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## Student Insubordination, Discipline and Safety Initiatives in Urban Schools

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**Abstract**

This study examines school factors associated with student insubordination in urban schools. Using data from 1,493 public schools (School Survey on Crime and Safety 2007-2008), multivariate regression analyses show that schools with more disadvantaged students (e.g., ethnic minority students, underachievers, and special education students) tend to have more insubordination incidents after controlling for violence incidents and school safety initiatives. Among school factors, perceived school value and parental involvement are consistently and negatively associated with both the actual number of incidents and principals' perception of insubordination. Teacher training programs and student-oriented crime prevention programs are associated differently with each type of student insubordination.

**Introduction**

Creating a safer and more orderly school is a high priority and a challenge for school administrators. School violence has been a critical issue among policymakers and stakeholders, yet little attention has been paid to students' insubordination. It is because student insubordination has been considered as minor offenses or nonviolent behaviors (Kaufman, Jaser, Vaughan, Reynolds, Di Donato, 2010; Shupe, 1998) and may not threaten the safety of the entire school. However, adequately dealing with student insubordination should be the first step in promoting school safety.

In the school settings, a considerable number of school administrators and teachers reported student insubordination as a major problem in creating an orderly school (Abebe & Hailemariam, 2007; Alley, 1990; Tidwell, Flannery, & Lewis-Palmer, 2003). A recent national report showed that, during the 2009-2010 school year, about five percent of schools disciplined students for verbal abuse of teachers every day or at

least once a week (Robers, Zhang, & Truman, 2012). These problems are more frequent in urban schools; about 12 % and nine percent of schools reported incidents of students' disrespectful acts and verbal abuse of teachers, respectively (Robers et al., 2012). During the 2007 -2008 school year, on average, a school disciplined 88 students for insubordination (Tonsager, Neiman, Hryczaniuk, & Guan, 2010) and about 276,700 teachers and 145,100 teachers reported being threatened with injury and attacked by students, respectively (Robers et al., 2010).

Student insubordination should not be underestimated because it negatively affects school climate and order. The current study seeks school factors associated with student insubordination and the findings extend our knowledge about how to prevent student insubordination. To date, little attention has been paid to identifying school factors of student insubordination in the literature. At best, student insubordination has been discussed as part of school violence and/or discipline studies (Blake,

Butler, Lewis, & Darenbourg, 2010; Kaufman et al., 2010; Raffaele Mendez & Knoff, 2003). To better estimate the associations between insubordination and school factors, this study differentiated student insubordination and students' violent behaviors against their peers. Thus, violent incident was included in the multivariate regression models as a control variable. In addition, in the study, insubordination was assessed in two different ways; actual number of insubordination incident and principals' perceived student insubordination (e.g., frequency of disrespectful act for teachers and verbal abuse of teachers). The reason for using a different measure of insubordination is that there may be gaps between actual student problem behaviors and school staff's perception of problem behaviors (Akiba & Han, 2007; Huss, 2007; Johnson, 2010; Wade & Stafford, 2003). Finally, student problem behaviors are more frequent in urban areas (Mcloughlin & Noltemeyer, 2010; Robers, Zhang & Truman, 2012; Smith, 2011), thus the study focused on urban schools.

## Literature review

### Student Insubordination: Definition and Discipline

Student insubordination was defined as disrespect, disobedience, verbal abuse, intimidation, and even physical attack of teachers or school staff (Neiman & DeVoe, 2009; Robers et al., 2012). Research has shown multiple types of student problem behaviors as insubordination in different categories. In a study on discipline practices (Kaufman et al., 2010), student problem behaviors against school staff were addressed as following: 1) the attendance category - leaving the building without permission and skipping detention, 2) the aggressive category - physically threatening

the staff, physical and sexual harassment, and verbally threatening the staff, and 3) the disrespectful category - using profanity towards the staff, general disrespect, and lying. Similarly, defiance of adult authority is defined as displaying obscenities, refusing detentions, assaulting employees, giving false names, being uncooperative, being disrespectful, using profanities, cheating, and disturbing classes (Gregory & Weinstein, 2008).

