

DISCIPLINE IS ALWAYS TEACHING: EFFECTIVE ALTERNATIVES TO ZERO TOLERANCE IN SCHOOLS [5226]

Russell J. Skiba
M. Karega Rausch
Shana Ritter

Center for Evaluation and Education Policy, Indiana University

Abstract

While some schools continue to rely on exclusionary discipline for maintaining school safety, others have begun to explore preventive alternatives. This session will describe the results of interviews with principals from one Midwestern state who describe their attempts to maintain school safety and academic integrity without emphasizing suspension and expulsion.

Introduction

In the face of multiple victim homicides in the late 1990's, schools have been increasingly motivated to address issues of disruption and violence. Pressure from teachers concerned about the safety of their classrooms (Public Agenda, 2004) and from parents who wish to ensure school safety (Pew Research Center, 2000) motivate schools and communities to search for methods that can promote safe school climates maximally conducive to learning.

The climate of fear that has prevailed in recent years has also generated support for more punitive methods of school discipline, often under the broad rhetoric of *zero tolerance* (Noguera, 1995). Such policies assume that by removing disruptive students from the school environment, school will be safer and more effective for those remaining.

Available evidence suggests, however, that zero tolerance has not met its goal of maintaining safety, and has been associated with a number of unintended consequences for students. Current evidence suggests that zero tolerance school discipline is associated with a number of negative schooling outcomes, including lower achievement (Rausch, Skiba, and Simmons, 2005), higher rates of dropout (Bowditch, 1993), a more punitive schooling environment (Bickel and Qualls, 1980), and high rates of recidivism (Tobin, Sugai, and Colvin, 1996). Further, emerging evidence suggests that zero tolerance strengthens a school-to-prison pipeline by criminalizing student misbehavior that would normally have been addressed by school officials (Advancement Project, 2005; Wald and Losen, 2003). Finally, students of color are disproportionately affected by zero tolerance, without any evidence of higher rates of misbehavior within these populations (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, and Peterson, 2002).

A common misconception held by some educators and policymakers is that there are virtually no alternatives to school removal for maintaining safe schools. Evidence-based research and federal panels have identified programs that are clearly effective in reducing the threat of violence and disruption without removing large numbers of students from the learning environment (Dwyer, Osher, and Warger, 1998; Elliott, Hatot, Sirovatka, and Potter, 2001; Gagnon and Leone, 2001; Mihalic, Irwin, Elliott, Fagan, and Hansen, 2001; Thornton, Craft, Dahlberg, Lynch, and Baer, 2000).

The identification of an effective or promising approach in research does not, however, guarantee that it will be effectively implemented used at the local level. There is some evidence suggesting that the implementation of prevention activities is typically at a level that would be considered unacceptable for

guaranteeing efficacy (Gottfredson et al., 2000). A program may have been tested under conditions very different from those faced by local students and educators, or found to be effective only with resources unavailable to local schools (Gottfredson, 2001; Schoenwald and Hoagwood, 2001). Thus, it is extremely important to explore the options that currently exist and are being used in local schools. The purpose of this paper is to describe strategies, programs, and interventions currently in use in school settings as alternatives to suspension and expulsion. We will describe the results of qualitative interviews with principals in one Midwestern state who report using a variety of comprehensive and preventive approaches for promoting safe and productive school climates without reducing student opportunity to learn.

Method

Principals participating in the study were solicited through the state association of school principals, and volunteered to share information about programs in their schools that they feel are effective in maintaining a safe and productive learning climate. Protocols were developed and used querying the following areas: (1) philosophy/program description (e.g. what is the school's disciplinary philosophy, who does the program serve, where is it located etc.), (2) structure (e.g. what methods are used to prevent violence and disruption from occurring or intervene when they do occur), and (3) outcomes (e.g. how have students and staff responded to this philosophy/program).

