

Exploring Alternative Disciplinary Measures in Ghanaian High Schools; Unveiling the Guidelines for Positive Behaviour Management in Policy and Practice

Ibrahim Mohammed Gunu, Ph.D

Faculty of Education, University for Development Studies
P.O Box 1350, Tamale, Ghana

Abstract

Abusive disciplinary measures create hardships for students. This article explores alternative disciplinary measures which can replace the abusive punishment in Ghanaian High Schools. It hopes to propel a change of approach in policy, teacher professionalism and practice. It is a qualitative case-study which was conducted using semi-structured interviews, observation and documents analysis in four state Senior High Schools in Ghana. A sample of 28 respondents consisting of head teachers or their assistants, senior house masters/mistress, subject teachers and students, voluntarily participated in this research. The results of the study revealed that the understanding of teachers and school authorities that punishments are supposed to be painful, reformatory, and deterrent has made physical and emotional abuses, a widespread phenomenon in the Ghanaian High schools. This article explores alternatives disciplinary measures as a way of improving discipline in Ghanaian High schools that potentially can reduce physical and emotional pain students experience. This will also provide an opportunity to reduce disciplinary exclusion from school and ensure the attainment of the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Based on this, the study therefore recommends policy reforms and changes in teacher training and professional practices that frown on physical and emotional abuses.

Keywords: positive; behaviour; management; policy; change; Ghana

INTRODUCTION

Behaviour management presents an established scope for educational research globally and has been researched for some years now (Powell and Tod, 2004). The prevalence of the so-called behaviour management challenges in Ghanaian Senior High Schools manifested through various institutional reports (for example *UNICEF, 2014 and Ghana Statistical service, 2012*) and huge public concerns as reported in the media has been a huge concern. For example, the reports on physical abuse against children by UNICEF (2014:50-52) cited teachers as the most common abusers.

The current situation of school discipline in Ghanaian schools necessitates that conscious actions are taken to deal proactively with behavioural challenges in the school without causing any harm to the students. This study focuses on this form of positive behaviour management that is capable of promoting students' rights, dignity and self-esteem (see Brookfield 2006; Grundy & Blandford 1999; Black and William 1998; Wolfe 1991). The term Positive Behaviour Management (PBM) can be used to describe forms of behaviour management in schools aimed at safeguarding students' dignity, rights and self-esteem (e.g. Black and William 1998; Wolfe 1991; Rath 1964).

This type of behaviour management will encourage students to develop some level of trust for the teacher and to respond appropriately to the kindness and generosity offered them by the teachers. The general response of teachers to students' behaviour in the classroom sets the tone for the classroom situation, so if a teacher openly displays hostile and combative attitude towards the student, they will probably receive similar responses from the students in return and an increase in the display of challenging behaviours (Thompson & Sharp, 1994).

The above presentation is a way of providing a brief overview of the situation with regards to school disciplinary issues, hence the conceptualisation, practice and justification of how student behaviour in Ghanaian high schools can be responded to or 'managed'. The following is the problem statement.

Problem Statement

The prevalence of abusive disciplinary measures in Ghana as constructed through various institutional reports (for example *UNICEF, 2014 and Ghana Statistical service, 2012*) coupled with the huge public concerns about these abuses as reported in the media served as a wake-up call for this research. These abuses come in the forms of canning, unnecessary student suspensions and the likes. These methods employed by Ghanaian teachers and school authority to manage student disciplinary issues have

in many cases led to abuse of the students and in extreme circumstances led to the death of the students. Abuses in the name of school discipline is unacceptable.

These violent disciplinary measures and the resultant violent actions of the students (which in most cases led to the destruction of school properties like computers, vehicles, school laboratories and other properties) both of which have the potential of perpetuating violence in our schools and societies. This research seeks to primarily explore Positive Behaviour Management as a way of managing student behaviour without inflicting any harm (physical or emotional) on the students. Such issues led to the formulation of the following research question.

Research Question

Which disciplinary measures can promote the dignity, rights and self-esteem of Ghanaian High School students?

