfair rule versus how teachers make that determination. The two groups of participants hold different understandings while using similar language to describe "fairness".

Finding 1: The Meaning of Responsible, Respect, Represent, and Ready Varied from Home to School for the Students

The students described the four R's of PBIS differently for home and school. The students' Hispanic backgrounds influenced how they made meaning from each word. 'Responsible' at school meant being responsible for yourself and your materials. To be responsible at school Maria said you needed to be "prepared for class and going to all your classes on time". Similarly, Julia said it meant that "you are responsible for all your work and you are responsible for yourself". There were some similarities with 'responsible' at home; Inez said it meant to do your homework and take care of your belongings, which was reiterated by several of the students. However, 'responsible' also meant being responsible for your home and family, reflecting the students' understanding of the importance of *familismo*. All of the students mentioned keeping their home clean as part of being responsible. Matias and Inez also spoke of caring for siblings.

The researcher found that 'respect' at school was mostly undefined with students replying, "respect others, yourself", "older people" and the golden rule. Matias noted that he remembered the meaning from first grade, "[the teachers] put up posters of, like, little kids and the golden rule would be [to] treat others the way you would like to treat them, with respect". 'Respect' at home was tied to obedience and reflected the students' understanding of *respeto,* which included a heightened sense of obedience and duty (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortez, 2010), in particular obedience to their mother. When asked what respect meant at home Inez spoke solely of her mother, "Respectful is not to hit my Mom, to not scream at my Mom, to not say bad words to my Mom …if she tells me to do something, to do it". The interview data found that 'respect' meant more to the students when connected to the strong ties of home.

School 'represent' was also largely undefined. Students answered that you should "represent yourself in a good way" or represent the school or your community. When asked how you represent your community some of the students talked about cleaning up the neighborhood, while Anna and Julia said they didn't know what it meant. The meaning of the four R's reflected the values the students believed the school was trying to teach.

The findings intimate that 'ready' was a term only associated with school and often it was defined similarly to 'responsible'. You were to be ready to learn or ready for the teacher. When asked, the students thought the school was trying to teach them respect, to make their community better, and to prepare them for the future. This was

seen as largely academic. Many of the values reflected middle class norms such as to be on time, get a job, and maintain individual responsibility.

Finding 2: The Teachers Understanding of the Four R's were Consistent

When asked to define the four R's the researcher found that the teachers' answers were consistent. 'Ready' and 'responsible' were interchangeable. Both words indicated having materials, being in uniform, and completing homework. A couple of the teachers also described 'ready' as being ready to learn when class started and two teachers felt 'responsible' also meant taking responsibility for yourself and your actions. 'Represent' and 'respect' were left undefined by all of the teachers. When asked what those words meant the teachers would describe their application, "respect yourself" and "respect teachers" were the common responses. Similarly, questions about the meaning of 'represent' also resulted in instructions to represent your community, family and self in a positive manner. One teacher defined respect as the golden rule 'treat others as you would be treated'.

Finding 3: Consistency is a Common Determinate for Both Teachers and Students when Describing a Rule or Punishment as Fair or Unfair

When asked what makes a rule (both at home and at school) fair or unfair all of the students felt that a rule/punishment was fair when it was applied equally to all people with their main concern being that school rules were often applied inconsistently. This was also true for the teachers, although their main concern was a lack of consistency in following the discipline policy. The teachers believed that students who misbehaved

more frequently were not consistently held to the consequences outlined in the discipline policy. Contrarily, the students did not understand that when they had committed previous offenses the consequences for subsequent offenses would be greater. Though Julia repeatedly was out of uniform she did not understand why she was given detentions and her mother called when another girl (who was out of uniform for the first time) was only verbally reprimanded. The students also felt that rules/punishment that fixed the problem (for example when a student's class was changed to resolve an issue with another student) or were designed to make them a better person (being respectful, going to bed early, doing chores, caring for brothers or sisters) were fair. The students also understood the importance of obedience and felt that rules relating to obeying family members, in particular their mothers, were fair.

Rules that were considered unfair by the students were those that were applied inconsistently, where the student felt they were the only one who was held to that rule. "Other people were wearing different colored shirts and then me, I had to go take it off" (Julia). "They sent me to in-house and they sent her to class" (Maria). All of the students confirmed this finding and had an incident that reflected what they considered an unfair practice. Rules were also considered unfair if they seemed unnecessary or unreasonable. This was true of both home and school rules. Anna believed that her statements to teachers that frequently resulted in an office visit were not meant disrespectfully; she spoke to teachers and students in the same manner. She felt this should not get her in trouble. Similarly, Maria believed that swearing in front of a teacher (as opposed to *at* a teacher) should not be punished. The students also stated that the rules that they had at

home (like a curfew), that children from other families did not have to follow, were unfair.

Conclusion

This chapter described the findings from the interviews, observations and documents collected from the Shaw School in Leekslip. The majority of the findings were connected to the phenomenological life worlds and described through those lenses. The findings outline how students and teachers at the Shaw School understand and experience the PBIS program and the discipline system. Chapter Five will further analyze the findings connecting them to the research questions and theoretical concepts and outlining areas for future research. Chapter Five will also connect the findings to the themes from the literature review, which will inform the local site and the PBIS program as to changes that could make the PBIS program more effective.

Chapter 5: Summary & Discussion

Introduction

Chapter Five presents the summary and discussion of the findings as they relate to the research questions. In the summary of the findings, the essential phenomenological themes are connected to the following research questions:

- Research Question One: What issues impact the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers under a PBIS program?
- Research Question Two: How does the perception of the Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports program differ between Hispanic non-native speaking students versus dominant culture teachers?
- Research Question Three: How do Hispanic non-native speakers understand the values taught through the program?

In the course of addressing the research questions, the influence of Hispanic cultural elements will be addressed. Hispanic ethnicity includes a range of countries from the European, South and Central American continents as well as locations in the U.S. territories. While it is important to discuss several foundational beliefs that run throughout Hispanic cultural values, the researcher does not wish to indicate that there is only one Hispanic culture or that the beliefs discussed are static, absolute, or solely define Hispanic culture and values.

Additionally, this chapter connects the findings from the study to the literature discussed in Chapter Two and the theoretical concepts outlined in Chapter One. Finally,

Chapter Five describes the limitations of the study and makes recommendations for practice, policy, and future research.

Summary of the Findings

The five essential themes found in this study had several meaningful connections to the research questions. Essential theme one, which described the separation between the school and the community, and essential theme five, which discussed the relationship between the teacher and the student, informed research question one: What issues impact the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers under a Positive Behavior Interventions and Support (PBIS) program? Essential themes two and three discussed the values taught through PBIS and informed the second research question: How does the perception of the Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports program differ between Hispanic non-native speaking students versus dominant culture teachers? The final research question: How do Hispanic non-native speakers understand the values taught through the PBIS program, is addressed through the fourth essential theme, which discussed the special relationship between the children and their mothers. Several of the subset themes from the findings provide further insight towards the research questions and will be addressed in this section.

Research Question 1: What issues impact the experience of Hispanic non-native speakers under a PBIS program?

Separate Communities

One of the most significant issues that impacted the students' experience of the discipline program in general and the PBIS program specifically was described by essential theme one: the sense of separation between the school and the community. Discipline systems are only effective when the students are members of the school community. People follow societies rules because they agree to belong to that community and wish to remain connected (Morgan D'Atrio et al., 1996). Any school's system of punishment and reward works only if the students want to be part of the community and understand that their misbehavior separates them from that community. At the Shaw School, the students were missing that sense of belonging to the school community. This separation was felt by the students and engendered by the staff. The teachers and administrators did not view the students as part of their community. When the teachers discussed the values taught through the PBIS program they spoke of the students as needing to learn the values the rest of the world follows, indicating that the students (and their values) lie outside of their world view. The staff had created, through PBIS and the school's discipline policy, a cultural discipline model that emphasized behaviors associated with the staff's white, middle class background. These behaviors included following directions, being quiet, listening, remaining orderly, and cleanliness.

These values were evident throughout the PBIS Expectations Grid[6]. For example, the outlined expectation for student behavior in the classroom included being in uniform and using 'active listening'. In the cafeteria, the students were to sit in assigned seats, say please and thank you, and 'keep tables and floors clean'. For students to gain entry into the school community they had to conform to the teachers' cultural discipline model.

The teachers also spoke of the students' community as separate from the school. They would discuss the areas around the school, talk about the bad neighborhood and dangerous local people. The staff never included the school or it's staff. They always used "the community" or "the student's neighborhood" and none of the teachers said "our community" or "our neighborhood". Conversely, they did refer to the school with a sense of ownership. The students also believed that their community did not include the school. When asked what role the school played in their community the students interviewed became confused because they did not associate the school with their community.

This separation was significant to the students' experience of the PBIS program. The intent of a behavior programs is to help students comply with the rules and expected behaviors of a particular group of people in order to maintain membership in that group. In the case of the school, the group of people is the school community, which should include the staff and the students. At the Shaw School, the school community did not include the students. The school staff was the community and the students had to obey

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[6] The complete Expectation Matrix is located in Appendix C.

the rules and learn the values associated within the school in order to be admitted. The values and rules were similar to those learned in their own community, but following them as applied to the school community was more challenging. Their lack of inclusion in the school community made the students feel disconnected from the school and it created a belief that the staff's authority was falsely imposed. Additionally, the values taught through PBIS felt artificial, which resulted in students questioning an authority that they believe was falsely imposed. Because they are not members of the community, they did not see why they had to follow rules set out by people with whom they did not have a meaningful connection. The students' beliefs were influenced by their Hispanic cultural understanding of *familismo*. In Hispanic culture "family relationships involve a strong sense of loyalty, solidarity, and reciprocity" (Ruiz, 2006, p.39). These familial bonds lend authenticity to the adults' authority. At home, the adults who enforce the rules were also members of their community, their extended family. At home, the students were being asked to follow rules and abide by norms that would maintain their inclusion in the community (not initiate it). Therefore, the students understood the purpose of the rules and they believed the authority was authentic. This was different from school where obedience was required before membership was even considered.

Unrelated Issues After an Event

Another issue that affected the experience of the students in a PBIS program was how the administrator debriefed the student after an event. In the findings from Chapter Four, the students related that the administrator would often bring up past and/or

unrelated events during an office disciplinary referral. For example, when Inez was brought to the office for fighting, the PBIS coach also spoke to her and her mother about her homework issues (page 120). When Julia was sent to the office for uniform violations, the teacher also brought up a note-passing incident from several weeks previous (page 120). This compilation of events was confusing for the students. The students believed they were being disciplined for one event, yet other infractions were brought up. One function of the administrator's combining unrelated incidents was the establishment and support of the larger guiding principles that made up the school's cultural disciplinary model identified in the findings (page 145). For example, underlying Julia's infractions with note-passing and uniform violations was the school's guiding principal of orderliness. By continually violating the uniform code and passing notes in class, Julia threatened the degree of orderliness the school desired. The administrator used one violation to address all violations that affected the orderliness within the school. Making Julia an example for other students.

When the administrator brought up past problems and unrelated events, it added to the lack of authenticity with school authority for the student. As noted in the literature, the students believed that the teacher/administrator was using whatever they could to punish the student they way they wanted versus what actual consequence should occur (Sheets, 1995). Part of the PBIS system involves creating clear and simple rules that the students can easily follow (Sugai & Horner, 2002). The interviewed students experience did not align with the PBIS program. There were not clear violations with clear consequences. Any inappropriate behavior, past or present, could be brought up at any

time (page 120). This also presented a significant difference from what happened at home during a disciplinary event. It is important to note that there was minimal discussion of rules and expectations at home even after an event. The parent noted the infraction and told the student the consequence. Arguing and fighting may have accompanied this, but the result was a clear consequence for the immediate incident. This does not indicate that the students' parents did not have larger guiding principles they were teaching their children (page 126), but it does indicate that they did not use one child's incident to further their cultural model of discipline. This difference between home and school discipline exacerbated the sense of false authority at the school.

Student-Teacher Relationships and Classroom Behavior

The final theme that relates to issues that impact the students' experience under a PBIS program was that a student's relationship with a given teacher affected the student's behavior in their classroom. The findings imply that relationships may be the most important factor in school discipline, the more positive a relationship the less problematic a student's behavior. "The learners need to know that the teacher is interested in them, cares for and respects them as human beings" (Starratt, 2008, p.18).

