Culturally Responsive Positive Behavioral Support Matters

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The CRPBIS Project

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Culturally Responsive Positive Behavioral Support Matters

The importance of understanding the cultural nature of education has gained greater attention, especially after immense demographic changes in US schools, where cultural, linguistic, and ability differences create barriers as grounds for different rights, privileges, and outcomes. Children and youth bring complex sets of abilities and experiences that may or may not fit the expectations and dispositions they encounter in school. Consider the ways in which some racial minority students, specifically African American students, are punished more severely for less serious, more subjective reasons such as disrespect (Skiba, Michael, Nardo, & Peterson, 2002). Explanations for racialized school discipline practices involve issues related to the socio-historical cultural practices designed to control and punish (e.g., the use of exclusionary discipline) and lack of available professional development opportunities for developing culturally responsive teaching and classroom management practices. Racial minority students’ experiences and cultural and linguistic practices (i.e., ways of knowing, behaving, and being) are often devalued and/or pathologized, so that for example, academic identities of racial minority students may be constructed as disruptive, resistant, outcast, and unlikely to succeed (Wortham, 2006). Yet, individual cultural identities are only a part of the cultural construction of learning and development. It is in the interaction itself that culture emerges, hybridizes, and evolves. Learning and development are cultural processes that are socially, historically, and geographically situated.

Children’s behaviors and learning, whether in or out of school, are mediated by cultural contexts and predicated in part on the opportunities for children to engage, understand, and construct methods and processes for communicating, challenging, and making meaning of the world around them. This is a work in progress, created through participation in community with others. Part of the process of becoming educated is becoming socialized to the cultural ways in which knowledge and skills are pursued, understood, and performed in and outside of schools.
Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports

Over the last two decades, Positive Behavioral Interventions and Supports (PBIS) has emerged as a tiered model of behavioral support and early intervening framework to facilitate a positive, predictable, and supportive school-wide social and academic environment. PBIS emphasizes prevention, continuous progress monitoring, data-based decision making, evidence-based practices, and the coordination of school activities in order to sustain positive student and adult behaviors (Sugai & Horner, 2002; 2006), the first tier of PBIS refers to the reliance on proactive rather than reactive, exclusionary discipline practices. In PBIS, students are directly taught and systematically reminded of behavioral expectations. Certain individual and social behaviors are reinforced while other behaviors are systematically decreased. Ideally, desired outcomes and corresponding incentives and reinforcements for demonstrating these outcomes are co-generated and thus valued by students, families, educators, and other stakeholders who comprise school and/district leadership teams that develop action plans for system-wide PBIS implementations. PBIS is designed to be practiced as a school-wide endeavor so that the social benefits of creating common, shared understanding of desirable behaviors among members of school communities are tapped. PBIS has great potential as one of the most important innovations in the field of special education in addressing discipline issues and the enduring outcome disparities. However, while PBIS implementations decreased overall exclusionary discipline practices, the decreases appeared to pertain to the European American student population, while African American students remained overrepresented (Vincent & Tobin, 2010). Moreover, as Utley, Kozleski, Smith, & Draper (2002) noted, much of the original research and development of PBIS was done in suburban, dominant culture schools where assumptions about how and who should be involved in the development of school-wide discipline systems were closely tied to specific cultural views of behavior and development that most often coincided with the dominant cultural norms.

Multi-tiered System of Supports

Grounded in a multi-tiered framework of prevention science for the delivery of services and supports, the first tier of PBIS supports is designed to address the needs of all students and within which educators (1) directly teach social skills and expected school behaviors, (2) create opportunities for students to practice those behaviors, and (3) reinforce compliance (Sugai & Horner, 2002). Additionally, the universal tier emphasizes attention to addressing the so-called “risk factors” such as low achievement, truancy, high-student mobility, and histories of suspensions or expulsions. Educators are also encouraged to capitalize on students’ protective factors, such as high degrees of collaboration between educators and families, as well as opportunities for extracurricular activities (George, Kincaid, & Pollard-Sage, 2009). In the “secondary tier” Behavioral Analysis (FBA) and empirically supported behavioral interventions in smaller groups are applied for the students who are not responsive to the universal supports provided to all students. In the intensive tier students who are unresponsive to universal and secondary tiers are exposed to highly specialized, FBA-informed interventions by specialized teams of special educators, behavioral interventionists, school psychologists, and counselors. Determinations about which students require more intensive behavior interventions and supports are made by PBIS teams consisting of members who represent multiple grade levels in the school and are based on the monitoring of a number of data sources and outcomes, such as office discipline referrals (ODRs, in a given time period and location by student and staff member, attendance, tardiness, suspension, and academic outcomes (e.g., standardized test scores and patterns of course failure rates). Through these means, PBIS focuses on the social organization of the entire school (e.g., collective behaviors, working structures, and routines of educators) as well as individual student behaviors.

