

**An evaluation of aspects of the design and
implementation of a new behaviour management
policy in school**

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Abstract

A legacy behaviour management (BM) policy in a mixed private boarding school was examined to determine any improvements which could be introduced based on contemporary behaviour management theories. The policy was observed to contain some passing remarks on the use of positive behavioural techniques but improvements were identified from literature on Positive Behaviour Support and Restorative Justice Practices. It was also recognised that behaviour is learned so literature on reflection was consulted.

Three interventions were introduced which aimed to make behaviour management less retributive and provide more opportunities for student reflection on behaviour to occur.

Two interventions were introduced within a single department to enable best practice to be determined whilst the third intervention was implemented on a whole-school basis.

Perceptions were mixed regarding the effectiveness of the interventions. Some students and staff benefited and there were many examples of successful engagement with the intervention. Others found the interventions ineffective or were ineffective in implementing them. Data showed that the intervention term had the lowest rate of sanctions of any term for the past three years. Limitations and areas for future research are discussed.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION	5
LITERATURE REVIEW	9
OVERVIEW OF SOME CONTEMPORARY BEHAVIOUR MANAGEMENT THEORIES	9
Zero-Tolerance	9
Token Economies	12
Positive Behaviour Support and Positive Regard	15
Restorative Justice Practices	19
<i>Summary of behaviour management literature</i>	23
STUDENT REFLECTION.....	26
CONSIDERATIONS AROUND IMPLEMENTING NEW POLICIES IN SCHOOLS	28
RESEARCH QUESTIONS.....	35
METHODOLOGY	36
RESEARCH METHODS	36
<i>Quantitative Methods</i>	37
<i>Qualitative Methods</i>	39
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	41
CONSIDERING COLLABORATION	43
METHODOLOGY SUMMARY	44
DESCRIPTION OF THE INVESTIGATION	45
<i>Preliminary investigation</i>	45
<i>Main Investigation</i>	45
Description of the main investigation.....	46
Intervention 1	46
Intervention 2	47
Intervention 3	48
Impact of Covid-19.....	48
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION.....	50

FINDINGS FROM PRELIMINARY INVESTIGATION	50
<i>Current BM Structure</i>	50
<i>Perceptions regarding current BM policy</i>	53
FINDINGS FROM THE MAIN INVESTIGATION.....	56
<i>Data gathered from the MIS Database</i>	56
MIS Merit and Tardy Data	56
MIS Detention data	66
<i>Findings from interviews</i>	74
General observations from interviews.....	74
Specific observations regarding the three components of the investigation	77
Intervention 1: Staff having ‘restorative discussions’ with students when handing out sanctions	77
Intervention 2: Staff sending students to departmental detentions rather than academic detentions.....	78
Intervention 3: Reflection forms	79
<i>Observations from Detention Reflection Form</i>	82
CONCLUSIONS.....	92
CONCLUSION SUMMARY.....	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	100

Introduction

Behaviour is an important factor in schools. Every school is legally required to have a behaviour policy but schools are given a great deal of freedom in choosing a behaviour management (BM) policy which suits them. The government only offers guidance and sets legal parameters (DfE, 2016). As a result, there is a wide range of behaviour policies in place in the UK. The Education Endowment Foundation (2020) suggests that improving school behaviour results in moderate improvement for moderate cost, but makes clear that there is a wide range of possible interventions which could occur. The aim of the present study was to look at some contemporary theories around BM to implement some improvements in the BM policy of the target school. This study looks at the design and implementation of the new policy.

The 2019 Conservative Party Manifesto (2019) claims that one of their proudest achievements is their raising of academic standards and improvement of behaviour in schools. Yet many authors would argue that depending on the measure that is used, behaviour is not improving. Indeed, it has been described as a national problem in schools (Grierson, 2017), damaging the education of children, contributing to teacher burnout and ultimately contributing to wider problems in society. At the very least, poor behaviour can lead to lost lesson time. Haydn (2014) quotes a 2009 ATL study of over 1000 teachers which found that 60% believed they had disruptive pupils in their classrooms, and 98% reported that this resulted in lost lesson time. A 2014 OFSTED report found that students in English schools lose on average one hour per day due to disruption in classrooms – equivalent to 38

days of teaching per year (Harford, 2014). A US study by Scott and Barrett (2004) put the figure at more like 50 days (10 weeks). It is no surprise that from studying over 800 meta-analyses, Hattie found that improving behaviour ranked as the sixth (out of 138) most effective way to improve achievement in schools (Hattie, 2009).

The consequences of poor behaviour can be far worse than lost lesson time. According to the DfE (2019), in 2017-18 in addition to 7905 permanent exclusions, there were 330,085 fixed-period exclusions (suspensions) in secondary schools in the UK, representing 10.13% of the student population at that age range. Over half of these suspensions were for students aged 13-14 (nearly 170,000) and nearly 31% for persistent disruptive behaviour. Numerous studies have shown the negative impacts on the education of the child caused by time outside school because of exclusion.

In addition to negative impacts on students, poor behaviour can have a serious effect on staff. A 2018 survey found that 83% of teachers felt stressed or very stressed because of their job, with 40% of those surveyed saying that BM was one of the main causes (Roberts, 2018b). Poor behaviour is cited as one of the main reasons teachers leave the profession, with 62% giving it as a reason in one survey (Roberts, 2018a). Teacher retention is a serious issue; a 2018 survey showed that 80% of teachers were considering leaving (Louise Tickle, 2018) and the most recent figures for 2020 show that almost 1/3 of teachers have left the profession within five years of qualifying (Lough, 2020). In urban settings this figure can be as high as 50% (McKinney, Campbell-Whately, & Kea, 2005).

The context of the target school is somewhat different from that of the nation as a whole but some of the behavioural theories will still be relevant. This West Midlands-based target school is a mixed boarding school of approximately 650 students aged 13-18, of which approximately 56% are male, 20% are day students and 60% are British. 72 nationalities were present at the target school during the intervention, with the largest representations being Chinese (6%), German (5%), Dutch (4%) and Russian (4%).

Despite the context of the school there are still behavioural challenges to deal with and the school's behaviour policy has not been updated for 10 years. Because of this a behavioural working group was set up in early 2019. This group, comprised of teachers and members of the Senior Management Team (SMT), created a list of anecdotal observations which they wanted to improve. These observations were that:

- Too many students were getting detentions
- Sanctions were handed out too frequently
- Sanctions were not distributed fairly or consistently
- Students were not learning from any sanctions they received - the rate of recidivism (repeat offending) was too high.
- Teachers were not taking 'ownership' of their sanctions – they handed them out without any discussion or reflection with the student.

The school's intention was to improve the BM policy by making it more 'up-to-date' and through examining areas of the school where the current policy was ineffective. This report begins by examining some of the relevant contemporary literature. Data is examined in the

light of this literature, using statistical data from the school's BM database and perceptions from students and staff. By synthesising this information, suggestions are made to try to go some way to addressing some of the original concerns of the behavioural working group.

Literature Review

Overview of some contemporary behaviour management theories

Various contemporary BM systems exist. In effect, every school has a slightly different variation. It would be impractical to cover them all. As Frieberg and Lapointe (2006) say, to review them all would take years. As the Elton report (1989) said, bad behaviour in schools is a complex problem which does not lend itself to easy solutions.

As a result there is a range of competing theories in the literature, ranging from highly authoritarian, retributive strategies like 'zero tolerance' to more democratic, restorative strategies like Restorative Justice Practices. It was thought that by examining a spectrum of theories appropriate strategies for the target-school context could be extracted. In many areas these strategies overlap in any case. As will be shown, many studies are clear that one of the most important factors in student behaviour is their relationship with the teacher and their peers (Cornelius-White, 2007). All of the theories rest on the core belief that student behaviour isn't just something which happens, but it is something that can be taught and learned (DfE, 2016; R. Payne, 2015).

Zero-Tolerance

Zero-tolerance strategies in schools have a long history. For example, Judith Kafka's 'The History of zero-tolerance in American public schooling' (2011) starts in 1800. In the US zero-

tolerance strategies began to be applied on a wider scale in the 1950s, partly in response to the increasing perception of student delinquency and partly because there was a perception that having pre-determined rules would help ethnic minority students by ensuring greater consistency and fairness. In fact, the opposite happened and students of colour were disproportionately punished (Nussbaum, 2018). Despite this, the use of zero-tolerance strategies continued to spread. They were written into law after the Columbine shooting in the Gun-Free Schools Act (1994). This act forced all schools to expel any student for a minimum of one year if they brought a prohibited weapon onto school grounds. As a result of this act the use of zero-tolerance strategies became wide-spread. Their use was expanded to apply to illegal drugs, over-the-counter medication and other prohibited behaviour (Skiba & Peterson, 1999).

Zero-tolerance can be defined as a highly structured disciplinary policy that permits little flexibility in outcome by imposing severe sanctions (often long-term suspension or expulsion) for even minor violations of a school rule. A hallmark of zero-tolerance is that it permits little or no consideration of the student's intentions or the context around the misbehavior (Gregory & Cornell, 2009; Reynolds et al., 2008). School administrators have their discretion removed and there are numerous examples in the press of schools over-reacting to seemingly trivial events, such as the 2013 example of a year 7 boy in Maryland who was suspended for 2 days for nibbling a pastry into the vague shape of a gun. The school took 3 years to admit that they'd over-reacted, having been taken to court by the boy's parents (George, 2014).

Still more shocking is that corporal punishment is still legal in the US (it was banned in the UK in 1986). In 2011-12 there were 167,000 instances of corporal punishment, with just five states responsible for over 70% of that (Texas, Mississippi, Georgia, Arkansas and Alabama). (Melinda D Anderson, 2015). The UK has its own controversies, in the form of 'isolation booths.' Whilst some claim they are useful for both the student who misbehaved and the rest of the class (Forrester, 2020), others think they amount to "draconian psychological torture" units which don't achieve what they are claimed to but disproportionately affect boys, people with special needs, pupil premium students and students from disadvantaged backgrounds (Doz, 2019).