Research has demonstrated that student insubordination is a frequent problem behavior in the school setting (Alley, 1990; Tidwell et al., 2003), and has explored how schools discipline students for insubordination and which factors are associated with such behaviors.

Gregory and Weinstein (2008), analyzing discipline referral record of one urban high school during the 2002-2003 school year, found that "defiance of adult authority" was the most common disciplinary reason for suspension (67%; n =1,207), and more than half of the defiance referred (57%) were black students. Similarly, Skiba et al. (2002) found different patterns of student insubordination by race. The researchers analyzed data of 4,461 students who were referred to the office for a disciplinary reason at least one time during the 1994-1995 school year and found that black students tended to be referred to the office for being disrespectful, making excessive noise, loitering, and using threats, whereas white students tended to be referred to the office because of smoking, vandalizing, using obscene language, and leaving without permission (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). Raffaele Mendez and Knoff (2003) analyzed the data of 142 schools during the 1996-1997 school year and found that students' disobedience/insubordination (20%), noncompliance with

assigned discipline (7%), and disrespect (6%) were the most common reasons for suspension of 15 different reasons. In their study, it was noticeable that black male students were more likely to be suspended because of disobedience/insubordination (28%), being disrespectful (32%), and leaving class or campus without permission (33%) than white male or Hispanic male students. Consistently, Blake et al. (2010) analyzed data of 9,364 female students in 44 schools in a urban school district and found that black female students were more frequent discipline recipients for insubordination, being profane to adults and expressing defiance than their white female counterparts (Blake et al., 2010).

In summary, student insubordination was a common disciplinary reason for office referrals and suspension. In addition, black students were more frequently disciplined because of insubordination than their White counterparts. The study expected that schools with more ethnic minority students would have more student insubordination incidents than schools serving less ethnic minority students.

### **Student Insubordination and School Safety Initiatives**

Schools have implemented comprehensive crime prevention programs for students, parents, and teachers. During the 2009-2010 school year, a majority of public schools (84% to 93%) offered multiple programs to create a safer and orderly school, such as behavior modifications, interventions, mentoring and tutoring opportunities, prevention curriculums, promotion of social integration, and a sense of community programs (Neiman, 2011). Teacher training programs have been emphasized for promoting an orderly school because a teacher is the first

link to a student problem behavior in the classroom setting (Lewis-Palmer, 1999; Gregory & Weinstein, 2008). Depending on a teacher's quality of classroom management and of relationship with the students, student problem behaviors can be dealt with in the classroom and be improved. Research showed that if students perceived their teachers' care and high expectations for them that those students tended to respect more in the teachers' authority. Accordingly, those schools minimized the discipline gap by race (Gregory & Weinstein, 2008).

Regarding student-oriented crime prevention programs, the School-Wide Positive Behavioral Supports (SWPBS) is one of the nationally-known programs. It has been effectively implemented in schools with fairly consistent expectations and behavioral indicators across states (Lynass, Tsai, Richman, & Cheney, 2012). In New Hampshire, after implementing the Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports–New Hampshire, more than 6,000 office discipline referrals and more than 1,000 suspensions decreased during the 2003-2004 year and the 2004-2005 school year. The researchers found that the program helped considerably with saving time for more learning, teaching and leadership (Muscott, Mann, & LeBrun, 2008). In Iowa, positive effects of SWPBS (e.g., reduction office discipline referrals) were also observed in the survey results of 72 schools from 2003 to 2006 (Mass-Galloway, Panyan, Smith, & Wessendorf, 2008). In Texas, a school wide positive behavior initiative resulted in reduction of discipline referrals in middle schools; three-year data from 2005 to 2008 showed more than 22% of reduction in discipline referrals (Ruiz, Ruiz, & Sherman, 2012).

