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POSITIVE DEVIANCE; VERIFYING ITS PREMISES

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PREFACE

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Dear reader,

Thank you for reading my thesis. This thesis is the icing on the cake for me: the closure of years of hard working. I am grateful for this experience, because I can now say with confidence that I am ready to enter a new phase of my life. Since I started studying in Wageningen in 2010, I have learned so much and I have developed myself in so many ways. Especially this last year has been a wonderful journey. Working and living in Norway has been a live changing experience. While working on the Positive Deviance project in Bergen, I knew directly that it is a promising approach. Dedicating my thesis to this approach was therefore a logical choice.

I would like to thank Martine Bouman for the opportunity to write my thesis at the Center for Media and Health. Working for this institute was a dream for me since the first time I heard about it. After hearing about their Positive Deviance research, I knew that working together was meant to be. My time at the Center for Media and Health has been inspiring, instructive, and above all sociable. Thank you Martine, Sarah, Hester, Kees, Sil, and Heidi, you have been great colleagues!

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Most of all, thanks to everyone who has ever been there for me. Without the support from my parents, I would never have been where I am now. Dear mom and dad, I am so grateful for the fact that you are always supporting me, having faith in me, and stimulating me to be the best version of myself. You are always there for me, and I appreciate that more than I can express in words. The last couple of years, there was one special person who always believed in me and taught me to believe in myself. Frank, thank you so much for everything. Without you, stress would have taken over my life, but you taught me about all life has to give outside of studying. In addition, thank everyone, you know who you are, who was there for me in good and bad times.

I hope that you will read this thesis with as much enthusiasm as I have had when working on it for the last six months. My enthusiasm helped me through different challenges, but all taught me important lessons for the rest of life. I am proud of the results, but even more grateful for the journey that got me here.

Love, Geke

ABSTRACT

INTRODUCTION In the Netherlands, one in five adolescents between 11 and 18 years has self-reported psychological problems. Some adolescents are more vulnerable for developing psychological problems, such as lower-educated adolescents (e.g. VMBO students). An innovative approach to discover a way to enhance psychological resilience of VMBO students is the Positive Deviance approach. Positive Deviance is the observation that in every community or organization, there are a few individuals or groups whose uncommon but successful behaviors and strategies have enabled them to find better solutions to problems than their neighbors who face the same challenges and barriers and have access to the same resources. Positive deviant solutions are considered feasible to adopt, acceptable, and sustainable, which are the premises of Positive Deviance. The purpose of this research is to verify these premises of Positive Deviance in the dissemination of the positive deviant micro-behaviors to non-positive deviant VMBO schools situated in deprived neighborhoods in Rotterdam.

METHODOLOGY Data was collected at eleven VMBO school located in deprived neighborhoods in Rotterdam (The Netherlands) by using videos of the (previously identified) micro-behaviors in combination with three different research methods: focus group, interviews, and questionnaires. The questionnaire provided data on how innovative the micro-behaviors are, how feasible they are, and if people are willing to stimulate the use of the micro-behaviors. The underlining argumentation on the feasibility, acceptability, and sustainability of the micro-behaviors was investigated in the focus group and the interviews.

RESULTS The micro-behaviors are a mix of new behaviors and customary behaviors. It differs per respondent and per micro-behavior if a micro-behavior is feasible and acceptable to implement. Factors influencing the feasibility and acceptability of the micro-behaviors are time, money, school culture, willingness to change, supportive team, ability to change, school size, educational levels, classroom usage, and (expected) effects of the micro-behaviors. In addition, factors influencing sustainable change are embedding in the school culture, continuing with exchanging thoughts and experiences, and visualizing of the micro-behaviors.

CONCLUSION Positive deviant solutions, the micro-behaviors, are feasible and acceptable to implement sustainably through using peer-based learning with employees who have a (strong) willingness to change. It is crucial to find these employees, the enthusiasts, but it is less whether they are from a positive deviant or a non-positive deviant school. Enthusiasts serve as positive role models and over time, the micro-behavior(s) will become interwoven with the school culture to guarantee sustainable change.

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1. Introduction

In 2010, the Center for Media & Health started with their research project to enhance the mental health of lower-educated students, especially those with a lower social-economic status and/or a migrant background. The research project of the Center for Media and Health consists of three steps; (1) identifying positive deviant schools, (2) discovering the micro-behaviors of teachers, students, and other staff which help to enhance the psychological resilience and mental health of the students, and (3) amplifying and promoting the wider adoption of the positive deviant micro-behaviors in other VMBO schools in Rotterdam (Bouman, Lubjuhn, & Singhal, 2014a). This current research is part of the last step of the Positive Deviance research of the Center for Media & Health.

In the Netherlands, one in five adolescents between 11 and 18 years have self-reported psychological problems, such as mood disorders (Bogt, Dorsselaer, & Vollebergh, 2003; Looze et al., 2013) and around four percent of the adolescents is depressed (Conijn & Ruiter, 2011). Some adolescents, such as lower-educated adolescents, are more vulnerable for developing psychological problems than others (Looze et al., 2013). The effects of psychological problems can be negative on the short- and long-term. Examples are decreased happiness in life, social dysfunctions, substance abuse, and even suicide (Calear & Christensen, 2010; Looze et al., 2013).

Psychological problems can be prevented by enhancing psychological resilience. Psychological resilience refers to the 'cognitive, emotional, and social skills that enable someone to have a meaningful, learning, and productive life, and to successfully accomplish different social roles and functions during the different stages of life' (Lokkerbol, Splunteren, Lokman, & Smit, 2012, p. 3). By increasing psychological resilience, individuals learn how to better deal with stressors and anxiety that are a normal part of life, which improves their mental health (Lokkerbol et al., 2012). Previous interventions to improve the mental health of lower educated adolescents did not have the desired effect, since these adolescents were not adequately reached (Bouman, 2011).

In general, mental health interventions focus on preventing or fixing psychological problems. These interventions are mostly designed top-down (Neill & Dias, 2001). However, the Center for Media & Health uses an innovative approach, the Positive Deviance approach, to discover a way to enhance psychological resilience of VMBO (*preparatory secondary vocational*) students (Bouman, 2011). The Positive Deviance approach enables communities to discover their inherent (health) wisdom. The principle of Positive Deviance is that there are certain individuals or groups in every community whose uncommon behaviors or strategies enable them to perform better than their peers who have access to the same resources. These individuals or groups are the positive deviants (Pascale, Sternin, & Sternin, 2010).

The Positive Deviance approach has been used by the Center for Media and Health to identify positive deviant behaviors that enhanced psychological resilience among students of Rotterdam's VMBO schools who hailed from lower socio-economic backgrounds and minority immigrant groups. The research consisted of identifying the positive deviant schools and the positive deviant micro-behaviors. At the three identified positive deviant VMBO schools, numerous positive deviant micro-behaviors were identified. The current step is developing an intervention to disseminate the micro-behaviors to the non-positive deviant schools (Bouman et al., 2014a).

The success of the dissemination of positive deviant behaviors or strategies lies in several aspects of the Positive Deviance approach. First, the Positive Deviance approach focuses on behavior change instead of knowledge gain, because "it is more likely to act your way into a new way of thinking, than think your way into a new way of acting" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 197). A second aspect of the Positive Deviance approach is that the individuals or communities should be able to identify themselves with each other. This results in the perception that "if they can do it, we can do it", inter alia because "someone just like me is succeeding against all odds with the same resources that are available to me" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 196). These principles lead to the premises that positive deviant solutions are feasible to adopt, acceptable, and sustainable. The purpose of this research is to verify these premises of Positive Deviance in the dissemination of the positive deviant micro-behaviors to non-positive deviant VMBO schools situated in deprived neighborhoods in Rotterdam.

This report consists of eight chapters. In-depth information on Positive Deviance is provided in chapter 2. Chapter 3 consists of background information on psychological resilience and the Positive Deviance research of the Center for Media & Health. The research questions are presented in chapter 4 and the methodology in chapter 5. In chapter 6, the results of the research are presented, including factors influencing the feasibility and acceptability of the micro-behaviors, factors influencing the sustainability of the micro-behaviors, and a general assessment of the micro-behaviors. The research questions are answered in chapter 7, followed by the strengths, limitations, and recommendations of the research. Finally, chapter 8 encompasses the conclusion.

2. Positive Deviance

Positive Deviance is the approach of interest in this research. Therefore, this chapter consists of an overview of the theoretical underpinning of Positive Deviance. In addition, some examples of previous applications of Positive Deviance are presented.

2.1. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF POSITIVE DEVIANCE

Positive Deviance is:

The observation that in every community or organization, there are a few individuals or groups whose uncommon but successful behaviors and strategies have enabled them to find better solutions to problems than their neighbors who face the same challenges and barriers and have access to the same resources (The Positive Deviance Initiative, 2010, p. 2).

Positive Deviance can be used when a problem meets several criteria, which are that (1) the problem is not merely technical, (2) that other solutions have not worked, and (3) that there is a commitment in the community to address the problem (Pascale et al., 2010). Within Positive Deviance, the focus is on the positive outliers of the normal distribution. The positive deviants represent the extreme right of the normal curve. When researchers use the normal distribution, the dominant focus is on the positive deviance the exception of the positive Deviance the exception of the problem (Pascale et al., 2010). Within Positive Deviance the extreme right of the normal curve. When researchers use the positive Deviance the exception of the problem (Pascale et al., 2010).

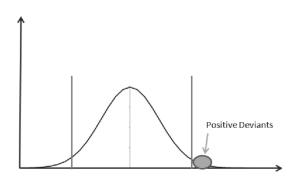


Figure 2.1: 'Positive deviants' retrieved from Bouman et al., 2014b

the mediocrity. However with Positive Deviance, the exceptional cases are the focus of interest (Johnson Morris, 2014).

The Positive Deviance approach challenges experts to think outside of the dominant frameworks. In contrast to the focus of the dominant approaches on what is *not* working, Positive Deviance focuses on what *is* working (Pascale et al., 2010). Therefore, the Positive Deviance approach is an assets-approach (see textbox).

What is an assets-approach?

In contrast to dominant deficits models, an assets-approach focuses on investigating what creates and sustains health. The approach aims to complement the findings from the deficits-approach, since deficits models focus on identifying the problems and needs of the community in order to improve health. An asset is any resource, skill, or knowledge, which enhances the ability of individuals, groups, and/or communities to maintain and sustain health and well-being and to help reduce health inequalities. Assets can operate at the individual, community, and organizational or institutional level (Morgan & Ziglio, 2007)

2.1.1. ADOPTION

Positive Deviance is a peer-based learning process instead of a conventional expert-based teaching process. In the Positive Deviance approach, the expert/researcher is a facilitator of the process. The researcher facilitates all stages of the Positive Deviance approach (Pascale et al., 2010). The stages of Positive Deviance cover the identification of the needs of the community, the problem, and the positive deviants. Moreover, the uncommon behaviors and/or practices of the positive deviants are discovered, which is often called the Positive Deviance inquiry. Thereafter, interventions are designed based on the results of the Positive Deviance inquiry (van Dick & Scheffel, 2015). In the intervention, non-positive deviants should learn the microbehaviors from positive deviants, which is related to peer-based learning (see textbox), and practice the behaviors together (Pascale et al., 2010).

What is peer-based learning?

The idea of peer education is not based on a specific theory, but rests on lay principles and assumptions. These are that peer education is empowering, more cost-effective, beneficial to those involved, more acceptable (Hendrickson et al., 2002), and is able to reach the hard to reach. Moreover, peers are regarded as credible sources of information, positive role models, and as more successful in transferring information. Since people can identify with peers, information is more acceptable. Peer education uses already existing means of sharing information, which also stimulates learning through ongoing contact (Turner & Shepherd, 1999).

A theory that is most often cited in the literature about peer-based learning is the Social Learning Theory (new: Social Cognitive Theory) of Bandura. This theory claims that modeling is an important component of the learning process of new behavior. Modeling implies that individuals need to observe behavior in order to adopt similar behavior. A precondition for change is that individuals need to practice the modeled behavior and need to receive positive reinforcement (Bandura & McClelland, 1977).

The focus of the Positive Deviance approach is on practicing new behavior, in contrast to dominant approaches that focus on increasing knowledge about the desired behavior. One of the principles of Positive Deviance is that "you are more likely to act your way into a new way of thinking than to think your way into a new way of acting" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 38). This implies that adopting new behavior is more feasible through modeling than through knowledge transfer, which results in the first premises of Positive Deviance.

Premise 1: Positive deviant solutions are feasible to adopt.

This relates to key issues of the dissemination of positive deviant behaviors, which are starting small, connecting people who haven't been connected before, targeting the widest range of appropriate community members, creating opportunities to practice and learn through doing in a safe environment with peers, and using imaginative approaches to involve the community (for example workshop and role-plays). In this whole process, it is important that the community

remains the owner of the process during the entire process the entire process. This implies that the community should be the designer of ways to practice the positive deviant behaviors. Within this process, it is important to involve everyone in the community, because of the principle "don't do anything about me without me" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 197).

2.1.2. ACCEPTABILITY

Positive Deviance is an innovative approach that enables communities to discover their inherent health wisdom. All members of the community have the opportunity to contribute to the solution and broader adoption of the solution. The Positive Deviance approach strives to accomplish "sustainable behavioral and social change by identifying solutions already existing in the system" (The Positive Deviance Initiative, 2010, p. 2). By using solutions already existing in the community, the presumption is that solutions are culturally appropriate, because they are in line with the shared norms and values (Pascale et al., 2010). Moreover, positive deviants are more capable of promoting behavior change, because they are not inhibited by differences in experiences or culture. The positive deviants face(d) the same challenges and barriers and share the same norms and values as the non-positive deviants. Therefore, non-positive deviants can identify themselves with the positive deviants, because "if they can do it, we can also do it" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 196). In addition, the principle is that non-positive deviants observe that "someone just like me is succeeding against all odds with the same resources that are available to me" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 196). Therefore, positive deviants serve as role models for nonpositive deviants (Turner & Shepherd, 1999). This implies that the solutions of the positive deviant role models are more acceptable than solutions proposed by experts, which results in the second premises of Positive Deviance.

Premise 2: Positive deviant solutions are acceptable.

2.1.3. Sustainability

In conventional approaches to create sustainable solutions, experts are inhibited by cultural differences between them and the target population. Moreover, experts often contribute additional resources in order to create solutions for problems in a community. After the experts have withdrawn from the community, the resources are used up or disappear altogether, which means that the solution has no future. The solutions of positive deviants are based on the available resources within the community. Positive deviants have access to the same resources as the whole community and solutions do not require additional resources. Therefore, solutions remain feasible after the researchers have withdrawn from the community, which makes positive deviant solutions more sustainable (Pascale et al., 2010). This results in the third premises of Positive Deviance.

Premise 3: Positive deviant solutions are sustainable.

2.2. Examples of the application of Positive Deviance

The Positive Deviance approach is a relatively new approach. In the 1960s, the importance of investigating individuals performing better than their peers is first acknowledged in the literature. The term positive deviants appeared in the mid-seventies to describe children who

performed better than their peers did in height and weight measurements (Wishik & Vynckt, 1976). In 1990, Zeitlin, Ghassemi and Mansour published "Positive Deviance in child nutrition: With emphasis on psychosocial and behavioural aspects and implications for development", which encompassed a description of a large body of studies investigating positive deviant children. In this publication, Positive Deviance was first described as an approach "to discover beneficial behaviours and styles of behaviours and transform them into practices that can be generally recommended and supported by nutrition, health, and social services" (Zeitlin et al., 1990, p. 82). The work of Zeitlin and colleagues inspired fieldworkers Jerry and Monique Sternin to use the Positive Deviance approach, since they were in need of an innovative approach. The Positive Deviance approach was used to rehabilitate malnourished children in Viet Nam.

