

MIXED

MESSAGES

Illinois Teachers on the Uneven
Implementation of School Discipline Reform



INTRODUCTION

In 2015, Illinois Senate Bill 100 was signed into law as Public Act 099-0456. Broadly speaking, this law sought to limit exclusionary discipline practices like suspension and expulsion that push students away and limit learning in favor of restorative justice interventions that repair harm and rebuild relationships.

We are a group of Illinois educators and Teach Plus Illinois Policy Fellows who teach diverse student populations in urban and rural districts and across grade levels. In order to gain greater insight into how school discipline policies have evolved since the passing of SB100, we developed a survey that asked teachers in Illinois to describe their familiarity and experiences with restorative justice practices to better understand what is and is not working well when it comes to school discipline. Where restorative justice was already being implemented, we wanted to know how schools established these practices and how educators perceived their effectiveness. We also wanted to learn whether punitive practices were still being utilized, and why.

In this brief, we present our findings and recommendations to help district leaders and state policymakers better understand teachers' understanding of, training on, and issues with restorative practices. With this input from educators, Illinois can move forward with more effective guidance and resources to support schools across the state as they re-envision their discipline practices.

Findings

1. Training in restorative practices has been effective in helping teachers feel prepared to implement these practices in their classrooms.
2. Many teachers are using their knowledge to implement student-oriented discipline—often utilizing restorative practices—in their classrooms.
3. Many schools have failed to implement restorative practices systematically, presenting challenges both for teachers working to do so in individual classrooms and for students who have to navigate conflicting messages and consequences about behavior and expectations.
4. In schools heavily rooted in punitive disciplinary practices, restorative justice may be viewed as “soft” or ineffective.

Recommendations

1. Schools should continue to provide effective, sustained training in restorative practices and extend it beyond teachers to include administrative and support staff.
2. Schools should support teachers who are implementing restorative practices in classrooms with schoolwide systems and personnel.
3. ISBE should incentivize stronger implementation of restorative practices with state-level support, including guidance, models, and implementation grants.

BACKGROUND

Before SB100, schools in Illinois were using, or threatening to use, exclusionary discipline practices to combat minor, non-violent offenses such as truancy or disorderly conduct. However, research has shown that exclusionary discipline practices are often racially disparate, have contributed to the decline of graduation rates,¹ disrupted school communities, and even negatively affected the achievement of non-suspended students.² Exclusionary discipline practices have also deepened systemic inequities.³ Nationally, students of color, and Black students in particular, are much more likely to be suspended or expelled than other students for the same offenses.⁴ In many cases, school discipline has been outsourced to police officers, funneling students into a school-to-prison pipeline.⁵ According to ProPublica’s reporting series *The Price Kids Pay*, thousands of Illinois students are ticketed in schools each year for “adolescent behavior once handled only by the principal’s office.”⁶

Because restorative justice can take several forms depending on student needs, it can be difficult to clearly define what constitutes restorative justice in schools.⁷ In our work, we have utilized the following working definition of restorative practices from the Safe Schools Consortium, an organization that was established in 2013 to integrate more restorative practices into schools: “Restorative practices are ... a set of practices and a philosophy grounded in indigenous teachings which question the underlying assumptions of our traditional, punitive approaches to school climate and discipline.”⁸

Offering an alternative to traditional punitive practices, restorative justice helps build stronger relationships among students and maximizes contact time between students and teachers.⁹ Some schools have struggled to successfully implement restorative practices as part of their discipline policies, which may cause restorative justice to be perceived as being “too soft” on student offenses or taking too long to produce results.¹⁰ However, reductions in misbehavior or the number of disciplinary referrals after successful implementations of restorative justice practices have been observed at the elementary,¹¹ middle,¹² and high school levels.¹³

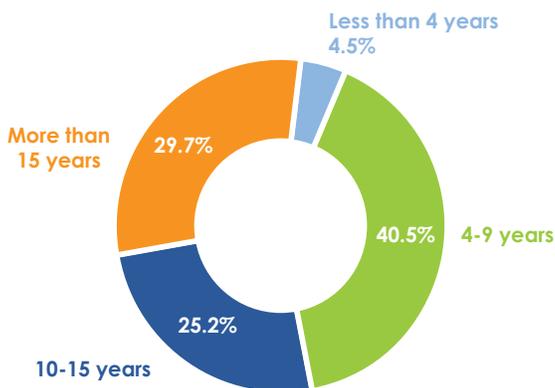
METHODOLOGY

In March 2023, we conducted a 25-question survey of Illinois educators recruited through newsletters, emails from teacher leaders at schools, and partner communication. This survey sought to explore the disciplinary practices that teachers and administrators implement in classrooms and in schools to understand teachers’ approaches to discipline.