Finally, parental involvement in schools has been well-documented as a strong predictor of school success for students, both academically and behaviorally (Jeynes, 2012; LeFevre & Shaw, 2011; Sheldon & Epstein, 2002; Stylianides & Stylianides, 2011). A meta-analysis with 51 studies demonstrated that parental involvement, such as communication between parents and teachers, checking of homework and sharing of reading at home, is positively associated with student academic achievement across elementary and secondary school levels (Jeynes, 2012). Frequent parent-child interactions have a positive effect on academic achievement in urban children (Stylianides & Stylianides, 2011) and family and community involvement in school activities decreased discipline outcomes, such as office referrals, detention and in-school suspensions, after controlling for previous rates of discipline (Sheldon & Epstein, 2002).

These comprehensive safety initiatives are expected to decrease violence and to maintain school order. The present study expected that student insubordination may be decreased by trained teachers with classroom management skills, discipline practices, and greater knowledge over positive behavior interventions. In addition, student insubordination is expected to decrease by promoting parental involvement in schools and by providing student-oriented crime prevention programs, such as mentoring, counseling, or prevention curriculums.

### **The Current Study**

The current study attempted to estimate the relationships between student insubordination and school characteristics in urban schools. Using the school-level data

set, descriptive statistics and multiple multivariate regression analyses were performed to address following research questions. First, to what extent do urban schools have student insubordination incidents? Second, how are the different discipline practices for student insubordination implemented by school level? And third, how is student insubordination associated with school factors, after controlling for violent incidents and school characteristics?

## **Method**

### **Participants**

The current study is a secondary analysis of the School Survey on Crime and Safety (SSOCS) 2007-2008. The SSOCS data set has been collected every two years since 1999 on behalf of the U.S. Department of Education. The National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) and the U.S. Census Bureau developed and conducted the survey which contained information about school safety: crime prevention programs for teachers, parents, students and community, school security practices, number and types of student problem behaviors, disciplinary actions and school backgrounds. Based on nationally representative samples, a total of 3,367 questionnaire packets were sent to public schools between February 25 and June 17 in 2008. With a 77.2% response rate, the SSOCS 2007-2008 data was collected from 2,560 usable questionnaires (Ruddy, Neiman, Hryczaniuk, Thomas, & Parmer, 2010).

In the current study, the SSOCS 2007-2008 data was used as it was the most recent data available to the public as of the beginning of 2014. Finally, a total of 1,493 schools in urban and urban fringe were selected for the study (see appendix A & B).

## Measures

Insubordination was assessed in three different ways. First, school discipline records of insubordination were used. In the SSOCS questionnaire, insubordination was defined as “a deliberate and inexcusable defiance of or refusal to obey a school rule, authority, or a reasonable order.” Specifically, failure to respond to a call slip, failure to attend assigned detention or on-campus supervision, and physical or verbal intimidation/abuse to school staff were included in the questionnaire. Based on the definition of insubordination, principals were asked “During the 2007–08 school year, how many students were involved in committing the following offenses, and how many of the following disciplinary actions were taken in response?” and principals responded with a number of each discipline for insubordination: 1) expulsion, 2) transfers to specialized schools, 3) out-of-school suspensions lasting 5 or more days and 4) other disciplinary actions (e.g., suspension for less than 5 days or detention). Second and third measures of insubordination (e.g., Disrespectful act and verbal abuse of teachers) relied on principals’ perception. Principals were asked, “To the best of your knowledge, how often did the following types of problems occur *at* your school?” and principals responded to students’ verbal abuse of teachers and students’ acts of disrespect for teachers. A scale of 5 was given: 1 = Happens daily, 2 = Happens once a week, 3 = Happens once a month, 4 = Happens on occasions, and 5 = Never happens. For the analysis, each of reverse-coded variables was used.

Violent incident was measured as the actual number of violent incidents based on principals’ report and it included physical

attacks/fights, robbery, gang, weapon and sex-related offenses.