Given our six-month deadline, and my conviction that any solution must be sustainable, I knew that this couldn't be "business as usual" We would have to find a new approach based on something that was already working using resources already available. These defining criteria all pointed towards an obscure research construct: Positive Deviance (PD). (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 23)

The project was a success. Childhood malnutrition decreased with 65 to 80 percent in the 22 provences that participated in the project (Pascale et al., 2010). In total, 2.3 million people were reached (Sternin, Sternin, & Marsh, 1997). At the same time, the Positive Deviance approach was also used with success to rehabilitate malnourished children in Bangladesh and Haiti (Burkhalter & Northrup, 1997; Filoramo, 1997; Sternin et al., 1997). The approach continued to be used to rehabilitate malnourished children (e.g. Mackintosh, Marsh, & Schroeder, 2002; Pryer, Rogers, & Rahman, 2004), but was also used to successfully decrease infant and child mortality rates (e.g. Marsh & Schroeder, 2002) and to stimulate child growth (e.g. Guldan et al., 1993).

Outside the field of child nutrition, Positive Deviance has been used successfully to improve the quality of health care in various ways, for example to improve chronic disease management (Green, Fortin, Maclure, Macgregor, & Robinson, 2006), acute myocardial infarction care (Krumholz, Curry, & Bradley, 2011), and diabetes care (Taliani, Bricker, Adelman, Cronholm, & Gabbay, 2013). By using the Positive Deviance approach, hand hygiene compliance improved (e.g. Marra et al., 2013), and MRSA infections (Buscell, 2008b) and other hospital infections (e.g. Patterson, 2011) were prevented. In hospitals, the transmission of antibiotica resistant bacteria was reduced by 30 to 62 percent (Ellingson et al., 2011).

The Positive Deviance approach has also been used to improve reproductive health, namely through stimulating contraceptive use (Dynes, Stephenson, Rubardt, & Bartel, 2012), improving pregnancy outcomes (Ahrari et al., 2002), improving maternal and newborn care (Shafique, Sternin, & Singhal, 2010), preventing HIV infection (e.g. Babalola, Ouedraogo, & Vondrasek, 2007), and decreasing sexual violence (e.g. Dura & Singhal, 2009).

3. BACKGROUND INFORMATION

This research is based on the Positive Deviance research project of the Center for Media & Health where positive deviant micro-behaviors were identified that enhanced the psychological resilience of VMBO students who hailed from lower socio-economic backgrounds and minority immigrant groups. In this section, background information on psychological resilience and on the research project of the Center for Media and Health is provided.

3.1. PSYCHOLOGICAL RESILIENCE

Psychological resilience refers to the 'cognitive, emotional, and social skills that enable someone to have a meaningful, learning, and productive life, and to accomplish successfully different social roles and functions during the different stages of life' (Lokkerbol et al., 2012, p. 3). A high psychological resilience has a positive impact on the mental health of an individual (Lokkerbol et al., 2012). The following sections consist of the status on psychological well-being of Dutch adolescents and the relevance of focusing on psychological resilience in the school setting.

3.1.1. THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WELL-BEING OF DUTCH ADOLESCENTS

In general, Dutch adolescents report (very) positive about their mental health compared to adolescents in other European countries. However, still 190,000 adolescents at secondary education have emotional or depressive complaints every year (Lokkerbol et al., 2012). Vulnerability for psychological problems is related to educational level, gender, ethnicity, family welfare, and family composition. Lower-educated adolescents report more behavioral problems, hyperactivity, and problems with peers. Adolescents from VMBO-t (theoretical orientation) have 80 percent more chance of getting psychological problems than adolescents from VWO. Moreover, adolescents from VMBO-b (practical orientation) have even 140 percent more chance than adolescents from WWO. Adolescents from middle and low-income families have 30 percent more chance of psychological problems than adolescents from high-income families. The findings of the mental health of migrant adolescents differ per study. For example in the Dutch Health Behavior of School-aged Children (HBSC) study of 2002, migrant adolescents reported more internalizing and social problems compared to native adolescents (Bogt et al., 2003), but in the HBSC study of 2009, the findings indicated that migrant adolescents report less internalizing, externalizing, and social problems than native adolescents (Dorsselaer & Lieshout, 2010).

3.1.2. PSYCHOLOGICAL RESILIENCE IN A SCHOOL SETTING

A high status of psychological resilience is related to better school performances, less school dropout, a higher intrinsic motivation to learn, and a smaller risk of the development of mental and behavioral disorders (Neill & Dias, 2001). In the Netherlands, children spend on average 18 years of their lives at school. Therefore, school is an important contributor to the development of children. The impact of school goes beyond increasing knowledge; it is also about strengthening the physical and psychological health (Lokkerbol et al., 2012). Psychological resilience can be strengthened by training the adaptive coping skills (Neill & Dias, 2001). Adolescents need to be empowered to learn how to cope with social pressure and to become resilient in order to deal with a setback (Lokkerbol et al., 2012).

The school period is a vulnerable period in the development of an individual. For example, the exposure to stress, pressure, or bullying can present itself in the form of behavioral problems or disorders. A high status of psychological resilience is important to prevent these problems

(Lokkerbol et al., 2012). For preventive interventions for depression, the key period in the life of a person seems to be around 13-14 years old. Targeting adolescents at this age will maximize the opportunity to prevent depression (Sutton, 2007). The school is an ideal environment for mental health programs, because the majority of the adolescents are reached by education. Stigma, costs, time and location are common barriers of mental health services, which apply less to schools (Calear & Christensen, 2010). A school intervention can be an important turning point in the lives of disadvantaged children (Gross, Smith Institute, & Centre for Social Justice, 2008).

3.2. THE POSITIVE DEVIANCE RESEARCH OF THE CENTER FOR MEDIA & HEALTH

In 2011, the Center for Media & Health started a research project named "Identifying and amplifying existing wisdom: Utilizing the Positive Deviance approach to enhance psychological resilience amongst adolescents vulnerable to depression and anxiety." The overall aim of this research was "to identify positive deviance practices that enhanced psychological resilience among students of Rotterdam's VMBO schools who hailed from lower socio-economic backgrounds and minority immigrant groups" (Bouman, Lubjuhn, & Singhal, 2014c, p. 3). This overall aim was divided in three steps focusing on: (1) identifying positive deviant (PD); (2) discovering the micro-behaviors of teachers, students, and other staff which help to enhance the psychological resilience and mental health of the students; and (3) amplifying and promoting the wider adoption of the PD micro-behaviors in other VMBO schools in Rotterdam (Bouman et al., 2014a).

The Center for Media and Health collaborated with the GGD (*municipal public health services*) Rotterdam-Rijnmond, The Trimbos Institute, and the Department of Communication at The University of Texas at El Paso (Bouman et al., 2014c). This research project is the first large-scale Positive Deviance research in the Netherlands (Bouman, 2011). The research project of the Center for Media and Health lasted 28 months, which was divided in five phases.

3.2.1. Phase 1 - Defining or reframing the problem

The first phase of the research consisted of reframing the problem and defining the Positive Deviance (PD) question. The PD question was: "Are their secondary schools in Rotterdam (1) with a VMBO-B and VMBO-T level; (2) with more than 150 students; (3) located in a deprived urban neighborhood setting; (4) with minimal 50 percent of the students from a minority immigrant group; (5) which have no access to additional resources; and (6) which have a SDQ-score below 10? (Bouman et al., 2014a). The SDQ-scores of VMBO schools in Rotterdam used to be measured annually by the GGD Rotterdam-Rijnmond (Bouman et al., 2014a). Nowadays, the Centrum Jeugd en Gezin (Center for Youth and Family) performs the monitoring of these scores (Loket Gezond Leven, 2015).

What is the SDQ-score?

The SDQ-score arises from the Strengths and Difficulty Questionnaire (SDQ), which is originally developed by Goodman in 1997. The questions are based on the description in the DSM classification (Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of mental disorders) of common symptoms of adolescents. The SDQ measures the presence of psychosocial problems, the strong characteristics of the adolescent, and the influence of psychosocial problems on daily functioning (Stinissen, n.d.).

The questionnaire consists of 25 questions divided in five subthemes, namely hyperactivity, emotional problems, problems with peers, behavioral problems, and pro-social behavior. Each question has three answer options, namely 'not true', 'a little bit true', and 'true'. Besides these 25 questions, there is an impact scale to determine the impact of the problems on daily functioning. In the total score, 20 questions are taken into account. Each question is scored with zero, one, or two points. Therefore, c (Stinissen, n.d.). In general, a score above 16 is cause for concern and a score below 10 indicates a positive exception (Bouman et al., 2014a). The effectiveness of SDQ has been tested extensively, including in the Netherlands. The total score provides a good indication of the probability that an adolescent has problems. However, the subscales are less reliable (Stinissen, n.d.).

3.2.2. Phase 2 – Determining the presence of positive deviants

Phase 2 was about determining the presence of positive deviant VMBO schools in Rotterdam. In Rotterdam, there were 52 VMBO schools, with approximately 17.000 students. In order to be a positive deviant school, the school had to meet the criteria mentioned above. For the SDQ-scores, the mean score of 2009/2010 and 2010/2011 was used. Of all 52 VMBO schools, three schools were identified as positive deviants (Lucia Petrus Mavo, Mavo Delfshaven, and Libanon Lyceum) (Bouman et al., 2014a).

3.2.3. Phase 3 - Discovering positive deviant micro-behaviors

In phase 3, the positive deviant schools were approached carefully, since co-operation of the positive deviant schools was necessary for the research project. The positive deviant schools were not approached simultaneously, because getting a trustworthy contact was a time-consuming process. The first communication with every positive deviant school was via the school nurse, who collected the data of the SDQ scores and was familiar with the school. She acted as the gatekeeper for contacting the schools. The school nurse introduced the project and the researchers of the Center for Media and Health to the directors of the positive deviant schools. When a good relationship with the schools was established, the Positive Deviance inquiry took place (Bouman et al., 2014c).

Participatory observations took place to become familiar with the school. Different community members were interviewed about the behaviors and practices within the school that could have a beneficial effect on the psychological resilience of the students. In total, 26 interviews were conducted with employees of the three positive deviant schools. The interviews were transcribed word-by-word. Besides the in-depth interviews, groups-interviews with students and with mothers took place. Moreover, observations, including photo documentation, took place during school visits to discover additional micro-behaviors. During feedback sessions, employees of the positive deviant schools reflected on the identified micro-behaviors and added additional information if necessary (Bouman et al., 2014c).

The identified micro-behaviors were related to factors such as social security, personal attention, community feeling, co-responsibility, trust, respect, positive confirmation, and proactivity. Examples of micro-behaviors were a concierge who welcomes all students every morning at the school entrance, a teacher who calls the parents when a student is performing

very well, or sending all students a birthday card. In total, numerous unique micro-behaviors were identified. The identified micro-behaviors can make a difference in the mental health of the students (Bouman et al., 2014a).

3.2.4. Phase 4 - Disseminating and implementing positive deviant micro-behaviors

The identified micro-behaviors were presented during a meeting for positive deviant and non-positive deviant schools. Besides all 52 VMBO schools in Rotterdam, the education department of the municipality of Rotterdam, and education-supporting organizations (e.g. *Centrum Jeugd en Gezin*) were invited to join the presentation. This meeting was aimed to inform all parties about the findings. Besides this meeting, several workshops and seminars were given about Positive Deviance and the project (Bouman et al., 2014a).

3.2.5. Phase 5 - Process evaluation and final reporting

The fifth, and final, phase consisted of evaluation and documentation. Different documents were published about the research, for example "Identifying and amplifying existing wisdom: Utilizing the Positive Deviance Approach to enhance psychological resilience amongst adolescents vulnerable to depression and anxiety" (Bouman et al., 2014a), "What explains enhanced psychological resilience of students at VMBO schools in the Netherlands? The Positive Deviance Approach in Action" (Bouman et al., 2014c), and "Op zoek naar de positieve uitzondering: Gebruik van de positive deviance benadering om mentale weerbaarheid van leerlingen op VMBO-scholen te versterken" (Bouman, Lubjuhn, & Singhal, 2014b).

After finalizing the 28-month research project, the Center for Media and Health applied for an implementation and dissemination VIMP project. The main aim of this VIMP project is to disseminate and implement the micro-behaviors to the non-positive deviant schools in Rotterdam by organizing small-scale meetings with opportunities to practice and learn the micro-behaviors (Bouman et al., 2014a). The current study is supposed to contribute to this implementation project.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The focus of this research is on the premises of Positive Deviance. The results of this research can be used to determine the best strategy for the dissemination of the positive deviance microbehaviors to other VMBO schools in Rotterdam. In addition, the results will provide an indication of the usefulness of Positive Deviance as a method to solve problems related to psychological well-being and or problems in the school setting.

In this research, there are three main research questions. These are related to the premises of Positive Deviance, since the purpose of this research is to verify the premises of Positive Deviance in the dissemination of the positive deviant micro-behaviors to non-positive deviant VMBO schools situated in deprived neighborhoods in Rotterdam. The questions are formulated based on direct referrals to literature about Positive Deviance instead of an interpretation of their meaning.

The research questions of this research are:

- (1) What is the perception of non-positive deviant schools on the positive deviant micro-behaviors and do they perceive that they can 'act their way into a new way of thinking'?
- (2) What is the perception of non-positive deviant schools on the principle 'if the positive deviant schools can do it, we can also do it'?
- (3) To what extent do non-positive deviant schools perceive that they have the same resources at their disposal as the positive deviant schools have?

Positive Deviance; verifying its premises

5. METHODOLOGY

In this research, videos of the micro-behaviors are used in combination with three different research methods: focus group (as part of a workshop), interviews, and questionnaires. These methods are in line with the principles of Positive Deviance, which are involving the community in the topic; starting small, connecting people who have not been connected before; targeting the widest range of appropriate community members; creating opportunities to practice and learn through doing in a safe environment with peers; and using imaginative approaches to involve the community. Moreover, the researcher should be a facilitator instead of the expert (Pascale et al., 2010).

All three methods enable the community to be involved with the micro-behaviors, because respondents have the opportunity to provide input for the development of a dissemination and implementation program. The questionnaire provides a general overview on how innovative the micro-behaviors are, how feasible they are, and if people are willing to stimulate the use of the micro-behaviors. The underlining argumentation is investigated in the focus group and the interviews. This use of triangulation increases the validity of the results.

Videos of the micro-behaviors are an imaginative approach to involve the community and to observe the micro-behaviors during the focus group and the interviews. The focus group underlines positive deviance as a bottom-up approach where positive deviants as well as the non-positive deviants provide the input for solutions and the broader adoption of the micro-behaviors. The widest range of community members is brought together in a small meeting to discuss the micro-behaviors (Pascale et al., 2010).

An important characteristic of Positive Deviance is to focus on what works, which implies focusing on the positive (Pascale et al., 2010). Through using the technique of appreciative interviewing for the focus group and the interviews, the focus was on possibilities and opportunities, instead of barriers and challenges.

What is Appreciative Inquiry?

Appreciative Inquiry (AI) is originally a method for organizational change. The basic principle of AI is that people and organizations move towards what gives them light, which is based on the heliotropic principle. AI is a method to search for the very best of 'what is' in order to imagine 'what might be'. Instead of starting with investigating the key problems, AI starts with appreciating and discovering the best of 'what is' and the best of 'what was'. This represents the first of the four stages of AI, which are discovering, dreaming, designing, and destiny (the 4D model). The discovered 'best moments' serve as the starting point of dreaming about 'what might be'. The design of the dream and the role, destiny, of the individual in achieving the dream represent the last two stages (Cooperrider, Whitney, & others, 2001).