In total, 111 people completed the survey. The respondents came from more than 35 districts across Illinois. In terms of experience, 40.5% of respondents have taught for 4-9 years, 29.7% have taught for more than 15 years, 25.2% have taught for between 10-15 years, and 4.5% have taught for less than four years. The respondents also spanned the K-12 grade span, with 43.24% teaching 9th-12th grade, 32.4% teaching 6th-8th grade, 27% teaching 3rd-5th grade, and 20.7% teaching kindergarten-2nd grade. Survey respondents included a higher proportion of Black teachers relative to the teacher population of the state, with 36% of respondents identifying as Black or African American. In addition, 49.6% of respondents identified as White, 9% as Hispanic or Latinx, 4.5% as Asian or Pacific Islander, 4.5% as Native-American or Alaska Native, and 2.7% as Middle Eastern or North African.¹⁴

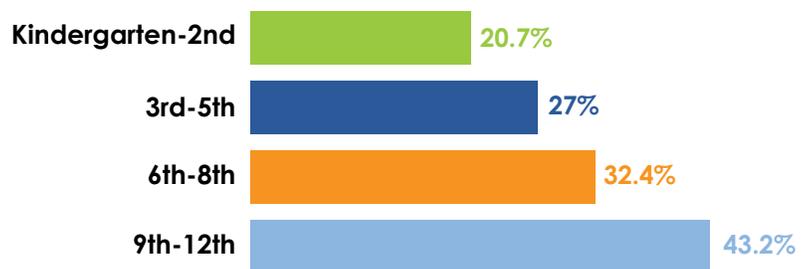
Years of Teaching Experience

n=111 out of 111 respondents



Grade Level Taught

n=111 out of 111 respondents



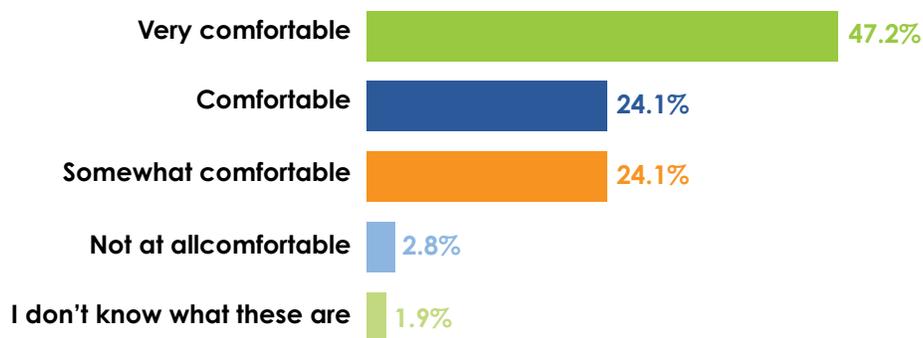
FINDINGS

1. Training in restorative practices has been effective in helping teachers feel prepared to implement these practices in their classrooms.

A significant majority—82.4% of teachers who responded to this survey—report receiving training in restorative practices.¹⁵ When provided training from their schools or districts, respondents reported feeling comfortable implementing these practices in their classrooms, with 71% of respondents reporting feeling comfortable or very comfortable incorporating restorative practices in their classrooms.¹⁶