Telephone interviews were conducted with nine principals and one high school assistant principal responsible for discipline. Interviews lasted approximately 1 ½ hours in duration. All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed for accuracy. Transcribed interview data were analyzed for trends and themes (Silverman, 2000; Yin, 2003) specific to programs, practices and perspectives that participants reported using to maintain safe and productive schools. Three researchers analyzed the data independently and then came to a consensus on the most relevant, recurring, and informative themes and trends.

The administrators who were interviewed served many different types of schools. Four were elementary school principals (K-5) and the remaining six were secondary school principals (4 middle schools and 2 high school). Four schools had federally subsidized lunch rates at or above 30 percent. While most schools served a predominately white student population, two schools had minority student populations above 25 percent. Four schools served suburban communities, three urban, and three rural.

Results

Across the conversations with principals about the work they do to maintain a school climate conducive to learning, a number of common themes emerged:

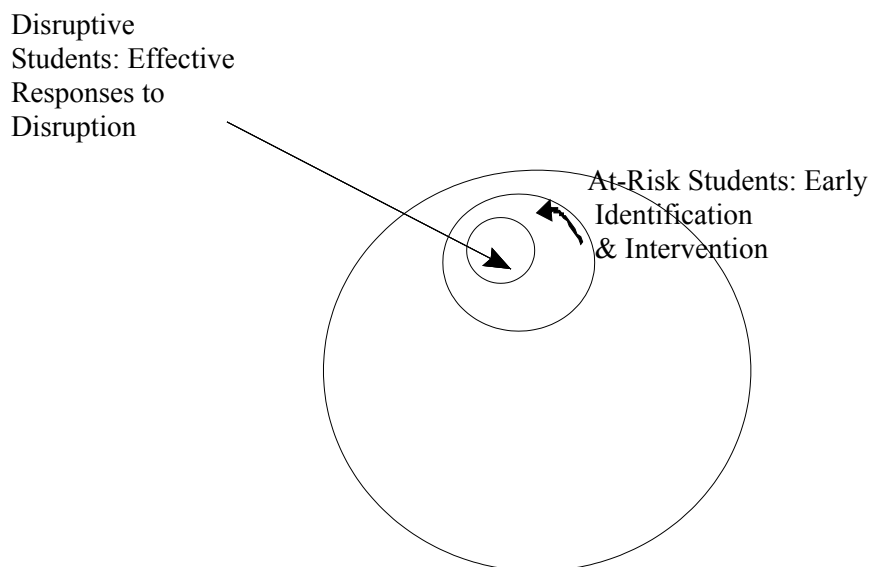
Proactive Intervention: These principals made it clear that they do not simply sit back and wait to react to disruptions. Instead, these instructional leaders are strongly proactive, supporting practices and programs that reduce the likelihood of aggression or violence, and making discipline a shared responsibility of students, parents, teachers and administrators.

Building Connections with Students. These principals emphasize connectedness—building and strengthening connections with at-risk students and their parents.

Creative Options for More Serious Infractions. The principals we spoke with made it clear that their schools were by no means immune from serious infractions. Yet they also worked to develop a variety of creative options for dealing with even the most extreme behavior.

These responses appear to mirror a three-tiered model of violence prevention that has gained widespread support as a valuable guide for organizing school discipline and school climate efforts (American Psychological Association, 1993; Dwyer, Osher, and Warger, 1998; Walker et al., 1996). Figure 1 presents one descriptive violence prevention model, drawn from the Safe and Responsive Schools Project (Skiba, Peterson, Miller, Ritter, and Simmons, in press), around which the comments from the principals will be organized.

Figure 1. A three-tiered model of school discipline and violence prevention (Skiba et al., in press).



At the first level, all students benefit from primary prevention efforts to create a positive climate and teach appropriate conflict resolution and problem solving skills. Within the larger student body is a subset of students at risk for disruption who will likely benefit from early identification and efforts to re-engage them in school. Finally, although the third group of the most challenging students is smallest, it is important to have effective plans to minimize the impact of school disruption.