Cultural Context in PBIS

PBIS is a set of principles and implementation strategies assumed culturally neutral that is intended to achieve a contextual fit in any given school depending on the situations in which teaching/learning and student behaviors take place. PBIS accentuates “the importance of procedures that are socially and culturally appropriate. The contextual fit between intervention strategies and the values of families, teachers, schools, support personnel, and community agency personnel may affect the quality and durability of support efforts” (Sugai et al., 2000, p. 136). As percentages of students from non-dominant cultures increase, researchers and practitioners concerned with behavioral outcome disparities have called for a culture-based approach to design “culturally appropriate” PBIS models (King et al., 2006; Utley et al., 2002). To date, there is only a small number of systemic PBIS implementation studies and theoretical discussions that incorporate cultural considerations in PBIS models (e.g., Eber, Upreti, & Rose, 2010; Jones, Caravaca, Cizek, Horner, Vincent, 2006; Vincent, Randall, Cartledge, Tobin, & Swain-Bradway, 2011; Wang, McCart, & Turnbull, 2007). In this literature, operational definitions of culture and how it is considered within local PBIS implementation and outcomes efforts lack detail, at best. Culture is often conceptualized from a narrow and largely static perspective and is seen as differences between students’ and teachers’ verbal and nonverbal behaviors (e.g., greetings), values (e.g., collectivist or individualistic cultures), or thoughts (e.g., learning styles).
Current recommendations in the PBIS literature for considering cultural and contextual factors in culturally responsive PBIS implementation focus on three areas of practice: a) Collaborating with families and community members in teaching and reinforcing school-wide behavioral expectations; b) Monitoring disproportionality in ODRs between dominant and non-dominant groups through analysis of trends in data disaggregated across student demographic characteristics (i.e., race/ethnicity); and c) Providing professional development aimed at increasing practitioners’ awareness of differences between their own and non-dominant students’ cultural patterns of communication styles, roles of authority, etc. that will allow them to interpret individual students’ problem behaviors correctly.

Everything in education relates to culture—to its acquisition, its transmission, and its inventions (Erickson, 2009). As such, culture plays a central role in the ways in which local CRPBIS frameworks are designed and implemented in terms of the four tenets of PBIS: a) outcomes, b) empirically validated practices, c) data-based decision making, and d) systems change (Sugai & Horner, 2002). In this section, we describe four shifts in cultural practices that account for CRPBIS.

**Shifts in Conceptualizations of School Cultures in CRPBIS**

Culture is a complex concept and must be addressed comprehensively as a feature of all human social activities and interaction. Cultural histories, institutional traditions, and their re-formation in action are critical factors in shaping, naming, and marginalizing some types of behavior while reifying others (Kozleski & Huber, 2010). Accordingly, rather than mainstream approaches that seek to understand student culture as a variable (i.e., as a proxy indicator for race, nationality, language, etc.) that in turn, inform how educators might teach minority students and their families the desired school behaviors, CRPBIS starts with examination of the cultural practices of schools. The cultural practices are entrenched institutional processes that generate long-lasting learning and social opportunity gaps, and may be connected to structural systems of oppression in local neighborhood communities and larger society (Artiles, Bal, & Thorius, 2011; Ladson-Billings, 2006). An example of this type of cultural practice is a school’s use of retention as an intervention for struggling students, despite overwhelming evidence that such practice is disproportionately utilized with racial minority students, and produces damaging outcomes (Jimerson, 2001; Perez, 2010). While the commonsense logic supporting retention is that students will have more time to learn academic content, it is also associated with dominant cultural norms of merit; only deserving people should pass to the next level (Yeskel, 2008). Similarly, a local school’s practice of exclusionary discipline cannot be solely understood and transformed by using disaggregated data and changing the perceptions of local practitioners. It requires a socially, historically, and geographically situated systemic transformation model led by local stakeholders.