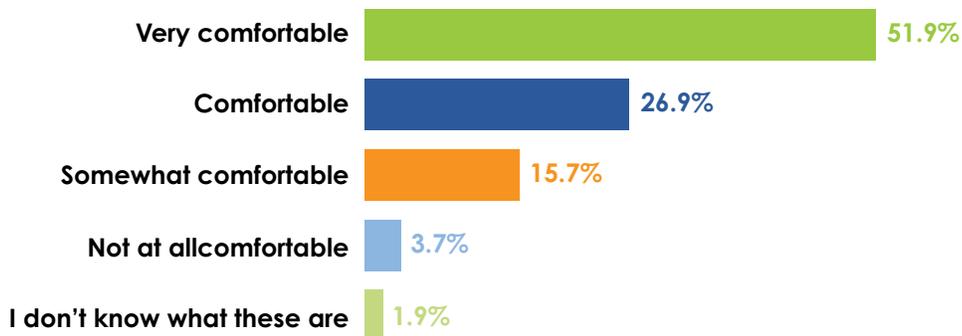
How comfortable are you implementing restorative practices in your classroom?

n=108 out of 111 respondents



How comfortable are you with implementing these social-emotional learning standards in your classroom?

n=108 out of 111 respondents



Overall, these results suggest that a large percentage of Illinois teachers have received training in restorative discipline, and that this training has been effective, with most respondents who have received training feeling comfortable implementing restorative practices in their classrooms. One suburban elementary educator responded, “*My student teaching experiences and additional trainings as an educator allowed me to gain deep insight into behavior and all the factors that contribute to behaviors in the classroom.*”¹⁷ Another teacher noted that “*restorative practices, PBIS and trauma training ... have added to the thought process of how I approach discipline in the classroom and throughout the building.*”

2. Many teachers are using their knowledge to implement student-oriented discipline—often utilizing restorative practices—in their classrooms.

We asked survey respondents to describe their philosophy on discipline in two sentences or less. These responses predominantly fell into five main categories that we coded—action-oriented, control-oriented, optics-oriented, student-oriented, and systems-oriented:¹⁸

- + **Action-oriented** responses focused on teachers' actions to respond to student behavior.
- + **Control-oriented** responses focused on preventing disruption of the classroom environment.
- + **Optics-oriented** responses focused on how teacher actions might be perceived by administrators.
- + **Student-oriented** responses focused on building relationships, leveraging those relationships to improve behavior, and implementing restorative practices to repair relationships as needed.
- + **Systems-oriented** responses focused on how teacher actions conformed to school discipline systems.

Of all responses to this question, about half described approaches to discipline that we coded as student-oriented. Many of these mentioned restorative practices by name, including this one from a suburban elementary school teacher: *"I take a restorative approach, using this pattern as an initial engagement: student makes a mistake, adult responds with empathy, logical consequence follows."* Other teachers may not have identified restorative practices by name, but still described many of the principles that encapsulate restorative practices: *"I try to create a classroom environment where everyone feels supported by and accountable to everyone else,"* wrote a suburban high school teacher.¹⁹

3. Many schools have failed to implement restorative practices systematically, presenting challenges both for teachers working to do so in individual classrooms and for students who have to navigate conflicting messages and consequences about behavior and expectations.

In the wake of SB100, it seems many schools have had trouble fully adjusting to the new paradigm around school discipline. While restorative practices are being implemented in many Illinois classrooms, there is too often a disconnect between individual teachers utilizing these approaches and those same teachers seeing broad-scale, systemic change at the school level. While 66 respondents (62%) said that their practical experiences aligned with official policy all or most of the time, 36 teachers (34%) said they aligned only "sometimes" and five (5%) said they were rarely or never aligned.²⁰ When we asked teachers to elaborate on these differences, many named a lack of support or inconsistent implementation of written policy, either in administrators' directives to teachers or their responses to student misbehavior. A suburban middle school teacher wrote, *"We are told that we're writing up too many students of color, but the handbook says to write students up, if they are not following expectations."*²¹ Another teacher in a suburban high school noted that *"Students know who follows what policies and who doesn't,"* pointing to how inconsistencies can impact students.²² While the types of inconsistencies varied from school to school, it was clear that a number of districts have work to do to bring teacher and administrator practice in line with official policies.