Michael (2005) used AI as a stand-alone interview technique instead of a research tool for organizational change. The focus of the interviews was on the best of 'what is' and the best of 'what was', which is the discovering stage. In order to collect data, AI makes use of storytelling as a method of discovery in an appreciative way. The experience of Michael (2005) of appreciative interviews was that interviewees were eager to tell their stories, offered dynamic

and unrehearsed information, and spoke openly. Moreover, interviewees enjoyed the interview and were therefore willing to spend more time on the interview than anticipated. Interviewees shared their weaknesses and shortcomings, because they did not feel the need to defend themselves. Michael focused only on the discovering stage of AI in the interviews, but automatically interviewees tended to move to the dreaming stage. Appreciative interviewing could be used for all four stages of AI (Michael, 2005).

The whole research took was conducted in Dutch. The five steps of this research are described in the following sections.

5.1. Preliminary steps

Three preliminary steps were necessary before the data collection could take place. These were updating a database of the Center for Media and Health on the VMBO schools in Rotterdam, filming several micro-behaviors, and selecting the setting.

5.1.1. UPDATE DATABASE VMBO SCHOOLS

The Center for Media and Health had a database of all the VMBO schools in Rotterdam that originated from 2012. It consisted of the names of the 52 VMBO schools in Rotterdam and surrounding villages anno 2008 and the average SDQ-score of each school based on the mean of the SDQ-scores of 2009/10 and 2010/11. In order to update the database, all VMBO schools that were shut down were deleted from the database, which resulted in a remaining of 39 VMBO schools. Data were added about the amount of students, the location of the school, the social index score, and the percentage of immigrants. The website www.scholenopdekaart.nl, which is an initiative of the *PO-Raad* (primary education board), *VO-Raad* (secondary education board), and the Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science, provided the numbers on the amount of students per school in the school year 2014/15. The address of the school and Google Maps were used to determine in which district and in which neighborhood the school is located. With this information and a publicly available report 'Rotterdam sociaal gemeten' of 2012, the social index scores were determined. A report of the municipality of Rotterdam provided an overview of the percentages of immigrants at all secondary schools in Rotterdam of the school year 2010/11.

5.1.2. FILMING MICRO-BEHAVIORS

Video recordings were made of selected micro-behaviors at the positive deviant schools with the people who perform the micro-behaviors regularly. All micro-behaviors of the final report of the Center for Media and Health were analyzed on their potential to visualize it and the additional value of a video compared to a story or a picture. Eventually, in consultation with the researchers of the Center for Media and Health, 14 of the 45 micro-behaviors of Lucia Petrus were selected, nine out of the 33 of Mavo Delfshaven, and ten out of the 22 of Libanon Lyceum.

Instructions for the film shots were created, which were based on the written description of the micro-behaviors and additional oral explanations of the researchers at the Center for Media and Health (Appendix 1). In practice, practicalities on site restricted the recording of several micro-

behaviors. In total, ten micro-behaviors were visualized at Lucia Petrus, seven at Mavo Delfshaven, and five at Libanon Lyceum. Some of these shots were directly edited into five short clips, covering each one positive deviant micro-behavior in order to use during the workshop and the interviews.

5.1.3. SETTING

The setting is similar as the setting of the previous Positive Deviance research of the Center for Media and Health. For the workshop, the widest range of appropriate community members was invited. Schools from the updated database received an invitation for the workshop, based on the following criteria:

- (1) not a Positive Deviant school,
- (2) with a VMBO-B and VMBO-T level,
- (3) with more than 150 VMBO students, and
- (4) located in a deprived district in Rotterdam.

Out of the 39 schools in the updated database, 15 met these four criteria (see Appendix 2). In table 5.1, an overview is presented of the characteristics of these schools and their participation in the research. For the interviews, there were two additional criteria. It had to be a school:

- (5) with minimal 50 percent of the students from a minority immigrant group, and
- (6) with an SDQ-score above ten.

Of the 15 schools invited for the workshop, 11 met the additional two criteria and were therefore approached for the interviews (see Appendix 3).

5.2. Workshop

In total 18 schools were invited for the workshop; the 15 schools who were selected based on the criteria mentioned above plus the three positive deviant schools. A personalized invitation was send to the general email address of each school and to the email address of the director. This resulted in eight subscriptions, which represented the three positive deviant schools and four non-positive deviant schools. All eleven non-responsive schools were called for confirmation and interest. This did not result in extra subscriptions. Based on the responses, several lessons were learned. First, scheduling a meeting for different schools on a fixed date and time is impossible on the short term. Second, schools already receive many research requests from Master students and school directors do not take an invitation from an internship email address seriously. Third, getting in contact with a school director is difficult and fourth, people who are interested in the topic are more willing to find an opening in their agenda.

Based on these lessons, another strategy to contact the schools followed. The director of the Center for Media and Health sent all school directors a personal reminder directly. In addition, the care coordinators and school social workers of all yet unregistered schools received a personal invitation at their own email address. After a couple of days, phone calls were made to check if they were interested in the workshop and/or in hearing more about the microbehaviors. Contact was established with six people of whom four were interested but not able to come to the workshop.

Table 5.1 - Overview characteristics schools and participation in research

	Amount of VMBO students 2014/15 ¹	Percentage of immigrant students 2010/11 ²	Social Index (SI) 2012 of the neighborhood ³	SDQ score ⁴	Interest in micro- behaviors	Participation Workshop	Participation interview	Participation questionnaire
Calvijn Lombardijen	346	82.9	5.5	6.00	no	-	-	-
Scheepsvaart- en Transportcollege	748	53.1	5.1	8.00	no	-	-	-
Palmentuin	242	87.1	5.7	4.00	yes	no	-	-
Zuiderpark	879	n.a.	5.2	21.00	yes	no	-	-
GK van Hogendorp	278	96.4	4.6	11.00	yes	yes	yes	yes
Grafisch Lyceum Rotterdam	517	50.2	5.2	17.50	yes	no	no	-
Carré College	473	97.8	5.2	11.00	yes	no	yes	yes
Slinge	310	92.8	5.0	16.00	yes	no	no	-
Sint-Montfort	264	95.8	5.2	11.00	yes	no	yes	yes
Veenoord	261	86.3	5.7	18.00	yes	no	no	-
De Waal	208	87.7	4.9	14.50	yes	yes	yes	no
Calvijn Juliana	407	79	4.9	14.00	no	-	-	-
Wolfert College	524	97.5	5.2	10.50	yes	no	yes	yes
osg Hugo de Groot	318	94	4.9	15.00	yes	yes	yes	yes
Calvijn Maarten Luther	320	93.8	4.5	11.00	yes	no	yes	yes
Mavo Delfshaven	143	97.8	5.1	8.00	yes	yes	-	yes
Libanon Lyceum	462	73.6	5.4	9.00	yes	yes	-	yes
Lucia Petrus Mavo	369	99	5.5	10.00	yes	no	-	-

¹derived from <u>www.scholenopdekaart.nl</u>

⁴received from the municipal health service Rotterdam Rijnmond. The SDQ score indicates the score on the Strength and Difficulty Questionnaire (SDQ) of the Youth Monitor. The SDQ measures the presence of psychosocial problems, the strong characteristics of the adolescent, and the influence of psychosocial problems on daily functioning. The SDQ score can vary between zero and 40; the lower the score, the better (Stinissen, n.d.)

School meeting only first four criteria
School meeting all six criteria
Positive deviant school

²retrieved from the municipality of Rotterdam

³derived from the report 'Gemeente sociaal gemeten' (2012).

Despite the efforts, the subscriptions for the workshop remained at eight. Eventually, four people attended the workshop, since two people cancelled their subscription at the day of the workshop and another two did not show up (see Appendix 4).

The workshop took place on April 16, 2015 in the *'Nieuw Rotterdams Café'* in Rotterdam and started at 17.00h. The entire workshop lasted 87 minutes, of which 51 minutes were used for the focus group, and this was fully recorded. The workshop started with a short introduction (by the director of the Center for Media and Health) about positive deviance and the research of the Center for Media and Health, followed by a presentation (by a researcher of the Center for Media and Health) of a selection of the micro-behaviors. The positive deviant schools got the opportunity to share their experiences with the non-PD schools. The clips of the micro-behaviors were the starting-point for a discussion about the opportunities, possibilities, adoptability, acceptability, and sustainability of the micro-behaviors.

5.3. Interviews

The recruitment for the interviews was conducted via four groups, namely (1) among the people who cancelled the workshop, (2) the care coordinators and schools social workers who were interested on the phone, (3) school employees who had been interested in the Center for Media and Health research before, and (4) employees of the director of one of the positive deviant schools who is also director of two other schools (see Appendix 5.1). This resulted in 27 people who all received a personal invitation by email for the interview. In case of non-response, a reminder was send and a phone called was made. Eventually, seven people were interviewed (see Appendix 5.2).

The interviews were scheduled for 60 minutes at the school of the interviewee and were fully recorded. In practice, the interviews ranged between 40 and 75 minutes. The shorter interviews did not encompass the presentation of the micro-behaviors, since the interviewees had already attended a presentation about them.

The interviews had the same outline as the workshops. They started with a short introduction about the current and previous research of the Center for Media and Health followed by the PowerPoint workshop-presentation of the micro-behaviors, while in the meantime asking the participant about his or her thoughts. Thereafter, more in-depth questions about the opportunities, possibilities, adoptability, acceptability, and sustainability of the micro-behaviors and the willingness to conduct the micro-behaviors at their own school were asked. Which questions were asked, how they were formulated, or in what sequence was all determined during each interview based on the responses of the respondent. A list of topics/questions was designed based on research questions (Appendix 5.3). The results of the workshop and (if applicable) the results of the previous interview(s) were used during the interview to illustrate how the micro-behavior can be put into practice or to ask deeper questions about specified topics. This is an iterative process (Ebrahim & Bowling, 2005).

5.4. QUESTIONNAIRE

All respondents of the workshop and the interviews were asked to fill in an online questionnaire about the micro-behaviors found in the research of the Center for Media and Health to explore all micro-behaviors briefly. They received an email with a direct link to the SurveyMonkey

questionnaire. Reminders were send to the non-responders. In total, eight out of eleven filled in the questionnaire, of which five were complete (see Appendix 6.1).

In the questionnaire, for each micro-behavior, the first question was if the micro-behavior was currently performed at the school. If yes, the respondent continued with the next micro-behavior. If not, the respondent was asked if he/she thinks that it is possible to perform the micro-behavior at the school or not, followed by a question about if the respondent wants to perform the micro-behavior him or herself and/or wants to stimulate the use of the micro-behavior within the school (see Appendix 6.2). In total, depending on the responses, respondents needed to fill in between 72 and 216 questions. The questionnaire was expected to take 15 minutes, but the respondents took between ten and 31 minutes to fill it in.

5.5. DATA ANALYSES

The questionnaire was analyzed through an output of Survey Monkey including a merged overview of the answers of all respondents. With the use of color marks, the micro-behaviors were categorized with an indication of innovativeness, feasibility, and willingness to stimulate. These categories guided the results of the questionnaire.

Both the workshop and the interviews were recorded. The recordings of the workshop-presentation were used to prepare for the interviews. The focus group and the interviews were transcribed verbally. Coding was used to analyze the data by using the program Atlas.ti. First, deductive coding was used to analyze and code the transcripts. These deductive codes were based on (the premises of) the Positive Deviance approach (see Appendix 7.1).

After deductive coding, inductive coding was used to add new codes. In general, the inductive codes were specifications of the deductive codes, but some inductive codes reflect new topics that arose during the focus group or the interviews. A code network illustrates the relations between the codes and the division between deductive codes and inductive codes (see Appendix 7.2). The deductive and inductive codes structured the results about the focus group and interviews. In the result section, quotes from the focus group are displayed with a (F) and from the interviews with a (I). An overview of the original Dutch quotes is provided in Appendix 9.

6. RESULTS

In this chapter, an overview is presented of the findings of the three methodologies used, namely the focus group, the interviews, and the questionnaires. This chapter begins with an overview of the respondents and the discussed micro-behaviors. Of these micro-behaviors, first, factors influencing the feasibility and acceptability of the micro-behaviors are presented and second, factors related to the sustainability are presented. Finally, there is a general overview of the perception of the innovativeness, feasibility, and acceptability of all micro-behavior.

6.1. RESPONDENTS

In total, there were eleven respondents; four workshop-participations, seven interviewees, and nine filled-out questionnaires (see table 6.1). The respondents worked at 17 different schools in Rotterdam. Their functions were divers and spread over the management, the care team, and the teaching staff.

Table 6.1 - Overview of respondents	Table 6.1	- Overview	of respon	dents
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#	School	Gender	Function	Workshop or interview	Questionnaire
1	Libanon Lyceum	Female	Team leader VMBO	workshop	yes
2	Mavo Delfshaven	Male	Team leader	workshop	yes
3	Mavo Delfshaven, GK van Hogendorp, De Waal	Female	Director	workshop	no
4	OSG Hugo de Groot, (and Olympia College, Rotterdams Vakcollege de Hef, Einstein College)	Male	Board member	workshop	yes
5	OSG Hugo de Groot	Female	Board member	interview	yes
6	De Waal	Female	Team leader	interview	no
7	GK van Hogendorp	Male	Team leader	interview	yes
8	Carré College (and Toorop Mavo)	Female	Care coordinator	interview	yes
9	Sint-Montfort	Female	School social worker	interview	yes
10	Calvijn Maarten Luther	Female	Teacher	interview	yes
11	Wolfert College (and Wolfert ISK, Wolfert two languages)	Male	Care coordinator / school social worker	interview	yes

The reactions of the respondents on the micro-behaviors differed per function. There were differences between the answers of respondents from the management team, respondents from the care team, and the teacher. All emphasized the responsibilities of others and the dependency on the qualities and cooperation of others. In addition, the difference in the answers of respondents who heard about the micro-behaviors for the first time and who had heard about the micro-behaviors six months ago gave an indication about the gap between intention and action.

6.2. DISCUSSED MICRO-BEHAVIORS

Fifteen micro-behaviors were discussed with all respondents, based on the underlying topic(s) of the micro-behaviors (see table 6.2). Videos illustrating the micro-behaviors alternated with pictures. When a respondent was enthusiastic about targeting a topic and was interested in

hearing more opportunities to work on a certain topic, the topic was further elaborated with a topic-related micro-behavior or a new innovative behavior proposed earlier in the data collection. The results on the factors influencing the acceptability, feasibility, and sustainability are related to these fifteen micro-behaviors.

Table 6.2 - Overview discussed micro-behaviors

Topic	Micro-behavior(s)	Material
Greeting	(1) 'The teacher welcomes all students personally at the entrance of the classroom' (for example with a handshake)(2) 'The concierge welcomes all students at the entrance each morning'	Video
Emphasize on positive	(3) 'A socio-index maps the positive and negative relationships of a student'	Picture
Compliments	(4) 'The parents are contacted (also) with positive results and accomplishments'	Video
Respect for cultural differences	(5) 'Islamic students are allowed to celebrate Islamic holidays at home'(6) 'On Islamic holidays, special activities are organized for non-Islamic students'	Explanation
Congratulations	(7) 'All students receive a birthday card'(8) 'All birthday boys and girls are listed on the electronic board'	Picture
Personal approach and self- responsibility	(9) 'A photo poster is used to remember the names of the students' (10) 'The team leader knows (almost) all students by name' (11) 'Students are asked to keep track of their small violations on a (public) photo poster'	Video
Language stimulation	(12) 'An own binder system improves the use of the language posters. There is someone specifically responsible for the task to rotate the posters'	Picture
Create positive atmosphere	(13) 'Some classroom really have a living room atmosphere'	Video
Contact with parents	(14) 'Special mother-mornings are organized'	Picture
Contact with former students	(15) 'In the hallway, portraits are hanging of successful former students. These provide inspiration for current students on what they can achieve with their education'	Video

6.3. FACTORS INFLUENCING FEASIBILITY AND ACCEPTABILITY

The selected micro-behaviors were discussed during the focus group and the interviews (see table 6.2). In general, respondents reacted positive after hearing about these micro-behaviors for the first time. First reactions were often 'o yes, nice', 'what a great idea' or 'fantastic' or respondents reacted by saying 'check' or 'yes, we do that as well'.