When the students described their positive relationship with a teacher they spoke of how those teachers cared about them. Maria described one teacher as showing individual interest in a sincere manner. He would ask her about her day and told her that if she needed anything she could come to him. Anna mentioned how her favorite teacher would allow her to make up homework assignments she had missed without negative

commentary or punitive measures (page 130). Another teacher with whom Anna had a good relationship would allow her to take a short walk if Anna felt she was loosing control in the classroom. "There are times when I could get really annoying and I say rude stuff … she tells me 'Oh, take a walk' or something, and then I take a two minute, three minute walk and then come back". In these classrooms the students behaved. They did not avoid punishment because they perceived the teachers as permissive, they avoided behavior incidents because they believed these teachers saw each student's needs individually and sincerely attempted to help. Maria noted that most teachers "just say 'Hi' but this teacher … Mr. Clayton, the one I most like, he is always asking me if I need anything, if I have a need, I just need to ask him". Because of the positive relationship the students chose to behave and to take the steps necessary to maintain control.

The students' understanding of positive student-teacher relationships was influenced by the Hispanic cultural value of *personalismo*. While this word cannot be adequately translated into English, *personalismo* refers to the appreciation of the uniqueness of each individual regardless of their financial or social station in life (Ruiz, 2006). The students felt that the teachers who expressed genuine interest in them as an individual, who were willing to look beyond their classification as a 'student', as a 'troublemaker', as 'poor', or as 'Hispanic' were worthy of their respect. The teachers with whom the students had built positive relationships exemplified the value the Hispanic students' placed upon personal contact and social interaction (Ruiz, 2006).

This was in marked contrast to those teachers the students "did not like", and with whom they had poor relationships. Though the students described these teachers as "too strict", what came out upon further discussion was evidence of unprofessional behavior, inconsistency, and an unwillingness to see a student as an individual beyond a label of "problem student". These teachers were often sarcastic to the students and would tell the students that they "had problems" or "issues". The students viewed these teachers as unfair and they felt that they were picked on. The researcher did not observe the teachers in question so it is unknown whether the students' beliefs were accurate; however, the fact that the students felt picked on affected their behavior in those classrooms. In those teachers' classrooms, the students viewed the teacher's authority as false and school-imposed. It was not earned (like *respeto*), or deserved (like the teachers with *personalismo*), therefore it was rarely honored.

The negative relationships affected the students experience under the PBIS program because part of the program involved creating positive relationships with students. The teachers who chose not to develop those relationships struggled more with discipline. It is unknown whether these teachers believed in the PBIS program, however, from the description given by the students; they did not follow the guidelines of positive reinforcement. They rarely handed out reward tickets; they highlighted negative behavior, and held low behavior expectations for the students. PBIS provides a framework for building relationships with difficult students; this was mentioned by several of the teachers interviewed. For example, Pamela noted that passing out reward tickets to students outside of her classroom resulted in her developing relationships with

younger students before they were in the eighth grade. When teachers administering the program failed to use the PBIS tools to build positive relationships the students failed to follow or believe in the values taught under the program. According to the literature on PBIS, the program needs to be implemented school wide with consistency for maximum effectiveness at reducing problem behaviors. At the Shaw school it appeared that some aspects of the program varied widely from classroom to classroom. The teachers confirmed this finding.

Research Question 2: How does the perception of the Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports program differ between Hispanic non-native speaking students versus dominant culture teachers?

The Teachers' Past Influenced the Values Taught Through PBIS

As noted in the literature review, there is an increasing cultural difference between American schools staff members and student populations throughout the nation (Gable et al., 2005; National Center for Educational Statistics) and the Shaw school was no exception. While the majority of the student population was Hispanic and came from a low socio-economic background, the majority of the teaching staff was white and middle class. These differences become significant when the staff determines a specific set of values to explicitly teach the students. The findings indicate that the values being taught through PBIS were strongly influenced by the teachers' past experience with their families as well as their own past school experience.

When asked about the origins of the values being taught through PBIS all of the teachers spoke of their own upbringing and how they were raising their children. The teacher's experience with these values was a major reason they were included in the program, and these were values they learned from their parents, and they believed the students were missing these values. The teachers believed that they were providing the students with the tools they needed to succeed in the "real world" as opposed to what the students were learning in their own homes and community.

Several of the teachers' comments indicated a belief that the students' homes were lacking the values taught through PBIS and that it was imperative that the school provide these values for the students. Christine noted that the values taught through PBIS were chosen "I would assume because it was lacking … these things just needed to be addressed". These lacking values included "respect, self-love, self-worth, [and] having goals for yourself". Similarly, Evelyn mentioned that the values came from "the needs that we have at our school". Based upon the students' ability and willingness to comply with school rules the teachers perceived that the values they intended to teach through PBIS were missing from the students' home and community. The teachers' belief in the universal application of the values taught through PBIS supported their understanding of why the students did not meet their expectations. While the students understood the values taught through PBIS, they did not create the same meaning from their failure to comply with the rules associated with those values.

The students did not view the values taught through PBIS as something they were lacking at home. They felt that the school was attempting to supply them with similar skills to what their parents were giving them, tools for future success. While their parents were teaching them how to be good adults, the students saw the values taught at the school as relating to academics. The school was teaching them to be successful adults by teaching them math, reading, and other subjects. They did not see the non-academic values as being taught at school or as lacking in their own homes and community. The students viewed the values being taught at school solely as relating to school. They did not see these values as a tool for leaving their community and entering the "real" world. This misaligned vision between the two groups resulted in the teachers sustaining their deficit model of culture and the students failing to comply with the rules of the school when they conflicted with the values being taught at home.

The PBIS Values were Designed to Bring the Students into Closer Connection with the Teachers' World.

The teachers chose the values taught through PBIS to help the students become participating members of their community. To the teachers, this meant learning the values and skills that they believed would help them leave their community and become members of the teachers' world. The teachers' world was not viewed as a particular culture but as the norm. The teachers believed they were providing the students with the skills they needed to be successful in the world that existed outside of Leekslip. All of the teachers interviewed felt that these values (which they considered basic and universal)

were missing in the students' lives, which was why the students had trouble with appropriate behavior at school.

The teachers held a deficit model of culture in regard to the students' culture. They believed that the student's families were not providing the students with the upbringing that the students deserved. The teachers did not direct these comments toward individual families but towards the culture of the students as a whole. The students' parents were viewed as incompetent, lazy, and not caring about their children's future. Pamela believed that many of the parents "don't have the parenting skills to give their kids what they deserve or the education" and " a lot of them haven't gone to school past eighth grade". While she also expressed concern that parents in her neighborhood (outside of Leekslip) were not attentive enough she attributed this to "working too much". Similarly, Frank the PBIS coach, believed many of the students' parents don't want their students to get an education or a job so that they can remain on welfare. As noted on page 125 in Chapter Four, several of the teachers, when asked what the parents' values, spoke only in negative terms telling the researcher what the parents *did not* value. This included education, hard work, and a future that included college. The teachers viewed the PBIS program and the school discipline system as providing the students with these missing values.

Though some of the students were aware of the teachers' negative view of their community, none of the students believed the values taught through PBIS were missing in their lives. They understood that the teachers were not members of their community

but did not see the values being taught through PBIS as significantly different from those being taught at home. How they were being taught and implemented varied greatly, with the students' homes providing a stronger sense of care than those taught at school. The students felt that the values being taught through the school were more academic in nature and were designed to help them go to high school and get a job. Their understanding of the values taught at school reflected the dominant culture value of individual achievement while their interpretation of the rules at home exhibited the students' collectivist Hispanic culture. The rules at home were collaborative in nature and focused on benefiting the entire family, not the individual. For example, everyone was responsible for keeping the house clean and siblings were responsible for protecting and caring for each other. In comparison, the rules at school emphasized the benefit of the individual. The individual student would be better prepared for high school and beyond if they complied with the teachers' rules and values and the individual student would be more financially and educationally successful in the future. If the students realized following the rules meant entry into the teacher's world, the students interviewed did not find that to be a compelling reason to follow them. The students followed the rules that were important to them and those that they found to be similar to the values taught at home. They disregarded rules that they believed were only meant to please the teachers. They did not see following the rules as a way to join the teachers' world, merely as a way to fake appropriate behavior.

The Expectations for Students at Home Revolved Around Care

The purpose of PBIS is to proactively teach students particular values. How those values are viewed by the students affects their willingness and ability to abide by the rules (the four R's) based upon those values. At the Shaw school, one major difference that interfered with the students' willingness to comply with the rules was the emphasis on individual responsibility in the PBIS rules. This was different from the emphasis on care that accompanied the students' expectations at home.

When asked about the expectations for behavior and rules at home, the students' answers repeatedly emphasized care. The students cared for their homes, their siblings, and their belongings. Some of these beliefs were also found in the values taught through PBIS, in particular care for belongings. However, at school there was more of an emphasis on personal responsibility rather than being responsible for communal belongings out of a sense of pride. The PBIS values reflected the teaching staffs white middle class background where individual achievement and responsibility were essential. The students' expectations at home reflected the collectivist nature of their Hispanic cultural backgrounds. In particular, the value of familismo, where family was the most important aspect of life and was valued above the self. Because of this dichotomy, the students were left to sort through two different sets of values and chose those that they believed were the most important. The two sets of values were not diametrically opposed, and the students were able to comply with both in most situations. However, when they had to choose one over the other, their home values won. For example,

several of the students interviewed had trouble completing homework. None of the students indicated that homework or school in general was unimportant, and all of the students mentioned that their parents encouraged them to complete homework. Several of the students reported that their parents checked on homework daily. However, if a student needed to complete chores or care for a sibling, or attend a family event this took precedence over homework, which the parents believed could be completed later. The students' and their parents' Hispanic cultural value of family over individual achievement influenced the priority of events. Individual tasks were often pre-empted by the need for family care. The teachers viewed the students' inability to complete homework as the result of their parents' culturally-based lack of belief in the value of education. Though this may certainly be true for some parents (of every culture) none of the students interviewed related any such belief by their parents.

What Determines the Fairness of a Rule?

One might think that how students and teachers determine the fairness of a rule would differ widely. The researcher did not find this to be the case. Consistency was the basis for fairness by both groups. If a rule was applied fairly to every student it was considered fair by the students interviewed. Similarly, the teachers interviewed believed that rules were fair if the consequences were applied consistently according to the discipline policy. However, the definition of "consistent" differed between the two groups. The teachers interviewed believed that "consistent" meant every infraction would be measured against the discipline policy and the pre-determined consequence

enacted. They also felt that students who committed multiple infractions should have their punishments increased in accordance with the policy. The students had a more immediate view of "consistent". They did not understand or agree with compiled offenses equaling greater punishments. No matter how many times an offense was committed, the consequence should remain consistent. A particular violation should equal a particular consequence. Some of the students also believed that other students got away with infractions and did not understand why a student would be given a second chance simply because it was their first offense. For example, Julia believed it was unfair that she was always punished for being out of uniform yet during a particular incident another student was out of uniform and was not punished. The administrator explained that it was the other girl's first offense but this did not matter to Julia, either you got in trouble for an offense or you didn't.

Both the teachers and the students believed that different teachers often applied the rules inconsistently. Both groups believed that there would be fewer problems if there were more coherence among the staff in applying the rules. Though it was never directly stated from the conversations with the teachers and the students, the researcher believes that the students leaned toward a less punishing application while the teachers were in support of a stricter application.

Research Question 3: How do Hispanic non-native speakers understand the values taught through the program?

The Effect of the Special Relationship Between Child and Mother

From the findings it was clear that the students interviewed had strong and distinctive relationships with their mothers. This finding reflects the students' Hispanic cultural value of *respeto*, the need to show respect and deference to family members. While similar to showing respect, *respeto* holds a broader and stronger meaning that includes unquestioning obedience to parents, deference to elder family members, and appropriate collectivist social behaviors with peers (Calzada, Fernandez, & Cortez, 2010). As the primary caregiver and disciplinarian the students' mother held a heightened position in the family. The fact that the mother was the most powerful and respected person in the student's home affected how they responded to the values taught through PBIS, in particular, how they responded to the staff members who implemented and enforced those values.

The findings indicate that the students were aware of and knowledgeable about the values being taught through PBIS. The students could recite the rules and understood that they were supposed to comply. However, what made these students follow the rules at home was their deep attachment to their mother. They spoke of the importance of obeying her, of speaking respectfully to her, and following her rules. Even though many of the students (especially those in the eighth grade) spoke of fights and disagreements

with their mothers, because of their Hispanic cultural values they were also aware of her authority and respected it.