“There is a lack of follow-through with [restorative] policies and procedures because these take time, and people want a quick fix to behavior problems in the classroom/school.”²³

—Downstate elementary teacher

In other schools, teachers report good intentions without a clear understanding of restorative practices. For one educator from a suburban elementary school, it comes down to a lack of alignment on what restorative practices even entail: *“The word ‘restorative’ is thrown around a lot but there is no clear definition or basis for it beyond ‘being inclusive’ and ‘building relationships,’”* this respondent wrote. *“It is my belief that the administrators don’t know what it means any more than the teachers and staff do. It seems that the district decided we were going to be ‘restorative,’ and they all have the company line to respond to teachers when they ask for consequences for students exhibiting repetitive and/or disruptive behaviors.”*²⁴ Another teacher in a suburban high school agreed, saying *“They say they want to do restorative justice, however, for them that means no consequences which is not what restorative justice is.”*²⁵

In describing reasons why their practice departed from official written policy, a large group of teachers emphasized the importance of relationships, which is in line with the principles of restorative discipline. Several of these respondents explained that they preferred to handle behavior issues in their classroom, even when official policy called for referrals or other office-level discipline, in order to preserve their relationships with students. One suburban elementary teacher summarized these sentiments: *“I don’t write up students as frequently as other teachers for the same behaviors. I fear the students would no longer trust the school and lose a sense of belongingness.”*²⁶ Other respondents who valued relationships noted that they valued people over policy, and emphasized the importance of flexibility to meet student needs when written policies don’t fit the situation, as one suburban high school teacher described: *“I think policies are dead, but people are alive, and sometimes they have to be applied flexibly.”*²⁷ A few respondents offered similar sentiments, but added that they deliberately departed from written policy when they believed those policies were unjust or inequitable. All of these teachers highlighted a different kind of inconsistency: They’ve prioritized restorative practices but are limited by (or in some cases, are deliberately ignoring) official policies that require them to be more punitive.

“If adults are not on the same page about the need for restorative practices, then how can these practices actually reach students?”²⁸

—Suburban high school teacher

All of these inconsistencies put burdens on educators who rely on consistent messaging and building-wide systems and expectations to maintain solid student-teacher relationships. This can lead to teachers finding themselves at odds with other staff members, like one educator from a suburban high school who wrote, *“There is one dean in particular who does not exercise a philosophical understanding of restorative or humanizing practices, so it makes it extremely challenging to collaborate to support students.”*²⁹ Other schools have moved away from punitive discipline measures without implementing restorative practices to take their place, leaving teachers feeling like

they're on an island. One suburban elementary school teacher described how the burden fell to them in the absence of schoolwide systems, and how that failed students: *"[I feel] trepidation and anxiety, I know [regardless] of how completely unacceptable students' behavior is, the first person that will be required to readjust and maintain relationships [with the student] will be me. I will document, document, document and then we will ... allow the child to continue on their trajectory of negative behavior until the year is over, and they can start the process again with another educator."*³⁰ When respondents were asked to describe their feelings about school discipline, many noted that inconsistencies and mixed messaging contributed to feelings of frustration and anxiety, while only about a third of teachers reported emotions that we classified as positive.³¹

In virtually all of these cases of inconsistency or ineffectiveness we heard from teachers, the common factor we identified is a lack of broad-scale understanding and implementation of restorative practices, which were called for on a state level but not supported at the local level.

4. In schools heavily rooted in punitive disciplinary practices, restorative justice may be viewed as "soft" or ineffective.

The passing of SB100 in 2015 should have eliminated the use of zero-tolerance policies and dramatically reduced the use of exclusionary practices in schools, especially for minor offenses. This policy was meant to encourage positive interventions for students to help them learn from their mistakes without interrupting their learning. However, many teachers instead reported an increase in negative behavior due to the lack of consequences, and said that restorative practices had been ineffective. One suburban high school teacher explains, *"Loose disciplinary procedures and the use of a restorative conference AS the actual consequence makes teachers want to write kids up less and behaviors go unchecked."*³² As we've already noted, inconsistent or ineffective implementation of restorative practices in many schools has created problems for both teachers and students. For many respondents, it appears these implementation issues have soured them on the idea of restorative justice entirely.