Proponents of zero-tolerance argue that it prevents violence by removing dangerous students whilst simultaneously sending a strong deterrent message to others (Gregory & Cornell, 2009; Gregory et al., 2010). As a result zero-tolerance policies continue to dominate schools' BM policies (Krezmien, Leone, & Achilles, 2006). However, there is a lack of empirical evidence for these claims and in fact most of the evidence suggests that zero-tolerance results in negative consequences or at the very least have zero preventative effect. Removing students from school contributes to the achievement gap, perpetuates an "us-versus-them" attitude, influences high recidivism rates and results in higher levels of incarceration (the so-called "school-to-prison" pipeline) (Balko, 2005; Cox, 2007; Kline, 2016; Mary Ellen Flannery, 2015; Skiba & Peterson, 1999; Stader, 2004).

There is a correlation with ethnicity, attainment and the number of expulsions a student receives. For example, Strand and Fletcher found that 16.3% of students were excluded at least once in their first five years of secondary school, but for Black Caribbean and Mixed

White and Black Caribbean students this rose to 30%. This finding agrees with similar observations in the US, where BAME students were excluded two to three times as often as other students although there are many other complex reasons for this (Skiba, 2010; Skiba & Rausch, 2006; Strand, 2015; Strand & Fletcher, 2014).

Token Economies

Zero-tolerance behaviour policies are highly behaviourist (R. Payne, 2015; Postholm, 2013). Another highly behaviourist BM policy is that of using 'tokens.' Token economies might involve the use of stars, stickers, online badges or some sort of points-based system. It is extremely common to find these systems in schools, but they are also prevalent in the justice system, pet training and, more recently, with the training of robots (For examples see Ho, Cushman, Littman, & Austerweil, 2019) . The behaviourist literature relating to this goes back a long way (Rotter, 1966; Skinner, 1938, 1974).

Token economies usually come with both rewards and sanctions. The intention is similar to that of zero-tolerance, in that desired behaviours are treated by reinforcement to achieve the desired outcome – the stimulus-response cycle (Reitman, Murphy, Hupp, & O Callaghan, 2004). Recent work by Ho et al. showed that this is actually a simplistic explanation of what is going on, and really teachers implicitly use token economies as a form of communication to create positive reward cycles (Ho et al., 2019).

Several studies have shown that the introduction of token economies improves outcomes, although the effect reduces the longer the policy is in place (Gable & Strain, 1981;

Miltenberger, 2016). The UK government endorses the use of token economics on the department for education website, suggesting that rewards encourage good behaviour (DfE, 2014a). In general it has been observed that the positive effect is more pronounced in younger children (Sharpe, Wheldall, & Merrett, 1987) but there is still an impact when children are older (Reitman et al., 2004). Some studies have looked into their effectiveness when used on individual and group contingencies but have found little or no distinction in their effect (Kazdin, 1977, 1982; Long & Williams, 1973; Miltenberger, 2016).

Some researchers have found that there can be a polarising effect from the use of token economies, with negative effects for some students but positive for others (Halamish, Madmon, & Moed, 2019; Kazdin, 1972, 1973; Wiechman & Gurland, 2009). This has caused some controversy over their use, as some studies have shown that they cause an overall negative effect. For example, Deci et al. (1999, 2001) found through a meta-analysis of 128 studies that there was a strong negative correlation between the use of rewards and the motivation of students, although it should be recognised that motivation could be seen as a continuum and as such their motivation is merely moving more towards the extrinsic end (Lemos & Veríssimo, 2014). Gardner (2014) links this to the mindset of students, suggesting that the use of rewards results in students with a more fixed mindset.

Other negative observations from teachers are that token economies are too unwieldy and cumbersome to use, which results in inconsistent application of the policy throughout the academic year and between teachers (Drabman, Spitalnik, & Spitalnik, 1974; Kazdin, 1977, 1982; Kazdin & Bootzin, 1972; Kehle, Bray, Theodore, Jenson, & Clark, 2000; Reitman et al., 2004). Students complain about the policies being applied inconsistently, or about the

weight of the sanction being greater than that of the reward. There is poor alignment between students' and teachers' perceptions of the effectiveness of different rewards and sanctions (Harrop & Williams, 1992).

The use of verbal praise and reprimand can be seen as a form of tokenism, depending on how teachers deploy them. Students have been shown to value teacher praise highly, even over that of their peers, but they have wanted teachers to praise them privately (Blaze, 2012; Merrett & Tang, 1994; R. Payne, 2015; Sharpe et al., 1987). Good teachers are able to motivate students and manage behaviour without the use of tokens but merely by targeted and effective feedback such as the use of praise. Several studies have pointed to the importance of the relationship between students and teachers as one of the key factors which influences student behaviour and classroom climate (Clunies-Ross, Little, & Kienhuis, 2008; Cornelius-White, 2007; Roorda, Koomen, Spilt, & Oort, 2011; Shreeve et al., 2002; Swinson, 2010).

One key observation in the use of token economies is that rewards tend to be academically contingent, whilst sanctions are behaviourally contingent. This is an important distinction and one which students perceive acutely (Infantino & Little, 2005; R. Payne, 2015; Sharpe et al., 1987). One reason for this important distinction may be related to a dichotomy in modern teaching practices. As Payne (2015) and others make clear, teachers have moved on from using a behaviourist approach in favour of a more constructivist approach informed by cognitive psychology where it comes to classroom teaching, but when it comes to classroom management and social behaviour, teachers and schools still rely on older models. This is surprising, given that schools have a government mandate to 'teach behaviour'.

Positive Behaviour Support and Positive Regard

Perhaps a more nuanced approach to BM should be introduced, informed by more recent developments in cognitive psychology and social science. For example, some studies (Nilson, 2013; Spence, 2015) have seen improved outcomes when trialled alongside other changes to school BM systems such as Positive Behaviour Support (PBS, or Positive Behaviour, occasionally School Wide Positive Behaviour Supports (SWPBS) or Positive Behaviour Interventions and Supports (PBIS)). According to Warren et al. (2006), it is fairly common to find token-based BM systems used as reinforcement for PBS.

PBS has evolved from earlier agendas which aimed to reduce the use of punitive discipline policies in schools and improve the school climate: see Sugai and Horner (2008) for more on some of these earlier policies. PBS systemically implements empirically verified practices from different contexts, with findings from applied behavioural analysis and biomedical science, to whole school systems (classrooms, out-of-classrooms and individuals) in an outcomes-oriented way. It's not just about reducing behavioural problems, but also about achieving important social and cultural learning outcomes, and setting up more positive classroom environments, since behaviour improves when students achieve more (Carr et al., 2002; Sugai & Horner, 2008, 2002; Warren et al., 2006). PBS is not 'scripted' but the central themes are designed to be taken and applied in different ways in different contexts (Chitiyo, May, & Chitiyo, 2012; Flannery, Sugai, & Anderson, 2009)

PBS can be school-wide, with senior leadership setting clear policies, definitions and procedures as well as organising good data collection and dissemination. In classrooms

teachers must actively teach behaviour, particularly at key times in the year, such as after holidays or at the beginning of the school year (Emmer, Evertson, & Anderson, 1980). Teachers also need to model it, with Latham (1993) suggesting that teachers should have at least 6-8 positive interactions for every negative one. Teachers need to be 'active supervisors' in all areas of the school, as well as in classrooms. They should also make use of pre-corrections: reminders of positive behaviour before students enter a situation in which problem behaviours have been exhibited in the past.

Individualised behaviour plans may be needed for the most challenging students. Whilst it is claimed that 80% of students will conform to the primary intervention, around 20-25% will not, of which 3-7% will be the most severely at risk of problem behaviour. This minority require additional individual support, the remainder will require group support (Tobin, Lewis-Palmer, & Sugai, 2002).

PBS has seen some remarkable uptake, going from around 7,900 schools in 2008 to over 13,000 by 2010 (Horner, Sugai, & Anderson, 2010; Solomon, Klein, Hintze, Cressey, & Peller, 2012). This may be because it was shown to be highly effective and long lasting, improving not only student behaviour, but also attendance, academic outcomes and mental health (J. Freeman et al., 2016; Garner, 2011; Houchens et al., 2017; Lassen, Steele, & Sailor, 2006; Luiselli, Putnam, Handler, & Feinberg, 2005; McIntosh, Ty, & Miller, 2014; Närhi, Kiiski, & Savolainen, 2017; Oyen & Wollersheim-Shervey, 2019; Scott & Barrett, 2004).

It was also found to improve teacher morale and perceptions of self-efficacy, and reduce the amount of time teachers spent managing behaviour (Kelm & McIntosh, 2012; Royal,

2012; Scott & Barrett, 2004). Flannery et al. (2014) found that as teachers became more accustomed to using PBS and as fidelity of implementation improved, further improvements were seen. It was shown that positive effects can last for years, eventually becoming fully sustainable (McIntosh et al., 2013), although not in all cases. Indeed, the approach does have a wide variation in effect size, which is understandable given that each school has its own ecology and context (Chitiyo et al., 2012; Solomon et al., 2012). This also means that there are methodological limitations to making comparisons between schools. Attempts to rectify this have been made, such as the School-wide Evaluation Tool from Horner et al. (2004), or the Benchmarks of Quality tool from Kincaid et al. (2007). However, these efforts have not been widely taken up due to their complexity and labour-intensiveness.

Another BM approach which is very similar to PBS is called 'Positive Regard.' Positive Regard has its roots in the 1950s work of Carl Rogers, where unconditional positive regard was one of his three 'facilitative conditions' for constructive personality change, the other two being empathy and congruence (C. R. Rogers, 2013; C. R. Rogers & Freiberg, 1994; Wilkins, 2000). Like PBS, one of the main aims of Positive Regard is concerned with developing mutually respectful relationships. The importance of the relationship between teacher and student has been demonstrated in several studies, with meta-analyses by Cornelius-White (2007) and Farber & Doolin (2011) giving effect sizes of $r=0.27-0.31$. This corroborates some of the work from PBS, and as with PBS there are several examples of successful implementation in addition to those found in the previously cited works. One example, which was recently in the press, features a trust of 20 schools which has not expelled a child since 2013, despite over 50% of the intake at GCSE age being students who were previously expelled. The

school has developed positive regard to the extent that they now provide training to other schools, with schools from at least 15 local authorities trained (Staufenberg, 2019).