CRPBIS begins with uncovering and examining the long-lasting cultural assumptions in the US education system that are reproduced, shaping school climate, rituals, and routines. Therefore, it facilitates practitioners’ and other stakeholders’ collective development of a critical awareness of cognitive and social innovations that shift how outcomes for behavior and interaction are thought about and assessed within a school. Additionally, the CRPBIS framework helps educators and other stakeholders consider what types of data drives problem solving and decision-making, as well as how data informs the process. The shifts move practice from potentially problematic, punitive approaches toward careful attention to diverse designs for learning, student empowerment, and social opportunities. Drawing on evidence from twenty-three years of facilitating transformative systemic change in schools in national technical assistance projects, the following shifts in cultural practice are vital components of CRPBIS.

**From Teaching Desired Behaviors to Creating Opportunities to Learn.** Educators who are working to shift their emphasis from their own teaching to creating opportunities for their own and students’ learning care about and regularly survey students’ strengths, interests, and preferences. This applies not only to what students are interested in learning about, but how they prefer to participate in terms of types of activities, acceptable ways of sharing information about themselves and others, and how physically active they like to be while learning. Movement toward student-centered learning environments is essential in CRPBIS because, within them, educators set up contingencies for students to assess interactions with each other and with educators, determine areas of strength and need, and create solutions that make sense in the context of that particular setting (e.g., classroom, class, school), all without a need for being corrected or rewarded by educators.
From Understanding Culture as a Variable to Exploring the Cultures in Schools as Contextual Mediators. Educators engaged in this shift come to view culture, and the need for cultural responsiveness, as integral to all PBIS efforts, rather than a student variable that considers issues of race, ethnicity, and other identity markers as strategic points of PBIS implementation. As part of this shift, educational stakeholders, including students and families, come together to examine data that allow for critical discovery and discussion about cultural patterns in schools, and their school, that are related to student discipline and behavior, and concerns about both. Further, these stakeholders examine authentic student-student and educator-student interactions that are deemed desirable or undesirable from a variety of perspectives and explore the ways in which individuals’ and groups’ cultural experiences shape these perspectives. These activities are crucial elements of the learning experiences in schools engaged in CRPBIS.

From Local (Borders Around) Fairness to Local to Global Justice. CRPBIS is grounded in a critical social-spatial justice perspective, Local to Global Justice, that endorses "more progressive and participatory forms of democratic politics and social activism, and provides new ideas about how to mobilize and maintain cohesive coalitions and regional confederations of grassroots and justice-oriented social movements” (Soja, 2010, p. 6). Desired outcomes of PBIS models, even some that are considered culturally responsive, are often measured as reduction in ODRs and reactive, exclusionary discipline (e.g., suspension and expulsion), and elimination of disparities in referrals and exclusionary practices between racial, ethnic, and ability groups, and more generally, improvements in school climate (Sliba, Ritter, & Middelberg, 2010). While these are critical concerns, CRPBIS emphasizes a shift that expands locally bounded concerns about fairness defined as equal outcomes for equal groups, toward the mobilization and maintenance of grassroots and justice-oriented social movements to support systemic transformation efforts in schools. In doing so, a Local to Global Justice critical social-spatial perspective blurs the boundaries of schools and the communities within which they are located and serve. This involves stakeholder inquiry about equitable social interactions and outcomes across multiple planes of analysis (i.e., across classroom, school, community, and larger geographies), with concerns for improving such relations and their consequences both within and outside school walls.

From Cultural Assimilation to Student, Family, and Community Empowerment. CRPBIS emphasizes desired outcomes of student, family, and community agency; that is, the power to act in one’s best interest and on one’s own behalf, in determining what types of social interaction are desired in education settings. This represents a shift away from the assumption that the behaviors educators desire students to demonstrate are relevant, or even in the best interest of student learning and interaction. This shift also acknowledges that emphasis on how educators desire students to interact is heavily shaped by educators’ cultural beliefs, values, and practices as well as the status quo for what is expected in schools, and does not account for students’ and practitioners’ agency in determining what they believe is important in their interactions with others. For this reason, schools engaged in CRPBIS actively involve students, families, and community members in identifying interaction patterns that are necessary for student engagement and learning, which patterns are problematic, and ways that not only educators, but students and families can participate in teaching and modeling desired behaviors through a variety of indirect and direct instructional methodologies.

Implementing CRPBIS: Five Processes of CRPBIS Practice

CRPBIS is grounded in the basic tenets and promises of PBIS for assisting local schools that are in the early stages of PBIS implementation. It is designed to remediate social and academic activities within schools that place specific groups of students at the margins (Artiles & Kozleski, 2007) and to revitalize the activity arenas within schools to involve, give voice to, and reconstitute the practices, norms, rituals, rules, and division of labor within the school culture. A set of specific processes is employed for remediating culture of a school inside out. Reculturation of the schools requires committed involvement of teachers, families, and students to have a continuous cycle of reflection and action in an open dialogue (not top-down prescriptions of linear interventions) to create a consciousness of the oppressive and marginalizing institutional practices and jointly develop and implement contextually valid solutions from the ground-up (Freire, 2000; Gutiérrez, 2008).