Creating a Safe and Responsive School Climate

The principals who were interviewed described philosophies and strategies that helped them better teach students what is expected of them in school. As one principal of an elementary school in an urban area put it, “Discipline is always teaching.” These programs fell into two categories: *school-wide preventive programming* and school discipline as instruction

School-Wide Preventive Programs

All of the principals highlighted the importance of a welcoming climate and teaching students appropriate social skills. Said one, “If you can create a culture where kids feel respected and safe and secure then we can get to the nuts and bolts of teaching these kids.” Two principals mentioned participation in the state’s CLASS program (Connecting Learning Assures Successful Schools), a curriculum philosophy and model designed to enhance teaching and learning through effective classroom management, comprehensive literacy development, and character education among other elements. One principal described the Lifeskills approach

used in that program:

There are seventeen or so character values. Respect, cooperation, honesty, perseverance, caring, courage ... our staff members have embraced them and you see them everywhere. The teachers take time to talk about those life skills... and begin to embed them into their curriculum ... What you end up having are kids who are very respectful to one another, and who are willing to work cooperatively.

At the elementary level, one principal described participation in another state program, Project PEACE, teaching students conflict resolution and peer mediation skills:

Students learn to mediate difficulties within the school... We've taken it to the point that there are peace spots in every room and there's a poster in my office. They click right into it. They won't appeal to me every time. They know to look at one another. It's amazing what the training does.

Many schools have begun to implement comprehensive bullying prevention programs. One rural elementary school principal describes this model in her school:

Our elementary school began the No Bullying Program in 2000. Often, people are surprised at what bullying is, they don't recognize a lot of behavior as bullying. The program has given us a common language where everyone knows what bullying is. Our office referral forms were developed to match the No Bullying chart that every teacher and every student sees all over the school, and we send it home to parents, too. I will take this program with me wherever I go because it works.

At the high school level, one administrator described a student organization called the Stand Up Committee, trying to address the drug and alcohol issues that plague many high schools:

STAND UP is Students Taking A Non-Destructive Upward Pathway ... to try and impress upon their peers that there are a lot of things that you can do on the weekends other than the destructive behaviors that happen. It culminated during the half time of a basketball game and we asked all the students that would like to make a commitment ... And I know a lot of them came forward that probably aren't going to hold to that commitment, but it's at least planting the seed.

School Discipline as Instruction and Organization

Principals stressed the importance of promoting a common understanding among staff, students, parents, and administrators of how discipline works at their schools. These principals work closely with their teachers to define what are the most appropriate referrals to the office, and which are better handled at the classroom level.

We went through some scenarios. For example, a child taking a pencil away from another child—that should never come to the office. A child who intentionally is trying to hurt another child—that directly comes to the office ... My philosophy has always been you settle it at the lowest level.

Principals suggested that this approach actually gives teachers more authority in their classrooms:

Once you send a child to the office, as a classroom teacher you give up a part of your control over that child...So I think as a school we've come to realize that it's a lot better to handle the discipline within the team [of teachers] if we can because that sends a message to the student that the team has control.

Such an approach also frees up administrator time, noted the principals, from having to deal with an endless

stream of referrals to more time for counseling students or meeting for planning with teacher teams.

These schools also reported involving parents throughout the disciplinary process. At a number of schools, teachers contact parents before any referral to the office is made. In one school, parents are actively encouraged to support the school's disciplinary code early in the year:

At the beginning of the year I had the child sign [the code of conduct card] and I had the parents sign it... at our back-to-school meeting, I shared with the parents that I was asking for their support.