The special role of the mother affected some teachers' ability to teach values and hold students to particular expectations. The teachers expected the students to respect all adult authority; this expectation was different from home. The values taught through the four R's apply to all people and are based on the belief that students (or children) need to obey teachers (or adults). Yet this was not how these students understood obedience. At home they obeyed their mother and followed her rules because of her special position and the trust that she had earned through being their mother. The students rebuffed respecting all adults. The students' refusal to respect certain adults was influenced by the *personalismo* aspect of their Hispanic culture which values loyalty, harmony, and an appreciation of each individual's worth (Ruiz, 2006). When the students believed that a teacher did not value them they refused to show respect. They described the teachers as rude, disrespectful, and critical. They believed that these teachers behaved in a manner that was harmful to them and others. They respected those adults that they believed deserved or had earned their respect. They did not obey or act respectful towards all adults simply because they were adults. They obeyed those adults that had earned a position similar to that of their mother. The teachers who embodied this position had earned the students respect by treating them with care. For example, Inez had a strong relationship with Miss. Adelaide who talked with Inez about her problems and showed Inez through her actions that she cared about her wellbeing. For the students, respect and

care were intertwined, if the teacher cared about them, they had earned the student's respect.

The Difference Between the Four R's at Home and at School

All of the students were able to define the four R's (respect, responsible, ready, and represent) similarly to the teachers' definition. However, when asked to define the four R's as they applied to home life there were several differences. The differences were aligned with an ethic of care that was attached to home expectations and significantly influenced by their Hispanic culture. An ethic of care requires authentic relationship with others, where all persons are allowed to be who they are and are accepted as such. There is an implied loyalty to such a relationship that supersedes individual gain (Starratt, 2003). This difference in definition resulted in the students having a dichotomous understanding of the four R's, thereby undermining the foundation of the program, the PBIS concept of a few simple rules that are clearly defined.

The students verbally related the meaning behind each of the four R's, but this did not ensure that the students understood the rules in a way that engendered compliance. For students to follow rules they must believe in them. From the findings it was clear that the students had different understanding of the four R's at home than at school. As described in Chapter Four, the meaning of respect, represent, ready, and responsible were influenced by the students Hispanic cultural values of strong family ties, group benefit, and respect as a reciprocal process (page 137-138) . Since home held a greater authority for the students, the students at times felt that complying with the rules at school required

them to pretend to be someone that they were not. For example, Maria related that being respectful meant respecting teachers, other students, and adults. Yet, when she got in trouble for something she deemed as unfair, she would swear and yell at the teacher. This would happen particularly with teachers with whom she did not have a good relationship. Maria was able to define respect at school but acknowledged that at times being 'respectful' meant she would have to pretend she was different from who she was and she was unwilling to do this. This reflects Maria's Hispanic cultural value that rejects self-serving behavior. She believed that complying with rules or showing 'respect' to an undeserving person would require her to fake obedience in order to avoid punishment. Maria chose instead to be authentic, even if it caused her problems with staff members.

The summary of the findings of the study connected the findings to the research questions with the intent of finding answers. The discussion of the findings locates this study in the context of the literature review and the theoretical concepts outlined in chapters one and two. The discussion of the findings will explain the significance of the study to the current research on PBIS and school discipline as a whole.

Discussion of the Findings

The discussion of the findings locates the present study in the context of the literature review in chapter two and the theoretical concepts presented in chapter one. The areas of significance from the literature are (1) the continued use and viability of in-house suspension and its effectiveness when used with PBIS, (2) the inconsistent use of a

zero tolerance policy and how that effects the PBIS program, (3) whether PBIS successfully provides greater equity in discipline for Hispanic, second language students, and (4) how this study fits with the current literature on cultural deficit models. The theoretical concepts that are addressed include resistance theory, cultural theory, the potential for unfair discipline consequences for minority students, increased tensions between staff and students, and the difference in meaning of the four R's between staff and students. Finally, the discussion of the findings addresses the unexpected finding of separation between the PBIS program and the discipline system.

Connections to the Literature Review

The Continued use of In-house Suspension with PBIS

One focus of PBIS is the reduction of removal and segregation of 'problem students' from the classroom (Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006; 2008). The findings indicated that this intent was not being realized at the Shaw school. The school continued to use in-house suspension frequently. Each day there were as many as 20 students in in-house detention for a variety of infractions ranging from uniform violations to swearing to verbal altercations. The students' reaction to in-house suspension supported the literature that indicated the ineffectiveness of in-house suspension on problem behavior (Costenbader & Markson, 1998; Morgan-D'Atrio et al., 1996). Several of the students noted that they did not mind going to "in-house" because they liked the teacher in charge. Both Anna and Inez commented that they had intentionally caused an incident in order to be sent to "in-house" instead of attending their normal classes. This further supports the

literature that indicates that in-house suspension is only effective for students who wish to be in a school setting (Morgan-D'Atrio et al., 1996). Though the students said the school had more punishments (in-house, detention, etc) than home, none of the punishments seemed to serve as a deterrent for inappropriate behavior. It was hard to determine if the punishments at home (grounding, extra chores) had a greater effect on deterring problem behavior. At times, they appeared equally ineffective as the students often repeated the same offenses. However, the students were more responsive to the punishments and did not intentionally create problems in order to be punished. For example, while Maria consistently violated her curfew, she tried to be respectful to her mother in other ways and accepted punishment for a curfew violation without complaint.

The teachers' interviews further supported the ineffectiveness of in-house suspension. Both Steve and Pamela noted that some students would rather be sent to the office (and in-house) than stay in their classes and do the work. Though all of the teachers noted the ineffectiveness of removing the students and sending them to "in-house", the teachers still felt that removing students to an alternate location was an acceptable and effective method for maintaining appropriate behavior in the classroom. Pamela even indicated that some students would perform better if in a separate location even though she acknowledged that these same students intentionally caused problems in order to be removed to avoid learning. The teachers believed that the problem with in-house suspension lay not with the structure itself but with the application. If only they had the right teacher, or stronger administrators, or a more removed setting it would work. None of the teachers expressed the opinion that removal itself was ineffective.

The Zero Tolerance Policy

When asked, all of the teachers related that there was a district zero tolerance policy, usually reserved for violent offenses like fights. However, most of the teachers also noted that the zero tolerance policy was not consistently followed. At times students who engaged in fights were separated but not suspended or expelled. The zero tolerance policy was generally reserved for the most violent offenses like attacking another student or bringing and using a weapon at school. The teachers were in favor of a more consistent use of the policy even though they were aware of its ineffectiveness in reducing problem behaviors and the effects of school removal on students (Skiba & Peterson, 1999). One teacher even noted that when you remove the problem students from class other students take on that role. Despite this knowledge, most of the teachers interviewed felt that a more consistently followed zero-tolerance policy would benefit the school and reduce behavior issues. Both of these findings indicated an ingrained belief by the teachers that removal was an effective behavior management strategy. The teachers were unable to see beyond the confines of traditional methods.

The role of PBIS in the zero tolerance policy was not discussed as the teachers continually referred to the discipline policy as separate from PBIS.

The Implementation of PBIS at the Shaw School

For many school programs, implementation does not always occur to the extent or degree that the developers of the program anticipated. Though many aspects of the PBIS program were run in the manner described in the literature, there were several areas that

were missing or underdeveloped at the Shaw School. Additionally, there were some parts of the PBIS program that were not serving the population of the Shaw School in a productive manner.

Looking at the description of PBIS and its underlying tenets as outlined by Sugai & Horner (2008) the Shaw School had successfully implemented several aspects of the program. One tenet is the use of research based interventions and practices. Both the universal and second tier interventions were based in research. The school used the check-in checkout program promoted by PBIS for many of its second tier students. The use of reward tickets for appropriate behavior was also based on research (Warren et al., 2006). Additionally, the school engaged in data-based decision making (Sugai & Horner, 2002). The PBIS coaches continually input data from the student referral sheets and provided this information to the staff on a monthly basis. This information was also used to help determine which students would be focused upon and which were making progress. Finally, the school and district had a comprehensive system of school-based mental health programs (Sugai & Horner, 2002). The school had on site counselors, family liaisons, and connections to outside counseling centers and other child service agencies.

However, there were several tenets that were either not being followed or had lost importance after four years of implementation. The most significant of the tenets was the view of PBIS as a preventative discipline system versus a reward program. A comment that was frequently repeated by the teachers was that they were rewarding students for

ordinary behavior. This statement was made by the newest teacher interviewed as well as several members of the leadership team. The staff members interviewed did not see the reward tickets and acknowledgement of appropriate behavior as a means of preventing problem behaviors. This belief lead the teachers to view PBIS as a reward program for good students. One teacher, Steve, noted that the kids who are on the disciplinary side of behavior rarely get to participate in the PBIS program, again illustrating the separateness between the two. For PBIS to become a successful discipline program it requires a change in belief by the staff. The teachers must resist the idea that they are "rewarding" ordinary behavior and believe that they are teaching appropriate behaviors. They must believe that "prevention must be a priority in decreasing the (a) development, (b) future occurrences, and (c) worsening of emotional and behavioral problems" (Sugai & Horner, 2008). Until there is a change in beliefs, there will not be a change in the structure of the discipline system.

Another area where the Shaw School did not fit with the PBIS model from the literature was in the use of a continuum of interventions for all students and their families (Sugai & Horner, 2008). This dearth of interventions was particularly evident in the eighth grade as well as with the students' families. The lack of interventions for eighth grade students was mentioned several times during both the student and teacher interviews. Both Anna and Maria had participated in the check-in, check-out program in seventh grade yet they were removed without a reason the following year. The use of reward tickets also declined in the eighth grade. The teachers admitted that they often forgot about the tickets and noted that some teachers did not give out tickets at all. Part

of the PBIS program is a continuum of interventions and supports throughout each grade level, by discontinuing programs after grade seven the school left the students, who still presented behavior problems in eighth grade, without support. This finding further indicated a failure of belief in the PBIS program as a discipline system by the staff. If the staff believed in the viability and efficacy of the PBIS model of discipline they would have maintained the program throughout all the grade levels.

Another area where the Shaw school's use of PBIS deviates from the literature was the use of a continuum of consequences for inappropriate behavior. The literature describes the PBIS program's use of verbal correction, followed by re-teaching, and culminating in a referral to the leadership team (Simonsen, Sugai, & Negron, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006; 2008). From interviews, observations, and student referral documents it was clear that the school was using a more traditional disciplinary approach that included the use of suspension and detention mentioned earlier. Again, this was due in part to the view of PBIS as separate from the disciplinary program and a failure on the part of the staff to change belief systems about effective discipline. While the staff had engaged in behavioral changes when the PBIS program was implemented, they had failed to change their understanding of discipline from removal and reaction to positive reinforcement and prevention.

The final area where the school did not implement PBIS as the literature indicates was with district support. Though the district brought the program into the school and initially provided both financial and personnel support, this support had decreased

significantly over the course of the last few years. At the time of the study, the program was underfunded and it was up to the individual schools to find the staff necessary to maintain the data management portion of the program. Additionally, the district had cut the funding for one of the PBIS coaches, leaving one coach to work with all 1200 students in the four grades of the middle school.

PBIS and the Student Population

As noted previously, the PBIS program was considered separate from the disciplinary system. This effected the students, especially those with behavior problems in several ways. One consequence was the students were punished for each behavior incident multiple times. Not only did they receive the consequences determined by the disciplinary code, but they were often placed in a PBIS intervention and were routinely denied the incentives provided through PBIS. Another result of this separation was having to accommodate to the rules that were outlined in the discipline policy as well as learn and perform the values that were determined by the staff for PBIS. Though these values and rules coincide to a certain degree, neither set appear to be culturally relevant to the students, nor did the development of either program appear to include students or parents. It was evident from the findings that the staff had not included values considered important to Hispanic culture. As described in Chapter 4 (page 137), the students understanding of the four Rs and the disciplinary code reflected the staff's white, middle class culture. This may be typical of traditional disciplinary codes, but parent involvement is a recommended portion of PBIS. The ignorance of the teaching staff

towards the cultural significance of the values being taught further distanced the students and the teachers. By including parents, the staff would increase their awareness of the students' culture and bridge the divide between the two populations.

Cultural Deficit Model

One of the more significant themes from the literature review was the discriminatory result of current disciplinary systems. This study looked at whether PBIS was susceptible to the same discriminatory practices of other discipline systems. This study also reviewed whether the PBIS program created more, did not change, or reduced the level of bias in a school discipline system. The findings indicated that this school engaged in many similar practices to those noted in the literature review, including a cultural mismatch of teachers and students, the replication of societal problems within the school, and the dominant culture norms being viewed as absolute truths. Because of the homogenous student population at the school it was not possible to examine some discriminatory issues such as overrepresentation.