Both Positive Regard and PBS aim to proactively encourage students to develop self-regulation or self-discipline for both their academic work and their behaviour. As Alderman and Macdonald (2015) say, it is the teacher's role to establish an environment where students can assume responsibility for their own learning and behaviour – important skills which help students prepare for a lifetime of learning. Increased levels of self-discipline have been shown to be a better predictor of exam grades than IQ, and have been used to offer one hypothesis of why girls outperform boys in grades at school (Duckworth & Seligman, 2005, 2006). Duckworth (2009) argues that the reason that self-discipline is effective is because it is about setting and achieving goals that one personally regards as desirable, rather than goals which others deem desirable. She argues that by helping students to become more self-disciplined, teachers empower them and as a result both their academic work and their behaviour improve. In a later paper she goes on to argue that all students can be taught at least some aspects of self-regulation, and Rowe adds that a good environment for doing this might be in a citizenship classroom since it links with some aspects of the curriculum (Duckworth, Grant, Loew, Oettingen, & Gollwitzer, 2011; Rowe, 2006).

Nilson (2013) goes much further than just looking at the effect on academic work, exploring how to encourage students to develop self-regulation so that they can learn to delay gratification and avoid procrastination. This is only one aspect of helping students to manage their own behaviour, as Bear and Duquette (2008) make clear. They argue that

students with more self-discipline will behave better both inside and outside school, whether a teacher is looking or not. They give a long list of suggestions for teachers aimed at encouraging self-discipline amongst their students, many of which are similar to the ideas found in PBS and Positive Regard. They believe that empowering students can change the classroom management paradigm and reduce the sense of “us-versus-them,” whilst improving the students’ sense of self-efficacy and agency. However, they still make clear that whilst the aim is to encourage students to be independent and self-disciplined, the school still needs to have clear sanctions for people who break the rules.

Restorative Justice Practices

One contemporary BM theory which aims to move away from having set rules is Restorative Justice Practices (RJPs, also known as just restorative justice or restorative practices). RJPs are not necessarily new – they have been shown to have a long history in indigenous communities and religions across the globe (Song & Swearer, 2016; Watkins, 2017). RJPs are part of a common contemporary theme moving away from more zero-tolerance or stimulus-response models to more of a person-centered approach (J. H. Freiberg, 1999).

RJPs are concerned with developing strong communities, by encouraging empathy, building relationships, strengthening understanding and repairing harm where conflicts occur (Ashworth et al., 2008; Drewery, 2016; Nussbaum, 2018; Zehr, 2011). There are proactive and reactive elements to RJP policies, with the overriding aim of maximising positive behaviour, rather than preventing bad behaviour. Proactively the practice is concerned with building strong relationships and actively teaching respect, pro-social and conflict resolution

skills and encouraging students to understand personal responsibility. These methods improve school culture, inclusion, self-efficacy, self-worth, student-teacher relationships and the agentic capacity of the students, but regular, even daily, emphasis is required. (Drewery, 2016; Gregory, Clawson, Davis, & Gerewitz, 2016; Kline, 2016; Pavelka, 2013).

Reactively RJP provides suggestions for restoring trust where it is broken so that relationships may be repaired – this is in contrast to seeing infractions as merely the breaking of rules (Zehr, 2011, 2014). There are several ways this can happen, such as through peer mediation, conferencing or restorative ‘circles.’ Circles are the most demanding reactive provision and are used for the most serious infractions. All affected parties take part in the presence of a facilitator. Each party takes turns to speak, with the intention that resolution and reintegration can be achieved (Bhandari, 2018; Kline, 2016; Pavelka, 2013). In the classroom reactive strategies can be as simple as a conversation between teacher and student rather than handing out a sanction (Restorative Justice Council, 2016).

Relationships are an important factor in education. Roorda et al. (2011) showed that there are medium to strong links between good relationships and engagement, and weak to medium links between good relationships and achievement. Given this, it is not surprising that there are so many proponents of RJs, who also point to other positive examples of its usage. Anyon et al. (2016) found that in the Denver school district, with over 90,000 students, it reduced the rate of behavioural sanctions, and narrowed the difference between the rate of suspension between black and white students. In Scotland, McCluskey et al. (2008) showed that when RJs were implemented in 18 schools there was a marked

reduction in the rate of sanctions and suspensions. They found that this effect was still evident over two years after introducing the intervention, a finding replicated by Short et al. (2018). Teachers or students who have been questioned as to its efficacy have described the positive impact it has had on school climate, behaviour and achievement (Gournic, 2018; Rainbolt, Fowler, & Mansfield, 2019). There are even recent reports that the use of RJPs can improve students' physical health (Todić, Cubbin, Armour, Rountree, & González, 2020).

RJPs do not represent the perfect BM paradigm. In fact, there is a question of whether it should even be considered BM or a form of social constructivism (Drewery, 2016). When looking at teachers' perceptions, Gournic (2018) found that there were several perceived shortcomings, although these shortcomings could be said to be relevant for many BM systems. Teachers felt that it placed too much demand on their time, that they found it hard to find private space for restorative conferencing, and that it took too long to implement as students also needed to be trained in it. Some teachers have described it as an effective but exhausting alternative to suspensions (Dominus, 2016).

As a whole-school approach, it also suffers if there is not sufficient staff or student buy-in, if it is used merely as a reactive strategy or if the school leadership is ineffective (Cama, 2019; Watkins, 2017). Schools need to invest in the implementation process and maintain staff professional development if it is to be successful (Mayworm, Sharkey, Hunnicutt, & Schiedel, 2016). Nussbaum (2018) points that whilst it is straightforward for legislators to impose Zero-Tolerance policies, legislating for the use of RJPs is much less straightforward as there is no single interpretation of RJP.

In Ontario, RJPs are part of a mix of behavioural strategies which Winton (2013) showed to have improved graduation rates by 13%. Mixing RJPs with other behavioural strategies is also suggested by other authors, teachers, and governments (Gournic, 2018; Steer, 2006). Whilst Payne (2018) argues that schools should aim to reduce or eliminate their use of suspensions, she points out that really this is a bigger issue of school climate. Students can still be suspended under an RJP regime, but upon return to the school it is still important for them to go through a restorative circle to ensure the relationships are mended and provide strategies for moving on (Dominus, 2016).

All of the BM models that have been looked at aim to improve school climate. Although a somewhat nebulous term, school climate has received a lot of attention recently, with several authors recognising its importance. It is about more than just behaviour, but the two are linked. They are also linked with attainment. For example, Dernowska (2017) argues that schools which take seriously the social and emotional well-being of their students get not only improved behaviour and a better school environment, but also higher academic outcomes. In a review of the school climate research, Thapa et al. (2013) found that there was a whole range of other factors which were related in addition to attainment. These included safety, mental health, social, emotional and civic learning, and teacher retention. Improving behaviour seems to be one contributing factor to improving the school environment, and so it is extremely important that school BM policies are implemented sensitively and fairly and in a way that improves the school climate.

Summary of behaviour management literature

The preceding literature review is not intended to be exhaustive, but rather to paint a picture across the landscape of BM literature. As Ball (2011) states, all schools ultimately pick and choose from the abundance of material available (or ignore it altogether) when making decisions about designing new BM policies.

There are proponents for all of the different theories covered, from zero-tolerance to RJs. The aim of this review was not to find the perfect 'recipe' for BM since each context will be different. Rather it was to explore some of the contrasting views, ranging from highly retributive to highly restorative. All of the theories ultimately aim to teach students how to behave so that their learning and the school climate are improved.

Some schools rely heavily on a zero-tolerance, retributive approach which leaves no room for professional judgement. This approach has been shown to have many downsides, not least the high level of exclusions and the origins of the school-to-prison pipeline. Whilst the rules may be clear and straightforward to understand and implement, they ignore any contextualisation and fail to nurture or empower students.

Whilst token economies are considerably less severe than strict zero-tolerance, they seem to lose their effectiveness with student age. Implementing them is straightforward, but teachers complain about how long it takes to use. Their use can reduce student motivation and ability to be self-regulated. Teachers may use them inconsistently and give rewards for academic reasons whilst only using sanctions for behavioural infractions.

PBS and Positive Regard are both designed to proactively encourage good behaviour and empower students with increased self-discipline. Their use recognises that good behaviour is a collaborative effort, so students are actively taught in proactive ways which aims to equip and empower them so that students can take personal responsibility for their actions. Whilst the aim is to be restorative, many PBS and Positive Regard regimes still make use of token economies as reinforcement.

Whilst all the BM theories recognise the importance of relationships, none does this more than RJs. In this approach relationships are considered the key to a good school climate and students are not viewed as breaking rules but damaging relationships. As a result there are normally few rewards or sanctions; rather there are more structured conversations or 'circles' when infractions occur. Whilst the use of expulsion isn't ruled out, the aim is to restoratively and empathetically help students so that none are lost.

All of these behavioural management systems come with caveats and not all facets of them will work in all contexts. There is no 'one-size-fits-all' approach. Even within the same school there will be individual students for whom the behavioural system may need tailoring, although labelling students as having Behavioural, Emotional and Social Difficulties (BESD) or Social, Emotional and Mental Health Issues (SEMH) may be counter-productive (Cosma & Soni, 2019). This tailoring of BM system is largely beyond the scope of this study, but there are some useful ideas and references in Philip Garner's review (2011) and in Cosma and Soni's recent review of the literature (2019). One particularly interesting observation that they made which is worth noting, is that a particularly dominant concept amongst

behaviourally challenging students was their perception of their relationships with teachers. Negative relationships were found to be a significant risk factor, whilst positive relationships empowered the students both behaviourally and academically. This contributed to a greater sense of 'belonging' for the student, and to some extent corroborates some of the philosophy behind RJPs.