Significance of the Study

The significance of study is that, the idea of Positive Behaviour Management is an area which is under-researched in the Ghanaian context. In this sense, little accessible discussion of this exists in a Ghanaian context. This research hopes to address the gap in literature by exploring the concept of Positive Behaviour Management. This is an original piece of work in education studies in Ghana. The research also seeks to minimise violent disciplinary measures, disciplinary exclusion, student riots and violence in schools.

Conceptual Understanding of Positive Behaviour Management

The PBM concept is essential in the creation of a positive learning environment for students (Powell & Tod 2004; Strahan et al., 2005; Kyriacou 2014). Positive discipline is advanced in North American literature as a resemblance of PBM, for example Purkey & Strahan (2002:4) describe the essence of positive discipline as inviting 'students to see themselves as capable of tackling tough challenges, overcoming obstacles, accomplishing great things, and behave accordingly'. According to Cameron (1998) the issues of PBM in the classroom will continue to be a significant discourse in education. Dignity and self-esteem have been recognized to be significant for PBM techniques (Black and William 1998; Grundy & Blandford 2006; Kyriacou 2014).

Ibrahim (2017:18) draws on Raths 1964, Black and William 1998, Grundy & Blandford 2006, and Kyriacou 2014) to describe the concept of PBM as 'the actions of school leaders and teachers in partnership with students and other significant stakeholders to maintain an appropriate behaviour in

the school taking into account the rights, dignity and self-esteem of students which potentially will generate a feeling of acceptance, safety and promote learning and mental growth of the students'. This ensures that teaching and learning are effective.

Scott (2007) states that the sense of dignity is felt when an individual perceives him- or herself as being worthy, leading to the feelings of self-confidence and self-esteem in the school environment. Also, Knightley and Whitelock (2007) indicate that 'self-esteem relates to the value or worth that people place on themselves'. BM therefore requires disciplinary approaches that do not harm the students either physically or emotionally. In the following the methods used in the collection and analysis of data are presented.

METHODS

As a design for this study, the qualitative case study was adopted. The case study allows an intensive examination of the case (Bryman 2015; Creswell 2013) and the incorporation of numerous perspectives (Neuman 2011) from school management, students and teachers in this case. Neuman (2011) states that case studies offer opportunities for further discovery or the development or extension of concepts. Since this research was aimed at extending the concept of positive behaviour management in an African context, this design was considered suitable for the research (Yin, 2018).

The purposeful sampling technique was employed to select four public senior schools with records of good and bad behaviour in Ghana. The nature of the behaviour was based on background information obtained through the examination of archives, annual school reports and media reports. In all 28 respondents consisting of school management, teachers and students participated in the research in the form of semi-structured interviews and observation. In the following the results and discussions are presented.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Positive Disciplinary Measures/Techniques

Based on the analysis of the field data and review of related relevant literature on disciplinary measures in countries where abusive punishments have been banned (for example, Jambor 1988 in his research in Norway), this article presents below the alternative disciplinary measures to abusive disciplinary measures with the hope of promoting PBM in Ghanaian schools. Whitty (2008:28) states that 'there are some increasing similarities between the education reforms being introduced in different parts of the world and we can learn from each other's approaches to, and understandings of, teacher professionalism'.

This article argues that PBM has the potential to improve student-teacher relationship in schools, minimise violent and abusive discipline, reduce school drop-out, suspensions, and dismissals. This article further argues that changes in teacher training and CPD programmes for teachers regarding these alternative disciplinary measures will be essential in order to bring about proactive management strategies (see Hemphill and Hargreaves, 2009). The following are the various techniques;

1. Praise

For the purpose of this study, praise can be defined as the positive comments of teachers that show an approval of student behaviour, whether social or academic (see Ibrahim, 2017; Brophy, 1981). Available research indicates that praise is an effective tool for PBM. For example, Jambor (1988) reported in his study that praise was an effective tool in the management of student behaviour among teachers and school leaders in Norway. Thus, they used praise as an individually isolated reward (in most cases in front of classmates) or as a reward for the entire class. Also, Reinke, Herman and Stormont (2013) found praise to be an effective tool of classroom management. With this, teachers who are able to build strong relationship with students and praise appropriate behaviours are able to manage classrooms effectively and proactively (Marchant and Anderson, 2012; Muijs and Reynolds, 2011). Praise can stimulate appropriate behaviour and reinforces its occurrence (Marchant & Anderson, 2012). Therefore, when teachers use praise regularly, it can support and promote what Marchant & Anderson (2012:24) describe as 'a positive, supportive environment in classrooms and schools'.