Teacher training programs were measured whether the school or district provided training programs for classroom teachers or aides during the 2007 -2008 school year. Six items (e.g., classroom management, discipline policies and practices, safety procedures, and positive behavioral intervention strategies) were given. Principals responded yes = 1 or no = 0 to each item and it was recoded as yes = 1 and no = 0. Student-oriented prevention program was measured as principals’ responses. Principals were asked whether their school formally implemented violence prevention programs (e.g., resolving student behavior problems, behavior modification, and counseling) to students. Given eight types of programs, principals answered as yes = 1 or no = 0 to each program, and those were recoded as yes = 1 and no = 0. Teacher training programs and student-oriented prevention programs were used as the sum of those responses, respectively.

Parental involvement was measured using four items (e.g., open house, volunteer and parent-teacher conferences). Principals were asked “What is your best estimate of the percentage of students who had at least one parent or guardian participating in the following events during the 2007 – 2008 school year?” Given four items, principals responded as 1 = 0 to 25 percent, 2 = 26 to 50 percent, 3 = 51 to 75 percent, 4 = 76 to 100 percent, and 5 = school does not offer. For the analyses, response 5 (school does not offer) was excluded and the mean was computed with a composite of parental involvement in school events (Cronbach’s alpha = .80).

School values, aspirations, underachievers, limited English proficient

(LEP) students, and special education students were measured based on principals' report as of October 1, 2007. Principals were asked to estimate the percentage of current students who met the following criteria. School value was assessed as a percentage of students who valued academic achievement. Aspiration was measured as a percentage of students who were likely to go to college after graduating high school. Underachiever was estimated as a percentage of present students who were below the 15th percentile on standardized tests. The percent of LEP students and special education students were measured by the principals' report. Special education students were defined based on the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.

Three variables of school characteristics were also included in the analyses: ethnic minority students, school level, and school size. A proportion of ethnic minority students have been well demonstrated as a strong predictor of problem behaviors (Skiba, Horner, Chung, Rausch, May, & Tobin, 2011), and students' insubordination more frequently occurs at secondary schools than elementary schools (Kaufman et al., 2010). In addition, school size does matter; larger schools have more insubordination cases when insubordination is measured as a count. In the study, ethnic minority students were defined as black/African American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, Native Hawaiian/Other Pacific Islander, and American Indian/Alaska Native students and assessed as a categorical variable indicating 1 = less than 5%, 2 = 5% to 20%, 3 = 20% to 50%, and 4 = more than 50%. School level was created as a dummy variable indicating 1 = middle and high schools and 0 = elementary schools. Finally, school size was measured as a number of enrolled students and included as a categorical variable: 1 = less than 300, 2 =

300 to 499, 3 = 500 to 999, and 4 = more than 1,000. Originally, those variables were derived from the Common Core of Data (CCD) that is an annual data set of the U.S. Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics. It contains comprehensive information (both fiscal and non-fiscal) of all public schools in the U.S.

## Data Analysis

Descriptive statistics were used to answer the first and second research questions. Multivariate regression analyses were performed to investigate the relationships between student insubordination and school characteristics. In the multiple multivariate regression models, three types of insubordination were included as dependent variables: number of actual insubordination cases, principals' perceived disrespectful act/ verbal abuse of teachers. Two variables (i.e., insubordination and violent incidents) were measured as a count and each variable had a positively skewed distribution. That is, most schools have few insubordination/violent incidents and a small number of certain schools have many incidents. To increase accuracy to estimating the associations in multivariate regression models, these variables were transformed using a base 10 logarithm.

## Results

Results of descriptive statistics for the first research question "To what extent do urban schools have student insubordination incidents?" are presented in Table 1 (see appendix). A total 146,157 discipline records for student insubordination is reported by urban schools in the 2007-2008 school year. On average, a school has 97.89 discipline records for student insubordination. Approximately, a quarter of urban schools ( $n = 369$ ; 24.72%)

has at least one discipline record for student insubordination.