If and why it would be feasible to implement the micro-behaviors differed per respondent. Overall, the expectations were that the micro-behaviors did not require much training, had a low threshold, were not complicated, and did not require much effort. In addition, the micro-behaviors were not seen as expensive or difficult to implement. As a general description, the micro-behaviors were defined as small things, basic even, which could have a big effect. Respondents mentioned that they were enthusiastic about investigating the possibilities of the micro-behaviors for their school.

Such small things are so important. I think that if you can bring it back to such basic behavior, that you can achieve a lot.

Board member (F)

However, the 'problems' that micro-behaviors should solve were not recognized as being problems by all respondents. For example with micro-behaviors related to dealing with cultural differences, such as that 'Islamic students are allowed to celebrate Islamic holidays at home'. Respondents explained that employees of schools in deprived districts in Rotterdam are used to having students from many different cultural backgrounds. Taking the cultural background of the students into account is not a choice; it is a necessity. Therefore, the micro-behavior is already customary.

Yes, we have to. I find it hard to say, because it is standard here. It is not an exceptional situation; it is standard that they have a different cultural background.

Team leader (I)

During the focus group and the interviews, different factors came up to explain why a microbehavior was feasible or not to implement and why the respondent wanted or did not want to implement the micro-behavior. These were time, money, school culture, support, willingness to change, ability to change, school size, educational level, and classroom usage.

6.3.1. TIME

Implementing a new micro-behavior takes time, according to the respondents. Taking the initiative to implement a new way of working, a new habit, or a new tradition, would be too time consuming in combination with the current workload. If change is desired, time should be made available to implement a micro-behavior. After the starting-up phase, the micro-behaviors will become less time-consuming.

You get more and more feeling with it along the way and then it will cost less time. In the beginning, it is really exploring, but I notice now that things get done much quicker.

Team leader (I)

Still, even after implementation, respondents expected time to be a risk factor for several microbehaviors, for example *'calling parents with positive news'*. As one of the respondents stated:

You need lots of time to do so. If you call [name of the student], you should make a note that you did that and you should do it for the other 29 students as well, because everyone does something positive sometimes.

School social worker (I)

In the current work schedule, there is not enough time reserved for each student to fit in positive calls to the parents, according to the respondents. The mentor has a fixed amount of hours per student every week. This amount of time is, according to a school social worker, "really nothing". Therefore, if people want to do it, it is only possible in their own time.

6.3.2. MONEY

A lack of money is a problem of many of the schools, even for small investments. For example, 'sending birthday cards to all the students' costs a small amount of money per student. However, as a counselor remarked, the budget needed to send 1700 students a birthday card would be still quite high. Currently, many schools have to deal with budget cuts, which influence their current way of working and the possibilities for the micro-behaviors. In addition, budget cuts can have an impact on the requirements to execute certain micro-behaviors. For example, at one school, the budget for school photographer was cut down. This resulted in the absence of pictures in the student monitoring system, which made it (practically) impossible to learn the students by name.

"It is indispensable, a picture book. Otherwise you do not know who you are talking about and you cannot share your experiences [of that student]".

Care coordinator (I)

6.3.3. SCHOOL CULTURE

Not all micro-behaviors suited each school, according to the respondents. Each school has its own school culture and the respondents emphasized the importance of this for the possibilities of the micro-behaviors. As one of the respondents mentioned, "Not everything fits in the culture of your own school. Schools are so different, it is unbelievable." A respondent illustrated a difference between school cultures:

You hear stories of certain schools where the room of the board is always closed, but I hate that. My door is always open, except of course when I am in a meeting. You should always be accessible for the students.

Team leader (F)

Another example is that some respondents emphasized that their school has an efficient clinical learning environment, while others favored a domestic, sociable learning environment. What exactly determines the school culture is something that respondents could not explain exactly. During the focus group and the interviews, two aspects of the school culture came up, which are orientation and vision.

Orientation

The orientation of the school indicates the difference between a public school and a religious oriented school. A respondent of a public school explained her thoughts on why another school does not allow headscarves within their school:

We are a public school, so we think that everyone should get along with each other. Whether he is black or green, yellow or purple, I do not care. And I am sure that they think that as well. However, they have a Catholic background and that certainly makes a difference. Maybe that is where it comes from, you obviously will get Catholic education.

Team leader (F)

Vision

The vision on how a school should be organized differed between the schools. For example, at one school, a board member emphasized the importance of the background of the director for the present school policy. Hence, their director went to secondary education in the United Kingdom where rewarding students for academic and social accomplishments is very common. This approach was now integrated in his school. While at another school, the focus was on enterprising, which is integrated in all aspects of the school. For example, students are connected with the industry to learn qualities in practice.

Another team leader emphasized the new possibilities with a new director after there had been the same director for 29 years. For this specific school, a new director implied new possibilities and changes in de school culture. However, not all respondents were positive about a switch in the board:

There have been so many different boards and then there is a new director. And he says: 'Come let's go this way, and everyone follows'. And then the next one comes, and says 'No, we are going that way'. And that happened nine times in the period that I work here, and that is 15 years.

School social worker (I)

In addition, micro-behaviors cannot be in line with view on where education should focus on. For example the *'language posters'* focus on increasing vocabulary. However, a board member stated:

I think that they focus more on the development of vocabulary and here the focus is really on reading.

Board member (I)

She also emphasized that 'organizing mother mornings' was deliberately not part of their policy, because it has no educational purpose in their point of view.

6.3.4. SUPPORT

Implementing a micro-behavior might not depend on one person, but on two or even more. Inspired by the micro-behavior of 'sending birthday cards' and 'displaying YouTube clips', a teacher pointed out that she wanted to congratulate her students via a projection on the screen, but she could not do that herself. "So I have to give someone else the task to do it. Of which I think,

is that not too much to ask? Than he has to keep that in mind too." Therefore, she highlighted that it is important that you are not the only person working on implementing the micro-behavior. Respondents emphasized the importance of people being reminded to do what they intend to do. Therefore, it is important to have a team working towards the same goal.

Every teacher, no every staff member, should feel responsible for the well-being of all in the school and in the building.

Team leader (F)

In addition, the management should give the right example, as one of the respondents highlighted: "I think that it is an investment that starts with the board" (school social worker (I)).

However, different respondents emphasized that accomplishing change would be difficult within their school. It is difficult to establish a team that works towards the same goal(s), since employees come and go.

It is searching here, it does not sound so nice, but the change of employees is quite high here. When you have found someone who would like to do that and then the next year he or she no longer works here. And the management is also, not totally, quite new. There is a new director again, the third one in a year. I do hope that this is the last one for some time, but this makes it is also difficult to discuss things.

School social worker (I)

Working towards a goal is also determined by the vision of the school. For these reasons, when the goal is to accomplish change, it is important to have a clear vision as a school and to have employees who embody that specific vision. According to two respondents, this is all taken into account when hiring a new employee. Employees are specifically selected to fit the culture of the school. As a response to the question if they had a team that was supportive of the new vision, one of the respondents answered: "Yes and I think that it is necessary. Otherwise it will probably not work." However, it is not easy to have all employees to support the same vision.

We are still busy with getting the teachers all there [to the same vision]. We have hired a group now who feels the same way. So you will see, we are going towards two-third who lives our vision and we started with around one-third. And they thought well once in a while we will do something, but now we are making increasingly stricter demands.

Team leader (I)

A lack of support of the whole staff can even result in nullifying the positive effect of a microbehavior, which was illustrated by one of the respondents.

It could be that you have to look out for other teachers, because they often say 'I saw in Magister that you helped [name of the teacher] with the art class', for example, 'but now you messed up again'.

Care coordinator (I)

6.3.5. WILLINGNESS TO CHANGE

The willingness of people to make a change and to introduce micro-behaviors is an important factor to come to change. In general, respondents expected that teachers do not have the intention to change their behavior and trying to do so is a big challenge.

Teachers are pig-headed. They do their job right, their subject is fun, and I, as a school social worker, should not interfere with that.

School social worker (1)

There should also be a dedication to make the change happen and to keep it going. As a care coordinator stated:

It might sound a little bit lousy, but every little project, initiative, or something needs someone who feels responsible for it. How do you accomplish that?

Care coordinator (I)

As an example 'sending postcards', it is a little effort to go to the mailbox every morning to post birthday cards. However, someone has to feel responsible to do it, because otherwise the initiative will fail.

6.3.6. ABILITY TO CHANGE

The implementation of micro-behaviors requires (small) adjustments in the way of working. According to the respondents, many micro-behaviors require to look at a situation from a different perspective. For example, in order to give a student a compliment, a person has to notice a positive achievement of the student.

You have to put on those glasses, because, for some students, it is hard to find something positive. Then you think: 'I know more things that do not go well'.

Care coordinator (I)

For some people, it costs more effort to change their perspective than for others. A school social worker emphasized that it would not be difficult for her, because it will not be a trick for her. However, she expected that it would be difficult for many teachers, because they are themselves not mentally strong enough to make the change.

I just notice that teachers are a bit tired or are at home with a burn-out. They try to keep their head above the water, but therefore they have less attention for the students. They are happy when they can just keep up with the classes.

School social worker (I)

An additional effort would be too much to handle for a big group of teachers. For teachers who have been teaching for a long time, change becomes even more difficult. Habits are more difficult to change. In addition, as one of the respondents said, "Especially in the beginning, people are scared to change."

6.3.7. SCHOOL SIZE

Personal attention is an important characteristic of many of the micro-behaviors. The ability to give personal attention to the students is amongst others determined by the amount of students to divide the attention over. For example, as a team leader knowing all the names of the students is possible in a small school, because the employees and students see each other every day. However, knowing all the names of 600 or maybe even 1700 students is unrealistic, according to respondents of bigger schools. However, during the focus group, one of the positive deviant schools provided a solution. "You can work in a big school with smaller units", as stated by the director of one of the positive deviants schools.

6.3.8. EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

Of the participating schools, not all were exclusively VMBO schools and, according to the respondents, not all micro-behaviors are suitable for a non-exclusive VMBO school. For example, according to a board member, decorating a classroom with Muppets would not work for HAVO or VWO students. When communicating about micro-behaviors, it is important that schools with the same educational background share their thoughts and experiences.

You are always dealing with your [educational] level, because you look at more than Rotterdam. Different levels of VMBO schools could talk with each other, and HAVO schools or HAVO VWO.

Teacher (I)

6.3.9. LOCATION

All of the participating schools are located in Rotterdam. Several respondents explicitly mentioned the importance of the positive deviant schools being in the same area.

Yes Rotterdam, because you are all situated in the same area. All have the same kind of students. So that yes, then you have the most similarities and that is important.

Teacher (I)

In addition, one of the respondents emphasized that Rotterdam is a good location to test the possibilities of the micro-behaviors, because "If it works in Rotterdam, it works everywhere. It is not the other way around" (Care coordinator (I)).

6.3.10. CLASSROOM USAGE

The classroom setting influence the feasibility of several micro-behaviors. For example, to be able to 'welcome students at the entrance of the classroom at the beginning of each class', the teacher should be in the classroom when the students enter the room. However, different respondents stated that not teachers, but students have their own classroom. Therefore, the teacher comes to the students instead of the students to the teacher, which makes it impossible to welcome the students at the entrance of the classroom. In addition, if students do have to switch rooms, it does not guarantee that the teacher is already in the classroom when the students enter the room. Some respondents mentioned that both the teacher and the students switch classrooms. Therefore, it could be that the teacher arrives at the classroom first, but it could also be the students. In all interviews, it was mentioned that at least not all teachers have their own room.

This has also implications for a micro-behavior as 'decorating the classroom', which is not possible when teachers do not have their own rooms. Another option is that a classroom is decorated to support the content of the course, but that requires that the classroom is always used for the same course. However, respondents mentioned that this does not apply for most of the classrooms in the schools. If students have their own classroom, students can decorate the classroom. However, this could create classrooms that do not support the teacher in his or her teaching or it could distract students.

6.3.11. Effects of the micro-behaviors

The micro-behaviors aim for increasing the (psychological) well-being of students, while not harming the (psychological) well-being of others. However, according to one of the respondents, what works for one student or teacher does not have to work for another. Of the micro-behaviors discussed during the workshop and the interviews, respondents for example expected that not all students and or teachers would appreciate 'decorating the classroom'. Respondents emphasize that some students and teachers need a working environment that is quiet, clinical, structured, and organized.

Overall, the respondents expected the micro-behaviors to have a positive effect. For example 'greeting students at the entrance of the school each morning' has, according to different respondents, even a two-folded effect.

Of course, you detect and you see students. They are seen, heard, and acknowledged. Besides that, you quite literally indicate the difference between the street and the school. [...] Purely standing there at the entrance at the door, greeting the students and looking them in the eye, that is also a signal. You were just on the street, but now you are at school and different rules apply.

Director (F)

Besides a micro-behavior specific effect, two general positive effects came up during the focus group and the interviews, namely increasing personal recognition and better preparing student for the future.

Personal recognition

The respondents value the fact that the micro-behaviors generate personal recognition with a small effort. As a teacher stated, "It is just something that changes ordinary into a bit more interaction with the student, just a bit more contact" (teacher (1)). Respondents expect that the student will feel that they are seen.

I can really imagine that you feel personally approached as a student. As in 'You matter, it matters that you are at our school'. And we do not know that, of course we know who you are, but we do not know who you really are.

Care coordinator (I)

Another respondent underlines this:

You are more than a student. You are a human being who experiences a little bit of everything and school is not always, it is important, but it is not the most important thing.

School social worker (I)

Preparing for the future

As many respondents underline, the students mostly come from a deprived position. Therefore, the school should be a place to prepare students for their future and assist them in their development.

They often have a kind of disadvantage. We call them 'late bloomers'. These are students, who just need to commence.

Team leader (I)

The micro-behaviors contribute to creating a positive climate in the school. As a director during the focus group said, "It helps to establish a positive climate in the school, which stimulates students to learn better." Besides stimulating learning, the micro-behaviors also teach students certain customs necessary for good functioning in society. For example through wearing a uniform when representing their school, students learn about the difference a uniform can make.

They wear parts of their uniform to be a unit in order to give them an impression of the business world and to increase their chances. [...] And also really to know how to dress for certain occasion, to know that you have more chances when you look neat.

Team leader (I)

6.4. FACTORS INFLUENCING SUSTAINABILITY

Achieving sustainable implementation of the micro-behaviors within the school is a challenge. One of the concerns was that a micro-behavior would disappear when the initiator leaves the school.

A couple of times, there are pieces of interviews and then it states this teacher does this. And then I think 'to what extent does something like that disappear when a teacher goes to another school?'. The question is 'how do you secure it for your own organization that it becomes common practice of all teachers?'

Board member (F)

Other concerns were that it is difficult to inform and motivate all employees that people just forget about the micro-behaviors, and that people need inspiration of the experiences of others with the micro-behaviors. The opportunities for achieving sustainable implementation of the micro-behaviors are embedding in the vision, exchanging thoughts and experiences, and visualization.

On the other hand, respondents emphasized that the implementation is not only successful when all micro-behaviors are implemented, but "If you only incorporate two of the ten things, then that is already a bonus" (counselor (1)).