Cultural mismatch between teachers and students was an issue at the Shaw School. While over 90% of the students were Hispanic and spoke both Spanish and English the majority of the teachers and staff were Caucasian, and spoke only English. Additionally, there was a socio-economic disparity between the staff and the students as most of the students lived in the nearby public housing projects while the teachers predominantly resided outside of the city in more affluent suburban towns. One effect of this mismatch was the lack of understanding of the cultural anchors that values entail,

which was evident from the teachers' interviews. When asked to describe the values taught through PBIS the teachers referred to them as normal behaviors, "what you would expect from kids". When asked whether a student's culture ever interfered with a student's ability to perform in school all of the teachers answered in the negative. They did not view the values and behaviors expected at the Shaw School as culturally anchored nor did they see that the values taught may be different (or defined differently) than those at home. In fact, the reason the teachers believed that the students misbehaved was due to a lack of values. The findings indicated that the staff members held a deficit model of culture. A deficit model of culture is a belief that a particular culture is unable to provide the values, norms, and social practices necessary for success. Such a model is usually attributed to minority groups and the economically disadvantaged (Foley, 1997). As described in Chapter Four on page 125, when asked about the parents' values, most of the teachers interviewed answered in the negative, saying that the parents did not have any values or that they valued money, dancing, and drugs over all else. The teachers believed the parents to be incompetent, troubled, lacking in parenting skills, and uneducated. Beyond knowing what country the students came from the teachers had little to no knowledge of the culture of the students. Only one teacher spoke of the parents in positive terms. She believed the parents held similar beliefs and values as her own family. The findings imply that all of the teachers interviewed believed that the values taught through PBIS were necessary because they were not being taught at home, and that these values would not need to be explicitly taught if the school was located in a wealthier, white community.

The teacher's failure to understand the students' culture resonates with the literature on cultural mismatch because the teachers viewed their own values as absolute truths (Garza, 2000; Rodriguez & Villaverde, 2000). They believed the values taught through PBIS and the expectations punished under the disciplinary system to be universally true (Robbins, 2007). Though the values of the school were not significantly different from those taught at home, the differences left some students to choose between being true to themselves and getting into trouble or pretending to be something or someone they were not. For example, respect was a value taught both at school and at home. At school, respect was to be directed towards teachers and adults. At home, the Hispanic value of respeto influenced how the students' spoke of respect. The students were taught to respect elder family members, but were also instructed not to be disrespected by others, including teachers. This difference in values resulted in the students engaging in altercations with teachers whom they felt disrespected them. While the homogenous population made it difficult to determine if the PBIS program was providing an advantage to the dominant culture students, it was clear that the cultural deficit model held by the teachers was disadvantaging the minority students. To a degree, the homogenous population of students masked this disadvantage. The large population of Hispanic students makes statistical evidence of bias difficult to detect. However, the teachers' voiced beliefs indicated how their judgments affected the Hispanic student population. For example, several of the teachers believed that the students misbehaved because they were unable to do class work (page 133). When asked why students didn't comply with school rules the teachers responded that "they can't

handle the work" they're "not smart enough" and the students "can't meet the expectations of the school". This indicated that the cultural deficit model held by the teachers' may have influenced the level of rigor and expectation at the school both academically and behaviorally. By holding the students to lowered expectations the school is not providing the students with an education equal to what would be found at a more affluent school with a predominantly white, middle class population. These students will not be as prepared for high school, college, and future careers as students from more affluent settings. The PBIS program did not help to reduce or eliminate the problems associated with cultural mismatch at the Shaw School.

Finally, the findings indicated that the PBIS program did not alleviate the problems associated with public schools' tendency to replicate society and reproduce the existing inequalities between races, cultures, and economic classes (Kupchik & Ellis, 2008; Mickelson, 2003). The teachers' deficit model of culture replicated societies view of Hispanic culture and the economically disadvantaged. The teachers viewed that holding a dual language was a disadvantage for the students. They felt that it put the students behind in their English language development. The teachers devalued the students speaking Spanish because they did not learn it at school. Anything learned at school, from predominantly white, middle class teachers, was viewed as superior to that learned at home. Steve called the students language "street-Spanish" versus the type of Spanish they would learn from a classroom. While there are several forms of the Spanish language it was not evident that Steve was aware of this. Steve mentioned that he did not speak Spanish and often asked students to translate other students' comments or tell him

whether what the students were saying was "bad". Steve viewed the students' use of Spanish as undermining his authority in the classroom, which inhibited his ability to build strong relationships with the students. His view of the students' dual language abilities also indicated that Steve held a cultural model that valued what is taught at school over what was taught at home and, in particular, devalued what was taught in the homes of the students who came from a culture different from his own. His further comment "[their Spanish] is not structured so it's not helping them with their structured English" indicated a belief in the superiority of the English language. In Steve's cultural model a knowledge of other languages that improved a student's English was valued more than a student's dual language capability.

Additionally, the teachers felt that the economically disadvantaged parents were ill equipped to teach values to their children (page 133). The findings show that the teachers viewed the parents as incompetent and irresponsible. Both Pamela and Frank describe the parents as uneducated. Pamela noted that "a lot of them [the parents] haven't gone to school past the eighth grade, you know, [so] they can't help their kids". She believed that with an "uneducated parent I got an uneducated kid". Frank believed that the parents did not support the students at home, noting that "they obviously don't understand the math". Similarly, Christine felt that many of the parents needed "help with parenting skills". Frank did not believe that the parents wanted their children to succeed. He described the parents as being on welfare and believing that their children could do the same. These findings indicate that the teachers' believed that the parents had no aspirations for their children or their future.

The deficit model of culture held by the teachers also affected the experience of the students in the PBIS program. Parents were not participating members of the school in general and had no input into the PBIS program. Parents were not asked permission for their students to be placed in a second tier program, nor were they part of any PBIS team or consulted until after a meeting had been held determining their child needed additional services for behavior management. Typically, parents were only contacted when the student needed to be removed from the classroom or the school, with the exception of those teachers who had developed personal relationships with parents and used them to help their children maintain appropriate behavior. The absence of parents in the PBIS program perpetuated the school's status quo of viewing the values taught through PBIS as absolute norms that were lacking in the students' homes. The students had no choice but to abide by the rules associated with the values taught and the parents had little recourse to challenge the system.

By eliminating parents from the disciplinary and PBIS programs, the Shaw school had disenfranchised the parents (the "others" outside the status quo) and neutralized their power to change any process or policy (Beilharz, 2007). Much as immigrants and non-English speaking people in this country have little power to make change, even in their own communities, the Shaw School had replicated this system within the school walls. The school replicated problems associated with non-native speakers. Though there were concessions made to accommodate parents who did not speak English (such as dual language notices and interpreters for meetings) the school did not make efforts to incorporate Spanish into the school community. Few of the classroom teachers spoke

Spanish, often parent-teacher meetings would be delayed waiting for an interpreter or start without one. Neither of the PBIS coaches, who also addressed most disciplinary referrals, spoke Spanish. Therefore, if a student who did not speak English was sent to the office he/she may not understand the consequences being determined and would not have an opportunity to disagree.

Another way the Shaw School replicated discriminatory practice evident in society was through hiring practices. The white middle class staff member held positions of power while many of the support positions were held by Hispanic staff members. The majority of the teaching staff was Caucasian and lived outside of the community. However, there were many support staff members who were Hispanic. Several of these staff members lived in the students' community. These positions were both financially and socially inferior to the full-time teaching staff. The support staff was not included in grade level team meetings, student support team meetings, or school leadership positions. These support staff members (many of whom spoke English and Spanish) were considered less valuable by the school than the monolingual classroom teachers. This practice further marginalized the majority Hispanic student population by indicating their lowered status in society. The students failed to see themselves represented in powerful positions and learned that their role in society is one that is subservient to the dominant white middle-class.

Connections to the Conceptual Framework

There were several concepts introduced in chapter one that have proved to be informative to the findings. These include resistance and cultural theory, and several themes related to the implementations of PBIS. The themes include the potential unfair treatment of students, increased tensions between staff members and students, and a difference in understanding and meaning of PBIS values. One unanticipated concept arose from the findings, which was the perceived separation between the PBIS program and the disciplinary system.

Resistance Theory

Resistance theory is when students passively and aggressively resist authority in schools as a way to maintain their cultural identity (Mickelson, 2003). The findings from this study did not indicate that the students actively or intentionally resist authority though passive resistance was evident. Julia and Maria presented clear cases of passive resistance tied to the difference in cultures between the school staff and the students. Julia repeatedly violated the uniform code. Dress is a typical manner in which students resist authority. They view the imposed uniform as representative of the culture of the staff (Willis, 1977). By wearing different colored shirts under her uniform, wearing sandals instead of covered shoes, or wearing sweaters that were not the school colors, Julia was resisting the attempts by the staff to assimilate into the school's culture. She may not have been aware that her behavior was about assimilation, but her repeated uniform violations indicated her awareness of the rule and her unwillingness to follow it.

Couple her uniform violations with her distrustful attitude towards school personnel and it becomes clear that Julia is resisting an imposed cultural norm in the only way she can. Maria's multiple fights at school were also a form of resistance, in her case more closely tied to differences in culture. Maria was more cognitively aware of the differences in culture between the staff and the students. When Maria was describing the fights to the researcher she would frequently comment on how she was taught not to let others disrespect her. Often this manifested as not allowing others to swear, hit, or insult her. She believed that if she did not engage in a fight with a student who treated her this way she was not representing her family or her self well. She was aware that the teachers and staff wanted her to walk away from fights and viewed her behavior as extreme anger with no cultural ties. Maria, however, viewed her behavior as meeting the values outlined by her family. These values were more important than those of the school. She did not intentionally resist the values of the school; her home values took precedence over what the school required.

Finally, all of the students interviewed viewed the PBIS program and the disciplinary system as school programs with no connection to the expectations and rules of home. Many of the students spoke of the sense of falseness that went along with complying with the rules. As described on page 132 of Chapter Four, the students that were perceived as "good" by the interviewed students, were often viewed as fake. Maria described good students as doing "everything for the teacher, [and] does a lot of work, but when the teacher is not looking, [the student is] always talking but when the teacher is looking she is always quiet." Maria refused to engage in this behavior, even though

she realized it would keep her from getting into trouble, because she refused to "fake being who I am". Anna also refused to change her behavior to appease teachers. During the focus group she discussed how she "acts up more when I'm in front of a teacher if there are students there … I show them the real me in other words". Anna was disparaging of students who engaged in problem behavior when the teacher was out of the room but changed to compliance when the teacher returned. Maria and Anna's actions were influenced by the Hispanic values. Self-serving behavior is discouraged and both students viewed the behavior of the "good students' as being strictly self-serving. Both Maria and Anna commented that their behavior was more authentic because it did not change when a teacher entered the room.

All of the students interviewed had a strong sense of their own identity. Maria repeatedly rebuffed the school counselor who would *tell* Maria she had anger management issues. Maria had a strong sense of self and saw her fights as a need to defend herself when confronted, ""what am I supposed to do if a girl smacks me in the face? Just let her stay there and act like she's all big". Julia's sense of identity caused her many problems with the staff. She told a story about an administrator offering her a behavior chart with weekly stars and when "I wasn't paying attention to her and all she was saying and she put a mad face on and she [said] 'you know what? I'm sick and tired of you". In this narrative Julia was not trying to disrespect the administrator, she was not interested in weekly stars and her sense of identity did not allow her to feign interest as another "good" student might. The students were not actively resisting the culture of the teachers, which encouraged students to behave differently with adults than with their

peers, they were choosing to remain true to their culture and beliefs as opposed to conforming and giving up a part of themselves.

Cultural Theory

Cultural Theory has several connections to the findings from the study, specifically the concept of the invisible culture of white, middle class Americans. The values that are being taught through PBIS, which were outlined in the four R's (respect, responsible, ready, and represent) were viewed as universal values by the staff at the Shaw. Additionally, cultural theory helps to explain the impact of the difference in the meaning of the four R's in terms of home expectations.

From the teacher interviews it was clear that the teachers view the values taught through PBIS as universal. Often these values were described as common sense, values that 'everyone' follows, or as values that are missing in the students' homes and community but are used throughout the "real" world. Without the ability to see rules and expectations as culturally tied, the only view the staff had of misbehavior was one where the students intentionally caused problems or lacked values due to insufficient parenting. The teaching staff was unable to consider that some students might struggle to balance the values taught at home with school expectations that were not compatible with their home values. For example, being tardy was an issue that bothered many of the teachers, who could not understand how the parents could not ensure that their students made it to school on time. However, many of the students were responsible for caring for siblings or had home related chores that must be done before school. Both Anna and Inez had to

help their younger siblings get ready for school and drop them off to their classroom. Maria often cleaned her family's apartment before going to school, so that her mother would come home from work to a clean house. These values are consistent with the strong family ties identified within Hispanic cultures. While attending school was important, being on time for school was not a priority for the families. Consistent with their Hispanic culture, caring for their home and family was more important. Because of the incompatible nature of these two values several of the students interviewed consistently received detentions for being late to school and were viewed as problem students in part because of their constant tardiness.