Government guidance and advice allows for schools to choose policies which work for their context (DfE, 2011, 2012, 2016; Steer, 2006). There are hints buried within the guidance which link to some of the ideas of PBS, Positive Regard and RJPs, for example the Steer Report (2006) mentions using positive proactive approaches towards BM, although only really in passing. However, the majority of the guidance relates more to the idea of tokenism or zero-tolerance. Even in the Conservative Party Manifesto they directly say that they will support schools to use exclusion (The Conservative Party, 2019, p.13). This can be seen clearly in the case studies they have provided examples for (DfE, 2014a, 2014b). In a way this is not surprising, since government legislation tends to be a rather blunt instrument, as lamented by Nussbaum (2018) and there is scope for greater recognition of some of the more contemporary ideas in BM.

Some reports for the government by Tom Bennett (2017) and Philip Garner (2011) are more encouraging, and the Steer report (2006) directly mentions the use of Restorative Justice (although only in the context of bullying). All of these reports mention the use of more proactive strategies for managing behaviour as well as some of the other themes already observed, such as consistency, good relationships and mutual respect. One final theme which needs to be briefly explored is that of student reflection.

Student Reflection

If behaviour is something which is learned (R. Payne, 2015; B. Rogers, 2011; Scaife, Wellington, & Ireson, 2008), then the same theories which apply to academic knowledge should apply. Some of the most powerful effects in helping students learn are through feedback and student reflection (Cavilla, 2017; Hattie & Timperley, 2007). Although Hattie (2007) discusses academic feedback, some of the key points are still pertinent. One particularly pertinent fact is that the timing of the feedback is important. Depending on the behavioural issue being dealt with this seems logical. If either the student or teacher are 'emotionally escalated,' then neither will be able to meaningfully engage in any feedback process. Conversely, if only a minor infraction has occurred then teachers should be able to deal with it then and there.

Feedback is important in enabling meaningful self-reflection (Nicol & MacFarlane-Dick, 2006). The timing of reflection mirrors that of feedback. Tony Ghaye (2011) provides a useful breakdown of this, suggesting that there are four types of reflection: in action, for action, on practice and with action. Reflection in action would apply to the sort of reflection teachers might encourage students to do then and there whilst in the act. Reflection on practice would be after the act has occurred. An example of the difference between these two might be the difference between asking a student "are you sure you want to do this," and asking them "why did you do that?" Reflection for and with action are both indicative of the sort of reflection where someone plans what they intend to do in the future. Thus, reflection in action might be for smaller infractions occurring during the lesson, whilst reflection on practice might occur at the end of the lesson or at some later date and be

combined with some reflection on the student's intention for the future. Reflection in action or reflection on practice could take the form of a reflective dialogue (Eisenbach, 2016) which may result in an improved relationship between the teacher and the student.

Students' learning can be improved by self-reflection and it is viewed as an important part of metacognition. At Stanford University some courses offer credit for demonstrating it (Briggs, 2015). In addition to simply helping students remember academic knowledge, some authors argue that it can also help develop a greater awareness of identity (Thomas Ehrlich & Ernestine Fu, 2013) and therefore it may have an impact on students' behaviour.

Depending on the type of behaviour there may be opportunities for any of the four types of reflection mentioned by Ghaye (2011). This is the case even if the behavioural infraction occurred some time ago, as Schlichtinga & Prestona (2014) showed that having a period of rest before reflecting improved students' ability to learn, even if they were reflecting on something which occurred quite a long time ago.

Briggs (2015) has produced a useful summary of ways to make reflection meaningful. She argues that students should practice and be equipped with metacognitive skills and tools; she suggests that students shouldn't simply reflect at the end of a task but also during the here-and-now (which links to what Ghaye said above); she says that it is important to share the reflection with others even if that makes us uncomfortable, as it helps to improve accountability and ensure that any actions decided upon as a result of the reflection take place. She says that the reflection should be authentic so that students can remain honest and express themselves in ways which are suitable for them; that it shouldn't simply be used as a way to summarise what has occurred in terms of knowledge but also as a way to

describe feelings; and finally that it should not be graded in any way. It is worth pointing out that these ideas for reflection are equally valid for teachers. Like all relationships, the education relationship between student and teacher has two sides. Indeed, reflection features twice in the teachers standards (DfE, 2013): once to guide students to reflect (standard 2) and once to oblige teachers to systematically reflect on their approach to teaching (standard 4). Having poorly behaved students in class may be something that teachers take as a sign of weakness, but by reflecting on the problem as suggested by Briggs they may be able to resolve it. Sharing the problem with other teachers is particularly useful as some teachers may have taught the student in the past or in other contexts and may know ways to support the student which other teachers may not know.

Considerations around implementing new policies in schools

Some schools choose to update BM policies from time to time or even introduce entirely new policies. Some of the literature on this relates to the general introduction of new BM policies (Swinson, 2010; Turner, 2003) but some is more specific. For example, Gournic (2018) and Mayworm et al. (2016) just looked at RJPs, and Freeman (2018), Hansen (2014) and Ingraham (2016) looked at PBS.

Some authors follow a framework for intervention (Daniels & Williams, 2000) whilst others follow their own method. A useful summary by Watkins (2017) demonstrates how many similarities there are across the different methods. These documents are useful as they provide advice about major pitfalls to avoid as well as suggestions for managing problems such as teacher or student resistance. As Knight (2009) explains, teacher resistance is often

blamed for failed interventions when in fact it was the fault of the person introducing the intervention.

Sugai (2008) suggests that before introducing new policies, schools should consider how trustworthy, effective, efficient and relevant the new policy is for their school. He suggests that leaders consider whether the outcomes are specified, whether the research is accessible and based on sound conceptual and theoretical foundations, whether there are examples of successful implementation; whether it will be justifiable to pursue given costs and time to implement and whether there might be any support available to run the implementation. A 'powerful' intervention which meets a clearly identified student or staff need and which is clearly understood by the staff stands the best chance of success (J. N. Freeman, 2018; Knight, 2009). Conversely, if teachers do not believe in the intervention they are more likely to resist (Choi, 2017; Jacobs, Boardman, Potvin, & Wang, 2018; Morales, 2018; Terhart, 2013).

Several authors suggest that when implementing any intervention, especially if it is on a school-wide scale, an effective leadership team needs to be established as the first step (Sugai & Horner, 2008; Warren et al., 2006; Watkins, 2017). As Warren (2006) explains, this can help in a number of important ways. As well as oversight, it can aid co-ordination, maintain momentum, provide useful role models and help provide direction and clarity for other stakeholders. Several authors (eg Meister & Ahrens, 2011; Watkins, 2017) suggest some attributes of good leaders, such as their positive relationships with staff, creativity, team orientation, ability to listen, accountability and appreciation of the work of others.

Watkins (2017) makes clear that the implementation team need not be only leaders in name. Referring to the work of John Kotter, she describes the use of a leadership coalition of influential people from around the school, including those in leadership, those with specific expertise and those of 'political importance.' Having such an implementation team signals the high priority the school is putting on the intervention, something which McIntosh (2013) and Cama (2019) found produced better results.

Once a leadership or implementation team has been established, a period of consultation should occur to determine the best policies for the school's context (Daniels & Williams, 2000; Sugai & Horner, 2008; Watkins, 2017). This consultation phase is extremely important if the implementation is going to succeed, as staff and students buy-in more when they feel that they have been involved in making it (the 'IKEA effect'). Staff who feel more ownership of the policy also apply it more consistently (Turner, 2003). Several authors discuss their use of consultation when introducing new BM systems (Ingraham et al., 2016; Mayworm et al., 2016; Swinson, 2010; Turner, 2003). Some use several months' worth of consultation whilst others appear to only use days. There may be a range of stakeholders involved, from teachers and students to parents, school psychologists and community members. Mayworm et al. (2016) makes clear that good relationships are key to running a successful consultation.

Once the consultation phase is complete, the intervention can begin. The first step of this is giving teachers initial training in implementing the policy (Turner, 2003). This training should ideally be delivered by experts so that staff feel treated equally with those on the intervention leadership team and to avoid any issues between peer colleagues who may be

in discord (J. N. Freeman, 2018). Bradshaw (2008) found that this initial training had a big impact on the eventual uptake and success of the behavioural intervention. It may reduce the variability in the application of the policy or the fact that some teachers end up applying it in isolation as observed by Cama (2019). Sugai (2008) goes as far as saying that no implementation should begin until all staff are fluent in the new intervention. The training can be even more effective if teachers know there is on-going support such as coaching, although a minority of teachers still resist this (Jacobs et al., 2018).

Ongoing CPD is recognised by several authors as something that teachers value, although as Knight (2009) says, this CPD should be targeted, respectful of teachers as professionals and with clear positive outcomes for students. When teachers understand the policy they are able to implement it with greater fidelity and buy-in. Knight (2009) explains that to some extent teachers work autonomously, so need to understand the philosophy of the practice so that they can adapt it to their own pedagogical style and students. He explains that teachers' understanding can improve if they work in teams or 'committees,' particularly if they have access to expert support within their team. He adds that giving them more autonomy and choice in how they apply the policy will improve their buy-in.

Some authors have argued that veteran teachers are the most likely to be resistant to change. Whilst this may be the case, veteran teachers are also likely to be quite resilient, as they will have had to 'reinvent' themselves several times over their careers (Greene, 2010; Mader, 1996; Meister & Ahrens, 2011; Morales, 2018). If they are convinced of the merits of the intervention and are treated with respect, they are more likely to engage positively, hence the value of well delivered CPD. However, inevitably there are still going to be some

who resist, at least initially. Jacobs et al. (2018) found around 20% of teachers were resistant, of whom over two thirds had been teaching for more than ten years.

Staff are more likely to implement the policy if it is 'easy.' This is generally the case for people everywhere, as Halpern (2015) makes clear when discussing the government's policy on bringing in new initiatives. It is particularly pertinent for schools as business and workload are frequently cited by staff as causes of stress (Roberts, 2018b). To some extent making things 'easy' could mean providing them with materials to work with or physical training materials. Alternatively, it could mean providing demonstrations or running question-and-answer sessions with experts. It could also mean providing a solution which reduces workload or increases efficiency. Staff may still buy-in to the new intervention even if it does mean more work if the intervention has been well justified.