6.4.1. EMBEDDING IN THE VISION

In order to prevent a micro-behavior from disappearing after the initiator or enthusiast leaves the school, it is important that the micro-behavior becomes part of the school culture.

It has to be interwoven with your school. It should get in your roots. [...] So it should not stick with the teachers, but it should become part of your school culture.

Director (F)

In order to achieve this, it is important that not only one person knows about the microbehaviors or that only one person is enthusiastic about them. The micro-behaviors should be disseminated within the school. However, a common mentioned barrier was the current overload of workshops, trainings sessions, and presentations. Since the micro-behaviors are small and easy to implement, different respondents emphasize the importance of dissemination through informal contact.

I think that this can be something to talk about in the corridor. If you would give a presentation, you would be the next one. You would be number 99. Then it is like what do we have to do now?

Care coordinator (I)

However, the two interviewees who attended the presentation confessed that they had not done this even though they were very enthusiastic about the micro-behavior. The micro-behaviors never came up in a conversation with someone else. It was not because they are not interested, but because new things pop up constantly. If not reminded frequently, thinking about the micro-behaviors and implementing them will be overshadowed by other things. A follow-up meeting, including some reminders in the meantime, would have helped him to put the micro-behaviors in practice.

6.4.2. EXCHANGING THOUGHTS AND EXPERIENCES

According to several respondents, exchanging thoughts and experiences with colleagues from other schools is a desired way to disseminate (the ideas of) the micro-behaviors and to stimulate the implementation of micro-behaviors.

Both interviewees who have attended a presentation about the micro-behaviors emphasized the value of exchanging thoughts and experiences with colleagues from other schools.

Afterwards, we talked with each other. Just with someone that you did not know about: 'I want to do this. Do you do that at your school? And how do you do that?' Then you are exchanging information and that is a good thing to do.

Teacher (I)

A reoccurring meeting, for example every six months, would stimulate the respondents to take action and give them the external motivation to act.

Maybe it forces a bit more to action. If you know that, a meeting is coming up and you know that they will ask 'what did you do with it?' Then, you know, that works. You have an external motivation and people will really do something. I would do it, for me it would definitely work.

Counselor (I)

Force should not be interpreted in a negative sense, but as a way to stimulate people to keep talking about it with each other.

Thoughts about who to bring together and how were divers. One of the suggestions was bringing all schools within the overarching board CVO together. After considering this idea, the respondent mentions the importance of taking the location of the school, the level of the students and the school size into account. She was undecided about whether combining schools

with different educational backgrounds and or different sizes together is valuable or not. Another respondent is clear about his preference; he would prefer to have a mixed composition of schools.

I learn a lot from these [the differences between the two schools that he works at] differences. You can reinforce each other as being the same type of schools. However, it is also very informative to learn from a completely different school or you could hear what they do and decide that it is nothing for you. So, you learn from diversity.

Counselor (I)

An essential uniform aspect is the location of the school, namely in or near Rotterdam. As one of the respondents formulates it 'In Rotterdam, because you are all located in the same region. You all have the same kind of students.' Even if schools would be located in a similar region and with a similar kind of students in a different region, it would make exchanging experiences more challenging. Since, the importance of face-to-face contact is underlined by several respondents.

The director and team leader of one of the positive deviant schools is enthusiastic about being the driving force behind spreading the ideas of micro-behaviors through meetings.

I would love to come talk somewhere about how it works, because I extremely believe in it and [name of team leader] with me.

Director (F)

Organizing a meeting to bring people together from different schools at one specific moment seems impossible based on the struggles faced during this research. However, according to one of the respondents, it is essential to set a date long in advance.

6.4.3. VISUALIZATION

Forgetting about the micro-behaviors behaviors is a pitfall. Visual micro-behaviors have as an advantage that people will be reminded about it as illustrated by one of the respondents on the portraits of former students.

I can imagine that if you make it so visual through hanging up portraits, that it really stays alive.

Board member (I)

A suggested method to 'visualize' and concretize the micro-behaviors and remind employees of them was by sending (specific) tips to the people interested in the micro-behaviors. One of the suggestions was developing a 'top 10' of specific things that you can do. Every two weeks, every month, or every three months persons who are interested could receive a tip via email, where they can work on for the coming period. At the same time, it is a reminder for the micro-behaviors in general. One of the respondents suggests implementing the tips in a newsletter,

where there is also space for experiences from the field, including photos or videos. An essential aspect for this to be effective is that people read the newsletter. If people will read the newsletter will become apparent from the practice, but as a respondent stated 'Look, you have a big group of people who are interested in the same topic. If you get a newsletter from that field, that is different.' (Councilor (I)).

6.5. GENERAL ASSESSMENT ON ALL MICRO-BEHAVIORS

All the previous results provide information on factors related to the feasibility, acceptability, and sustainability of the micro-behaviors. However, these results were only based on the fifteen discussed micro-behaviors. In addition, the results give no indication on: if a specific micro-behavior is innovative, if it is feasible to implement, and if respondents would stimulate it when it is not customary or implemented yet. The results of the questionnaire provide information on these factors per micro-behavior (see Appendix 8).

Of the 15 discussed micro-behaviors, 13 were surveyed¹ (see table 6.3). Of these 13 micro-behaviors, two were already customary at all the schools (red), three were implemented in all schools but not customary at all the schools yet (light green), and eight were new to at least one school (dark green). Of these eight new micro-behaviors, two of these micro-behaviors were feasible to implement at all the schools (dark blue) and the other six were only feasible to implement at some schools (light blue). Of the 11 micro-behaviors that were at least not customary at one school, there are nine micro-behaviors that at least one respondent intends to stimulate (yellow) and two micro-behaviors that none of the respondents intends to stimulate (orange). There seems to be no relationship between the material used to illustrate a micro-behavior and how respondents scored that micro-behavior.

Table 6.3: Overview of results questionnaire on discussed micro-behaviors

Micro-behavior	Material	Innovativeness	Feasibility	Intention to stimulate
'The teacher welcomes all students personally at the entrance of the classroom' (for example with a handshake)		5/4/0	-	3/1
'The concierge welcomes all students at the entrance each morning'		5/2/2	2/0	1/3
'The parents are contacted (also) with positive results and accomplishments'		5/1/0	-	1/0
'A photo poster is used to remember the names of the students'	Video	5/1/2	2/0	0/3
"The team leader knows (almost) all students by name"		7/0/0	ı	-
'Students are asked to keep track of their small violations on a (public) photo poster'		1/0/5	3/2	0/5
'Some classroom really have a living room atmosphere'		0/6/0	-	2/4
'Islamic students are allowed to celebrate Islamic holidays at home'	Explanation	6/0/0	-	-

¹The first micro-behavior with no survey-data is 'A socio-index maps the positive and negative relationships of a student', which was due to an error in the design of the questionnaire. This resulted in all respondents automatically skipping the questions on this micro-behavior. The second is 'In the hallway, portraits are hanging of successful former students. These provide inspiration for current students on what they can achieve with their education', because the micro-behavior was not included in the questionnaire. The questionnaire is based on the overview of the micro-behaviors in the final report of

the Center for Media and Health. This specific micro-behavior was added afterwards in the specific

rapport of the positive deviant school.

'On Islamic holidays, special activities are organized for non-Islamic students'		2/2/2	1/1	1/3
'All students receive a birthday card'		1/1/4	3/1	3/2
'All birthday boys and girls are listed on the electronic board'		2/0/4	3/1	2/2
'An own binder system improves the use of the language posters. There is someone specifically responsible for the task to rotate the posters'	Picture	0/1/5	3/2	3/3
'Special mother-mornings are organized']	2/1/2	1/1	1/2

Besides thirteen of the discussed micro-behaviors, another 64 micro-behaviors were surveyed. All the surveyed micro-behaviors were a mix of new behaviors and customary behaviors. Whether the micro-behavior was new or customary to a respondent differed. Twelve of the 77 micro-behaviors were already customary at all of the schools. Only one micro-behavior, *'Students receive personal YouTube clips with birthday wishes'*, was new to all of the schools. When a micro-behavior was new, it differed per micro-behavior and per respondents if implementation would be feasible. Of all the 37 micro-behaviors that were new for one or more of the schools, six micro-behaviors were in all cases feasible to implement and seventeen were in none of the cases feasible to implement. For fourteen other micro-behaviors, it differed per school if it was possible to implement the micro-behavior or not.

Respondents intend to stimulate the implementation of nine micro-behaviors at all schools where it was not implemented or customary yet. In addition, respondents intend to stimulate the implementation of 33 micro-behaviors at some of the schools, but not at all. For only five micro-behaviors, none of the respondents intends to stimulate implementation. These were 'The concierge keeps up to date with the soccer league in order to be able to talk with the students.', 'Typical statements in the school enhance the community feeling.', 'All students receive a Christmas card.', 'Students receive personal YouTube clips with birthday wishes.', and 'Students can determine the 'trust level' of the student monitoring system.'

When the implementation of a micro-behavior was feasible in all schools, it was no guarantee that respondents intended to stimulate the implementation. For three micro-behaviors that all respondents agree upon to be feasible to implement at their school, none of the respondents intends to stimulate implementation. These micro-behaviors are 'additional training of the names of the students with a photo poster', 'the teacher uses the same chairs as the students', and 'sending all students a Christmas card'.

Positive Deviance; verifying its premises

7. DISCUSSION

The premises of Positive Deviance central in this research are that positive deviant solutions are *'feasible to adopt', 'acceptable'*, and *'sustainable'*. The purpose of this research is to verify these premises in the dissemination of the positive deviant micro-behaviors to non-positive deviant schools by answering the three research questions:

- (1) What is the perception of non-positive deviant schools on the positive deviant micro-behaviors and do they perceive that they can 'act their way into a new way of thinking'?
- (2) What is the perception of non-positive deviant schools on the principle 'if the positive deviant schools can do it, we can also do it'?
- (3) To what extent do non-positive deviant schools perceive that they have the same resources at their disposal as the positive deviant schools have?

The strengths and the limitations of this research are outlined after the research questions, including recommendations for future research.

7.1. Perception on micro-behaviors and 'act your way into a new way of thinking'

The perception on the micro-behaviors differs per respondent and per micro-behavior. Not all micro-behaviors are suitable for each school or are innovative to each school. Therefore, there is not one general perception about all micro-behaviors, but they can be individually assessed (see Appendix 8). For all micro-behaviors, it is important to keep in mind that what works for one student, teacher, or school does not have to work for another. A micro-behavior intends to stimulate the mental well-being of students, while not harming the mental well-being of other students or teachers. In general, the expectation is that the micro-behaviors have a positive influence on the mental health of the students, especially related to giving them personal recognition and preparing them for the future. Whether a school intends to implement a micro-behavior depends on the recognition of the problem, the investment needed, the vision of the school, and the presence of enthusiastic employees.

Not all schools recognize the specific problems that the micro-behaviors aim at, such as dealing with cultural differences, language deficiency, and negativity. When a problem is not applicable to a school, there is no relevance to implement the related micro-behaviors. The micro-behaviors themselves are assessed as small, basic, inexpensive, and uncomplicated behaviors. However, this is not a guarantee for implementation. Small time and money investments on the personal level can be big investments on the school level. In addition, an uncomplicated micro-behavior in one setting can be complicated in another setting. Factors of influence are the school size, the educational levels within the school, the location of the school, and the use of the classrooms. Each school is also different. The religious orientation of the school and the vision within the school can lead to differences in school policies, priorities, and different perspectives on the micro-behaviors.

However, sometimes only one employee is needed who is willing to change the current way of working and implement the micro-behaviors to enable change, because he or she can be a role model. For a role model, it is possible to demonstrate the micro-behaviors within the school, including the advantages and possibilities. In addition, role models proof that implementing a

micro-behavior is possible with their capabilities, which can give others the confidence to implement the micro-behaviors themselves. In addition, the implementation of a micro-behavior will transfer from an individual act to a common act and will become part of the school culture. Therefore, the act of one individual can change the way of thinking at the school level.

In conclusion, the perception on the micro-behaviors differs per school. Barriers for implementing the micro-behavior(s) can be not recognizing the problems where the micro-behavior are a solution for, the investment needed to implement a micro-behavior, and the school policy and priorities of a school. However, sometimes only one employee is needed who is willing to implement the micro-behavior(s), who can serve as a role model, to enable change and can overcome the rationale barriers. The act of one individual can change the way of thinking at the school level. Therefore, the principle that "you are more likely to act your way into a new way of thinking than to think your way into a new way of acting" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 38) is confirmed.

7.2. Perception on 'if the positive deviant schools can do it, we can also do it'

The assumption is that positive deviant schools serve as role-models for non-positive deviant schools, because non-positive deviants observe that "someone just like me is succeeding against all odds with the same resources that are available to me" (Pascale et al., 2010, p. 196). However, none of the participating schools is currently failing, since all of them have a SDQ score between ten and 16. Therefore, in this research, it is more about "someone just like me is **exceptionally** succeeding against all odds with the same resources that are available to me".

Non-positive deviant schools are interested in hearing from the positive deviant schools what their experiences are with the micro-behaviors and how they implemented them. In addition, non-positive deviant schools would like to share their experiences with their own microbehaviors, since everyone can learn from each other and inspire each other with their similarities and differences. Besides discussing the micro-behaviors, there is a willingness to share thoughts and experiences on new innovative practices and behaviors, since the positive deviant micro-behaviors are not regarded as a fixed set of solutions. At every school, there are innovative practices and behaviors, since each school tries to find or has found solutions for the same problems. Therefore, not only positive deviant schools inspire non-positive deviant schools with their micro-behaviors, but all schools can inspire each other. This underlines the principles of peer education that it is beneficial to those involved and more acceptable than expert-based education. In addition, this confirms that peers are credible sources of information, positive role models, and are more capable of promoting behavior change.

In conclusion, since every school has its own solutions and is willing to share their experiences with others, all schools have to opportunity to learn from each other and to contribute to the solution and broader adoption of the solution. Therefore, non-positive deviant schools not just confirm that 'if the positive deviant schools can do it, we can also do it', but they point out that 'if any school can do it, we can also do it'.

7.3. Perception on equal resources at disposal

The solutions of positive deviants are based on the available resources within the community. All VMBO schools in deprived neighborhoods in Rotterdam have access to the same resources

(e.g. money and training), since these resources are provided by the government. A school can participate in special programs (e.g. *Gezonde school*), including the access to additional resources, which some of the participating schools do. However, all schools are allowed to participate in special programs, but the school has take initiative themselves.

Between the schools, there are important differences in the use of resources, since this is determined by the policies of a school. The school policy and the set priorities influence the available time and money to implement the micro-behaviors. When a micro-behavior is in line with the priorities of a school, there are more resources available for implementation than when the aim of a micro-behavior is not (yet) a priority. However, the allocations of resources are not fixed; they can be adjusted when there is a willingness to change. Some factors influencing the possibilities for implementation are fixed, such as the school size, the educational levels, and the location of the school. However, they do not lead automatically to the impossibility to implement a micro-behavior. There are always alternative options, such as working with small units in a bigger school to overcome the problem of differences in school size.

In conclusion, schools do not use their available resources the same way. However, this does not have to limit implementation. If it does limit implementation, relocation of resources is an option, since schools initially have the same resources at their disposal. Based on the results of this study, it is not possible to draw conclusions about the perception of the respondents on having the same resources as the positive deviants. However, respondents never indicated that the micro-behaviors required resources where only the positive deviants have access to.

7.4. STRENGTHS, LIMITATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This research is as far as it is known the first research to verify the premises of Positive Deviance. Therefore, it is not possible to compare the strengths and limitations of this research with other studies. However, the used research methods are not solely used in Positive Deviance research, but for example also in action research. Therefore, strengths and limitations related to the methodology can be compared with other studies.