The students multiple meanings for the four R's of the Shaw PBIS program also brought up facets of cultural theory. All of the students were able to recite the school's definitions for respect, ready, responsible, and represent. Their definitions were similar to those provided by the teachers. However, when asked what those words meant in relation to home, their answers differed from the school definitions reflecting the students' Hispanic cultural values of *familismo, respeto*, and *personalismo*. This difference in meaning further illuminated the difference between the two cultures and the separation between the school and the community. One of the R's, ready, was only viewed as a school word. You were ready for school, for class, to learn. None of the students could make a meaningful connection with that word at home. Most of the students interviewed said they didn't know what it meant at home and only Maria answered, in a questioning manner, that it referred to when you got ready to go to dinner. The findings indicate that the teachers and staff at the Shaw School assumed the students

and their families knew the value of being ready for school and if their students were not ready it was because being ready was not valued. The staff believed in the value of readiness and had no understanding that other cultures may not hold such a value. This exemplifies a significant issue between the school staff and the parents of the Shaw School: the staff assumed the parents and community held the same values as the staff at the Shaw School and if students did not comply with the rules associated with those values it was because the families were not properly teaching that value. There was no consideration by the teachers that the families might understand a value differently or choose not to value a particular behavior as much as the school did.

For example, the findings indicate that the meaning of "responsible" was the most varied between school and home. At school, responsible was associated with individual responsibility; you were responsible for your supplies and yourself. At home, responsible indicated individual responsibility but it also incorporated an ethic of care. Reflective of Hispanic cultural values, you were responsible for caring for your family, cleaning the home, and even caring for other community members. This difference effected how the students respond to PBIS. Since the teachers viewed students caring about others in class as interfering, students could get in trouble for being responsible, as they understood it. This finding further supports the deficit model of thinking under which the staff performed. None of the teachers interviewed indicated an understanding that the values taught at home might be different rather than missing. What was taught at home was viewed as subpar, detrimental to the students, and was not valued by the staff.

The Usual Suspects

One theme that was discussed in chapter one was the potential for PBIS to exacerbate the unfair treatment of minority students. As mentioned previously, it was not possible to determine whether minority students were treated unfairly in comparison to dominant culture students, however, it was possible to examine whether students in general were treated unfairly under the PBIS program. Overall, neither the students nor the teachers felt that the program as a whole was unfair. Some of the teachers interviewed held concerns that the "good" students were more at risk for unfair treatment by not being noted for their consistent good behavior. The teachers' inability to change their belief system about effective discipline and its punitive nature lead them to believe that PBIS favored the "problem" students more than the "good" students. They did not see that dividing the students into these two categories might lead to discriminatory behavior in terms of discipline referrals. The students confirmed this "problem" and "good" designation several times. Anna mentioned that she was often singled out when an incident occurred because she was in "that group" of students, referring to problem students. Maria also commented that she was called out more frequently for talking or other disruptions because the teachers knew her as a "problem" student.

One effect of PBIS on the unfair treatment of students was the further isolation of problem students. One recurring theme in the literature is that students who are labeled as problems are often excluded from the classroom and as a result are excluded from learning (Gable et al., 2005; Safran & Oswald, 2003). This study found similar practices

occurring at the Shaw School. This finding is significant as the PBIS program is supposed to reduce the isolation and removal of problem students. In this case, it appeared to increase the isolation. For example, the teachers spoke of the reward program aligned with PBIS. In this program, the students earned tickets, which could be redeemed for fun activities that were designed by the staff. However, at the Shaw, the teachers began to make these events by invitation only, which they admitted was against the PBIS tenets. This meant that the students who were deemed as "problems" were not only removed from learning in the classroom when they engaged in inappropriate behavior, but they were also denied access to additional school activities even if they had earned the right to be there. At the Shaw School, the PBIS program caused these students to be isolated both in the classroom and during events because of their problem behaviors.

Tensions Between Staff and Students

A second theme from chapter one was the effect of PBIS on the existing tensions between a Hispanic low-income student population and a predominantly white, middle class staff. From the findings, it was evident that while PBIS improved the individual relationships between some students and teachers, it also exacerbated the existing cultural tensions between the two groups by highlighting the differences between the cultures without any real understanding of the students' culture or their family's values.

The teachers noted that the PBIS ticket program, where students were given a ticket when they exemplified one of the four R's of PBIS, enabled them to build

relationships with a larger percentage of students at the Shaw and often with students who were considered problems. Pamela, the eighth grade math teacher, noted that she often gave out tickets to students in the younger grades at dismissal and was able to begin building positive relationships before those students reached her class. Leah, the other eighth grade math teacher, commented that she frequently used the tickets during class time to encourage participation and to get students to remain on task, especially towards the end of a lesson. Therefore, on an individual level the PBIS program helped to bridge the gap between the students and the teachers, at least for those teachers who used the reward tickets.

However, on a larger scale the PBIS program highlighted the differences between the staff and the students. This created a problem because the teachers did not view the students' Hispanic culture as different, but rather as inferior to the white, middle class culture to which they belonged. By explicitly teaching values the staff vocalized and cemented their belief that the students homes and culture were lacking the values taught through PBIS. By having the values so clearly and solely defined by the white, middle class teaching staff, it allowed for a deficit model of culture (that may have been present before the PBIS program was implemented) to gain momentum and not be questioned. The findings indicate that neither the teachers nor the staff recognized that the values taught through PBIS were culturally tied. Furthermore, there was no acknowledgement by the teachers that the parents may hold different, yet equally worthy values. This was evident from the predominantly negative responses the researcher received when asked what the parents and the community valued.

The Separation Between PBIS and the School Discipline System

One unanticipated finding that came out of the study was the separation of the PBIS program and the discipline system. The teachers referred to each program separately and when asked, related that the two programs were completely separate. Though the students were not asked directly about the separation between the two programs, from their interviews, it was clear that they saw the two programs as separate entities. This finding is significant because of the purpose behind the PBIS program. The primary designers of PBIS, George Sugai and Robert Horner, created this program because traditional discipline systems that rely primarily on exclusion have not been found to be effective. They do not promote pro-social behaviors or reduce school disciplinary problems (Safran & Oswald, 2003). This finding of separation indicates that the PBIS program does not anticipate the need for teachers and schools to make a change in beliefs around school discipline, which is far more challenging than a change in behavior. This lack of belief change was evident from the teachers' interviews. They were concerned that they were rewarding ordinary behavior; they were concerned that the "good" students were still not being acknowledged; they felt that "problem" students were not removed enough. The second and third concerns often occur with traditional discipline systems. The concern about rewarding 'ordinary' behavior indicated a fundamental lack of understanding of the program, as one tenet of PBIS explains how rewarding desired behavior increases the occurrence of that behavior while reducing unwanted behaviors (Bradshaw et al., 2008; Eber, Lewis-Palmer, & Pacchiano, 2002).

To reward good behavior also requires a change in managing inappropriate behavior, PBIS has not provided an adequate or sustainable model for schools to implement. The separation between the discipline program and the PBIS program was evident from the discipline code and referral forms that did not correlate with the four R's of PBIS. Additionally, there was no therapeutic element to the in-house suspension program, which the literature indicates is necessary for in-house suspension to be effective (Morris & Howard, 2003). Though students who were referred to the office did have discussions with an administrator, those discussions (at least those observed by the researcher and discussed during interviews) did not reflect the four R's of PBIS or the values that underlie those rules.

The discussion of the findings provided a context for the findings from this study. The findings have been connected to the existing literature on discipline and PBIS and certain themes outlined in Chapter One have been used to inform upon the meaning of the findings. In the next section the implications of this study on practice, policy, and future research will be discussed.

Implications for Practice

This study highlighted several areas in need of improvement for the PBIS program in general as well as several potential problems when implemented in districts with a large minority population. The first recommendation for practice is the inclusion of parent and student input into the program, the second is an emphasis on improving cultural awareness at the school by the staff and PBIS personnel, the third is the school's

need to develop positive relationships with students in order to improve behavior and, finally, the need to develop greater cohesion between the discipline system and the PBIS program.

A change that needs to be made to the implementation process is the inclusion of parents and students during the development process. The PBIS program requires the district to obtain an 80% school wide support for the program before implementation (Sugai & Horner, 2002). Yet the inclusion of parents is only recommended. The lack of parental involvement has exacerbated the cultural chasm between the teachers and the community at the Shaw School. Considering the nature of the program, the explicit teaching of particular values, some form of informed parental involvement is necessary. While obtaining a margin of acceptance from the parents similar to that of the teaching staff is probably untenable, ensuring parent understanding of the program is possible. After obtaining staff approval, any school wishing to implement PBIS should hold multiple informational meetings about the program. These meetings should be held at a variety of times to accommodate parents' schedules. In schools with bilingual populations some of the meetings should be conducted in the communities native language. Additionally, after implementation, surveys and informational newsletters should be sent home to parents for feedback on the program and it's effect on the students. This would ensure that the school involves the people with the greatest expertise about their children (the parents) in the data collection process that is part of the PBIS program, providing additional insights into the effectiveness of the program.

The district should also require the leadership team to include several parents and students as members. By including parents, the school can assure that values that are important to the parents are also included in the program. The inclusion of parents needs to be a thoughtful process. Two groups of parents should be approached for this role. The first group includes parents with high levels of social capital in the community and the school. These parents would have greater access to the entire community. These are the parents that are listened to by the school staff as well as community members and other, less powerful parents. By seeking out and recruiting these parents, the school provides more than a ceremonial seat on the leadership team. The school includes the voice of the community and provides another method for reducing the separation between the school and the community. By including a real community presence, the school is making an authentic effort toward including the culture and beliefs of the students into the school and the PBIS program. The inclusion of parents would also ensure that the meaning of the values chosen, which may differ between the teaching staff and the parents, are more familiar and authentic to the student population. This could reduce the discrepancy in how students behave at home versus school.

The second group of parents the school should recruit for the leadership team are those parents who typically do not come into the school. These are parents who may not have had a positive experience in schools in the past and may fear (or have experienced) only negative interactions with staff members at the school. This group is important for they provide information that is typically lacking in school disciplinary programs, information from those who have experienced school discipline. People who chose to

become teachers or work in schools typically had positive experiences in school. They have a limited understanding of what it is like to have predominantly negative experiences in school such as teacher confrontations, suspensions, office referrals, and poor grades. By specifically recruiting parents who have experienced the negative aspects of school systems, schools can become better informed about their own disciplinary processes. This could be particularly informative when implementing a new program such as PBIS. These disenfranchised parents could provide insights into whether the program will motivate students with behavior issues or how to make the program authentic for the students. This is another method the school could use to cross and reduce the divide between the school and the community.

The inclusion of students on the leadership team would provide a more authentic authority to the values and expectations determined through the program. Though the inclusion of students at the early elementary level may not be feasible, it is possible to include students at both the middle and high school levels. The inclusion of students and parents would reduce the feeling of a falsely imposed authority the program currently engenders by excluding parents and only having teachers and administrators on the leadership team.

It should be noted that the school is being asked to *recruit* particular groups of parents and student as opposed to accepting volunteers. The reason for recruitment is the obligation it places upon the staff at the school. It is the school's responsibility to connect with the community. The school and its staff work for the community and have

an obligation to be connected and supportive to the community. The parents have limited choices about where their children attend school. The teaching and administrative staff have chosen to work in a specific community and have an obligation to serve that community in a manner that is relevant, supportive, and accepting of the students, parents, and community. This obligation to the community extends to the second recommendation for practice.

The second recommendation is for schools to become more aware of their subconscious views of the students and their culture. None of the teachers interviewed would describe themselves as prejudiced against the students or their community nor were they aware of the deficit model that they held of the students' culture. Schools that teach specific values need to be aware that the values being taught will always be culturally anchored, often representing white and middle class values. Schools where the majority of the staff is white and middle class who serve minority populations must take an active stance against a negative view of the students' culture. Taking an active stance involves identifying the students and parents in terms of culture and beliefs, becoming culturally relevant, and explicitly teaching and supporting the students as they translate values across multiple cultures.

An initial step that schools can take to eliminate a deficit model of culture is identifying and becoming knowledgeable about the cultures that their school is serving. This should be a two-tiered process. One is becoming knowledgeable about the culture in a scholarly manner. Holding professional development workshops that address the

socio-cultural background of the cultures represented within the school. For example, at the Shaw School there were two predominant backgrounds with whom the students identified: Puerto Rican and Dominican. The teachers at the Shaw School would benefit from gaining a greater understanding of the educational practices of Puerto Rico and the Dominican Republic. Is it typical for parents to come into the school? How much contact does the school have with the family? This does indicate that the Shaw School needs to follow these practices but they do need to be aware of the parents' expectations in regards to a school-home relationship.