There are discussions in the literature about how the effectiveness of the intervention relates to time. Some authors argue that the intervention is most effective when first introduced, whilst others argue that with more experience the teachers can implement the intervention with greater fidelity (Flannery et al., 2014). Sugai (2008) suggests that it will take 3-4 years before the intervention becomes fully embedded in the school. During this time, it is argued, teachers should receive additional support and professional development (J. N. Freeman, 2018; Knight, 2009; Mayworm et al., 2016; Watkins, 2017).

Once the intervention has begun it is important that data is collected on both student discipline records and the perceptions of the staff and key stakeholders as to how it is going. McIntosh (2013) says that good data collection and dissemination is a hallmark of a well-run

intervention. Data can enable the school to spot any trends, anomalies or areas of concern. Once the process has become established schools are better placed to adapt and sustain any new relevant research-based practices which may be beneficial (Sugai & Horner, 2008). One of the most successful ways to reduce teacher resistance is to help them to experience the effect of the change and see the positive effect it is having on students' lives (Knight, 2009). Their scepticism reduces when they see data demonstrating the positive effect of the intervention. This is particularly the case for veteran teachers (J. N. Freeman, 2018; Meister & Ahrens, 2011), who may have been disillusioned by seeing many interventions come and go without seeing much impact (the so-called attempt, attack, abandon cycle (Knight, 2009)) or abandoned prematurely before having chance to bear fruit.

Some barriers to teacher implementation may remain even after following these implementation steps. These may include staff turnover, teacher shortages or logistical complications to do with space or equipment (J. N. Freeman, 2018; Gournic, 2018; Knight, 2009). The aim of the implementer should be to provide as much support and leadership as possible, whilst recognising that some things are beyond their control. Having good, honest relationships with staff will help teachers to overcome the challenges faced by these barriers. Good relationships can also help if the policy ends up being applied inconsistently by staff. This is another major barrier observed in the literature, although to be more precise it is not the lack of consistency which is the problem but rather the perception of inconsistency. One way to improve that perception is by ensuring accurate data collection and dissemination.

Several relevant strands of literature have been examined. Having looked at some contemporary BM theories regarding zero-tolerance, token economies, PBS and RJPs, literature regarding student reflection and implementation of new policies were discussed. This report now moves on to looking at the research questions and methodology used.

Research Questions

The first of these research questions concerns the design phase of this investigation and the remaining three are designed to probe the implementation of the investigation.

RQ1. What are the perceptions of the students and staff of the current BM policy? To what extent do these perceptions correlate with data collected on student behaviour?

RQ2. What are the perceptions of the students and staff on alterations to the BM policy? Do they perceive any impact on student behaviour?

RQ3. Does bringing in a more restorative approach to school discipline encourage students to reflect more? Does increased reflection have any impact on the perceived behaviour of the students?

RQ4. Does the new BM policy have an effect on the number of rewards and sanctions issued?

Methodology

Having reviewed some of the literature around this topic the intervention could be formulated. An initial investigation took place to examine the school's current BM structure and the perspectives of various stakeholders at school. These findings were then combined with some of the perspectives from the literature to determine the form the main intervention would take. Research methods are discussed followed by the preliminary investigation and the form of the main intervention.

Research Methods

The study used a mixed-methods approach. Quantitative data was available from the school's Information Management System (MIS). Although this data is limited, it did allow for analysis of historical trends and patterns. Whilst there may be a place for quantitative data when looking at BM, a more nuanced view is required to really understand what is going on and the reasoning behind decisions people make. For this reason, qualitative data was also collected through interviews and written reflections. Analysing this range of data can add balance to any conclusions which may be drawn (Bryman, 2012; L. Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007; Thomas, 2013).

Quantitative Methods

One of the values of quantitative data is that it can allow for simple conclusions to be drawn. As with all modern schools, this target school collects a lot of data, which it stores in the MIS database. All official rewards and sanctions are recorded here. This large database needs to be analysed with caution, as although there are many uses to it there are a number of problems or caveats to discuss.

The first and most obvious is that the number of students varies from year to year. Whilst there is an average of 120 students per year group, this may be plus or minus 20-30 students, which makes a large difference to the total. This is particularly an issue in smaller year groups, which tend to be the younger year groups. To account for this most of the calculated values have been given as a percentage of the school population, or on a per student basis.

However, there is no way to account for the temperament of the students, or indeed the staff, which leaves a large margin of error as students are unlikely to remain the same 'on average' from cohort to cohort. Indeed, individual students may vary from day to day. One problem with doing things on an average basis like this is that a few individual students with particularly high numbers of rewards or sanctions can have a disproportionate effect on the final result.

Other factors will contribute to the large variation in the data. Aside from just the emotional state of the students and staff, other factors may have affected how people behaved and

controlling for any of these factors is impossible. During the period for which data is available, such extenuating factors included a school inspection, change of senior and departmental leadership, change of boarding house or teaching staff, as well as other external factors from wider political events to the weather. Some variation in the data is to be expected.

Another issue is that the school's policy regarding the storage of data is that data is only stored digitally for students who are currently on-roll. So, for the 2019-20 school year there is data for five year groups, but for the 2018-19 school year data is only available for four year groups, as the group which left at the end of 2019 have had their data removed, and so on. As a result, data for the upper sixth (Year 13) is only available for students currently in the upper sixth, but two cohorts of data are available for students in the lower sixth, three for year eleven students and so on. In addition, the school changed its MIS provider three years ago. This means that there is a maximum of 3 years' data available for any one year group. This means that there will be difficulty establishing any historical trends, and any anomalous data will have a disproportionate effect. Using data on a 'per student' basis will also help to reduce the impact of this source of error.

No other quantitative methods were used. Although Likert scales and similar instruments may have a place in education research, their use as quantitative instruments is fraught with risk (L. Cohen et al., 2007). Their findings need to be interpreted with an understanding that the question the researcher thought they were asking may not be understood in the same way by the person completing the survey. Notwithstanding the many researchers (for example R. Cohen et al., 2007; Horner et al., 2004; Kelm & McIntosh, 2012; Suzuki & Farber,

2016) who have argued that self-evaluation is a valid way to gather data when looking at behavioural interventions, it was thought that this data may be more informed and nuanced if it was collected through interviews.

Qualitative Methods

Qualitative data was collected from two sources: interviews and written reflections.

Interviews have been used by many researchers for a variety of reasons. They offer a level of detail and richness that is hard to extract simply from numerical data (Bryman, 2012; Miller & Crabtree, 1999). They offer individuals the opportunity to explain and express themselves in much greater detail. For this reason, interviews were conducted from as wide a cross section of the school as possible. These interviews ranged from 1:1 interviews to large groups, each of which required managing in different ways.

Group interviews were conducted with staff from the science department, the pastoral team of a boarding house, and amongst the heads of department. A specific 'working group' on BM was set up which included influential leaders from around the school both by job description and by political weight. These meetings were either chaired by this researcher or by the Deputy Head Pastoral. Some of these interviews were of more open discussion format, with the chair acting as more of a mediator, but others took on a more semi-structured format. Individual staff members from among these groups also volunteered to take part in individual 1:1 interviews. Some of these interviews followed a more open discussion format whilst others were more structured. Using these different methods allowed for individuals to express their perspectives but maintained the focus which was

necessary so that individual questions could be targeted (Miller & Crabtree, 1999; Oppenheim, 1996). Some of these meetings had minutes taken at the time, whilst all of the interviews were recorded by dictaphone for transcription later, allowing the freedom to pay attention to what people were saying rather than having to worry about writing it at the time, as suggested by Drever (2003).

Students' views were also collected. A variety of group and individual interviews were used. Group interviews were conducted with groups of pastoral tutees from years 9 and 12, with the pupil 'thrive' group (effectively the school council), with groups of students within a boarding house, and with a group of 'repeat offenders'. In addition, 1:1 interviews were conducted with volunteers from these groups.

This range of viewpoints provides for differing perspectives which do not always coincide with one another so a more balanced overview can be reached. It would have been useful to collect the views from other stakeholders, including those of the parents and the support staff in the school. This is something other researchers have done in the past with the aim of generating a more informed overall understanding and is an area which would be interesting to include in future research.

The second method through which information was gathered was through the use of student reflective feedback forms. These were analysed without delving deep into the hermeneutics of them. After first reading them and sorting according to how much detail the students had written, they were then analysed to look for common trends. These trends included the reasons students were in detention, their reflections on their behaviour and

what they would do differently next time. A sufficient interpretation can be developed this way but whilst further evaluation is beyond the scope of this investigation it represents a rich avenue for future research (Miller & Crabtree, 1999).

Ethical Considerations

Much thought and preparation went in to ensure that this research was conducted in an ethically sound way. In addition to consulting the BERA guidelines, several authors on research methods were consulted (*British Educational Research Organisation, Ethical guidelines for educational research*, 2011; Bryman, 2012; L. Cohen et al., 2007; Miller & Crabtree, 1999; Oppenheim, 1996).

Throughout the research all the respondents were treated respectfully and had the right to privacy, to refuse to answer questions or to be able to leave if they wanted to. Power issues were considered, given the researcher's position as a classroom teacher versus the position of students. Power dynamics were also considered in staff interview groups where senior teachers were present or where multiple teachers and students were present (such as the Pupil Thrive group).

Permission for conducting the research was obtained from the headmaster in the first instance, and then individually with any student or staff member who volunteered to take part. All respondents had the research purposes explained before they took part, particularly in the instances where recording devices were used. They were made aware that all of these recordings were securely encrypted on password protected devices, whose

data will be deleted when it has been used, and that any results from the research will be completely anonymous.

The research was undertaken in as accessible a format as possible, with verbal interviews being one of the primary modes of data collection. As well as providing rich data, verbal interviews are more accessible for most students, particularly where they are in an environment in which they feel comfortable (L. Cohen et al., 2007). The written reflection forms were designed such that they were accessible to all the students in the school, no matter their age, SEN or EAL status. These forms were generated in collaboration with students to ensure this accessibility and can be seen in figures 12-17.