Another unique aspect of this research is the use of video material to illustrate the microbehaviors, which is an imaginative approach to let the non-positive deviants observe the microbehaviors. As far as it is known, using a video to illustrate micro-behaviors has only been done once before in Positive Deviance research (Buscell, 2008a). The current research, the videos were shot in their natural environment. During the interviews, a micro-behavior illustrated with a video required less explanation than a micro-behavior illustrated with a picture or a story. It is uncertain if this effect is related to the micro-behavior or to the video, because the recorded micro-behaviors were chosen based on their potential to be visualized and the additional value of a video compared to a story or picture,

In order to secure the validity, triangulation was used by a combination of the focus group, the interviews, and the questionnaire. The combination of one quantitative method and two qualitative methods enables to compensate for methodological limitations and generates a different input. The questionnaire provides a general overview on how innovative the microbehaviors are, how feasible they are, and if people are willing to stimulate the use of the microbehaviors. The underlying argumentation is investigated in the focus group and the interviews. In the interview, individual perspectives and experiences were investigated and respondents discussed the micro-behaviors with others during the focus group. Respondents have the

opportunity to provide input for the development of a dissemination and implementation program, which decreases the research-theory-practice gap (Whitehead, Taket, & Smith, 2003).

Appreciative interviewing was the technique used for the qualitative data collection. In practice, it was difficult to focus constantly on possibilities and opportunities. Other studies using appreciative interviewing had the same experience (Michael, 2005; Naaldenberg, Vaandrager, Koelen, & Leeuwis, 2012). To guarantee a positive approach, the respondents got enough time to contribute their own positive behaviors and practices, which were confirmed with compliments. Therefore, interviewees got the opportunity to find their own inherent health wisdom (Pascale et al., 2010).

Positive Deviance is the key of this research, also in the methodology. In Positive Deviance research, it is important that positive and non-positive deviants can exchange knowledge and experiences. In this research, this was achieved directly during the focus group and indirectly in the interviews through the iterative process. For future research, role-plays provide the opportunity to practice the micro-behaviors in a safe environment (Nestel & Tierney, 2007). However, establishing a safe environment is time-consuming, but might be possible with reoccurring meetings where people are brought together who have not been connected before. By using already existing means of sharing information and ongoing contact, learning is stimulated (Turner & Shepherd, 1999). In order to use existing means of sharing information, it could be an option to join a relatively new platform in Rotterdam named 'Mental Fitness 2020 (DU: Mentale Fitheid 2020) that focuses on developing in cooperation with the schools a way to include mental resilience in the school curriculum by 2020. The Center for Media & Health will investigate this possibility.

In this research, all employees of the selected schools in Rotterdam were invited to participate in the research to make sure that the widest range of appropriate community members was targeted. However, finding respondents was a challenge. The combination of persistency with the limited contacts with non-positive deviant schools of the Center for Media & Health, the contacts of the positive deviant schools, the efforts of the director of the Center for Media & Health, and an extension of the time for data collection have enabled the researcher to find respondents. Scheduling future Positive Deviance research for at least one or two years might prevent the challenge of finding respondents, since there is sufficient time to establish good relationships. In addition, changing the order of data collection from focus group-interviews-questionnaire to questionnaire-interviews-focus group might be beneficial for future Positive Deviance research, since the community would be more involved in determining which microbehaviors are discussed. The results of the questionnaire will determine the micro-behaviors discussed during the interviews, and contradictions between the interviews will be the starting point for the focus group.

Using triangulation, videos to illustrate the micro-behaviors, and appreciate interviewing are important strengths of this research. Therefore, these methodological aspects should be taken into account in the research design of future research on the premises of Positive Deviance. It is important that there will be more research on the premises of Positive Deviance, because Positive Deviance is a relatively new and promising approach (Dick & Scheffel, 2015). The current research confirms two of the three premises of Positive Deviance, and provides more insight on the third premises. However, these findings cannot be generalized, because they specifically apply to the micro-behaviors found by the Center for Media & Health, in particular

the fifteen discussed micro-behaviors. Verifying the premises in other Positive Deviance researches is necessary. Comparing the results of the different studies enables researchers to draw conclusions on the verification of the premises of Positive Deviance in general. With the verification of the premises, Positive Deviance will have a more in-depth scientific underpinning.

In the context of this research, the factors influencing the feasibility, acceptability, and sustainability of the micro-behaviors relate to the fifteen discussed micro-behaviors. Discussing fifteen other micro-behaviors might have led to additional factors. Therefore, the factors influencing the feasibility, acceptability, and sustainability of the micro-behaviors should not be considered as a fixed list, but as list open for additions. In addition, only the conclusion drawn about 'non-positive deviants having the same resources at their disposal as positive deviants' can change if the factors influencing the feasibility, acceptability, and sustainability of the other 62 micro-behaviors are investigated, because additional required resources can come up. The confirmation that acting your way into a new way of thinking is more likely than thinking your way into a new way of acting will not change, because the presence of employees with a willingness to change can overcome all the other barriers. In addition, the confirmation of 'if the positive deviant schools can do it, we can also do it' will not change, because non-positive deviant schools emphasize that all schools can learn from each others micro-behaviors.

Positive Deviance; verifying its premises

8. Conclusion

The premises of Positive Deviance verified in this research are that positive deviant solutions are 'feasible to adopt', 'acceptable', and 'sustainable'. Positive deviant solutions, the microbehaviors, are feasible and acceptable to implement sustainably through using peer-based learning with employees who have a (strong) willingness to change, because sometimes only one employee is needed to enable change and can overcome the rationale barriers. This is an employee who is willing to implement the micro-behavior(s) and who can serve as a role model. It is crucial to find these employees, the enthusiasts, but it is less relevant whether they are from a positive deviant or a non-positive deviant school. Since all schools can learn from each other. In addition, every school, positive deviant or non-positive deviant, can contribute to a solution and broader adoption of that solution, because every school has its own solutions and is willing to share their experiences with others. Therefore, the micro-behaviors are not a fixed set to generalize to all schools, because every school adds their own solutions and selects microbehaviors that are acceptable and feasible for them. Since, schools do not have the same priorities; they do not use their resources in the same way. However, this does not have to limit implementation, because resources can be relocated. In additions, the enthusiasts serve as positive role models and can inspire employees within their own school. In order to inspire employees at other schools, filming the micro-behaviors is a suitable method, because it is an innovative method to observe the micro-behaviors. In conclusion, one role model can show the possibilities and advantages of the micro-behaviors to verify that a micro-behavior is feasible to adopt and acceptable. In addition, the role model can inspire others to implement a microbehavior. Over time, the micro-behavior will not solely be bounded to the role model, but will become interwoven with the school culture to guarantee sustainable change. Therefore, the premises that positive deviant solutions are 'feasible to adopt', 'acceptable', and 'sustainable' are confirmed.

Positive Deviance; verifying its premises

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX 1: FILM SCRIPTS (DUTCH)

Lucia Petrus Mavo

Er zijn verschillende microgedragingen waar wij graag bewegende beelden van zouden maken. Hieronder staan de betreffende gedragingen/beelden vermeld. Indien van toepassing staat erachter wie deze gedraging tijdens het eerdere "Positieve Uitzondering" onderzoek heeft uitgeoefend en/of benoemd.

Naam docent	Sommige klaslokalen hebben een echte huiskamersfeer	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van de aankleding van het lokaal van [naam] voor het creëren van een sfeerimpressie.
werker	De leerling kan zelf de 'vertrouwelijkheidsniveaus' van Magister bepalen	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van [naam school maatschappelijk werker] en een leerling die bezig zijn met Magister. Dit kan een fictief gesprek zijn.
Naam schoolmaatschappelijk werker	Een sociogram brengt de positieve en negatieve relaties van de leerling in kaart	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van [naam school maatschappelijk werker] die samen met een leerling bezig is met het creëren van een sociogram Dit kan een fictief gesprek zijn.
Naam schoo	In gesprek met de leerling wordt vooral ingegaan op de positieve voorkeuren	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van een gesprek tussen [naam school maatschappelijk werker] en een leerling waarin ingegaan wordt op positieve voorkeuren. Dit kan een fictief gesprek zijn.
Naam drama docent	Dramalessen kunnen zicht bieden op emotionele problemen van leerlingen. De dramadocent vervult daardoor een belangrijke schakel in de vroegsignalering	Graag zouden wij een opname willen maken van een dramales (met eventueel het gebruik van het woord 'navelpiercing') voor het creëren van een sfeerimpressie.
Naam gymdocent	Sommige docenten gebruiken een vragenlijst over de persoonlijke interesses, hobby's en over de thuissituatie van de leerling. De antwoorden geven de docent inzicht in de persoon van de leerling	Graag zouden wij de vragenlijst in beeld brengen waarbij iemand vertelt over hoe de vragenlijst gebruikt wordt.
Naam concierge	Na elke pauze worden vuilnisbakken geleegd; alles wordt voortdurend schoon gehouden	Graag zouden wij in beeld brengen hoe de kantine schoongemaakt wordt na afloop van de pauze.

	Een eigen ringbandsysteem verbetert het gebruik van de taalposters. Er is iemand speciaal belast met de taak de posters te verzorgen/om te draaien	Graag zouden wij een opname maken over de uitleg van het ringbandsysteem en van het omdraaien van de taalposter door [naam conciërge] of een andere docent.			
Naam docent	Persoonlijke digitale felicitaties, youtube- filmpjes en dergelijke versterken het gevoel van de leerling, dat hij/zij belangrijk is	Graag zouden wij een gesprek willen filmen met [naam docent] over zijn keuze voor de youtube-filmpjes.			
Naam	De docent begroet leerlingen persoonlijk in de deuropening van het lokaal	Graag zouden wij een opname maken een docent die zijn leerlingen bij de deur begroet.			
	Naast het geven van complimenten worden vergissingen of fouten positief geformuleerd, om de leerling te stimuleren om het nogmaals te proberen	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van een gesprek met een leerling waarbij vergissingen positief worden geformuleerd. Dit kan tevens een fictief gesprek zijn.			
	Personeel is voor leerlingen ook tijdens pauzes toegankelijk en aanspreekbaar	Graag zouden wij tijdens de pauze een opname maken van een leerling en een docent die een informeel gesprek houden.			
	Deuren van klaslokalen en andere werkruimtes staan open, ook tijdens de les	Graag zouden wij tijdens lestijden een opname maken van de open deuren in de gangen.			
		ig zouden wij een opname maken van leerlingen neer zij het blauwe vest dragen en aan het werk zijn voor hun maatschappelijke stage.			

Mavo Delfshaven

Er zijn verschillende microgedragingen waar wij graag bewegende beelden van zouden maken. Hieronder staan de betreffende gedragingen/beelden vermeld. Indien van toepassing staat erachter wie deze gedraging tijdens het eerdere "Positieve Uitzondering" onderzoek heeft uitgeoefend en/of benoemd.

Naam teamleider	Leerlingen worden met een handdruk of een ander persoonlijk gebaar begroet bij binnenkomst in het lokaal	Graag zouden wij in beeld brengen hoe de leerlingen bij binnenkomst in het lokaal begroet worden.
	De conciërge begroet de leerlingen iedere ochtend bij de ingang en kent ze bij naam	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van [naam conciërge] tijdens het begroeten van de leerlingen in de ochtend.
Naam conciërge	Bij verzuim zonder melding via Magister, wordt er na het eerste lesuur naar huis gebeld	
Na	Medicijnen van een ADHD- leerling worden voor hem bewaard	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van het bewaren van de medicijnen en mogelijk van het uitreiken van de medicijnen aan de betreffende leerling. Dit kan een fictieve scène zijn als er geen leerling is die momenteel medicijnen gebruikt.
Vaam teamleider	De teamleider en de zorgcoördinator kennen alle leerlingen bij naam.	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van [naam teamleider] en/of [naam zorgcoördinator] wanneer ze leerlingen bij naam begroeten.
Naam te		Graag zouden wij een opname maken van hoe de school in contact blijft met veelbezochte winkels in de buurt.
Namen schoolloopbaan- begeleiders	Op de moederochtenden is een Turks en een Marokkaans sprekende schoolloopbaanbegeleider aanwezig om de moeders te helpen met hun taal	Graag zouden wij een kort interview houden met [namen schoolloopbaanbegeleiders] over de moederochtenden.
Naam directeur	Leerlingen die bij bijzondere gelegenheden een taak vervullen, dragen een uniform	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van een leerling tijdens het dragen van het uniform. Dit kan een fictieve scène zijn als er op dat moment geen bijzondere gelegenheid is.

(Ook) Bij positieve resultaten en prestaties wordt contact gezocht met de ouders Graag zouden wij een opname maken van een telefoongesprek met een ouder wanneer hun zoon of dochter positieve resultaten heeft behaald. Dit kan een fictief telefoongesprek zijn, aangezien alleen [naam directeur] (of een andere docent) te horen zal zijn.

Libanon Lyceum

Er zijn verschillende microgedragingen waar wij graag bewegende beelden van zouden maken. Hieronder staan de betreffende gedragingen/beelden vermeld. Indien van toepassing staat erachter wie deze gedraging tijdens het eerdere "Positieve Uitzondering" onderzoek heeft uitgeoefend en/of benoemd.

Naam teamleider	Er wordt gebruikt gemaakt van een fotoposter om de leerlingen te onthouden Leerlingen wordt gevraagd om hun eigen kleine overtredingen (bv. mobiel aan tijdens de les) bij te houden op de (openbare) fotoposter.	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van [namen teamleiders] bij de fotoposter, waarbij zij kort iets vertellen over de functie van de poster.
	Alle jarigen krijgen een persoonlijke kaart toegestuurd	Graag zouden wij in beeld brengen hoe het systeem van de verjaardagskaarten werkt (door [naam teamleider] of door een medewerker van de administratie)
	Met de feestdagen krijgen alle leerlingen een kerstkaart	Graag zouden wij een opname maken van de verstuurde kerstkaarten waarbij een korte uitleg wordt gegeven over waarom de kaarten verstuurd worden.
m nbegeleider	Kamers waar leerlingen worden ontvangen voor persoonlijke gesprekken worden informeel aangekleed	Graag zouden we de kamer van [naam schoolloopbaanbegeleider] in beeld brengen voor het creëren van een sfeerimpressie.
Naam schoolloopbaanbegeleider	De schoolloopbaanbegeleider gebruikt beeldkaarten om problemen te bespreken	Graag zouden we een opname maken van het gebruik van de beeldkaarten in gesprek met een leerling. Dit kan een fictief gesprek zijn.
Naam docent	Een docent gebruikt hetzelfde meubilair (stoel) als leerlingen.	Graag zouden we in beeld brengen dat de docent op dezelfde stoel zit als de leerlingen.

Naam conciërge	De conciërge houdt de (Turkse) voetbalcompetitie bij om gemakkelijk rapport te maken	Graag zouden we een opname maken van een gesprek tussen [naam conciërge] en een leerling over de voetbalcompetitie.
	De relatie tussen ziekmeldingen en toetsmomenten wordt op eigen initiatief bijgehouden	Graag zouden we in beelden brengen hoe de relatie tussen ziekmeldingen en toetsmomenten bijgehouden wordt.
	Jarigen worden vermeld op het elektronisch informatiebord.	Graag zouden we een opname maken van het elektronische informatiebord.
	In de gangen hangen portretten van succesvolle oud-leerlingen deze bieden de huidige leerlingen een inspiratie voor wat ze met hun opleiding in de toekomst kunnen bereiken.	Graag zouden we een opname maken van de portretten voor het creëren van een sfeerimpressie.