Researchers have classified praise into verbal (Partin et al, 2009; Bani, 2011; Jenkins, 2015) and non-verbal or physical behaviours like written praise (Peterson-Nelson, 2008; Nelson et al, 2009; Bani, 2011; Jenkins, 2015). Nelson et al (2009) suggest that the use of written praise reduces office disciplinary referrals (ODRs) based on the findings of their research. They therefore recommend that teachers should explore the use of written praise as a way of motivating students. Also, Irwin et al (2004:59) indicate that 'praise is a very effective motivation for students, especially in developing countries, because it does not cost anything, and teachers do not have to expend their meagre salaries to purchase material incentives such as pencils or erasers'.

2. Verbal Reprimands

One of the non-abuse punishments can be verbal reprimand done devoid of anger and confrontation. With this, the findings of the research revealed that teachers' anger is one way that led to the abuse of students in managing student behaviour in Ghanaian schools. Verbal reprimand has long been identified as

a means of correcting student behaviour (Association of Educational Psychologists (AEP), 1983). For instance, Jambor (1988) in his study in Norway revealed that verbal reprimands either individually or as a group were used by the majority of teachers. Bear (2013) also emphasises the importance of verbal reprimand in managing student behaviour. However, it is imperative to make a clear distinction between non-abuse verbal reprimand and verbal assault (where the teacher looks insulting). Kyriacou (2014) noted that reprimands should sparingly complement skilful teaching in the classroom in order for it to be effective and not undermine PBM.

3. Non-verbal Techniques/ Reprimands

From the field observation, it was realised that some teachers used eye contact to inspire and motivate determined students who were prepared to contribute to the discussion in the classroom. Thus, using eye contact in the classroom can be seen as a contributory factor towards having a successful lesson.

Eye contact is an important tool in managing student behaviour, but teachers should not prolong the eye contact on one student (Rogers, 2015; Kyriacou, 2014). Battersby (2009:3) states that 'studies have shown that a speaker who looks at an audience is received more favourably and perceived as being more credible, qualified, and confident'.

A distinction must be made between hostile eye contact which defeats the purpose of PBM and favourable eye contact which is geared towards promoting a positive learning climate in the classroom and the school. Eye contact is one of the non-verbal techniques of checking student behaviour (Jambor, 1988). Thus, when a student is engaged in an inappropriate behaviour, the teacher should maintain eye contact with the student until expected behaviour returns (Muijs and Reynolds, 2011).

4. Letter of explanation

If two or more people are involved in a disruptive behaviour it could be ideal to ask the students to write letters explaining what happened, how it started, the seriousness of the issue, and the potential punishment for the students who were involved in the perceived misbehaviour. Engaging the students in the writing process will occupy the potential fighters. These letters could be sent home for signatures of parents (Diamantes, 1992; Jambor, 1988).

5. Time-Out in order to move the students from the view of their colleagues

If the student's behaviour is so severe and requires that s/he be moved out of the view of their colleagues; the said student should be sent to a separate classroom- designated for that purposes. Thus, the student should be informed gently that he or she has to finish his/her work in another room because of his or her conduct. If the student tries to

argue or feels that s/he has not been treated fairly, assure him/her that it will be discussed later.

A cooperative teacher should be assigned to host time-out students until the situation is normalised for the teacher to discuss the situation. So, instead of sacking the student from the classroom to wander around in the school as this research has revealed this will be a more positive option (AEP 1983;Diamantes 1992; Jambor, 1988).

6. *Needs of students*

Identifying and working with teaching and learning needs of students is vital. The form master needs to play a special role in the tracking of students' needs. Teachers should be trained for this purpose to support students in class and in small sessions. Black and William (1998:2) state that;

'teachers need to know about pupil's progress and difficulties with learning so that they can adapt their work to meet their needs – needs which are often unpredictable and which vary from one pupil to another. Teachers can find out what they need in a variety of ways – from observation and discussion in the classroom, and from written work of pupils whether done as homework or in class'.

It is clear that one might not be able to know what is in the minds of the students. Therefore, teachers and school authority should make efforts to meet their supposed needs -which are determined by interacting with the students and their peers.