Implementation issues aside, restorative practices face another major barrier to implementation: the power of past experience. While traditional forms of discipline in schools are often very punitive and negative, they are still very much in use today despite a significant body of research pointing to restorative practices. In our survey, most respondents expressed that their discipline style is significantly influenced by their upbringing or personal experiences.³³ The majority of those responses reference negative experiences or inequitable practices that shaped who they are as educators, many involving personal trauma or injustices they witnessed. While these experiences are prompting shifts to a more restorative mindset for some educators, other educators are still rooted in the punitive practices they know from experience, and feel that restorative justice isn't severe enough to correct student behavior. One teacher from one suburban high school writes, *"There are far too many students who continue to do behaviors which are against school policies because they realize that the consequences are not severe enough for them."*³⁴ Attitudes like this persist in the face of research pointing to restorative practices because teachers, like most people, tend to stick with what they know unless significant training and implementation supports are in place to change practices.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Schools should continue to provide effective, sustained training in restorative practices and extend it beyond teachers to include administrative and support staff.

Many respondents who received training in restorative practices expressed confidence in implementing these practices in their classrooms, but also identified inconsistencies with implementation at the school level that created frustration and confusion. Students respond best when expectations are both clear and consistent, which can only be achieved if everyone operates from the same understanding. In fact, a recent academic review of 81 studies published since 2010 pointed to “strategic direction” as the most important factor in transforming school discipline and reducing racial discipline disparities.³⁵

This type of school culture shift does not happen overnight or as a result of a single professional development session; it takes time to restructure the mindsets of educators involved in responding to student behavior. School districts should conduct ongoing, job-embedded training that includes teachers, administrators, and student support personnel. That training should connect directly to the development and implementation of school-level expectations, policies, and practices, and include regular reviews of data to adjust as necessary. It should also include specific attention to the educators who generate the most discipline referrals, as these teachers have been shown to significantly increase racial discipline disparities in schools.³⁶ Without a coordinated approach at the school level, teachers will continue to be left to fend for themselves with regard to discipline and students will continue to struggle in the face of inconsistent expectations.

“...additional trainings as an educator allowed me to gain deep insight into behavior and all the factors that contribute to behaviors in the classroom. I was able to see the importance of teaching skills.”³⁷

—Downstate elementary teacher

2. Schools should support teachers who are implementing restorative practices in classrooms with schoolwide systems and personnel.

While training is critical, it is also not enough—teachers trained to leverage restorative practices can't do so effectively in a system that is stacked against them. In most schools, exclusionary practices and punitive discipline are so ingrained that extensive work is needed to shift practices. That kind of deep change calls for a leader to own the process, and we recommend that school districts allocate funds towards positions like restorative justice coordinator, or appoint a committee or team and empower them to lead change. Schools should also increase the number of social workers to provide support for teachers who are implementing restorative practices in their classrooms and students who need behavioral supports to achieve their potential. Finally, we recommend that schools evaluate their daily schedule and consider how they might build structures like advisory periods into the school day to help bolster teachers' efforts in enacting restorative justice in classrooms.

“My school and the deans do a very good job of distancing themselves from punitive forms of discipline. We also have a discipline committee that is made up of students, teachers and parents that look over our rules and practices.”³⁸

—Suburban high school teacher.

3. ISBE should incentivize stronger implementation of restorative practices with state-level support, including guidance, models, and implementation grants.

For restorative practices to be implemented with fidelity across the state, more support is needed, beginning with resources. As it stands, there are districts in Illinois bringing in outside consultants and hiring new personnel to build a culture of restorative practice in their schools, while others struggle to conform to mandates without the resources to understand or support real transformation. This often means that wealthier, more privileged districts are able to support students with restorative practices while under-resourced schools are unable to do the same. Too often, these under-resourced schools serve the same students of color most impacted by implicit bias and excessive exclusionary discipline in the first place, which Senate Bill 100 was intended to prevent.

This inequitable allocation of resources is widening an already significant gap in discipline practices and beliefs across districts. To address this, ISBE should provide implementation grants to districts struggling to move away from exclusionary practices in order to accomplish the intent of the legislature. While there are many factors at play when considering how to structure these funds, the most important element to consider is how to ensure that these dollars make it to districts that are committed to restorative practices but show a need financially.

While funding for implementation is important, the impact of that funding can be expanded by providing other resources at the state level. It would be helpful to make available a statewide training to build understanding of restorative practices. Districts would also benefit from implementation guidance around best practices in restorative justice that lays out how schools can successfully work through the change process and shift mindsets. Finally, it is important to point schools towards models they can emulate—schools that have successfully made the shift, so that educators can see what success looks like and how effective a new approach can be.