As a result of such communication, parents tend to be more supportive of school disciplinary actions, as this urban elementary school principal notes:

I have very few parents who get upset with me because a lot of times we've done a lot of interventions ... There are no surprises. And I have to think the parents appreciate that because they've been part of it through the entire process

Early Identification and Early Intervention

School alienation has been found to be a risk factor for both juvenile delinquency (Elliot, Hamburg, and Williams, 1998) and deadly school violence (Vossekuil, Fein, Reddy, Borum, and Modzeleski, 2002). Principals who were interviewed identified a number of ways they tried to re-connect at-risk students and their parents.

The Importance of Communication and Caring

For those students whose behavior indicates a higher risk for disruption, these principals suggested that they worked hard to establish communication with both students and parents. One high school administrator noted:

We're very hands-on administrators. I think that the students feel like they can come to us at any time and work with us. We go to a lot of student activities, a lot more than I know most administrators do, just trying to be present and let the students know that we really do care and we try to work with them. That's not a program, that's just kind of a philosophy that we have.

At one elementary school, the principal emphasized that the level of communication extends to parents as well:

Communication is really stressed: We're increasing email, ... newsletters, chatting, we have input forms [from parents]. I think it's part of the culture of the building.

As a result, these administrators believe that students are more willing to communicate potential problems to staff and administrators in the building. An assistant principal in a suburban high school described the school's attempts to keep channels of communication open:

Every time he [the principal] has the student body together he reminds them that if there is anything out there that's lingering and dangerous to make sure that you bring it forward. He is just continually impressing upon the kids how important communication is.

Trust of administrators proved critical in this building: when a student approached the administration to report a student with a cache of weapons, administrators and local police were able to take preventive action that

headed off a potentially deadly situation (The Herald Times, 2001).

Some schools have created schools within a school or blocks in an attempt to better connect with students. At one middle school, common planning times for teachers allow the school to re-organize itself into teams that function as a school within a school—students primarily see teachers within their team, allowing students and teachers to establish a closer bond. Each team has its own goals, vision, and mission statement, and the effects on discipline are apparent to the principal:

So yes they meet every day. The kids know they do. I mean it's no longer, [that] they can snow one teacher and another one wouldn't be aware of it.

Programs for Connection: Early Identification, Mentoring, and Academic Issues

Some schools have also implemented programs to help identify those children most at risk for violence and disruption, and to provide assistance to those students to re-connect them with school. One principal at an elementary school with an economically disadvantaged population described how her school uses an early screening process based on the Systematic Screening for Behavioral Disorders system (Walker and Severson, 1990) and bi-weekly staffing meetings to identify and provide assistance for those children who are most at risk for disruption and school failure.

We look to intervene early if we see some things that are developing. We worked really hard helping teachers identify internalizers as well as externalizers... We do staffings around those kids. This isn't a way of identifying a student. It's more like trying to predict the problem and prevent it.

Mentoring programs, such as the Big Brothers/Big Sisters program have been identified as among the most effective programs for reducing the risk of violence (Mihalic et al., 2001). At one urban elementary school, every adult from administrators to teachers to custodial staff was asked to mentor one child who had been identified as someone “who we considered to be disconnected from school.”

And all we asked was that the adults would meet with these kids once a week ... I would have lunch with this child and we would play chess and we would talk ... We saw that we were making progress with these kids because really a lot of these kids didn't have anyone who really took an interest in them.

Many of the principals remarked on the relationship for many students between risk for academic failure and risk for acting-out behavior. One administrator in a suburban high school described the relationship between academic problems and behavioral problems this way:

Some behavioral problems are due to [a student's] feeling inadequate in the classroom or feeling as if they can't perform academically—"I'd rather be bad than dumb." That [understanding] has really helped us a lot...we have alleviated that problem by trying to keep kids from feeling that way in whatever setting they are in.

In one rural middle school, the alternative school mixes a focus on academics for students who are struggling with a focus on teaching students appropriate social skills. Says the principal of this program:

Right now we're piloting a program with [a local university] and their social sciences program where student counselors come in with that [alternative school] group and work with them in terms of conflict resolution, problem solving, getting along with others...that's been a very good experience this year and the counselors want to continue it next year.