Figure 1 displays the results of the second research question “How are the different discipline practices for student insubordination implemented by school level?” Out of the total number of insubordination incidents, high schools have the most frequent insubordination incidents (63.17%), followed by middle schools (30.44%), elementary schools (5.08 %) and combined schools (1.31%). Mostly, discipline outcomes for insubordination are detentions or suspensions for less than five days, yet more than nine percent of insubordination incidents results in severe disciplinary actions, such as expulsion (0.17%), transfer to a specialized school (1.40%) and suspension more than five days (7.53%). See Appendix A and B for details.

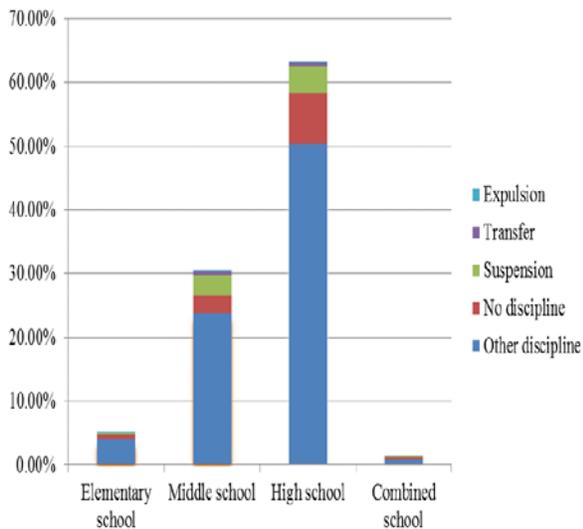


Figure 1. Percent of discipline outcomes for insubordination by school level

Table 2 (see appendix) presents results of multivariate regression analyses to address the third research question “How is student insubordination associated with school factors, after controlling for violent

incidents and school characteristics?” Multiple models display the associations between each of three dependent variables (e.g., actual number of insubordination incident, perceived disrespectful act to teachers and perceived verbal abuse of teachers) and school factors.

The first two columns of Table 2 present the estimated associations between insubordination cases and school factors, after controlling for school characteristics. Schools serving more ethnic minority students ( $p < .001$ ), more underachievers ( $p < .001$ ) and more special education students ( $p < .01$ ) tend to have more insubordination cases, whereas schools with more LEP students are less likely to have such incidents ( $p < .001$ ). In addition, schools serving more students who value academic achievement are less likely to have insubordination ( $p < .001$ ). The model 1 shows that school characteristics can account for approximately 36% of the variance of students insubordination measured by school discipline record. When we include three types of school safety initiatives in the model, statistically significant relationships between insubordination and student-oriented prevention programs, and parent involvement reveal.

The second column of Table 2 shows the relationships between different school factors and students’ disrespectful acts to teachers as measured by the principals’ perception. The results appear partly consistent with the results of the first column. Schools with more ethnic minority students and underachievers tend to have disrespectful acts from students to teachers more frequently ( $p < .001$ ) and schools with more LEP students are less likely to have such incidents ( $p < .001$ ). In addition, schools with more students who tend to go

to college and value academic achievement are less likely to have incidents of disrespectful acts towards teachers ( $p < .001$ ). Regarding safety initiatives, only student-oriented prevention programs and parent involvement are observed as statistically significant and negative predictors of students' disrespectfulness to teachers, after controlling for all other school characteristics ( $p < .001$ ). Both of the two models in the second columns show that school characteristics and having safety initiatives can account for about 20% of the variation of students' disrespectful acts toward teachers.