APPENDIX 2: SELECTION TARGET SCHOOLS WORKSHOP



Figure 2.1: Overview of selection of target schools for workshop

¹The positive deviant schools are Mavo Delfshaven, Lucia Petrus, Libanon Lyceum

²Non-deprived districts are Prins Alexander, Hillegersberg-Schiebroek, Overschie, Pernis, Hoogvliet, Rozenburg and Hoek van Holland

³Fifthteen schools were invited for the workshop, which were Calvijn Lombardijen, GK van Hogendorp, Scheepsvaart- en Transportcollege, Grafisch Lyceum Rotterdam, Carré College, Palmentuin, Slinge, Sint-Montfort, Veenoord, Zuiderpark, De Waal, Calvijn Juliana, Wolfert College, osg Hugo de Groot, and Calvijn Maarten Luther.



Figure 2.2: The districts of Rotterdam with an emphasis on the deprived districts (IJsselmonde Online, 2014)

APPENDIX 3: SELECTION TARGET SCHOOLS INTERVIEWS



Figure 2.2: Overview of selection of target schools for the interviews

¹There is no data on the percentage of migrant students of Zuiderpark

²Scheepsvaart en transport college, Palmentuin and Calvijn Lombardijen have an SDQ-score below 10.

³Eleven schools were invited for an interview, which were Calvijn Maarten Luther, Slinge, osg Hugo de Groot, Calvijn Juliana, De Waal, Carré College, GK van Hogendorp, Sint-Montfort, Veenoord, and Wolfert College

APPENDIX 4: WORKSHOP

Table 4.1: Overview workshop participants

#	Representing	Gender	Function
1	Libanon Lyceum	Female	Team leader VMBO
2	Mavo Delfshaven	Male	Team leader
3	Mavo Delfshaven, GK van Hogendorp, De Waal	Female	Director
4	OSG Hugo de Groot, Olympia College, Rotterdams	Male	Board member
	Vakcollege de Hef, Einstein College		

APPENDIX 5: INTERVIEW

5.1. RECRUITING INTERVIEWEES

Table 5.1: Overview of recruiting interviews of the target population

School name	Contacted via	Interview arranged?
Calvijn Maarten Luther	Previous contact	Yes
Slinge	Phone	No**
osg Hugo de Groot	Cancellation workshop	Yes
Calvijn Juliana	Phone	No*
De Waal	The director	Yes
Carré College	Cancellation workshop	Yes
GK van Hogendorp	The director	Yes
Sint-Montfort	Phone	Yes
Veenoord	Phone	No**
Grafisch Lyceum Rotterdam	Previous contact	No**
Wolfert College	Previous contact	Yes

^{*}No interest in the topic

5.2. Interviewees

Table 5.2: Overview interviewees

#	Representing	Gender	Function
1	OSG Hugo de Groot	Female	Project leader Promise Academy Charlois (member of the board)
2	De Waal	Female	Team leader
3	GK van Hogendorp	Male	Team leader
4	Carré College and Toorop Mavo	Female	Care coordinator
5	Sint-Montfort	Female	School social worker
6	Calvijn Maarten Luther	Female	Teacher
7	Wolfert van Borselen (including Wolfert College)	Male	Counselor (combination of care coordinator and school social worker)

^{**}No time to participate in the research

5.3. Interview guide (Dutch)

Introductie:

- Mijzelf introduceren
- Onderzoek introduceren
- Toestemming vragen opname
- Tijdsindicatie: ongeveer 60 minuten
- Benadrukken interesse in persoonlijke mening, ervaringen en ideeën. Benieuwd naar hun eigen verhaal.

Onderwerpen na afloop van iedere video:

- Herkennen van microgedraging binnen de school (innovativeness)
- Mening over microgedraging (feasibility and acceptability)
- Mogelijkheden van toepassen van microgedraging binnen de school (feasbility and sustainability)

Vragen na afloop van alle video's:

- Welke van de microgedraging(en) spreken u aan? Waardoor wordt u getriggerd? *(feasibility and acceptability)*
- Is er een microgedraging die u morgen al zou willen toepassen in uw school? *(feasbility and acceptability)*
- Wat ziet u als mogelijkheden om deze microgedragingen te integreren binnen uw school? (feasibility)
- Hoe zouden volgens u medewerkers van deze school enthousiast gemaakt kunnen worden voor het toepassen van deze microgedragingen? *(acceptability)*
- Wat zou u nodig hebben om deze microgedragingen algemeen gedachtegoed van de school te maken? *(sustainability)*

Vragen wanneer de situatie zich voordoet:

- Als u dit zo allemaal hoort, kunt u dan bepaalde gedragingen of tradities van uzelf of binnen uw school benoemen die volgens u bijdragen aan de mentale gezondheid van de leerlingen? *(creating commitment)*
- Hoe legt u of uw school de nadruk op het positieve van de leerlingen? (creating commitment)

Afsluitend

- Heeft u in dit gesprek een duidelijk beeld gekregen van mogelijkheden om met kleine ingrepen bij te dragen aan de mentale gezondheid van de leerlingen?
- Bent u geïnteresseerd om mee te werken aan het verder verspreiden van de microgedragingen binnen deze school en / of andere Rotterdamse VMBO scholen? (sustainability)

APPENDIX 6: QUESTIONNAIRE

6.1. RESPONDENTS QUESTIONNAIRE

Table 6.1: Overview of response on the questionnaire

Representing	Filled in questionnaire?
Libanon Lyceum	Yes, complete
Mavo Delfshaven	Yes, but incomplete ³ (dropped out at question 32)
Mavo Delfshaven GK van Hogendorp De Waal	No ⁴
OSG Hugo de Groot Olympia College Rotterdams Vakcollege de Hef Einstein College	No ¹
OSG Hugo de Groot	Yes, but incomplete ³ (dropped out at question 179)
De Waal	No ⁴
GK van Hogendorp	Yes, complete
Carré College Toorop Mavo	Yes, complete
Sint-Montfort	Yes, complete
Calvijn Maarten Luther	Yes, but incomplete ² (dropped out at question 28)
Wolfert van Borselen (including Wolfert College)	Yes, complete

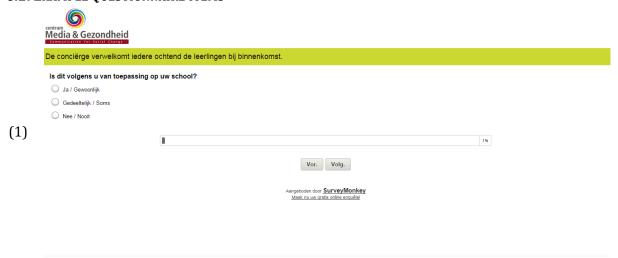
¹Impossible to fill in the questionnaire, because the four school are very different

²Impossible to fill in the questionnaire, because of a lack of knowledge about what is going on in the school

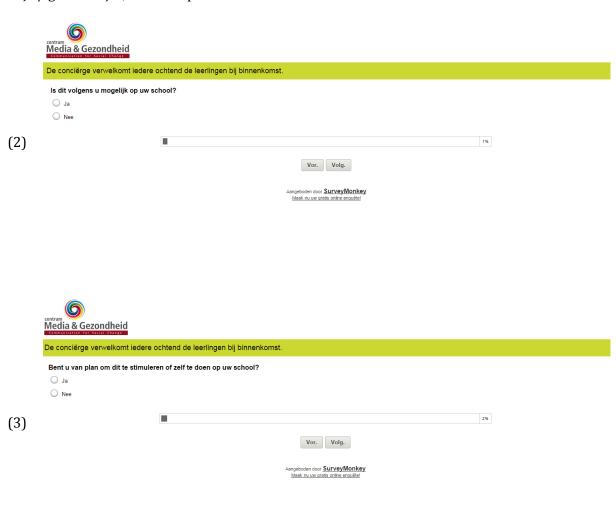
³Unknown reason for dropping out

⁴Non-response

6.2. Example questionnaire items



If "nee / nooit", the next question is number 2
If "gedeeltelijk / soms", the next question is 3
If "ja / gewoonlijk", the next question is about the next micro-behavior



APPENDIX 7: CODES

7.1. DEDUCTIVE CODES

Definition of Positive Deviance

- Additional positive (micro-)behaviors
- Challenges and barriers
- Opportunities and possibilities

Premise 1: Positive deviant solutions are feasible to adopt, because they are susceptible for modeling.

Feasibility

Premise 2: Positive deviant solutions are acceptable, because community members can identify themselves with the positive deviants.

Acceptability

Premise 3: Positive deviant solutions are sustainable, because no additional resources are required to execute the positive deviant behaviors.

Sustainability

7.2. CODE NETWORK

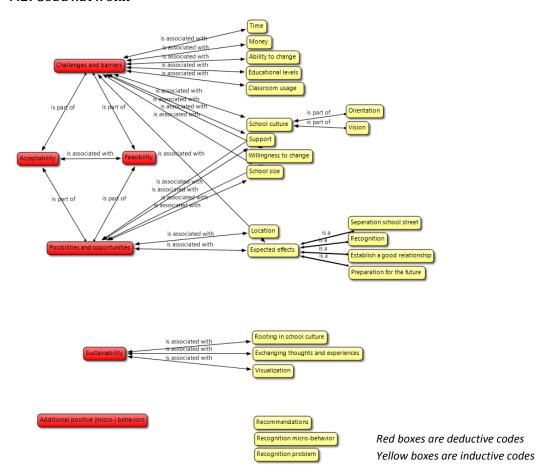


Figure 7.1: Codenetwork Atlas.ti

APPENDIX 8: RESULTS QUESTIONNAIRE

Table 8.1: Overview of results questionnaire

	Is dit volgens u van toepassing op uw school?			Is dit volgens u mogelijk op uw school?		Bent u van plan om dit te stimuleren of zelf te doen op uw school?	
	Ja / Gewoonlijk	Gedeeltelijk / Soms	Nee / Nooit	Ja	Nee	Ja	Nee
De conciërge verwelkomt iedere ochtend de leerlingen bij binnenkomst.	5	2	2	2	0	1	3
De docent begroet iedere les de leerlingen persoonlijk bij binnenkomst in de deuropening (bijvoorbeeld door het benoemen van de naam of het geven van een handdruk).	5	4	0	-	-	3	1
De docent verzamelt alle mobiele nummers van zijn leerlingen.	4	4	0	-	-	2	2
De conciërge houdt de (Turkse) voetbalcompetitie bij om gemakkelijk mee te praten met de leerlingen.	2	1	5	1	4	0	6
In het leerlingvolgsysteem wordt ook informatie over hobby's en persoonlijke interesses genoteerd om informele contacten met leerlingen een positieve draai te geven.	1	4	3	2	1	5	2
De teamleider kent (bijna) alle leerlingen bij naam.	7	-	0	-	-	-	-
De conciërge kent (bijna) alle leerlingen bij naam.	6	-	1	6	2	6	2
De zorgcoördinator kent (bijna) alle leerlingen bij naam.	5	-	2	U	2	U	۷
De namen van leerlingen worden extra 'getraind' met behulp van het leerlingvolgsysteem.	2	4	2	0	2	2	4
De namen van leerlingen worden extra 'getraind' met behulp van een fotoposter.	5	1	2	2	0	0	3
De sociaal-maatschappelijke werker is veel op school en observeert leerlingen zoveel mogelijk via informele contacten in de pauzes.	3	5	0	-	-	4	1
In gesprek met de leerling wordt vooral ingegaan op de positieve voorkeuren.	3	-	1	1	0	1	0
Naast het geven van complimenten worden vergissingen of fouten positief geformuleerd om de leerling te stimuleren om het opnieuw te proberen.	2	4	1	1	0	4	1
Het personeel bevordert actief een familiegevoel.	1	3	2	0	2	2	3

Deuren van klaslokalen en andere werkruimtes staan open,	2	4	0	-	-	1	3
ook tijdens de les.						-	
De klaslokalen hebben een echte huiskamersfeer.	0	6	0	-	-	2	4
Kamers waar leerlingen worden ontvangen voor gesprekken	2	3	1	0	1	2	2
worden informeel aangekleed.		3	1	U	1		2
Een docent gebruikt dezelfde stoel als de leerlingen.	3	3	0	-	-	0	3
Een docent vertelt gemakkelijk iets persoonlijks over zichzelf	2	4	0			2	2
om een soortgelijke reactie te kunnen vragen.	2	4	0	-	-	2	2
Gevleugelde uitdrukkingen in de school versterken het	0	2	4	1	2	0	6
gemeenschapsgevoel.	U	2	4	1	3	0	6
Er is een stiltebeleid tegen rumoer, rennen en dergelijke,	,		0			4	4
zowel binnen als buiten.	4	2	0	-	-	1	1
Mobiele telefoons mogen niet gebruikt worden buiten een							
daarvoor bestemde ruimte.	5	0	1	0	1	0	1
Islamitische leerlingen mogen de islamitische feestdagen thuis							
te vieren.	6	0	0	-	-	-	-
Op islamitische feestdagen worden voor niet-islamitische							
kinderen activiteiten georganiseerd.	2	2	2	1	1	1	3
Alle leerlingen krijgen met kerstmis een kaart.	1	0	5	5	0	0	5
Geslaagde leerlingen worden op de website met naam en	1	U	3	3	U	U	3
toenaam gefeliciteerd.	4	1	1	1	0	2	0
	1	1	4	2	1	2	2
Alle jarigen krijgen een persoonlijke kaart toegestuurd.	1	1	4	3	1	3	2
Alle jarigen worden vermeld op het elektronisch	2	0	4	3	1	2	2
informatiebord.	_	Ŭ	-	<u> </u>		_	_
Leerlingen ontvangen persoonlijke digitale felicitaties in de	0	0	6	1	5	0	6
vorm van een Youtube filmpje bij diverse gelegenheden.	Ü	O	O	1	3	Ü	Ü
Externe ondersteuners worden uitgenodigd op schoolfeesten	0	4	2	0	2	2	4
en dergelijke festiviteiten.	U	4	2	U	L	2	4
Er wordt een informeel gesprek aangegaan met leerlingen die	3	2	1	0	1	2	1
alleen zitten in de pauzes.)		1	U	1		1
Het personeel is voor leerlingen ook tijdens pauzes	_	1	0			1	0
toegankelijk en aanspreekbaar.	5	1	0	-	-	1	0
Leerlingen zijn tijdens pauzes of binnen of buiten, maar lopen	0		4	0	1	1	2
niet heen en weer.	3	2	1	0	1	1	2
		1					

Leerlingen die zich misdragen, mogen gedurende een bepaalde tijd niet naar buiten tijdens de pauzes.	3	1	2	0	2	0	3
Na elke pauze worden alle vuilnisbakken geleegd en wordt zwerfvuil verzameld.	6	0	0	-	-	-	-
Al het personeel is medeverantwoordelijk voor vroeg			•				
signalering van problemen.	6	0	0	-	•	-	-
Alle professionals die veel en intensief bij het welzijn van de	6	0	0				
leerlingen betrokken zijn, hebben toegang tot Magister.	0	U	U	-	-	-	-
De leerling kan zelf het 'vertrouwelijkheidniveau' van het	0	2	4	0	4	0	6
leerlingvolgsysteem bepalen.	U	L	7	<u> </u>	Т	U	U
Leerling-problemen hebben altijd prioriteit boven andere	3	3	0	_	_	2	1
zaken.							_
De mentor heeft een echte vertrouwensrol voor de leerlingen.	4	2	0	-	-	2	0
Tijdens het wekelijkse mentoruur heeft de mentor de kans om	5	1	0	-	-	1	0
problemen te bespreken.	3	1	ŭ			1	ŭ
Dramalessen worden gebruikt om zicht te bieden op de	1	2	3	1	2	2	3
emotionele problemen van leerlingen.	-	_	<u> </u>		_	_	
Iedere leerling wordt gevraagd om hun eigen vergrijpen bij te	1	0	5	3	2	0	5
houden op de (openbare) fotoposter.	_				_		
De schoolloopbaanbegeleider gebruikt beeldkaarten om	1	3	2	1	1	2	3
problemen te bespreken.	_		-	-	_	-	
Een eigen ringbandsysteem verbetert het gebruik van de	0	1	5	3	2	3	3
taalposters.							
Leerlingen met onvoldoendes krijgen verplicht	2	3	1	0	1	2	2
huiswerkbegeleiding.	4	2	0			1	1
Huiswerkbegeleiding wordt gegeven door de vakdocenten. Alle docenten zijn medeverantwoordelijk voor de	4	<u> </u>	0	-	-	1	1
Alle docenten zijn medeverantwoordelijk voor de taalontwikkeling van de leerlingen.	6	0	0	-	-	-	-
Leerlingen worden gestimuleerd om een persoonlijk							
verbintenis aan te gaan met betrekking tot hun prestaties.	2	3	1	0	1	1	3
Voor de zorgkinderen wordt een plan van aanpak gemaakt.	6	0	0		_	_	<u>_</u>
Het plan van aanpak wordt genoteerd in het	0		U		•	•	<u>-</u>
leerlingvolgsysteem Magister.	4	2	0	-	-	2	0
icering voigayatteni magiater.							