Effective Responses to School Disruption or Crisis

Unless the school carefully plans its response in advance, the extreme behavior of even a handful of students can seriously interfere with the learning climate. In their efforts to protect their schools from disorder while maximizing student opportunity to remain in school, these principals described a variety of creative alternatives to traditional out-of-school suspension and expulsion.

A New Perspective: From Zero Tolerance to Graduated Discipline

By no means were the principals we talked with inclined to in any way relax their expectations for appropriate behavior. Suspension and expulsion were by no means ruled out as an option for seriously disruptive behavior.

We will not put up with misbehavior. ... You are here to learn and we're going to do everything we can to provide the proper education. Your teachers are here to work with you. We're doing everything we can to support you but then again we will not deal with any misbehaviors. That's the bottom line. If you hit somebody, you're going to be suspended.

Yet the principals we interviewed also typically rejected a one-size-fits all disciplinary approach. As one elementary school principal noted:

We don't have a zero tolerance policy ... In the office we really seek to understand what's going on and have consequences that make sense. [We] try not to use out-of-school suspensions unless we're at our wits' end. We want them here at school.

Trying to achieve this balance seems to lead these principals to an approach wherein the severity of punishment is more likely tailored to fit the seriousness of the infraction. Said one principal:

Just to have a standard, people say 'Well, okay, you lose a recess no matter what the infraction is.' But let's say they have written on a wall in the bathroom. I think they should put on gloves and clean it off. That makes sense.

Creative Modifications to Suspension and Expulsion

Perhaps most striking at this level were the creative ways in which these schools modified the traditional notions of out-of-school suspension and expulsion so as to send a strong disciplinary message to students without reducing (and perhaps even increasing) their time in school. In one high school, in place of an out-of-school suspension, students' parents are asked to come in to school and follow their son or daughter around for a day:

We will offer them [parents] the opportunity to sit in class with them. They can go through the day with the student and basically keep them [in line] with their behavior and also do some observation. Sometimes it's been a real eye-opener for the parents... Kids don't like it you know.

A middle school principal in a rural area described her school's extended day program organized in conjunction with the local court system. When students are "suspended" into this program, they are not removed from school; rather, they are brought to school by their parents at 6 a.m. and go to school until 6 p.m. that evening, and are monitored closely by two trained supervisors.

One comes in from 6 to 2 and the other from 10 to 6 and then in that cross between it gives them some

time also to meet with the student if necessary, or go to a class with the student [that he or she is] having particular trouble in ... These students also have two counseling components a week from local counseling providers that we have here in our community and this is done on their own. ... The program has been very successful. Our suspension rate the first year we implemented it dropped 50 percent.

Some schools have even found ways to modify expulsion so that it does not end a student's contact with school. One high school uses what they term "probationary expulsion" for non-dangerous offenses:

We absolutely do not believe in zero tolerance policies... If we're going to expel a student, probably 90 percent of the time we will expel him or her technically but we allow the student to return to school on what's called a continuing education agreement... What we're trying to do is make a commitment to try to help kids, to allow them, even though they've made a pretty major mistake, for example possession of drugs or alcohol,... to return to school on a probationary basis. It is very proactive because for the student's benefit we require drug testing and counseling as a part of that.

The principals we spoke with reported that this combination of high expectations and support for students can be effective even for the toughest kids. As one high school disciplinarian noted:

We've had several really tough kids enter this school and after going through and being surrounded by kids who have embraced the class and the culture of the school they've turned it around. We're not seeing that aggressive behavior. Because they know this is a nurturing place. That the teachers care about them as individuals. Other classmates care about them...that has helped eliminate many of the problems.

Conclusion

Every day, principals are faced with the complex job of bringing hundreds of students from widely varying backgrounds together and ensuring that they can focus on their schoolwork, not disruptions. The principals described in this paper have sought and found methods that allow them to preserve the safety and integrity of the learning climate in their schools while maximizing student opportunity to learn.