As pointed out by Mertens (2003) and Bryman (2012), a serious ethical dilemma surrounds the use of control groups. If the research is expected to have a positive impact then not extending it to everyone may be considered unjust. If improved student behaviour results in improved academic outcomes it seems unfair not to extend the intervention to the whole student body. The justification for this is as follows. The intervention may only begin in one department but this should still benefit all of the students in the school, as all students pass through this department. By beginning the intervention in this department it can be thoroughly evaluated, allowing for higher fidelity of implementation when rolled out across the school. So no students will lose out from the intervention beginning in one department, and the only teachers who may lose out are the teachers from that department, but by the time the intervention is rolled out to the whole school they will have been compensated by having had additional time to practice applying and evaluating the intervention.

Considering Collaboration

This research could barely be more collaborative. The original suggestion for the research came from the Senior Deputy Head and Deputy Head Pastoral (DHP). It has been implemented throughout two school departments totalling around 30 staff members. Staff and student consultation took place in a variety of contexts and was not solely done by this researcher but also by the DHP. As already described, for some group interviews the DHP acted as the director (Thomas, 2013) but in others they merely acted as a mediator whilst this researcher took on the director role. Most of the data was gathered from the school's MIS system but additional historical data was supplied by the school's MIS co-ordinator where it was possible to do so. So, whilst the intervention may have been formulated by this researcher and the DHP, the implementation and analysis of the intervention involved around 35 different staff members.

The findings from the investigation will be fed back to the Behaviour Working Group, the Pupil Thrive group and the SMT with the intention of rolling this out to the whole school. The first stage of this roll out will be to raise awareness of the intervention amongst the wider staff body through a feedback session at staff inset, led by this researcher and the DHP. After introducing it to the staff, further CPD and training will take place on a department-by-department basis. This will facilitate individual departmental nuances and allow staff the opportunity for discussion and consultation to enable more staff buy-in by encouraging more sense of departmental ownership. After the policy has been fully implemented throughout the school it will be monitored by the MIS co-ordinator and the DHP.

Methodology Summary

Data will be collected from a variety of sources in a collaborative and ethically sound way.

The school's centralised database will be used to collect quantitative data, and qualitative

data will be collected through interviews and written reflective feedback forms. Using

mixed-methods should provide more balance when evaluating the intervention and provide

some constructive criticism which can be used to drive further improvements in the future.

Having explained the data-collection methods, the form of the intervention can now be

described.

Description of the investigation

The investigation was run in two stages. A preliminary investigation occurred during the first term of the academic year, leaving the remainder of the year to run the main intervention.

Preliminary investigation

The first stage of the investigation was a preliminary investigation to determine the initial conditions in the school. This preliminary investigation examined the current BM policy and used interviews to gather data on the perceptions of the staff and students of the current BM system and its effectiveness.

Main Investigation

The main investigation was split into three interventions with the intention of addressing some of the issues uncovered during the preliminary investigation in the context of the above literature. It was focussed around the key idea that behaviour is something which is learned. The interventions were focussed around encouraging students and staff to reflect on behaviour and work to reduce the usage of retributive sanctions by moving towards a more restorative model.

Description of the main investigation

The investigation is composed of three separate interventions which aim to encourage student reflection and reduce the use of retributive BM strategies. Two interventions are department-based, and one is whole-school. The department-based interventions have more impact on teachers, so will initially be trialled in a single department (Science) before being rolled onto a second department (PE) and then the whole school. This will enable evaluation and consultation to occur to determine 'best practice.'

Intervention 1

The first of these departmental interventions relates to the way staff hand out sanctions. Staff may still use the rewards and sanctions system but instead of staff simply awarding a sanction on the computer, they must also discuss the student's behaviour with them, perhaps at the end of the lesson, depending on the emotional state of the teacher and student. The intention is based on the relationship aspect of RJPs, with the ambition that it will help students reflect more on their behaviour, considering the effect of their actions on other students, and at the same time aim to maintain a positive relationship with the teacher. Brief training in this was provided by this researcher and the DHP during one lunchtime meeting about two weeks before the end of the Autumn term, with the intervention beginning as soon as school returned in January. The presence of the DHP indicated the high priority of the intervention. Staff were given additional materials and links to further resources by the DHP to enable them to prepare in their own time.

Departmental discussion helped to explain the reasoning and get staff on board. For some

teachers this was a completely novel approach, whilst for others this was not a new idea, and there was fruitful discussion in hearing different experiences from other staff-members.

As part of this departmental intervention, students who receive repeated sanctions should be discussed with the departmental team and Head of Department (HoD). The HoD can then determine an appropriate sanction for the student, and a meeting between the HoD, the teacher and the student can be arranged according to the tenets of RJPs. If the student continues to make infractions, then the next stage of escalation is to have a meeting with the HoD, teacher, student and the student's academic Tutor; further escalation would bring in the Head of Year (HoY) and for serious cases the DHP.

Intervention 2

The second departmental intervention introduced departmental detentions. Rather than an academic detention sat in a central location, in silence, without support, these detentions occurred alongside departmental clinics – effectively making clinic compulsory for students who had missed work, with the advantage that a member of science staff was on hand in a supportive role. Students who still failed to attend had to attend another RJP circle with their teacher and the HoD, receive a 2-hour Saturday night behavioural detention and have an email sent home.

This intervention doesn't apply to behavioural detentions, which are still enforced in the usual way on Saturday night. Behavioural detentions are for quite serious misdemeanours and are very rarely awarded in lessons, whereas all the academic detentions are, since most

academic detentions are for not completing homework or for insufficient classwork. By moving the detentions within the department, the token system isn't being removed but it is being made more restorative.

Intervention 3

The third intervention was a whole-school intervention for students in detention on Saturday night. In this detention the students may not bring laptops but must work quietly on written work. Before they were allowed to begin that work, the students completed a reflection on their reasons for being there. Notwithstanding that for some students this reason may be obscure or over a month old, the aim was the same: to encourage students to reflect on their behaviour and learn from it. These reflective forms were then collected and collated by the DHP to be returned to the student's tutor or housemaster for an RJP-style discussion. Common themes may then be examined for students who get multiple detentions to determine ways in which the school can support the student more.

Impact of Covid-19

For this investigation one of the main impacts from the pandemic was the limitation it placed on the amount of data that could be collected. The initial plan had been to begin the intervention in January, roll it out to PE after February half term and then have a full evaluation of it in the Summer term when more data had been collected. It would then have been rolled out to the whole school in September. Had Covid-19 not cut the school year

short, data would have been available for three academic terms, with one academic term for the pre-intervention phase and two to gauge any impact of the intervention (although as pointed out in the literature it may take up to three years before tangible improvements become embedded (Sugai, Simonsen, & Homer, 2008)).

Given that school finished in mid-March, not only was the data for a whole term lost, but some of the group evaluations that had been planned could not occur either. Some group evaluations could occur, and individual 1:1 interviews still went ahead, as did the group interviews with the science department. These meetings all occurred online through Microsoft Teams, which did influence the fluidity with which people spoke, although it was easier to record. However, some important groups were too logistically difficult to organise, the biggest of these being the behavioural working group and the pupil thrive group. The views of these two groups were quite important, partly due to the seniority or political weight of the people within them. Further discussion on the impact of Covid-19 will follow in the results section.

Results and Discussion

Findings from Preliminary Investigation

The preliminary investigation took place during the Autumn term. It examined the current BM structure at the school as well as the perspectives of staff and students of the current BM structure.

Current BM Structure

The school's BM system is a perfect example of what Ball (2011) describes. The 20-page pdf features some aspects of zero-tolerance, tokenism, PBS and RJP throughout. It doesn't follow a coherent single system but is rather a mixture of different BM ideas which have been blended together. This is neither good nor bad but could potentially be a cause of inconsistency. One example of this mixing of methods can be seen in the following statement from the policy:

The overall aim of the policy is to promote good behaviour and recognise it...recognising that high standards of conduct are promoted as much by encouragement and celebration of success as by use of sanctions, but when infringements do merit formal sanctions, these are administered within the broader pastoral context and with a focus on a positive outcome for both the individual and the College community as a whole.

The result of statements like this is that some teachers only rely on the use of praise or reprimand, whilst others heavily use the rewards and sanctions token system. RJP-style conversations do occasionally take place, but normally only in the most extreme cases and between the student and a senior teacher and often as part of a 'disciplinary meeting.' Some teachers use more proactive approaches but there is no coherent policy and the students are not 'taught' behaviour proactively. Rather it is assumed that they will learn for themselves based on the highly tokenised rewards and sanctions system.

The current system is summarised below in table 1. Rewards and sanctions are listed in order of their relative importance, with the least important given first. Explanations of the various terms and examples of reasons why particular sanctions may be given are provided.

Rewards
Teacher Praise (oral or written)
Merits (50 merits = £5 Amazon voucher)
Commendation (= 50 merits)
Postcard/ email home
Public praise through school social media channel
Merit dinner for top 50 merit winners
Boarding House/ Departmental awards (ties, 'school colours,' etc)
Annual awards ceremony
Sanctions
Teacher reprimand (usually oral)
<p>Tardy</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ For minor misdemeanours, lateness, lack of homework etc. ○ 7 Days to complete ○ Must go to a specific place in school in full school uniform ○ Day students go there for breaktime ○ Boarding students go there before 730 am
<p>Detention</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Catch up detention (CD) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Friday after school, ○ Designed to be supportive, ○ Separate centralised locations for senior and junior students ○ Academic detention (AD) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Consistent poor academic work, repeated lack of homework etc. ○ Designed to be punitive ○ 1 hour long on Saturday night ○ Centralised location for whole school ○ Behavioural detention <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Saturday night ○ Centralised location for whole school ○ 1 hour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Moderately serious misdemeanours ▪ Skipping lessons or Chapel ○ 2 hour <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ More serious misdemeanours ▪ Smoking, drinking, vaping, inappropriate use of ICT, etc. ▪ Or for not completing a tardy within 7 days
<p>Gating</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Loss of privileges such as leaving school site or changing out of uniform ○ Must report to a teacher every 30 minutes in full uniform and get their signature on a card
<p>Rustication</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Student is sent home for 1-5 days at discretion of Senior Deputy Head ○ Repeated serious misbehaviour ○ Second offence smoking, excessive drinking or vaping ○ First offence caught in possession of spirits
<p>Expulsion</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ For extreme examples of repeated misbehaviour or bullying ○ For any use of drugs

Table 1: Summary of school rewards and sanctions system

Perceptions regarding current BM policy

Perceptions were collected using interviews as described previously. A variety of views emerged. The perspectives of the students and staff indicate that the school is still heavily reliant on rewards and sanctions, even given the negative connotations of such a BM system. Most interviewees felt that the system was not used fairly or consistently. All the interviewees generally thought it was to be expected that there would be a lot of tardies at the beginning of the school year, once the so-called 'two-week-grace period' was over, as teachers used sanctions as a deterrent to set students' expectations.