7. *Recess/free time*

Recess or free time (Diamantes 1992; Jambor, 1988), which is not common in Ghanaian schools, is used by schools and teachers in Norway as a reward for putting up an appropriate behaviour (Jambor, 1988). Students could also be punished by not allowing him or her to enjoy part of or an entire recess (Jambor, 1988).

8. *Ignoring the conduct*

If the perceived misbehaviour will not cause any problem to the student and colleague student, it can on a sound reasoning be ignored (AEP, 1983). Some of the behaviour that can be ignored includes sulking, looking at the ceiling, prolonged frown etc. (Rogers, 2015). Muijs and Reynolds (2011:118) state that;

'it might be better to ignore minor misbehaviour altogether, as correcting every single occurrence of misbehaviour will disrupt lesson flow and may worsen classroom climate as pupils could perceive the teacher as being overly authoritarian. However, it is important to maintain a large degree of consistency in deciding which minor misbehaviour not to correct ...'.

9. Referral to senior teacher or another teacher or higher authority(AEP, 1983:6; Jambor,

1988:222). The teacher should always be prepared to seek assistance from other members of staff when faced with a challenging behaviour beyond his/her ability (Kyriacou, 2014).

10. *Scanning the classroom to spot emerging problems*

One of the effective means of handling behaviour problems in the classroom is to continuously scan the classroom whilst teaching goes on in order to spot any emerging behavioural problems. Another way of handling this issue is to invade what Muijs and Reynolds (2011:118) describe as 'the physical space' of the students by drawing closer to the student or slightly touching the said student whilst continuing with the teaching activities without disrupting the lesson (Muijs& Reynolds 2011; see also Kyriacou 2014). In all these instances calmness is expected on the part of the teacher; the teacher should not over-react in his or her dealings with the students (Muijs and Reynolds 2011; Haydn 2007; AEP 1983).

11. *After school intervention*

This is the situation where individuals spend time after class to do specific work or come to school early to carry out a specific work (Jambor, 1988; AEP 1983), but it should be the work that is within the context of PBM. For instance, using the time to write essays, sentences and explanation such as the reasons for the perceived misbehaviour (Muijs and Reynolds 2011; Kyriacou 2014). In some instances, it could be ideal for the students to stay after school or after the lesson to discuss with the teacher about the problems which could be causing the perceived misbehaviour (Muijs and Reynolds, 2011).

12. *Contracts*

This involves promising a student that if s/he is able to maintain the perceived good behaviour for a specified period of time s/he will be rewarded. This reward could be in the form of a certificate for good behaviour or allowing the student(s) to spend time with a desired activity like using the school computer or tangible rewards like erasers etc. The real focus in this instance is on the interest to maintain the desired behaviour and not just providing an award (Kyriacou, 2014).

13. *Proper engagement of students in the classroom*

Teachers should engage the students rather than sack them from class or any other punishment that will send them out of the classroom whilst teaching goes on. The teacher should make the lesson in the classroom interactive and interesting. This is achieved when the classroom environment is supportive and task-orientated (Rogers 2015; Kyriacou 2014; Haydn, 2012; Jambor, 1988); maintaining eye contact with the students (Battersby, 2009); nodding your head in appropriate

circumstances to show attentiveness and understanding whilst smiling to show a sign of enthusiasm for the work (Battersby, 2009), so as to attract the attention of the students.

14. Withdrawal of privileges or conferring privileges on students

Withdrawal of privileges as a way of punishment helps to minimise the occurrence of some behavioural problems (Kyriacou, 2014; Muijs & Reynolds, 2011). Apart from the school parents should be encouraged to withdraw privileges like computer games, miss a recess etc. (Bear 2013 and AEP 1983). On the other hand, to reward the student privileges like teacher's helper, the leader of the line could be conferred on the student (Jambor, 1988).

15. Contact with parents (AEP, 1983:4; Jambor, 1988:222)

When the behaviour of the student becomes an issue of concern the school/teachers would have to inform the parents/guardian about the behaviour of the student (Kyriacou, 2014 & AEP, 1983). The AEP (1983:4) also indicates that 'all forms of school-parent contact should be fostered and encouraged to the full, thereby aiming to prevent the formation of barriers such as feelings of alienation which can often arise'.