“I think teachers feel largely unsupported with this. They want to be on board with restorative practices but don’t always understand what they mean or how to practice them to help shift overall behavior.”³⁹

—Chicago elementary teacher

CONCLUSION

SB 100's goal was to significantly transform student discipline in schools. Almost a decade later, unforeseen circumstances have shaped education and student behavior in a number of ways, with COVID-19 dramatically altering students' social-emotional regulation skills. In the face of those trends, our research suggests that restorative practices are breaking through to teachers in Illinois, but that systemic implementation is uneven. As more restorative measures are being implemented in response to student behavior, it is important that all education stakeholders get on the same page so that students can benefit from consistent expectations, and schools can access the resources they need to make that happen.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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ABOUT TEACH PLUS

Teach Plus is dedicated to the mission of empowering excellent, experienced, and diverse teachers to take leadership over key policy and practice issues that advance equity, opportunity, and student success. Since 2009, Teach Plus has developed thousands of teacher leaders across the country to exercise their leadership in shaping education policy and improving teaching and learning, to create an education system driven by access and excellence for all. teachplus.org



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APPENDIX

Survey Data (Overall Sample Size: 111)

Questions 1-3 collected participant names and email addresses for data cleaning purposes.

4. What is your racial and ethnic identity? Choose as many as applicable.
(total may be over 100%)

N = 111	%
Asian or Pacific Islander	4.50
Black or African-American	36.04
Hispanic or Latinx	9.01
Middle Eastern or North African	2.70
Native American or Alaska Native	4.50
White or Caucasian	49.55
Prefer Not To Disclose	2.70
Other	0.90

5. What district do you teach in?

6. What grade level do you teach? Choose as many as applicable.
(total may be over 100%)

N = 111	%
K-2	20.72
3-5	27.03
6-8	32.4
9-12	43.24

7. Including the 2022-2023 academic year, how many years of teaching experience do you have?

N = 111	%
Less than 4 years	4.50
4-9 years	40.54
10-15 years	25.23
More than 15 years	29.73

8. Did you start at your current school before September 2016?

N = 110	%
Yes	67.27
No	32.73

9. Please describe your approach to school discipline in two sentences or less.
(Open Response)

10. What are the experiences—from before you entered the classroom or since becoming a teacher—that most strongly shaped your approach to school discipline? (Open Response)

11. Illinois has social-emotional learning standards that teachers are expected to use with students. Has your school conducted any training focused specifically on social emotional learning in the last five years?

N = 109	%
Yes	88.07
No	11.93

12. How comfortable are you with implementing these social-emotional learning standards in your classroom?

N = 108	%
Very comfortable	51.85
Comfortable	26.85
Somewhat comfortable	15.74
Not at all comfortable	3.70
I don't know what these are	1.85

13. Restorative practices are defined by the Safe Schools Consortium as a set of practices and a philosophy grounded in indigenous teachings which question the underlying assumptions of our traditional, punitive approaches to school climate and discipline. Has your school implemented any training specifically on restorative practices?

N = 108	%
Yes	82.41
No	17.59

14. How comfortable are you implementing restorative practices in your classroom?

N = 108	%
Very comfortable	47.22
Comfortable	24.07
Somewhat comfortable	24.07
Not at all comfortable	2.78
I don't know what these are	1.85

15. What type of emotions arise when you think about discipline in your school?
(Open Response)

16. For any official, written student discipline procedures and policies that your school mandates: How closely do your practical experiences with discipline align with these official, written procedures and expectations that your school mandates?

N = 107	%
Always	26.17
Most of the time	35.51
Sometimes	33.37
Rarely	3.74
Never	0.93

17. If there is a difference between how frequently you implement official, written procedures and policy mandates from your school and how much you support these official, written procedures and policy mandates, please explain that difference. (Open Response)

18. What do you perceive your school emphasizing with regards to school discipline?
What actions have you noticed that give you that perception? (Open Response)

19. For whatever expectations your school has around school discipline, how prepared are you to meet those expectations?

N = 107	%
Very prepared	47.66
Prepared	28.04
Somewhat prepared	20.56
Not at all prepared	3.74

20. How would you describe the effect that your school's approach to school discipline has on you as a teacher? (Open Response)

21. How familiar are you with Illinois Senate Bill 100?

N = 107	%
Very familiar	28.04
Familiar	33.64
Somewhat familiar	24.30
Not at all familiar	14.02

22. Have you seen a shift in negative student behavior in your classroom since September 2016?

N = 107	%
Yes, an increase in negative student behavior.	40.19
Yes, a decrease in negative student behavior.	24.30
No.	18.69
Started after 2016	16.82

23. Have you noticed a change in the number of disciplinary referrals you have assigned in your classroom since September 2016?