De overdracht van leerlingen bij overgang gebeurt persoonlijk en vis à vis.	5	1	0	-	-	1	0
De overdracht van zorgkinderen gebeurt persoonlijk en vis à							
vis.	6	0	0	-	-	-	-
Regels met betrekking tot te laat komen worden strikt gehanteerd.	4	2	0	-	-	0	2
Te laatkomers moeten aanbellen, want de deur is altijd op slot.	3	0	3	0	3	0	3
De relatie tussen ziekmeldingen en toetsmomenten wordt					5	-	_
bijgehouden.	5	1	0	•	•	1	0
Bij terugkerende absentie bij toetsen wordt de leerling daarop aangesproken.	5	0	0			-	-
Bellen naar huis bij absentie gebeurt vaak in de namiddag voor een grotere kans op contact.	3	1	2	1	1	0	3
Ouders en leerlingen worden beide uitgenodigd op ouderavonden.	6	0	0	-	-	-	-
Leerlingen worden tijdens ouderavonden actief gestimuleerd om verantwoordelijkheid te nemen over hun schoolprestaties.	6	0	0			-	-
De schoolloopbaanbegeleiders stellen zich persoonlijk voor aan de ouders.	4	1	1	0	1	1	1
Er wordt contact gezocht met ouders zowel bij negatieve als positieve resultaten van hun kind.	5	1	0	-	-	1	0
Er worden speciale moederochtenden georganiseerd.	2	1	2	1	1	1	2
Tijdens sommige moederochtenden worden deskundigen uit de buurt uitgenodigd.	2	0	0	-	-	-	-
Na afloop van een moederochtend is er een mogelijkheid om met de mentor te praten over het kind.	0	2	0	-	-	0	2
Op de moederochtenden is een Turks en een Marokkaans sprekende schoolloopbaan begeleider aanwezig om de moeders te helpen met hun taal.	0	2	0	-	-	1	1
Bezoekers moeten aanbellen, want de deur is altijd op slot.	3	0	2	0	2	0	2
Bezoekers worden persoonlijk ontvangen en opgevangen bij binnenkomst.	5	0	0	-	-	-	-
De school onderhoudt contact met door leerlingen veelbezochte winkels in de buurt.	1	3	1	0	1	1	3

De maatschappelijke stage kan in de school zelf worden ingevuld.	1	1	3	0	3	1	3
Leerlingen die hun maatschappelijke stage in school vervullen, zijn herkenbaar door middel van een vest.	0	1	0	-	-	0	1
Leerlingen die bij bijzondere gelegenheden een taak vervullen, dragen een uniform	0	2	3	0	3	2	3
Er is een huursysteem voor de uniformen, leerlingen zijn zelf verantwoordelijk	-	-	•	-	-	-	-
Docenten worden door de directie intensief ondersteund.	3	2	0	-	-	1	1

Overal al geïmplementeerd
Overal haalbaar
Nieuw, maar nergens acceptabel
Geen eenduidige respons over innovativiteit, haalbaarheid en intentie om te stimuleren.

APPENDIX 9: DUTCH QUOTES

- (1) Zulke kleine dingen die zijn zo belangrijk en ik denk dat als je dat weet terug te brengen naar zo'n basaal gedrag dat je al heel veel kunt bereiken. (Bestuurslid tijdens focus groep)
- (2) Ja, we moeten wel. Dus ik vind het heel erg moeilijk om te zeggen, omdat het hier gewoon standaard is. Het is geen uitzonderingspositie, het is standaard dat ze een andere culturele achtergrond hebben. (Teamleider tijdens interview)
- (3) Ja maar je krijgt er ook steeds meer feeling mee. En dan gaat er ook minder tijd inzitten. In het begin zal het echt aftasten zijn, maar ik merk nu al dat dingen bij ons nu ook al veel sneller geregeld worden. (Teamleider tijdens interview)
- (4) Je hebt wel heel veel tijd nodig om dat de doen. Want als jij [naam leerling] belt, dan is het ook wel zo netjes om dat ook op te schrijven dat dat gedaan is en dat voor de rest van de 29 kinderen, want ja iedereen doet wel eens een keertje wat leuks. (Schoolmaatschappelijk werker tijdens interview)
- (5) Dat is onontbeerlijk eigenlijk, een smoelenboek. Anders weet je niet over wie je het hebt en dan kun je niet je ervaringen bundelen. (Zorg coördinator tijdens interview)
- (6) Niet alles past binnen de cultuur van je eigen school hè. Scholen zijn zoiets verschillends, het is ongelofelijk. (Counselor tijdens interview)
- (7) Je hoort wel verhalen dat op bepaalde scholen dat de kamer van de directie altijd dicht is, maar ik heb daar een hekel aan. Bij mij staat de deur altijd open, behalve natuurlijk wanneer ik in bespreking ben. Je moet altijd toegankelijk zijn voor de leerlingen. (Teamleider tijdens focus groep)
- (8) Wij zijn een openbare school, dus wij vinden dat iedereen het met elkaar moet vinden. Of hij nou zwart of groen, geel of paars is, dat scheelt mij niets. En dat vinden zij vast ook. Maar zij hebben een katholieke achtergrond en dat maakt zeker een verschil, daar zit het misschien meer in. Je krijgt natuurlijk wel katholiek onderwijs. (Teamleider tijdens focus groep)
- (9) Er zijn al zoveel verschillende directies geweest en dan komt er een directeur en die zegt; 'kom we gaan met z'n allen die komt op, en iedereen erachter aan en dan komt de volgende, nee we gaan die kant op. En dat is negen keer gebeurd in de periode dat ik hier op school ben, en dat is 15 jaar. (Schoolmaatschappelijk werker tijdens interview)
- (10) Ik denk dat zij meer een focus hebben op woordenschat ontwikkeling en hier ligt de focus echt veel meer op lezen. (Bestuurslid tijdens interview)
- (11) Dus dan moet eigenlijk iemand anders die opdracht krijgen. Waarvan ik denk van, is dat dan teveel gevraagd of niet. Moet hij daar ook nog eens rekening mee houden. (Docent tijdens interview)
- (12) Elke docent, nou ja elke medewerker, moet zich heel erg verantwoordelijk voelen voor het welbevinden van ieder in de school en in het gebouw. (Teamleider tijdens focus groep)
- (13) Dus dat is een investering waar je denk ik begint bij de directie. (Schoolmaatschappelijk werker tijdens interview)

- (14) Het is alleen zoeken hier, het klinkt niet zo aardig, maar het verloop is hier nogal groot. Dus dan heb je iemand gevonden die dat wel zou willen doen en dan is vervolgens volgend jaar dan werkt ze hier niet meer. En de directie is ook, niet helemaal, maar ook vrij nieuw. En er komt een nieuwe directeur weer, voor de derde in een jaar. Dat hoop ik wel de laatste voor even voorlopig. En dan is het ook lastig om dingetjes aan te snijden. (Schoolmaatschappelijk werker tijdens interview)
- (15) Ja en dat moet denk ik ook wel. Anders werkt het denk ik ook niet. (Bestuurslid tijdens interview)
- (16) We zijn nog steeds bezig om de docenten zo ver te krijgen. We hebben nu een groep aangenomen die dat ook zo voelt. Dus je zult zien, want ja we gaan nu richting twee-derde die onze visie leeft. En we begonnen met ongeveer een derde. En die dachten zoiets van af en toe doen we dat eens, maar we gaan nu steeds strengere eisen stellen. (Teamleider tijdens interview)
- (17) Het kan dat, dan moet je wel uitkijken met andere docenten. Want dan zeggen ze vaak van "ik zag in Magister dat je zo goed had geholpen bij [naam docent] bij de kunst les", ik noem maar op, "maar dan ben je toch weer in de fout gegaan."
- (18) Docenten zijn stront eigenwijs. Zij doen het goed, hun vak is leuk en daar moet als schoolmaatschappelijk werker ik mij zeker niet mee bemoeien. (Schoolmaatschappelijk werker tijdens interview)
- (19) Het klinkt een beetje lullig, maar bij elk projectje of initiatief of iets moet er iemand zich daar voor verantwoordelijk gaan voelen. Hoe krijg je dat voor elkaar? (Zorg coördinator tijdens interview)
- (20) En dan merk je toch, je moet af en toe wel die bril opzetten, want voor sommige leerlingen is het nog wel eens lastig om iets positiefs te vinden. Dat je denkt van "ik kan meer dingen noemen die niet goed gaan." (Zorg coördinator tijdens interview)
- (21) Dus ik merk ook gewoon dat docenten een beetje moe zijn en overspannen thuis zitten, hun hoofd boven water proberen te houden en daarmee minder aandacht hebben voor leerlingen. En dat ze al blij zijn als ze gewoon een les kunnen draaien. (Schoolmaatschappelijk werker tijdens interview)
- (22) Vooral in het begin zijn mensen heel angstig. (Teamleider tijdens interview)
- (23) Gewoon ook meer, je zit natuurlijk toch ook altijd wel met je niveau. Omdat je meer kijkt voor Rotterdam van qua verschillende niveaus van VMBO scholen onderling met elkaar praten en HAVO scholen of HAVO VWO. (Docent tijdens interview)
- (24) Ja en Rotterdam. Omdat je toch, je zit toch allemaal in hetzelfde gebied. Allemaal hetzelfde soort leerlingen. Dus dat, ja dan heb je daar dan wel de meeste overeenkomsten in. En dat is ook wel belangrijk. (Docent tijdens interview)
- (25) Als het in Rotterdam lukt, lukt het inderdaad overal. Het is niet andersom. (Zorg coördinator in interview)

- (26) Je signaleert natuurlijk en je ziet leerlingen. Ze zijn gezien, gehoord, erkend. Daarnaast is het ook zo dat je heel letterlijk ook het verschil aangeeft tussen de straat en de school. [...]Het puur daar staan bij de ingang bij de deur, de leerlingen aankijken en begroeten. Dat is voor hen ook een signaal, net was ik op straat, maar nu ben ik op school en daar gelden andere regels. (Directeur tijdens focus groep)
- (27) Dat is gewoon iets dat van gewoon net even dat beetje extra interactie met de leerling, net dat beetje extra contact. (Docent tijdens interview)
- (28) Ik kan me wel heel goed voorstellen dat je je persoonlijk benadert voelt als leerling. Van "jij doet er toe, het doet er toe dat jij bij ons op school zit". En niet van we weten eigenlijk niet, nou we weten natuurlijk wel wie je bent, maar wie je eigenlijk bent zouden we niet weten. (Zorg coördinator tijdens interview)
- (29) Je bent gewoon meer dan een leerling. Je bent een mens die van alles en nog wat meemaakt en school is niet altijd, het is wel belangrijk, maar niet altijd het belangrijkste. (Schoolmaatschappelijk werker tijdens interview)
- (30) Ze hebben vaak wel een soort van achterstand. En wij noemen ze gewoon laatbloeiers. Dat zijn leerlingen die gewoon nog op gang moeten komen. (Teamleider tijdens interview)
- (31) Het helpt zo mee om een positief klimaat in de school te krijgen om de leerlingen ook beter tot leren te krijgen. (Directeur tijdens focus groep)
- (32) Dan hebben ze ook onderdelen aan van het uniform om een eenheid te vormen. Om te laten zien hoe het in het bedrijfsleven eraan toe gaat,, om hun kansen te vergroten. [...] En ook echt het weten van weet hoe je je kleed voor bepaalde gelegenheden, weet dat je meer kansen hebt als jij er netjes uitziet. (Teamleider tijdens interview)
- (33) En een aantal keren staan er dan stukje smet interviewtjes en dan staat erbij deze docent doet dan iets en dan denk ik in hoeverre verdwijnt zoiets als een docent naar een andere school gaat. De vraag van hoe zorg je dat je het borgt voor je eigen organisatie dat er dus eigenlijk voor alle docenten gemeengoed gaat worden. (Bestuurslid tijdens focus groep)
- (34) Als je van de 10 dingen 2 dingen overhoud, dat is toch al mooi meegenomen. (Counselor tijdens interview)
- (35) Het moet echt in je school verweven zijn, het moet echt in de roots zitten. [...] Dus dat is iets wat niet bij docenten moet blijven hangen, maar eigenlijk een stukje schoolcultuur moet worden. (Directeur tijdens focus groep)
- (36) Ik denk dat dit ook iets kan zijn voor in de wandelgangen. Want als ik een presentatie zou gaan geven dan ben je de volgende, dan ben je nummer 99. Dan is het wat moeten we nu weer gaan doen? (Zorg coördinator tijdens interview)
- (37) We hebben naderhand ook met elkaar gesproken, gewoon met iemand die je niet kende van oh dit, dit wil ik aanpakken, doen jullie dat op jullie school. En hoe doen jullie dat dan. En dan ben je toch wel met elkaar aan het uitwisselen. (Docent tijdens interview)
- (38) Het dwingt misschien ook wel wat meer tot actie. Van als ik weet van er komt een meeting en ze gaan vragen van hé, heb je er nog wat mee gedaan. Dan is het misschien, ja zo werkt het

toch. Dan heb je externe motivatie. Maar dan is wel iets dat mensen dan echt iets gaan. Ik zou dat wel doen ja, bij mij zou dat wel werken ja. (Counselor tijdens interview)

- (39) Ik leer er ook weer veel van die verschillen. Je zou elkaar kunnen versterken als zijnde zelfde type school, maar het is ook wel heel erg goed om van elkaar te leren zeg maar. Van een hele andere school of juist te horen wat ze hebben en te horen van dat is niets voor mij. Dus die diversiteit daar leer je wel van. (Counselor tijdens interview)
- (40) In Rotterdam. Omdat je toch, je zit toch allemaal in hetzelfde gebied. Allemaal hetzelfde soort leerlingen. (Docent tijdens interview)
- (41) Ik zou zelf ook wel ergens willen komen vertellen hoe het werkt omdat ik er zelf ongelofelijk in geloof en [naam teamleider] met mij. (Directeur tijdens focus groep)
- (42) Ik kan me voorstellen dat als je het zo visueel maakt door die portretten op te hangen dat het ook heel erg blijft leven. (Bestuurslid tijdens interview)
- (43) Kijk je hebt natuurlijk, die meeting, waarschijnlijk een grote groep mensen gehad die zich ook voor hetzelfde interesseren. Dus als je daar vanuit die hoek een nieuwsbrief krijgt, dat is toch weer anders. (Counselor tijdens interview)