A significant part of this professional development process should be devoted to analyzing the teachers' deeply held beliefs about the students' culture. This involves creating a time and space for teachers and administrators to have difficult and uncomfortable conversations in order to understand how their beliefs regarding the students' culture are rooted in their own acceptance of American, white, middle class culture as an absolute norm. This is not a process that can be accomplished in a single meeting or should at any time be considered "done". Actively resisting a cultural deficit model involves an ongoing process of self-reflection among the staff in order to continually refrain from succumbing to easy assumptions and negative practices.

The second tier of knowledge is for the staff to understand the immediate community in which the students live. Staff members should take the opportunity to attend community events, shop and eat at local businesses, and become familiar with the cultural beliefs and values of the local community. This includes moving beyond making

assumptions about what the parents' value based upon the actions of the student body. The school could hold community meetings both within and outside of the school to inform parents of school activities and invite discussion about what the parents wish to see at the school. In the case of the Shaw School, many of the students live in the surrounding projects. This presents an opportunity to hold meetings at these locations to provide greater access for parents as well as provide the staff with an opportunity to see how the community works together as opposed relying on their predetermined beliefs about the community. Schools that serve students from outside the dominant culture must become knowledgeable of the students' community and culture in order to build respect and understanding.

Another method for reducing and eliminating a deficit model of culture is for schools to engage in culturally relevant practices. The steps for staff development listed above are part of this process. However, becoming culturally relevant also includes adopting culturally relevant practices throughout the school. Culturally relevant practices should run throughout the schools' curriculum and all school programs including PBIS. While the PBIS program does not specifically address cultural relevancy, the PBIS program can provide a potential framework for incorporating culturally relevant practices into the school's behavioral model. One part of the program is explicitly teaching and modeling expected behaviors. This part of the program offers two opportunities. One is to incorporate values that are meaningful for the student population (which could be accomplished through the inclusion of parents mentioned previously) and a second is to use these behavior lessons as an opportunity to teach and support the students as they

translate their understanding of values across cultures. Teachers could use the expected behavior lessons to open discussion with their students about how behaviors expected by the dominant culture are similar and different to those expected within their own Hispanic culture. For example, a lesson on "respect" could include comparisons to the Hispanic concept of *respeto*. Respect, as defined by white, middle class cultures indicates a need for students to respect adults, to respect others. Respect occurs in one direction: from child to adult. This contrasts the concept of *respeto,* which also involves an equal need to be respected by others (Ruiz, 2006). By discussing these varied understandings students would gain a better understanding of what is expected from them by the dominant culture versus their native culture and would be better able to negotiate both. Avoiding a deficit model of culture can be accomplished by incorporating the beliefs and values of the students' culture into the school as a whole, as well as into the PBIS program or any disciplinary system.

Another recommendation for practice is for schools to understand the connection between student-teacher relationships and positive student behavior. This study found that the students' relationship with the teachers affected their behavior (page 26). This finding indicates a clear path for schools to follow in order to improve student behavior, they need to improve student-teacher relationships. For many teachers this is already a well established practice. Effective teachers get to know their students as individuals in order to work with them throughout the school year. However, building relationships can be challenging for some teachers and new teachers often need guidance in establishing appropriate relationships with their students. Teacher mentoring programs should

include information on the importance of building relationships and practices that help build relationships should be included in staff development. Such practices might include having lunch with groups of students, increasing student-teacher communication through email or websites, establishing school wide practices of greeting students in the morning and talking to students about non-school activities. The PBIS program also provides opportunities for establishing positive relationships, especially with students who struggle to maintain appropriate behavior. Teachers should use the PBIS tickets to get to know students outside of their class roster. The tickets could also be used to teach students with behavior issues the specific behaviors the teachers want to see. Additionally, the rewards associated with the PBIS tickets could be focused towards building student-teacher relationships. For example, tickets could earn a student lunch with a teacher or administrator or the opportunity to spend a class period working with a younger grade teacher. The effort it takes to build positive relationships with students is minimal compared to the beneficial outcome for both teacher and student.

The final recommendation for practice is to increase the cohesion between the disciplinary program and PBIS. As mentioned previously, this will require a change in beliefs by the staff. Efforts must be made to persuade the teaching staff to rethink discipline from a reactionary stance to a preventive one. The program must work to create a belief in positive reinforcement and prevention as essential tools for creating a peaceful school community. This change in belief could begin three steps. First, the Shaw School should align the disciplinary code with the values and expectations taught through PBIS. Part of this alignment should include constructing meaning of the Four Rs

for all students and staff members. As noted in Chapter Four the students and staff could recite the Four Rs but the words held minimal superficial meaning. To create meaning from the words requires involvement from the students and the teachers. Both groups must collaborate together to create meanings that resonate for both groups. These meanings should run through both the PBIS reward program and the disciplinary code. For example, teachers and students could work together to construct what a 'responsible' student looks like. How does a responsible student behave? What actions do they take? What does responsible entail at home and how should that be reflected at school? This process could start in the classroom but should include all areas of the school. The students and teachers should also discuss what the appropriate consequences are for someone who violates the school's sense of responsible. While final decisions around disciplinary consequences should be left to the staff, student input makes the process more authentic for the students. It would provide the teachers with a more complex understanding of how the students understand the Four Rs (or the set of rules developed). Specifically, how the students' Hispanic collectivist culture effects how they make meaning of the values the school promotes. For this process to remain relevant it must be repeated, perhaps every year or two.

Second, they could use the leadership team as a tool for preventing individual student problems as opposed to reacting to events. According the literature on PBIS the leadership team should include behavior specialist, teachers, administrators, and parents. This makes the leadership team an excellent resource for discussing potential behavior issues for the entire student body as well as the needs of specific students. While it

would not be appropriate for parents to be involved in discussions about individual students, parents could provide insights into more general practices or even second tier group interventions that would benefit the student population. Teachers could refer students that they identify as exhibiting problem behaviors, and those students' parents would be contacted and a plan developed to improve that student's conduct before the student engages in behaviors that lead to punishment. By identifying the causes of the student's behavior the school may be able to avoid traditional ineffective punitive measures.

Finally, the Shaw School should eliminate the use of removal except for issues that involve student safety. Research has indicated that classroom or school removal does not reduce problem behaviors (Morgan D'Atrio et al., 1996; Skiba & Sprague, 2008). The teachers in this study also indicated that in-house and out-of-school suspension were ineffective at reducing problem behaviors. Since the school is aware that this program is not viable it should limit its use to issues of student safety. To replace suspension the school community (which includes both the staff and the students) should engage in the previously mentioned discussions about appropriate consequences for violating the Four Rs. These consequences should be based on the belief of correcting behavior without removing the student from engaging in educational practices. For example, a student who fails to show up in uniform violates being 'ready'. An appropriate consequence might be for the student to borrow a substitute uniform that day and have to work in the school's office that afternoon in order help the school be 'ready'

for the next day. The student does not miss class but still is held responsible for violating the school's policy.

The implications for practice also provide a foundation for policy recommendations. These may be especially significant with the inclusion of PBIS as a recommended program in the No Child Left Behind Act.

Implications for Policy

As PBIS is a recommended program in the No Child Left Behind Act and may result in federal funding, looking at how the present study might influence policy is necessary. This study indicates a need to include parents in developing new disciplinary codes and policies, especially when they explicitly teach values like PBIS.

School discipline policies are based upon the values of a particular culture, generally the dominant culture. In America, the dominant culture is white and middle class. Though the nation is moving towards a non-majority population (National Center for English Language Acquisition, 2008; Waters, 2007), the culture in power remains the same. It is important for educational policy makers to be aware of the growing cultural disparity between the children who attend the nations' schools and the people who run those schools and write education policy. Similar to Individual Education Plans and School Site Councils, policy makers should *require* the inclusion of parents in the creation of any whole school behavior modification model of discipline. By including parents in a substantial role, schools have the opportunity to provide disciplinary codes and policies that better reflect their communities. Including parents from traditionally

marginalized groups would help to shift the amount of social capital from members of the dominant culture toward minority groups. The researcher does not wish to indicate that including minority parents in meetings or giving them a seat on a leadership team would eliminate the problems currently associated with minority groups and discipline, however, it would be an important first step in reducing the amount of bias and discrimination currently enacted through current disciplinary models. When policies are reflective of the values that are being taught at home, students have a more vested interest in following rules associated with those values. Additionally, disciplinary codes that reflect the community's values (versus the values of the country's dominant majority) reduce the friction between a white middle class staff and minority student populations (Atwater, 2008).

When a policy as significant as No Child Left Behind includes a particular program like PBIS it lends significant weight to that program and often includes funding incentives. Policy makers should ensure that such a program aligns with the local community rather than the general American population.

Implications for Future Research

From the literature, it is clear that PBIS is gaining momentum in a variety of school districts. This rising popularity combined with its inclusion in NCLB raises several issues that could be addressed by future research. These include the need for cultural relevance, the necessity to change belief systems around discipline, and the need for larger scale research focused upon Hispanic students and school discipline.

The present study opened the door to how Hispanic students experience a particular behavior modification program, PBIS. Further research to explore the issues raised in this study are necessary. One avenue for future research is examining whether PBIS can be implemented in schools with more cultural relevancy towards the specific student populations within each school or district. There is a certain amount of adaptability designed into the program: each school determines the values taught and the simple and memorable rules to follow. A study could be designed that implements the program with the focus of making it more culturally relevant. Such a study could further determine whether combining PBIS with cultural relevancy increases or decreases problem behaviors in schools with minority populations. This line of research could also investigate whether PBIS currently privileges students from the dominant culture and/or disadvantage those from minority populations.

Another avenue that this study opened was the ingrained beliefs surrounding discipline in American schools. A study examining teachers' and school staff members' beliefs around discipline would provide useful information for those attempting to create discipline programs that are significantly different from a traditional system.

Finally, as mentioned in the literature review, there has only been minimal research conducted on the experience of Hispanic students in American school disciplinary systems. The present study provides only a small foray into this area yet this study indicates that this population of students could potentially experience discipline differently from other minority groups. Larger scale studies into the experience of

Hispanic students in discipline systems in general, and the PBIS program specifically, would provide a greater body of knowledge about the usefulness of this program and the effectiveness of school discipline for these students.

Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study primarily arose out of the selection process for the students and teachers and the choice of this particular school site for the study. The researcher was able to follow the selection process outlined in chapter three; however, the number of students to respond was small and lead to some unexpected consequences. All of the students spoke two languages at home and all but one had been born in the United States. Additionally, all had lived in Leekslip for the majority of their lives. A selection of students who had more recently immigrated may have provided a greater difference in the values taught at the school versus those taught at home. Additionally, the low number of students who responded to recruitment allowed for only one male student and no seventh grade students. The findings may be more relevant to the girls at the school and students in sixth and eighth grade than the total middle school population.

Choosing to speak only to students who routinely got into trouble at the school did not allow for any comparison between how students considered 'well behaved' versus students considered 'problem students' understand and experience the PBIS program and the discipline system. Similarly, because of the homogeneity of the student population (over 90% Hispanic) comparing the experience of Hispanic students to other ethnic groups was not feasible. The choice to interview middle school aged students may have

resulted in less articulate or metacognative responses. The students' age, at times, impeded their ability to consider concepts around discipline and PBIS in a more abstract manner. From the interviews it was apparent that the older eighth grade students were able to reflect on their experience to a greater degree than the younger students.

Finally, the volunteer selection process for the teachers' participation lead to a collection of teachers that both the students interviewed and the administrators referred to as good teachers. Several of the interviewed teachers were the ones with whom the students had built positive relationships. When asked about teachers with whom the students' had positive relationship both Anna and Maria mentioned Pamela by name. Anna appreciated her non-punitive homework acceptance policy and Maria felt that Pamela listened to her during an incident. Selecting a wider group of teachers that included those teachers with whom the students had dysfunctional relationships might have generated more varied information. Additionally, the limited opportunities for observation meant the researcher had to rely more heavily on the teacher and student interviews for answers about student-teacher interactions rather than on direct observation.

Conclusion

This study investigated the effect of the Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports program on Hispanic second language students. The study concluded that without a significant change in teacher and administrator beliefs around effective discipline and cultural awareness, this program will continue to have the same

detrimental effect on minority students as a traditional discipline program. This study also found that the Shaw school is not part of the community in which the building resides. This disconnect between the school and community resulted in the teachers holding a deficit model of culture with regard to the students. This study also proposed that the values taught through PBIS are heavily influenced by the teachers' past. This is problematic for the school because the staff is primarily white and middle class serving a minority Hispanic, low income population. The resulting mismatch also contributed to the deficit model of culture mentioned above.

The three essential themes found in the relational life world emphasize the importance of relationships in school discipline. This study found that the values taught through PBIS intended to bring the students into the teachers' world, a world considered superior to the students as well as universal. Another finding, that the students have a special relationship with their mother, indicated a need on the part of the staff to be aware of this relationship as they implement any discipline program, especially one that explicitly teaches values. The final essential theme provided important information for schools that wish to improve their students' behavior. The findings indicate a need for teachers to build positive relationships with all students, especially those with disciplinary issues. It was through positive relationships with students' deemed "problems" by the school and their parents that the teachers were able to reduce problem behaviors.