We found no hint of compromise in the approach described by these principals. There was no question that they maintained high expectations for both student behavior and academic achievement, and they were not afraid to remove a student if school safety demanded. But the principals we spoke with reported that they use a wide variety of strategies to ensure that suspension and expulsion are not the only tools for maintaining a safe and effective learning environment. These principals reported efforts to clarify classroom management expectations with staff to ensure that office referrals are not overused. These schools actively seek to teach students alternatives to disruption and misbehavior through school philosophy and preventive programs. School staff at these schools communicate and collaborate with students and parents, and that effort seems to be rewarded by a higher level of cooperation with school disciplinary actions. These administrators look for ways to re-connect those students who are in danger of becoming alienated from schooling. And they refuse to give up on even the most challenging of students, developing creative alternatives to traditional suspension and expulsion that make a strong statement to disruptive students without depriving those students of an opportunity to an education.

It should not be assumed that, because these schools rely upon their own creativity to develop effective options, the development of effective disciplinary systems is resource-free. Many of the principals spoke of the need for additional resources to support programs that could be implemented only minimally or to begin new programs:

We've done a lot of good on very, very few resources. However, it's taxing and we're spread too thin ... Really, we need money to bring in more quality educated people who can work with these kids to minimize ratios and maximize the impact of a good adult role model.

Others emphasized the need for state support for both in-school prevention and for alternative programs for students who are removed from school.

One federally funded initiative, the *Safe and Responsive Schools Project*, provided a demonstration that increased options can maintain school safety even while reducing exclusionary discipline (Skiba et al., in press). Six schools in three urban, suburban, and rural districts developed school teams that identified their greatest safety needs. As part of a strategic planning process, those teams tailored school safety plans to meet those needs. The project director, in testimony before the U.S. House Education Reform Committee, presented evidence of dramatic reductions in suspension, expulsion, and even school dropout among participating schools (U.S. House of Representatives, 2002). Like the principals described herein, those schools demonstrated that with increased options for addressing school disruption and school climate, there can be another way in school discipline.

In sum then, the principals described in this paper have sought and found methods that allow them to preserve the safety and integrity of the learning climate in their schools without removing large numbers of students from the learning environment. Their perspectives, programs and practices serve as models for school and community leaders interested in ensuring safe and effective schools for all students. As our knowledge of available options for promoting a safe and effective school climate increases, it becomes apparent that there is no contradiction between the need to keep schools safe and the mandate to maximize educational opportunity for all children. The perspectives, programs and practices of these principals serve as models for school and community leaders interested in ensuring safe and effective schools for all students.

References

- Advancement Project (2005). *Education on lockdown: The schoolhouse to jailhouse track*. Washington, D.C.: Author.
- American Psychological Association (1993). *Violence and youth: Psychology's response*. Washington, DC: Author.
- Bickel, F., and Qualls, R. (1980). The impact of school climate on suspension rates in the Jefferson County Public Schools. *Urban Review, 12*, 79-86.
- Bowditch, C. (1993). Getting rid of troublemakers: High school disciplinary procedures and the production of dropouts. *Social Problems, 40*, 493-507.
- Dwyer, K., Osher, D., and Warger, C. (1998). *Early warning, timely response: A guide to safe schools*. Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Education
- Elliott, D.S., Hamburg, B.A., and Williams, K.R. (1998). *Violence in American schools*. Cambridge University Press.
- Elliott, D., Hatot, N.J., Sirovatka, P, and Potter, B.B. (2001). *Youth violence: A report of the Surgeon General*. Washington, DC: U.S. Surgeon General.
- Gagnon, J.C., and Leone, P.E. (2001). Alternative strategies for youth violence prevention. In R.J. Skiba and G.G. Noam (Eds.), *New Directions for Youth Development* (no. 92; Zero tolerance: Can suspension and expulsion keep school safe?), (pp. 101-125). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Gottfredson, D.C. (2001). *Delinquency prevention in schools*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gottfredson, G.D., Gottfredson, D.C., Czeh, E.R., Cantor, D., Crosse, S., and Hantman, I. (2000). *The national study of delinquency prevention in schools*. Ellicott City, MD: Gottfredson Associates.
- The Herald Times (2001, December 12). Report of gun threat nets arrest of boy, 15. *The Herald Times*, Bloomington, IN.
- Mihalic, S., Irwin, K., Elliott, D., Fagan, A., and Hansen, D. (2001, July). *Blueprints for violence prevention* (OJJDP Juvenile Justice Bulletin). Washington, DC: U.S. Department of Justice, Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention.
- Noguera, P.A. (1995). Preventing and producing violence: A critical analysis of responses to school violence. *Harvard Educational Review, 65*, 189-212.
- Pew Research Center (2000). *A year after Columbine: Public looks to parents more than schools to prevent violence*.