N = 107	%
Yes, an increase.	32.71
Yes, a decrease.	26.17
No change	21.50
Started after 2016	19.63

24. Have you changed your approach to discipline in your classroom since September 2016?

N = 107	%
Yes, an increase in disciplinary referrals.	32.71
Yes, a decrease in disciplinary referrals.	26.17
No.	21.50
I started at my current school after September 2016.	19.63

25. If you have noticed changes, to what do you attribute those changes? (Open Response)

ENDNOTES

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- 13 Lewis, S. (2009). *Improving school climate: Findings from schools implementing restorative practices*. Bethlehem, PA: International Institute for Restorative Practices.
- 14 Question: "What is your racial and ethnic identity? Choose as many as applicable." Response (n=111): Asian/ Pacific Islander (4.5%) Black/African-American (36.04%) Hispanic/Latinx (9.01%) Middle Eastern/North African (2.7%) Native American/Alaska Native (4.5%) White/Caucasian (49.55%) Prefer Not To Disclose (2.7%) Other (0.9%)
- 15 Question: "Restorative practices are defined by the Safe Schools Consortium as a set of practices and a philosophy grounded in indigenous teachings which question the underlying assumptions of our traditional, punitive approaches to school climate and discipline. Has your school implemented any training specifically on restorative practices?"
- 16 Question: "How comfortable are you implementing restorative practices in your classroom?"

- 17** Question: "What are the experiences—from before you entered the classroom or since becoming a teacher—that most strongly shaped your approach to school discipline?"
- 18** Question: "Please describe your approach to school discipline in two sentences or less."
- 19** *Ibid.*
- 20** Question: "For any official, written student discipline procedures and policies that your school mandates: How closely do your practical experiences with discipline align with these official, written procedures and expectations that your school mandates?" Response (n=107): Always (26.17%) Most of the time (35.51%) Sometimes (33.64%) Rarely (3.74%) Never (0.93%)
- 21** Question: "If there is a difference between how frequently you implement official, written procedures and policy mandates from your school and how much you support these official, written procedures and policy mandates, please explain that difference."
- 22** *Ibid.*
- 23** *Ibid.*
- 24** Question: "What do you perceive your school emphasizing with regards to school discipline? What actions have you noticed that give you that perception?"
- 25** Question: "If there is a difference between how frequently you implement official, written procedures and policy mandates from your school and how much you support these official, written procedures and policy mandates, please explain that difference."
- 26** *Ibid.*
- 27** *Ibid.*
- 28** *Ibid.*
- 29** Question: "What type of emotions arise when you think about discipline in your school?"
- 30** *Ibid.*
- 31** *Ibid.*
- 32** Question: "If you have noticed changes, to what do you attribute those changes?"
- 33** Question: "What are the experiences—from before you entered the classroom or since becoming a teacher—that most strongly shaped your approach to school discipline?"
- 34** Question: "What type of emotions arise when you think about discipline in your school?"
- 35** Welsh, R. (2023). *I Combed Through 81 Studies on School Discipline. Here's What Educators Need to Know*. EdWeek. <https://www.edweek.org/leadership/opinion-i-combed-through-81-studies-on-school-discipline-heres-what-educators-need-to-know/2023/10>
- 36** Liu, J., Penner, E., & Gao, W. (2023). *Troublemakers? The Role of Frequent Teacher Referrers in Expanding Racial Disciplinary Disproportionalities*. <https://www.edworkingpapers.com/sites/default/files/ai22-616.pdf>
- 37** Question: "What are the experiences—from before you entered the classroom or since becoming a teacher—that most strongly shaped your approach to school discipline?"
- 38** Question: "What type of emotions arise when you think about discipline in your school?"
- 39** *Ibid.*