This study began by outlining the history of school discipline and its overall lack of effectiveness in promoting positive behaviors and reducing negative ones. If the PBIS program wishes to become a viable alternative to traditional disciplinary models in schools with large minority populations several changes need to be made. The most significant change is the inclusion of parents and students in the development of the program. Educators often forget that parents are the greatest experts on their own children and that communities across this nation hold a myriad of values that they wish to impart to the young people within their homes and communities. Until schools are more diversely staffed they must take an active stance towards being culturally relevant. One task is to intentionally seek diverse candidates for staff positions. Another recommendation is to use the resources within the community, the parents and students themselves, to accomplish cultural relevance. The Shaw School has made an effort to move away from a traditional discipline model. To accomplish this goal the school must strive for a change in belief that goes beyond a change in behavior. Without this change, the PBIS program will continue to be placed within a traditional reactionary model and will ultimately fail to improve student behavior for the long term.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW PROTOCOLS

Teacher Interview Questions

Background

- How long have you taught at the XXXXX?
- Where else have you taught?
- Why did you choose to teach here in XXXXX?

Discipline in General

- Think back to the last time you referred a student to the office. Can you describe that incident?
    - What was happening right before?
    - What were the other students doing during this incident?
    - Can you recall what you said to the student?
    - What can you tell me about the student who was referred?
- What are some of the most common reasons you send students to the office?
    - What patterns or types of behavior cause removal?
- Do you find that the same students are removed more frequently?
    - For what reasons are they removed?
    - Why do you think these students do not follow the rules?
- Do you feel that the current discipline system is fair for all students? Why or why not?
    - Have you seen students treated unfairly as a teacher? At this school?

The PBIS Program

- How does PBIS create a more or less fair approach to student behavior than a traditional discipline system?
- How were the four main principles of 'Respect, Ready, Responsible and Represent' determined? Can you describe that process?
- How do you define each one of those principles?
- What are the values that are taught through PBIS?
    - What is your experience with these values?
    - Where do these values come from?

Student's Culture

- What can you tell me about the homes your students come from?

    - What do the parents value?
    - How do you know they value this?
- What cultural backgrounds do your students come from?
    - Can you remember a time when a student's home culture or values interfered with their school lives?

Student Interview Questions

Interview One

Background

- How long have attended the Guilmette School?
- What grade are you in?
- How old are you?
- Have you always lived in XXXX?
    - Where else have you lived?
- What languages are spoken at home?

Home Values

Remember a time when got in trouble at home. What can you tell me about that experience?

    - What did you get in trouble for?
    - What happened?
- Did you think your parent/guardian treated you fairly?
    - Why/why not?
    - How do you define fair?
- Can you describe some of the rules at home?
    - How about rules around school and homework?
    - Helping around the house?
    - Fights with brother or sister?
- Are the rules at home fair or unfair?
    - Why?

Interview Two

School Discipline

Remember a time when you got in trouble at school and were sent to the principal's office. What can you tell me about that experience?

    - What did you get in trouble for?
    - Why did the teacher send you to the office?

    - What happened at the principal's office?
    - Were you treated fairly?
- How often do you get in trouble a week?
- Do you think you get in trouble more or less than other students?
    - Why?

<u>PBIS</u>

I see that you are also part of xxxx (secondary tier) program. What can you tell me about your experience with that program?

    - What do you have to do as part of the program?
    - What do you like the program? What do you dislike?
    - Why were you placed into this program? Do you agree or disagree?
    - What does it feel like to be part of this program?
    - What parts of the program interfere with other aspects of your life?

Focus Group

Thinking back on the last time you were sent to the office from class, what can you tell me about that experience?

- How did the incident start?
- Who were the major people involved?
- Where did it happen?
- What happened after you were sent to the office?
- What about the other students in the room?

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORMS

Boston College Lynch School of Education

Boston College Adult Consent Form

Informed Consent for Participation as a Subject in "Perpetuating a Culture of White Behavior: The Experience of Hispanic Non-Native Speaking Students in a PBIS School".

Margo Fraczek

March 31, 2009

Introduction

- You are being asked to be in a research study of the experience of non-native speaking Hispanic students in a school the uses Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports as the primary disciplinary system.
- You were selected as a possible participant because the study is looking at the perspectives of both teachers and students. As a teacher in this school you can provide important information about how the program works, its effectiveness for students, particularly Hispanic students, and the expectations of the students within the program.
- We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

- The purpose of this study is to understand how non-native speaking Hispanic students understand and work within the PBIS program, looking specifically at whether the expectations of the teachers and administrators are understood and accepted by the students.
- The total number of subjects is expected to be ten.

Description of Study Procedures:

- If you agree to be in this study, we would ask you to do the following things: Take part in an approximately one-hour interview with the researcher. A follow-up interview will be requested if necessary.

Risks to Being in Study:

- There is a risk of recognition by other staff as participants. A breach of confidentiality could lead to stigma by other teachers or administrators. The teachers interviewed may be asked by administration to discuss what was said during the interviews or assumptions could be made about their abilities with school discipline.
- This study may include risks that are unknown at this time.

Benefits of Being in Study:

- The benefits of participation are adding to the current literature on school behavior plans. Sharing your experiences with the researcher.

Payments:

- A $10.00 gift card will be given as compensation for your time.

Costs:

- There is no cost to you to participate in this research study.

Confidentiality:

- The researcher will take several steps to minimize the risks associated with participating in the study. These include: (1) using email and phone calls to recruit the teachers eligible for the study; (2) holding all interviews in private locations away from administration, staff, and other students; (3) keeping all collected data (interviews, documents, etc) in secured, encrypted files; (4) the researcher will be the only person to know the identity of the participants and have access to the data; (5) all study participants will be identified through pseudonyms.
- The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant. Research records will be kept in a locked file. Access to the records will be limited to the researchers; however, please note that sponsors, funding agencies, regulatory agencies, and the Institutional Review Board may review the research records.
- Interviews will be audio recorded by the researcher. The researcher will be the only person with access to the recordings and which the researcher at the end of the study will destroy.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:

- Your participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your current or future relations with the University.
- You are free to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason.
- There is no penalty for not taking part or for stopping your participation. If you withdraw from the study before the interview you will not receive the gift card.
- You will be provided with any significant new findings that develop during the course of the research that may make you decide that you want to stop participating.
- The investigator may withdraw the subject at any time (i.e. because of the subject's best interest or safety, due to untoward side effects, failure to comply with the study requirements).

Contacts and Questions:

- The researcher conducting this study Margo Stetson Fraczek. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact her at 617-838-4092 or stetsonm@bc.edu.
- If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact: Director, Office for Human Research Participant Protection, Boston College at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu

Copy of Consent Form:

- You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:

- For Adult Consent Form: I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name): _____

Participant or Legal Representative Signature: _____ Date _____

Boston College Lynch School of Education

Parent Consent Form

Informed Consent for Participation as a Subject in "Perpetuating a Culture of White Behavior: The Experience of Hispanic Non-Native Speaking Students in a PBIS School".

Margo Fraczek

Child Consent Form

March 11, 2009

Introduction

- Your child is being asked to participate in a research study of the experience of non-native speaking Hispanic students in a school that uses Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports as the primary disciplinary system.
- Your child was selected as a possible participant because, as a student, they will be able to provide important information about how the PBIS program works. Your child will provide knowledge and understanding about how students experience the program to the researchers, what you like and dislike and whether you feel the program is good for your child This is information that only students can provide.
- We ask that you read this form and ask any questions that you may have before allowing your child to be in the study.

Purpose of Study:

- The purpose of this study is to understand how student's that speak English as a second language understand and work within the PBIS program, looking specifically at whether the expectations of the teachers and administrators are understood and accepted by the students.
- The total number of subjects is expected to be ten.

Description of Study Procedures:

- If allow your child to participate in this study, they would be asked to do the following:

1. Talk to the researcher about discipline and PBIS two times. Each interview will last for about for 45-60 minutes.
2. If they do not wish to answer a question, they may choose to skip it.
3. Allow us to record the interview.
4. If your child does not wish to have their answers recorded, please tell the researcher and we will not record them.

Risks to Being in Study:

- There is a risk of recognition by other students or staff as participants. A breach of confidentiality could lead to stigma by students and staff. If the students in the study are identified they may be asked by teachers or administrators to censure their answers or disclose what they discussed to staff members. Students may also perceive the interviewed students as informants, which may lead to social stigma and ostracism by their peers.
- This study may include risks that are unknown at this time.

Benefits of Being in Study:

- The benefits for participating in the study include a gift card to a local supermarket and the benefits that a student may experience when given the opportunity to discuss difficult issues with a nonjudgmental third party.

Payments:

- Your child will receive a $20.00 gift card to the local supermarket for participating in the study.

Costs:

- There is no cost to you or your child to participate in this research study.

Confidentiality:

- The researcher will take several steps to minimize the risks associated with participating in the study. These include: (1) Using multiple data sources to identify students eligible for the study; (2) Using email and phone calls to contact the parents of students eligible for the study; (3) Holding all interviews in private locations away from administration, staff, and other students; (4) keeping all collected data (interviews, documents, etc) in secured, encrypted files; (5) the researcher will be the

only person to know the identity of the participants and have access to the data; (6) all study participants will be identified through pseudonyms.

- The records of this study will be kept private. In any sort of report we may publish, we will not include any information that will make it possible to identify a participant. Research records will be kept in a locked file. Access to the records will be limited to the researchers; however, please note that sponsors, funding agencies, regulatory agencies, and the Institutional Review Board may review the research records.
- Interviews will be audio recorded by the researcher. The researcher will be the only person with access to the recordings, which will be destroyed by the researcher at the end of the study.

Voluntary Participation/Withdrawal:

- Your child's participation is voluntary. If you choose not to participate, it will not affect your current or future relations with the University.
- Your child is free to withdraw at any time, for whatever reason.
- There is no penalty for not taking part or for stopping your participation. If your child withdraws from the study prior to the first interview, he/she will not receive the gift card.
- You will be provided with any significant new findings that develop during the course of the research that may make you decide that you want to stop participating.
- The investigator may withdraw the subject at any time (i.e. because of the subject's best interest or safety, due to untoward side effects, failure to comply with the study requirements).

Contacts and Questions:

- The researcher conducting this study is Margo Fraczek. For questions or more information concerning this research you may contact her at (617) 838-4092 or stetsonm@bc.edu.
- If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may contact: Director, Office for Human Research Participant Protection, Boston College at (617) 552-4778, or irb@bc.edu

Copy of Consent Form:

- You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records and future reference.

Statement of Consent:

I have read (or have had read to me) the contents of this consent form and have been encouraged to ask questions. I have received answers to my questions. I give my consent for my child to participate in this study. I have received (or will receive) a copy of this form.

Signatures/Dates

Study Participant (Print Name): _____

Parent/Guardian (Print Name): _____

Parent/Guardian (Signature): _____ Date _____

Boston College Lynch School of Education

Formulario de consentimiento paterno/materno

Consentimiento informado para participar como sujeto en el proyecto "Perpetuando una cultura de comportamiento Anglo *(white behavior):* La experiencia de estudiantes Latinos en una escuela del programa PBIS".

Margo Fraczek

Formulario de consentimiento Infantíl

11 de marzo del 2009

Introducción

- Su hijo/a ha sido invitado a participar en un estudio sobre las experiencias de estudiantes Latinos (nacidos en EEUU) en una escuela que utiliza *Intervenciones y Apoyo de Comportamientos Positivos(PBIS)* como su principal forma de disciplina.
- Su hijo/a fué seleccionado como un posible participante porque, como estudiante, podrá proveer información muy importante sobre como trabaja el programa PBIS. Su hijo/a proveerá investigadores con información sobre la experiencia estudiantil, lo que más les gusta del programa y los peores aspectos del programa. También nos podrá decir si el programa ha sido apropiado para el/ella. Esto es información que solamente su hijo/a puede proveer.
- Le pedimos que lea este formulario y que nos haga cualquier pregunta que tenga antes de que deje participar a su hijo/a.

Propósito del estudio:

- El propósito de este estudio es comprender como estudiantes que hablan inglés como segundo idioma entienden y trabajan dentro del programa PBIS, específicamente determinando si las expectativas de los maestros y administradores son claras para los estudiantes.
- El número total de estudiantes participantes es 10.