- [Online]. Retrieved July 21, 2004 from <http://people-press.org>
- Public Agenda. (2004). *Teaching interrupted: Do discipline policies in today's public schools foster the common good?* [Online]. Retrieved July 21, 2004 from <http://www.publicagenda.org> .
- Rausch, M.K., Skiba, R.J., and Simmons, A.B. (2005, April). *The academic cost of discipline: School disciplines contribution to achievement*. Paper presented at the American Educational Research Association Conference, Montreal, Canada
- Schoenwald, S.K., and Hoagwood, K. (2001). Effectiveness, transportability, and dissemination of intervention: What matters when? *Psychiatric Services*, 52, 1190-1197.
- Silverman, D. (2000). *Doing qualitative research: A practical handbook*. Thousand Oakes, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Skiba, R.J., Michael, R.S., Nardo, A.C. and Peterson, R. (2002). The color of discipline: Sources of racial and gender disproportionality in school punishment. *Urban Review*, 34, 317-342.
- Skiba, R.J, Peterson, R., Miller, C., Ritter, S., and Simmons, A. (in press). The safe and responsive schools project: A school reform model for implementing best practices in violence prevention. In S. Jimerson and M. Furlong (Eds.) *Handbook of School Violence and School Safety*.
- Tobin, T., Sugai, G. and Colvin, G. (1996). Patterns in middle school discipline records. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, 4, 82-94.
- Thornton, T. N., Craft, C. A., Dahlberg, L. L., Lynch, B. S., and Baer, K. (2000). *Best practices of youth violence prevention: A sourcebook for community action*. Atlanta: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Center for Injury Prevention and Control.
- U.S. House of Representatives (2002). Testimony of Dr. Russell Skiba at the hearing before the subcommittee of education reform. [Online]. Retrieved July 12, 2005 at <http://edworkforce.house.gov/hearings/107th/edr/idea5802/w15802.htm>
- Vossekuil, B., Fein, R.A., Reddy, M., Borum, R., Modzeleski, W. (2002). *The final report and findings of the safe school initiative: Implications for the prevention of school attacks in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: United States Secret Service and United States Department of Education.
- Wald, J., and Losen, D.J. (2003). Defining and redirecting a school-to-prison pipeline. In J. Wald and D.J. Losen (Eds.), *New directions for youth development (no. 99; Deconstructing the school-to-prison pipeline)* (pp. 9-15). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Walker, H.M., Horner, R.H., Sugai, G., Bullis, M., Sprague, J.R., Bricker, D., and Kaufman, M.J. (1996). Integrated approaches to preventing antisocial behavior patterns among school-age children and youth. *Journal of Emotional and Behavioral Disorders*, 4(4), 194-209.
- Walker, H. M., and Severson, H. (1990). *Systematic screening for behavior disorders (SSBD)*. Longmont, CO: Sopris West.
- Yin, R.K. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods 3rd Edition*. Thousand Oakes, CA: SAGE Publications.