The third column of Table 2 shows the associations between school factors and students' verbal abuse of teacher measured by principals' perception. Consistently, schools serving more ethnic minority students, underachievers, and special education students seem more likely to have incidents of students verbally abusing teachers ( $p < .001$ ), and schools with more LEP students tend not to ( $p < .001$ ). Again, if schools have more students who tend to go to college and value academic achievement, those schools are less likely to have incidents of students verbally abusing teachers. However, mixed results are observed in this model; while parental involvement appears as a negative predictor of verbal abuse of teachers ( $p < .001$ ), yet schools having multiple student-oriented prevention programs tend to have more frequent students' verbal abuse of teachers ( $p < .05$ ). Both of the two models in the third column show that school characteristics and having safety initiatives can account for about 28% of the variation of incidents where students verbally abuse their teachers.

## Conclusion

This study was conducted to investigate to what extent urban schools have student insubordination incidents and which school factors are associated with student insubordination. The following conclusions can be drawn from the results of the study.

First, the findings of the study showed that more than 9% of insubordination cases resulted in severe disciplinary actions including more than five-day suspensions, transferring students to specialized schools, and even expulsion. School administrators and teachers should consider if these discipline methods are effective for student insubordination issues. The methods require students to leave and/or change their learning environments, which have negative effects on students' academic achievements (Anderson, Howard, & Graham, 2007; Arcia, 2006; Brown, 2007), they are also labeled by staff and peers (Fenning & Rose, 2007; Mellard & Seybert, 1996), and many even drop out of school (Jimerson, Egeland, Sroufe, & Carlson, 2000). Research has shown that students' defiance and inattention problems can be more effectively disciplined in a humanistic manner rather than in an authoritative manner (Tulley & Chiu, 1995). Further, severe punishments may cause more frequent student insubordination (Way, 2011). Thus, having clearly established school rules and expectations for students would be helpful in preventing students' insubordination and severe disciplinary actions (Shupe, 1998).

Second, students' values of school appeared as an important predictor of all three types of insubordination (i.e., actual insubordination incidents, perceived disrespectfulness toward teachers, and

verbal abuse of teachers). School administrators and teachers should make an effort to promote students' perception of importance in academic achievement. Schools may develop more academic events and encourage students to be involved in them. Schools may emphasize recognition of students' academic accomplishment at the school, district, state, and national levels covering various subjects and activities (e.g., literature, mathematics, social studies, and music, etc.). Based on the results, it can be concluded that improving students' perceived value of academic achievement at school level may help decrease insubordination from them.

Finally, parent involvement in school events appeared as a significantly negative predictor of all three types of student insubordination across all multivariate regression models. Parental involvement has demonstrated its positive effects on school success in numerous studies (Jeynes, 2012; LeFevre & Shaw, 2011; Sheldon & Epstein, 2002; Stylianides & Stylianides, 2011) and the current study supports the positive effects in decreasing student insubordination. It is possible that frequent communication between schools and parents improve students' behaviors. That is, parents clarify school rules and remind their children or those rules and also encourage them to respect school authority. Because the results indicated that more than 60% of student insubordination occurred at high schools, high school administrators especially should consider emphasizing parents' roles to decrease insubordination incidents.

### **Study Limitations**

Although the findings of the study help understand student insubordination issues better, several limitations should be

cautioned. First of all, findings from a cross-sectional data set do not determine causes and effects among the associations. Second, the study solely relied on data from principals' reports. Future studies should examine this issue from teachers' and students' views as well. Third, the study attempted to take into account all potential factors (e.g., number of violent incidents and school background) that may influence the associations between student insubordination and school factors. Yet, SSOCS public-use data do not contain poverty as a variable. Although there is little evidence ensuring the associations between student insubordination and poverty, future studies may include student socio-economic statuses, such as lunch status, parent education level, and/or family income.