16. Counselling

Offering counselling to students is one of the means teachers use to sustain good behaviour and discourage bad behaviour in schools in Ghanaian Senior High Schools. The students see this to be a better option for managing student behaviour. However, this article argues that counselling alone cannot manage student behaviour effectively, there is therefore, the need to explore other options indicated in this section to manage student behaviour. AEP (1983:4) states that 'counselling has been used to great advantage in many schools, being usually interwoven with the general discipline of the school'.

17. Democratic grievance procedure in the school (AEP, 1983) will be an appropriate opportunity for students and parents. This will enable the students and parents to seek redress from the school in times that they are dissatisfied with school decisions.

18. Achievement assembly to boost the self-esteem of awardees; some schools in UK organise achievement assembly to award certificates and tangible items like books to students. This is a good practice which needs to be embraced in Ghanaian schools.

19. Yellow/red cards; showing cards to students regarding their conduct if it becomes necessary, will provide the student in question an indication

of his/her behaviour level which may require an amendment in order to avoid the number of cards that s/he gets.

20. Feelings card; the feeling cards will enable the teacher to know the emotional status of the student and how to deal with him or her.

CONCLUSION

The main purpose of carrying out this research was to explore alternative disciplinary measures to replace abusive disciplinary measures in Ghanaian High Schools with the sole intention of ensuring constructive change in the manner school discipline is conceptualised and implemented in these schools. This research provided the needed impetus for the option of Positive Behaviour Management in Ghanaian schools. It assisted to translate the challenges affecting school discipline into a more focused empirical study, thus offering a pioneering work on exploring potentials for Positive Behaviour Management in Ghanaian schools. The key limitation of the study is that, it was conducted in four schools and in three regions out of ten regions in Ghana. In this regard, future research should seek to include many schools in all the ten regions in Ghana. The inclusion of the other regions will permit wider perspectives on issues of Positive behaviour Management