In the following section, we explore how CRPBIS helps to set a shared agenda, design curricula, identify what will be measured, and inform what teachers and students learn to do. The CRPBIS framework follows five inter-ceptive processes of practice that anchor the work of CRPBIS implementation in schools as a systemic transformation methodology: (a) Forming CRPBIS Learning Labs; (b) Determining Desired Outcomes of CRPBIS; (c) Understanding Cultural Mediation and Implementing Culturally Responsive Practices; (d) Using Data for Continuous Improvement and Innovation; (e) Ongoing Systemic transformation.

Forming CRPBIS Learning Labs

Overall, the role of CRPBIS implementers is to facilitate and sustain an ecologically fit systemic change process led by local teams. Implementation of CRPBIS starts with the formation of a structured learning activity called Learning Lab (Engeström & Sannino, 2010). In the CRPBIS Learning Lab, establishing a dialogue among all stakeholders including practitioners, families, community members, and students is essential for forming praxis. This is defined as a collective critical reflection and action process that draws from daily tensions (e.g., increasing instances of bullying, demographic changes, disproportionality in ODRs, or lack of family-school collaboration) and systemic disruptions (e.g., unequal learning opportunities, lack of school funding, and residential segregation) to develop local solutions and lead a systemic transformation. The Learning Labs are comprised of students, families, and skilled behavior interventionists, teachers, and school leaders. Learning Labs may also include district or state
Determining Desired Outcomes of CRPBIS

The universal tier of CRPBIS is designed for emancipatory participation. All students, particularly students who have experienced systemic marginalization, engage in socially positive, academically rich, cooperative, and inclusive school cultures. In these cultures diversity across ethnicity, language, religion, sexuality, and ability is not only valued but drawn upon as learning resources for social and academic activities to help students determine the content and direction of their learning, leading to student-driven positive personal and social change. Behavioral expectations, consequences, and support procedures become clearly defined, socially relevant, and ecologically valid for all stakeholders and the local community that the school serves (Dunlap et al., 2009; George et al., 2009). The Lab participants link individual factors (e.g., academic and behavioral struggles and prior learning experiences) and the social structure in understanding and influencing student behaviors, academic learning opportunities, and student-adult interactions and include all stakeholders in the definition of these outcomes and a school-wide behavioral health plan. In defining the outcomes, Lab participants should conceptualize the historically evolving nature of students' social experiences in and outside of the schools to create effective positive and supportive social and cognitive organizations of schools. For example, the concept of respect (e.g., the rule, "Be respectful.") is grounded not only in the cultural understandings that individuals bring to school settings in relation to membership in cultural groups and individual experiences, but also within the institutional cultures of schools and day to day interactions in classrooms and historical configurations of daily tensions around how respect is defined, performed, and monitored within and outside school walls. By examining the motives for and understandings of expected school behaviors that make them relevant to all stakeholders, CRPBIS shifts its major goal from eliminating aberrant behaviors (e.g., insubordination, noncompliant, aggression) or maintaining replacement behaviors to supporting the development of students’ and teachers’ social agency to act in innovative ways that shape their school and classroom communities.

Understanding Cultural Mediation and Implementing Culturally Responsive Research-based Practices

All learning is mediated by culture; therefore, education and educational settings are filled with cultural assumptions, rule making, and practices. Accordingly, the CRPBIS framework follows general principles of culturally responsive pedagogies: democratic, reciprocal, and inclusive school climates, collaborative learning, and culturally responsive conceptions of curricular content and knowledge generation. CRPBIS conceptualizes educational equity as "enabling youth (and children) to appropriate the repertoires they need in order to live the richest life possible and reach their full academic potential" (Nasir, Rosebery, Warren, & Lee, 2006, p. 499). Students and teachers are active social agents in their life-long learning and development. In CRPBIS, practitioners are encouraged to capitalize on students’ protective factors, such as high degrees of collaboration between educators and families as well as opportunities for extracurricular activities (George et al., 2009).