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## Appendix

Table 1

*Number of Insubordination Incidents in Urban Schools*

	N	Min.	Max.	Sum	Mean	S.D.	Schools with at least one discipline for insubordination (%)
Number of Insubordination incidents	1493.00	0.00	8,687.00	146,157.00	97.89	380.77	369.00 (24.72)

Table 2

*Associated School Factors of Student Insubordination in Urban Schools*

	Number of Insubordination Incident		Perceived Disrespectful Act to Teacher		Perceived Verbal Abuse of Teacher	
	Model 1 B (SE)	Model 2 B (SE)	Model 1 B (SE)	Model 2 B (SE)	Model 1 B (SE)	Model 2 B (SE)
Minority student (%)	.088***(.005)	.077***(.005)	.042***(.007)	.021***(.007)	.119***(.006)	.096***(.006)
Underachiever (%)	.008***(.000)	.007***(.000)	.007***(.000)	.007***(.000)	.011***(.000)	.010***(.000)
Special education (%)	.001**(.000)	.002***(.000)	.001(.001)	.001(.001)	.010***(.000)	.010***(.000)
LEP (%)	-	-	-.003***(.000)	-	-.005***(.000)	-.005***(.000)
Aspiration (%)	.000(.000)	.000(.000)	-.004***(.000)	-.004***(.000)	-.001***(.000)	-.001**(.000)
School value (%)	-	-.002***(.000)	-.003***(.000)	-.002***(.000)	-.003***(.000)	-.002***(.000)
School level	.396***(.008)	.360***(.009)	.210***(.012)	.146***(.013)	.326***(.010)	.253***(.011)
School size	.077***(.005)	.073***(.005)	.008(.007)	.002(.007)	.018**(.005)	.013* (.005)
Violent incident TT	.389***(.008)	.387***(.008)	.558** (.011)	.553***(.011)	.437***(.009)	.425***(.009)
SCP	-	-.012***(.003)	-	-.007(.003)	-	.008* (.003)
PI	-	-.088***(.006)	-	-.041***(.004)	-	-.135***(.007)

Adjusted $R^2$	.36	.36	.20	.20	.28	.28
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*Note.* A total of 1,493 samples were used for analyses. SE = standard error; LEP = Limited English Proficient students; TT = teacher training programs; SCP = student crime prevention; PI = parental involvement; School level refers to secondary school.

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ . \*\*\* $p < .001$ .

#### Appendix A

	N	Min.	Max.	Sum	Mean	S. D.
Total number of students involved in insubordination	1,493.00	0.00	9,608.00	166,071.00*	111.23	406.41
Number of removals for insubordination	1,493.00	0.00	112.00	277.00	0.19	3.06
Number of transfers for insubordination	1,493.00	0.00	346.00	2,324.00	1.56	11.97
Number of suspensions for insubordination	1,493.00	0.00	909.00	12,511.00	8.38	45.21
Number other actions for insubordination	1,493.00	0.00	7,772.00	131,045.00	87.77	357.42

*Note.* SSOCS questionnaire assessed total number of students who were involved in insubordination regardless of discipline outcomes. According to the data, 19,914 students (166,071-146,157) might not receive any disciplinary actions for insubordination or received more severe disciplinary actions because SSOCS record the most severe disciplinary action when a student was involved in multiple incidents.

Appendix B

School level	Discipline outcomes for insubordination	Number	Percent
Elementary	Expulsion	115	0.07%
	Transfer	55	0.03%
	Suspension	289	0.17%
	Other disciplinary actions*	6,558	3.95%
	No disciplinary action	1,414	0.85%
Middle	Expulsion	49	0.03%
	Transfer	1,156	0.70%
	Suspension	5,280	3.18%
	Other disciplinary actions	39,428	23.74%
	No disciplinary action	4,641	2.79%
High	Expulsion	93	0.06%
	Transfer	1,085	0.65%
	Suspension	6,839	4.12%
	Other disciplinary actions	83,594	50.34%
	No disciplinary action	13,303	8.01%
Combined	Expulsion	20	0.01%
	Transfer	28	0.02%
	Suspension	103	0.06%
	Other disciplinary actions	1,465	0.88%
	No disciplinary action	556	0.33%
Total		166,071	100.00%

*Note.* Other disciplinary action included suspension with less than five days or detention.