REFERENCES

- Association of Educational Psychologists, 1983. *Alternatives to corporal punishment*. Durham: Aep.
- Bani, M. (2011) 'The use and frequency of verbal and non-verbal praise in nurture groups', *Emotional & Behavioural Difficulties*, 16(1), pp. 47-67.
- Bear, G.G. (2013) 'Teacher Resistance to Frequent Rewards and Praise: Lack of Skill or a Wise Decision?', *Journal of Educational & Psychological Consultation*, 23(4), pp.318-340.
- Black, P.J., Wiliam, D. and King's College London. (1998) *Inside the black box: raising standards through classroom assessment*. London: GL Assessment.
- Brookfield, S.D. (2006) *The skillful teacher; on technique, trust, and responsiveness in the classroom*. 2 edn. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Brophy, J. (1981) 'Teacher praise: A functional analysis,' *Review of Education Research*, 51, pp.5-32.
- Bryman, A. (2015) *Social Research Methods*. 5th ed. edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Cameron, R. (1998) 'School discipline in the United Kingdom: Promoting classroom behaviour which encourages effective teaching and learning', *School Psychology Review; Sch.Psychol.Rev.*, 27(1), pp.33-44.
- Creswell, J. W. (2013) *Qualitative inquiry and research design; choosing among five approaches*. 3 edn. Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- Diamantes, T. (1992) 'Alternatives to corporal punishment', *Clearing House*, 65(4), pp.233-235.
- Ghana Statistical services (2012). Ghana Multiple Indicator Cluster Survey 2011. Accra.
- Grundy, W. & Blandford, S. (1999) 'Developing a culture for Positive Behaviour Management', *Emotional and Behavioural Difficulties*, 4(3), pp.5-9.
- Haydn, T. (2007) *Managing pupil behaviour: key issues in teaching and learning*. London: Routledge.
- Hemphill, S. And Hargreaves, J. (2009) 'The impact of school suspensions: A student wellbeing issue', *ACHPER Australia Healthy Lifestyles Journal*, 56(3/4), pp.5-11.
- Ibrahim, M.G. (2017). "Perspectives on student behaviour management in High Schools in Ghana: exploring potential for positive behaviour management in policy and practice" Vols 1 and 2. *PhD Thesis*, Keele University, UK.
- Irwin, L. H., Anamuah-Mensah, J., Aboagye, J.K. & Addison, J.K (2004) 'Teachers' perceptions of classroom discipline in Ghana, West Africa', *International Education*, 34(2), pp.46-61.
- Jambor, T. (1988) 'Classroom Management and Discipline Alternatives to Corporal Punishment: The Norwegian example', *Education*, 109(2), pp.220-225.
- Jenkins, L. N., Floress, M. T. & Reinke, W. (2015) 'Rates and types of teacher praise: A review and future directions', *Psychology in the Schools*, 52(5), pp.463-476.
- Knightley, W. and Whitelock, D. (2007) 'Assessing the self- esteem of female undergraduate students: an issue of methodology', *Educational Studies*, 33(2), pp.217-231.
- Kyriacou, C. (2014) *Essential teaching skills*. Fourth edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Marchant, M. & Anderson, D. H. (2012) 'Improving Social and Academic Outcomes for All Learners through the Use of Teacher Praise', *Beyond Behaviour*, 21(3), pp.22-28.
- Muijs, D. and Reynolds, D. (2011) *Effective teaching: evidence and practice*. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Nelson, J. A. P., Young, B.J., Young, E.L. and Cox, G. (2009) 'Using Teacher-Written Praise Notes to Promote a Positive Environment in a Middle School', *Preventing School Failure*, 54(2), pp.119-125.
- Neuman, W. L. (2011) *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 7th edition. Boston: Allyn & Bacon.
- Partin, T.C.M., Robertson, R.E., Maggin, D.M., Oliver, R.M. and Wehby, J.H. (2009) 'Using Teacher Praise and Opportunities to Respond to Promote Appropriate Student Behavior', *Preventing School Failure*, 54(3), pp.172-178.
- Peterson-Nelson, J.A., Caldarella, P., Young, K.R. and Webb, N. (2008) 'Using Peer Praise Notes to Increase the Social Involvement of Withdrawn Adolescents', *Teaching Exceptional Children*, 41(2), pp.6-13.
- Powell, S. & Tod, J. (2004) A systematic review of how theories explain learning behaviour in school contexts', in *Research Evidence in Education Library*. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education, University of London. [Online] Available at: <http://eppi.ioe.ac.uk/cms/LinkClick.aspx?fileticket=xjNFKFrgrG8%3D> [Accessed 16 February 2016].
- Purkey, W. W. & Strahan, D. B. (2002) *Inviting positive classroom discipline*. National Middle School Association.
- Raths, J. (1964) 'The dignity of man in the classroom', *Childhood Education*, 40(7), pp.339-340.
- Reinke, W.M., Herman, K.C. and Stormont, M. (2013) 'Classroom- Level Positive Behavior Supports in Schools Implementing SW-PBIS', *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions*, 15(1), pp.39-50.
- Rogers, B. (2015) *Classroom behaviour: a practical guide to effective teaching, behaviour management and colleague support*. 4th edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Scott, T.M. (2007) 'Issues of Personal Dignity and Social Validity in Schoolwide Systems of Positive Behavior Support', *Journal of Positive Behavior Interventions*, 9(2), pp. 102-112.
- Strahan, D.B., Cope, M.H., Hundley, S. and Faircloth, C.V. (2005) 'Positive Discipline with Students Who Need It Most: Lessons Learned in an Alternative Approach', *Clearing House: A Journal of Educational Strategies, Issues and Ideas*, 79(1), pp.25-30.
- Thompson, D. & Sharp, S. (1994) *Improving schools establishing and integrating whole school behaviour policies*. London: London David Fulton.

- UNICEF (2014). *Hidden In Plain Sight: A statistical analysis of violence against children* United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), Division of Policy and Practice, 2010, New York.
- Whitty, G. (2008) 'Changing modes of teacher professionalism: traditional, managerial, collaborative and democratic', in B. Cunningham (ed), *Exploring professionalism*. London: Institute of Education, University of London.
- Wolfe, D.A. (1991) *Preventing physical and emotional abuse of children*. New York: Guilford.
- Yin, R. K. (2018). *Case study research and applications: Design and methods* (6th ed.). Los Angeles, CA: Sage Publications.