There was disagreement about the effectiveness of the reward and sanction system. Whilst some students felt it was very effective, others thought it was too simplistic and almost naive. All the students seemed to think the rewards and sanctions system was overused, but the perspective differed by year group. The older students generally seemed to think that they received far fewer merits or tardies but received detentions instead. When asked to predict the percentage of students getting tardies and detentions, the range went from 50% up to 90%, with generally younger students predicting the higher rates.

There was a commonly held belief by both staff and students that most people are in detention for not completing tardies. Some students predicted that up to 80% of the people in detention were there just for not completing tardies, with several students in the 'repeat offenders' group boasting that they never did theirs. Some teachers thought as many as 40% of tardies remained incomplete, and even the DHP thought it was around 30%. The MIS data will reveal the true extent, but at least some individuals confirmed this view. Some

students actively chose to go to detention or suggested that they would rather get a detention than a tardy, as expressed by one member of the Repeat Offenders Group (ROG):

I'd rather lose two hours on Saturday night where I can get solid work done than have to get up early in the morning.

ROG (1)

There was disagreement amongst the staff as to whether students were learning from their sanctions. Some staff felt the system was used too much and too many sanctions were handed out, but others felt that it was not used enough. Whilst some teachers admitted to not making much use of rewards or sanctions, others were adamant that it was the only way to get some students to learn. For example, one science teacher said that sanctions should be used as behavioural reinforcement:

I don't like to be the mean teacher, but they've got to learn from someone...they soon learn to buck up their ideas

Science Teacher (3)

However, this science teacher's views were the antithesis of several other teachers. When discussing detentions, one member of the Behavioural Working Group said:

It's always the same students and they never learn

BWG teacher (2)

Similar disagreement was found among the students, with some students from the 'repeat offenders' group saying that they went to detention most weeks and always saw the same crowd in there, whilst other students (mainly in the pupil thrive team) who said they would be in real trouble with their parents if they even went once.

There was broad agreement amongst both staff and students that there were some teachers who just handed out sanctions with no discussion or reflection with the student and took no ownership of the sanction. Some students added that they often felt misunderstood or ignored and would like the opportunity to get their view across. One of the major themes from the preliminary investigation was that of unequal or inconsistent application of the BM policy. The MIS data will be useful for examining whether these perceptions have any basis in reality.

Findings from the Main Investigation

Data was gathered through the school's MIS database, from interviews with staff and students, and from evaluating student detention reflection forms. The first set of data discussed here comes from the MIS database.

Data gathered from the MIS Database

These results are split into two sections. Merit and Tardy data were examined first as these were the lowest value rewards and sanctions in the token system and should therefore be the most commonly handed out. Detentions were examined separately.

MIS Merit and Tardy Data

The notable problems with the use of the MIS data have already been discussed in the research methods section. Taking that on board, table 2 shows the data for the number of merits and tardies for the past three years. Only two terms are shown, with the Autumn term being treated as the 'pre-intervention' phase and the Spring term being treated as the intervention phase.

Autumn Term Data						
Average Merits per Student						
Academic Year	9	10	11	12	13	Average
201718	31.3	23.2	23.9	NA	NA	26.0
201819	30.8	30.6	22.0	23.6	NA	26.7
201920	36.4	30.9	29.8	24.3	19.6	27.7
Average Tardies per student						
201718	2.4	3.2	1.4	NA	NA	2.3
201819	2.9	2.8	2.1	1.1	NA	2.2
201920	3.0	1.8	1.4	0.7	0.4	1.4
Average ratio of Merits to Tardies						
201718	13.1	7.2	16.7	NA	NA	11.2
201819	10.6	10.9	10.4	21.9	NA	12.1
201920	12.2	16.8	22.1	36.6	43.7	20.1
Spring Term Data						
Average Merits per Student						
Academic Year	9	10	11	12	13	Average
201718	24.3	13.7	9.9	NA	NA	15.6
201819	26.0	26.2	15.5	22.5	NA	22.5
201920	33.6	29.4	19.4	21.8	15.0	23.4
Average Tardies per student						
201718	2.0	2.1	1.2	NA	NA	1.8
201819	2.0	2.5	1.6	1.1	NA	1.8
201920	2.3	1.2	0.9	0.5	0.3	1.0
Average ratio of Merits to Tardies						
201718	12.2	6.5	8.2	NA	NA	8.9
201819	13.1	10.5	9.4	21.3	NA	12.7
201920	14.9	25.3	22.0	42.4	48.6	24.3

Table 2: Merits and Tardies per student from school MIS data

The total numbers of merits and tardies per student is lower during Spring (presumably due to the shorter term length) so the ratio is given. Whilst the data for 2017-18 and 2018-19 shows quite a large variation in the data for each year group, the average ratio of the number of merits to tardies stayed roughly constant. However, there is a big increase in 2019-20. There could be a number of reasons for this. For example, this is the only year where data is available for the upper sixth – but even so, the average is higher for every

other year group too. Possibly the students were just better behaved or maybe the teachers were more conscious of the BM system and made greater use of it. The variation is too big to determine any impact from this intervention and had already increased during Autumn in the pre-intervention phase.

It is evident from table 2 that younger students receive more merits but also more tardies than older students. Figure 1 illustrates the trend below.

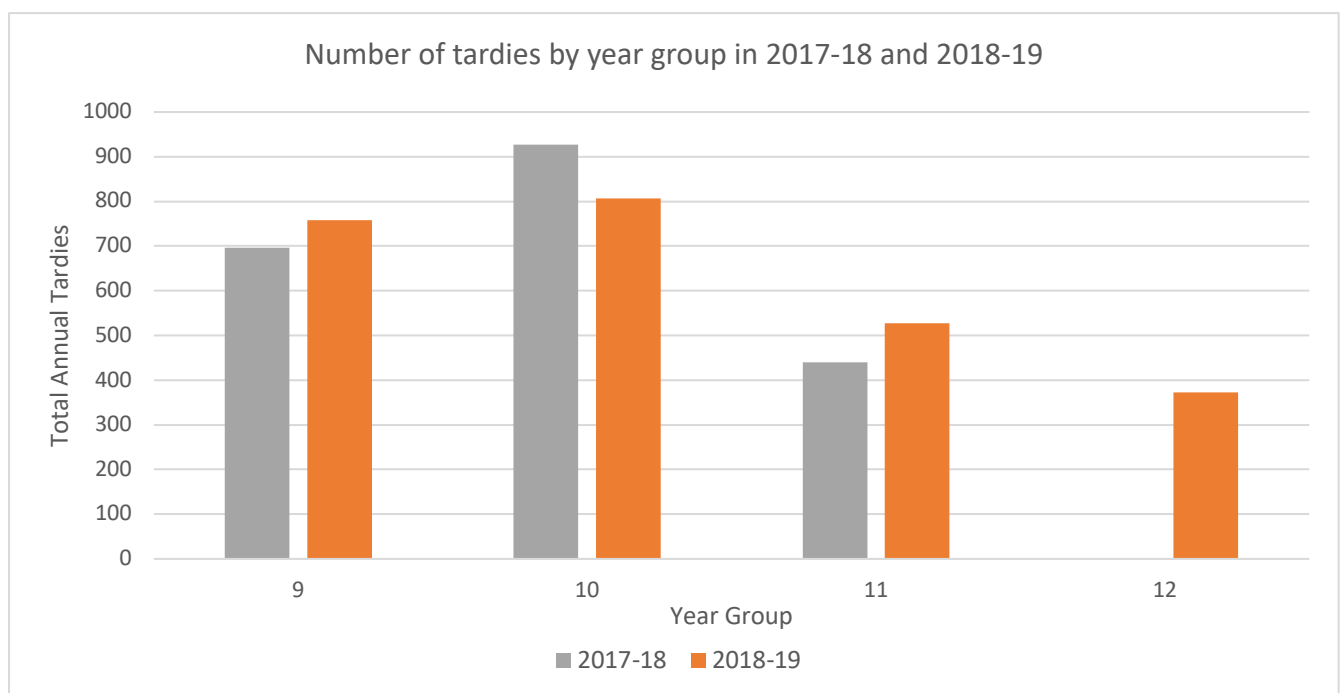


Figure 1: Number of Tardies by year group for 2017-18 and 2018-19 academic years

Figure 1 agrees to some extent with national data (DfE, 2019), with students in year 9 and 10 receiving the most sanctions. This agrees with comments from the literature about teachers' use of token systems primarily being geared around younger students (for example, see Reitman et al., 2004), although it is unclear whether this is because students are learning to behave better or whether teachers tacitly use different BM techniques with

students of different ages. Since older students receive so few tardies, they receive nearly double the number of merits for every tardy they are given.