In reciprocal relationships with families, practitioners must innovatively expand the taken for granted ways of teaching the academic domains, look for the continuities of multiple practices and making connections by building bridges between in and out of school learning, and develop a deep understanding of cognitive and social strengths that non-dominant students bring. CRPBIS pays critical attention to classroom activities. Equitable adult-student interactions—rather than highly individualistic and competitive ones—are important. Educators should expedit social interactions to "maintain fluid student-teacher relationships, demonstrate a connectedness
with all students, develop a community of learners, and encourage students to learn collaboratively and be responsible for another” (Ladson-Billings, 1995, p. 480). Therefore, culturally responsive educational practices facilitate transformational learning, the idea that students should be engaged in the enterprise of social justice as a way of expanding from a sense of justice about their own rights to the rights of communities and people (Banks & Banks, 2005).

**Using Data for Continuous Improvement and Innovation**

Data-based decision making is of central importance both in terms of the types of data that are collected to determine which students are in need of more intensive interventions and supports and as measures of the impact of CRPBIS on improving school climate and student behavior. Yet, widely used academic and behavioral data tools lack construct validity for all students across various situations and contexts (Solano-Flores, 2008). With these limitations in mind, our framework uses disaggregated academic and behavioral outcome data to identify patterns of disparities but also generates data from multiple data sources and methods (Dunlap et al., 2009). CRPBIS data collection, analysis, and interpretation focus on the interactions between individuals and infrastructure in order to better understand the sociological and cultural patterns of activity present in local practices and policies. Careful attention is given to the geographies of representation so that data within and outside of school are brought together in geographical representations via interactive data maps to allow patterns to be readily surfaced and identified. Through careful analysis and interpretation of complex patterns of data that show the intersections of various influences, the Learning Lab participants will be able to engage systemic transformations that remediate power and privileges within local contexts and shape learning designs for academic and social outcomes.

**Ongoing Systemic Change**

The fifth and last tenet of CRPBIS is systemic change. A systems approach for improving schools is predicated on the assumption that it is in the interplay between such social phenomena as race, class, age, ability, and language and institutional structures and relationships that system dynamics can be identified and the overall ability of the system to improve itself can be understood. This approach to understanding institutional or social groups uncovers how some groups, individuals or cultural practices are privileged over others. And, in understanding these dynamics, it is possible to affect the policies and practices that routinize activity in order to balance the regimes of power and privilege with those of social justice, access and equity. To make systemic change that lasts over time and exists at scale requires that the dynamics within a system are made explicit and carefully considered as reform is crafted and carried out (Shanklin, Kozleski, Meagher, Sands, Joseph, & Wyman, 2003). Accordingly, local CRPBIS implementers need to build sustained systems-level support (outside-in) to achieve their organizational goal-related school behaviors and change (inside-out).

CRPBIS as a systemic change effort critically focuses on the extent to which research-based culturally responsive practices are integrated; and the extent to which students, families, and community are involved in research and educational practices in every step of the process for an effective and sustainable systemic change. Effective and sustainable change is not possible in the absence of a strong connection between the inside and outside of the school (Kozleski & Smith, 2009; Fullan, 2000). While it is possible for a school to effectively implement CRPBIS for a while on its own, in order for this change to be sustained schools must be both challenged and nurtured by surrounding infrastructure. The CRPBIS processes should be united through a moral purpose aligned with capacity, resources, and a coalition of multiple voices, perspectives, and support of all stakeholders that is required for a sustained systemic transformation (Ferguson, Kozleski, & Smith, 2003; Fullan, 2006). The moral purpose of the systemic change effort via CRPBIS is for forming safe, positive, supportive, inclusive school cultures for all.

**Conclusion**

CRPBIS is a process-oriented framework aimed at restructuring school cultures through understanding and influencing interacting educational and socio-political processes, reproducing the behavioral outcome disparities, the racialization of school discipline, and exclusion and marginalization of non-dominant students and families.

The CRPBIS implementation follows the interceptive five processes for remediating school cultures with local stakeholders by fostering social agency and continuous collective innovation of local stakeholders. Behavioral and academic prevention and intervention practices of CRPBIS aim to address the local cultural contexts and interaction patterns that undergird culturally responsive and research-based early intervening, capacity building, intensive instruction, specialized student and teacher supports, and individualized supports.

Practitioners in CRPBIS use continuous assessments for generating data that foreground school cultures (individual, institutional, and interactional factors) in order to support an inside-out transformation in how teachers and schools understand their own evolving identities, practices, and assumptions about how learning and socialization occur and are maintained over time. The ultimate goal of CRPBIS Framework is to facilitate positive, safe, supportive, inclusive, and socially just systemic transformation efforts.


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