Descripción del procedimiento del estudio:

- Si usted permite que Su hijo/a participe en este estudio, se les pedirá que haga lo siguiente:

1. Que hable con la investigadora del estudio sobre la disciplina del program PBIS dos veces. Cada entrevista tomará entre 45-60 minutos.
2. Su hijo/a no está obligado a contestar ninguna pregunta que no desee.
3. Que nos permita grabar la entrevista.
4. Que su hijo/a e le deje saber a la investigadora si no quiere que sus respuestas sean grabadas. En estos casos sus respuestas no serán documentadas en casete.

Riesgos de participación es este estudio:

- Este estudio no tiene ni espera tener riesgos para los participantes. Puede haber la posibilidad de que hayan riesgos que no son conocidos en este momento.

Beneficios de participar en este estudio:

- No hay beneficios que resulten de su participación en este estudio.

Compensación:

- El participante recibirá una tarjeta de regalo (gift card) de un supermercado local como agradecimiento por su participación en este estudio.

Costos:

- No cuesta nada participar en este estudio.

Confidencialidad:

- La investigadora tomará los pasos necsarios para asegurarse de los riegos a los participantes de este estudio sean minimos. Estos pasos incluyen: (1) Utilizar varios recursos de data para identficar estudiantes elegibles para este estudio; (2) Utilizar mensajes a traves del correo electronico y llamadas telefonicas para comunicarse on padres de estudiantes elegibles para este estudio; (3) Conduzir todas la entrevistas en lugares privados lejos de el personal administrativo, los maestros y otros estudiantes; (4) Mantener toda la información coleccionada (entrevistas, documentos, etc) en este estudio en un lugar privado y de forma cifrada; (5) la investigadora será la única persona en saber la identidad de los participantes y la única en tener accesso a la información ;(6) todos los participantes de este estudio serán identificados a traves de seudónimos.

- La información de este estudio es privada. Cualquier reporte que sea publicado no incluirá información que identifique a ningún participante. Documentos de

investigación serán mantenidos en un gabinete cerrado bajo llave. Acceso a los documentos será limitado a los investigadores: pero los fundadores, auspiciadores, agencias regulatorias, y la junta de repaso institucional podrían repasar los documentos.

- Entrevistas serán grabadas en casete por la investigadora. La investigadora es la única persona con accesso a los casetes, y éstos serán destruídos al final del estudio.

Participación voluntaria/ Terminación de participación

- La participación su hijo/a en este estudio es completamente voluntaria Si su hijo/a decide en no participar, su relación con la Universidad no será afectada (ahora o en el futuro.)
- Su hijo/a puede dejar de participar en el estudio en cualquier momento.
- No hay ningun tipo de penalidad or perdida de servicios si su hijo/a no desea participar o deja de participar en el estudio.
- Su hijo/a será informado de qualquier información significante que ocurra durante el estudio y que pueda influenciar la decisión de su hijo/a de participar or seguir participando en el estudio.
- La investigadora tiene el derecho de descontinuar la participation de su hijo/a en qualquier momento (por ejemplo, en el caso de que el participante no se sienta seguro, si el sujeto sufre efectos secundarios o si el participante no sigue las direcciones del estudio).

***Despedido del estudio:**

- Si su hijo/a no sigue las instrucciones proveídas será despedido del estudio.

Contactos y preguntas:

- La investigadora conduciendo este estudio es Margo Fraczek. Si tiene preguntas or para recibir más información sobre este estudio puede contactarla por telefono 617-838-4092 o a traves del correo electronico a stetsonm@bc.edu
- Si tiene alguna pregunta sobre sus derechos come participante en este estudio, puede contactar al director de Office for Human Research Participant Protection, Boston College al (617) 552-4778, o irb@bc.edu

Copia del formulario de consentimiento:

- Usted recibirá una copia de este formulario para sus documentos y referencia.

Declaración de Consentimiento:

He leído (o me han leído) la información en esta declaración de consentimiento y me han dejado hacer preguntas. Me han contestado todas mis preguntas. Doy consentimiento para que mi hijo/hija participe en este estudio. También me proveerán con una copia de este documento.

Firmas/Fechas

Participante del estudio (Nombre imprimido): _____ _____

Participante del estudio (Firma): _____Fecha _____

Padre ó guardian (Nombre imprimido): _____

Padre ó guardian (Firma): _____ Fecha _____

Boston College Lynch School of Education

Child Assent for Participation in a Research Study on Hispanic students experience with PBIS.

This is a project that Margo Fraczek is doing with middle school students to learn more about how Hispanic students, who speak more than one language, feel about the PBIS program. You can help with this project if you would like, but you do not have to help if you do not want.

In the project you will be asked to talk with Margo two times by yourself and once with a group. Both one-on-one interviews will take place at the school in a private room. You will be able to share as much as you like about the PBIS program. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. Each time you are with Margo the things you say will be tape-recorded.

Your name will not be put on any papers written about this project. Your name will not be put on the tape recordings and they will be erased after the study is done. Everything that you tell Margo will be private; no one will know that you said it. No one at the school will know you are a part of the study, not the teachers or the principal. The only people that will know are the students in the study and Margo.

If you decide to help with this project but then change your mind you can stop helping at any time. If you do not understand what Margo would like you to do, please ask questions at any time.

If you want to help with this project, please write and sign your name on the line at the bottom of this page.

Student's Name

_____

Student's Signature

_____

Boston College Lynch School of Education

Consentimiento Infantíl para participación en un estudio sobre la experiencia de estudiantes Latinos con PBIS.

Este projecto, facilitado por Margo Fraczek, se enfoca en la experiencia de estudiantes Latinos en la escuela intermedia, quienes participan en el programa PBIS y quienes hablan más de un idioma. Usted puede ayudar en este estudio al dejar participar a su estudiante pero solamente si desea. Este estudio es completamente voluntario.

Como parte de este proyecto el estudiante se reunirá individualmente con Margo dos veces y una vez en grupo. Las dos entrevistas individuales tomarán lugar en un salón privado de la escuela. El estudiante podrá compartir la información que desee sobre el programa PBIS. El estudiante no será obligado a contestar preguntas que no desee. La información compartida en ambas entrevistas con Margo va a ser grabado en cinta de casete.

El nombre del estudiante no será incluido en ningún documento de este proyecto. El nombre no se usará durante la grabación en cita casete y las cintas serán destruidas tan pronto el proyecto haya terminado. Toda información compartida con Margo será privada y anónima. Nadie en la escuela sabrá de la participación del estudiante, ni los maestros ni el principal. Los únicos que sabrán de su participación serán usted y Margo.

Si usted desea descontinuar su participacion en el estudio, lo puede hacer en cualquier momento. Si no entiende las preguntas y pedidos que Margo le haga, por favor pregunte en cualquier momento.

Si le gustaría ayudar con este proyecto, por favor escriba su nombre y firme en el espacio proveído.

Nombre del estudiante

_____

Firma del estudiante

_____

Parent Information Sheet

A Study Looking at the Experience of Hispanic Students in a Positive Behavior Interventions and Supports (PBIS) Program

Margo Fraczek
stetsonm@bc.edu (617) 838-4092

The Study

Discipline has traditionally been a difficult issue for schools. It is routinely noted as the number one issue for parents, teachers, and administrators. A new program aimed at increasing positive social behaviors while decreasing negative behaviors was implemented at the XXXXXXX School several years ago. This program has gained popularity throughout the United States and has been found to be very successful. My study intends to find out how the students in a PBIS school experience the program. In particular, I want to look at students whose first language is not English. This study should provide the education community with important information about PBIS and the Hispanic community.

Your Student's Involvement

To understand how the students feel about the program they will be interviewed three times. Two of those interviews will be one-on-one and one will be with the other students involved in the study. All interviews will be conducted face-to-face and in a private setting on school grounds. The interviews will be recorded, but I will be the only person who has access to those interviews and the tapes will be destroyed at the end of the study.

Protecting Your Student's Confidentiality

The students selected for the program will remain anonymous. All names will be changed for the final report. The administration will not be informed of the identities of the students involved. All information disclosed during the interviews will remained in a locked file and all records will be destroyed at the conclusion of the study. In addition, students will only be asked to share about their experiences to the degree that they feel comfortable.

Risks

This study poses no risks to your student. In fact, many people find it helpful to share and talk about experiences with someone. Students, in particular, often feel as if no listens to them. This study provides students with an opportunity to be heard. Students may also leave the study at any time with no consequences.

Compensation

For participating in the study the students will receive a small token of thanks in the form of a gift card to their local supermarket. If you have any questions or concerns, please contact me at any time.

Formulario de información para padres

Un estudio sobre la experiencia de estudiantes Latinos participantes en el program *Intervenciones y Apoyo de Comportamientos Positivos(PBIS)*

Margo Fraczek
stetsonm@bc.edu (617) 838-4092

Información sobre el estudio

La disciplina estudiantíl ha sido un tema difícil para las escuelas. Ha sido catalogado come el tema número uno por padres, maestros y administradores. Un nuevo programa con la meta de aumentar los comportamientos sociales positivos mientras disminuye los comportamientos negativos fué implementado en la escuela XXX hace unos años atras. Este programa ha sido my popular y exitoso a través del país. Mi estudio se enfocará en la experiencia estudiantíl en dicho programa. En particular, quiero enfocarme en estudiantes para quienes el inglés no es su primer idioma. Este estudio espera proveer información invaluable a la comunidad educativa y a la comunidad Latina.

Cómo estará envuelto su estudiante?

Para tener un buen entendimiento sobre la experiencia estudiantíl, participantes serán entrevistados tres veces. Dos de las entrevistas serán individuales con la investigadora, y una será con otros estudiantes envueltos en el estudio. Todas la entrevistas serán en persona y un lugar privado en la escuela. Las entrevistas serán grabadas, pero yo seré la única persona con acceso a los casetes y la información. Todas las grabaciones serán destruídas al final del estudio.

Protegiendo la confidelidad del estudiante

La identidad de los estudiantes participantes se mantendrá anónima. Todos los nombres serán cambiadoes en el reporte final. La administración escolar no será informada sobre la identidad de los estudiantes participantes. Toda la información sobre este estudio será mantenidad en un gabinete cerrado con llave yserá destruída al finalizar el estudio. Tambien los estudiantes podrán compartir solamente la información que ellos decidan compartir.

Riesgos

Este estudio no tiene ningún riesgo para el estudiante. Al contrario, muchas personas se sienten cómodas en compartir información sobre sus experiencias. Estudiantes en particular muchas veces se sienten que nadie los escucha. Este estudio les provee una oportunidad para ser escuchados. Estudiantes también tienen derecho a dejar de participar cuando ellos decidan sin enfrentar ninguna consecuencia.

Compensación

Como agradecimiento por su participación, el estudiante recibirá una tarjeta de regalo (gift card) de un supermercado local.

Si tiene alguna pregunta por favor no deje de contactarme.

APPENDIX C: PBIS EXPECTATIONS MATRIX

School Wide Expectations	READY	RESPONSIBLE	RESPECTFUL	REPRESENT
Classroom	1. Have all necessary materials. 2. Be on Time 3. Be in uniform	1. Quickly begin assignment. 2. Complete all tasks. 3. Follow classroom rules	1. Use active listening. 2. Use appropriate language.	1. Always try your best. 2. Help others.
Playground	1. Line up quickly and quietly. 2. Follow directions from all adults	1. Return equipment and toys. 2. Be safe. 3. Report danger and bullying.	1. Keep hands and feet to self. 2. Be a good sport. 3. Keep the school yard clean.	1. Be friendly. 2. Share with others.
Cafeteria	1. Enter and exit in an orderly manner. 2. Sit in your assigned area.	1. Know your ID number. 2. Food is for eating only. 3. All food stays in cafeteria	1. Say “Please and Thank You”. 2. Use quiet voices.	1. Keep table and floor clean. 2. Place trash in the barrels.
Halls/Office/ Evacuation	1. Line up quickly, to the right. 2. Line up quietly. 3. Face forward.	1. Walk 2. Use assigned routes 3. Ask for help if you need it.	1. Stay quiet 2. Keep hands to yourself	1. Carry a pass when not with your class. 2. Keep halls and walls clean
Auditorium	1. Enter quietly and orderly. 2. Sit quietly and wait.	1. Sit in assigned area 2. Bring only what is needed	1. Listen to the speaker 2. Allow others to enjoy the program	1. Applaud when appropriate 2. Report any problems
Bathroom	1. Have a pass.	1. Use closest	1. Respect others’	1. Report all inappropr

	2. Use During Scheduled times	bathroom 2. Wash your hands 3. Return to class quickly	privacy 2. Flush toilet	iate behavior/ damage 2. Keep the bathrooms clean
Bus	1. Report directly to auditorium at dismissal. 2. Listen for your bus to be called.	1. Be on time for your bus. 2. Bring all your belongings with you to the bus.	1. Follow the bus driver's directions 2. Stay in your seat	1. Sit quietly in auditorium and on the bus 2. Keep feet out of the aisles