It is possible to use the MIS data to attempt to determine how consistently punishments were handed out. As well as student age, it was found that there were inconsistencies based on the gender of the students, the day of the week and week of the year and between different departments and teachers. To some extent these are ideas which are covered in the literature. For example, a well-known national trend is that boys receive far more sanctions than girls (Strand, 2015). This trend was also observed here although not to the same extent. The data for 2017-18 and 2018-19 has been collated in table 3:

	Number of students who received tardies	% of each gender given a tardy	% of total for each gender	% of school population of this gender	Number of tardies	Average Tardies per student
Girls	230	65%	39%	43%	1334	5.8
Boys	357	75%	61%	57%	3193	8.9
	587	71%				

Table 3: Dependence of Gender on Tardy Distributions, 2017-18 and 2018-19

During 2017-18 and 2018-19, 71% of the students received tardies, with boys accounting for 61% of the total issued. The school has a slightly higher male population, with boys making up 57% of the school's intake. So roughly the same proportion of boys and girls are given tardies. However, boys each receive around 50% more tardies than girls, even though there are approximately the same proportions of students misbehaving. Whether this indicates an increased rate of recidivism amongst boys or inconsistencies amongst teachers cannot be determined from the MIS data.

Table 3 indicates that tardies are not an adequate deterrent for some students. Figure 2 shows this by breaking down the percentage of students by the number of tardies they receive.

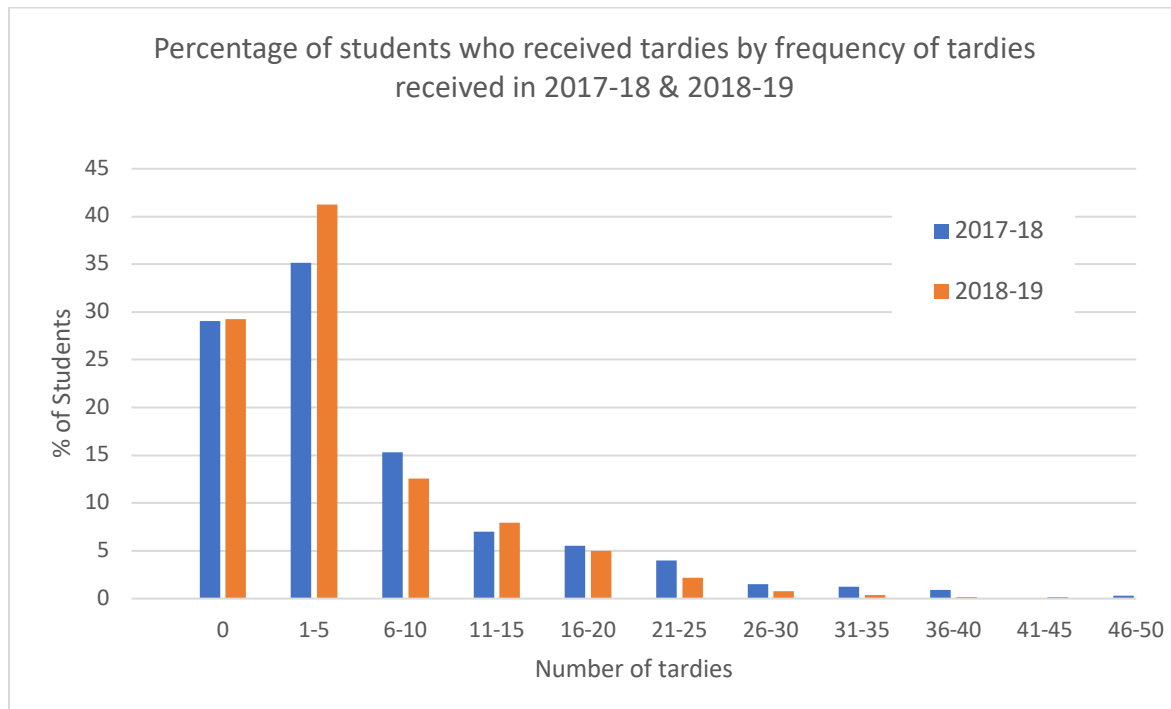


Figure 2: Frequency distribution for number of students by number of tardies received

Figure 2 shows that whilst on average over 67% of students had fewer than 5 tardies, a considerable number had many tardies, with around 20% having more than 10. It could be argued that therefore 10 tardies could be considered the threshold for recidivism (although of course the minimum value is really 2 tardies but this is 83% of the students). 20% agrees with the estimate made by Sugai & Horner (2008).

It is important to note that there are a few individuals for whom the system is completely ineffective. Indeed, in both cohorts there were one or two students who received above 40 tardies, more than everyone with a single tardy combined! This issue needs addressing for these students in particular.

In addition to age and gender, Figure 3 demonstrates that there is time inconsistency in the way tardies are awarded throughout the week.

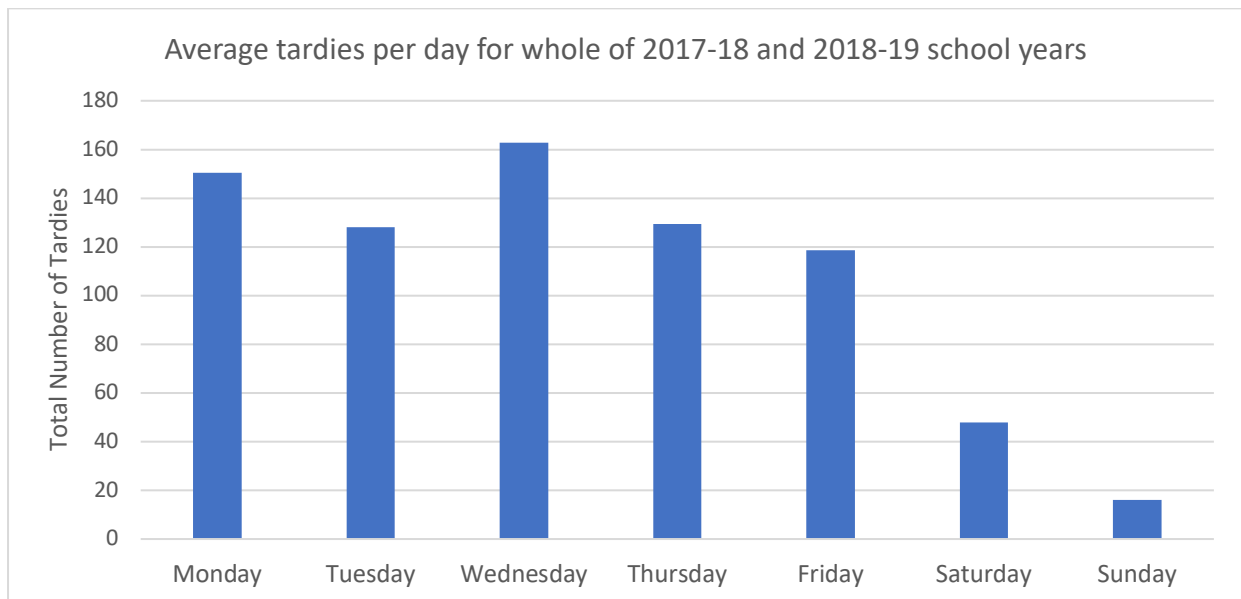


Figure 3: Total number of tardies throughout year by day of the week awarded

Students are almost 40% more likely to get a tardy on a Wednesday than a Friday. This was not an issue raised in the original literature but one hypothesis could be decision fatigue (Halpern, 2015, p.140). It may be due to how long it seems until the weekend or because many teachers catch up on administration on Wednesday afternoon as they have PPE time due to this being a boarding school. Another hypothesis is that student behaviour really does vary by day of the week, but more research would be needed to confirm this.

As well as variation in the number of tardies awarded by day of the week, there was also variation by week of the year as shown in figure 4.

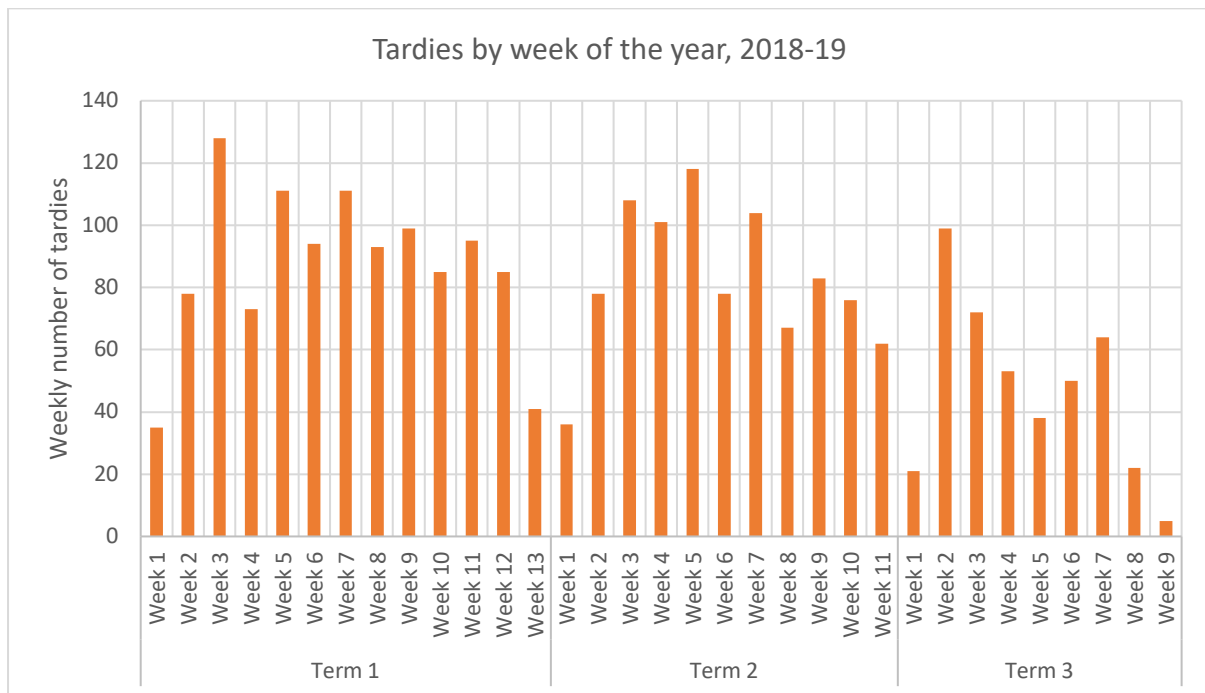


Figure 4: Weekly Tardy Count during 2018-19

Figure 4 shows the number of tardies by week of the year for the 2018-19 academic year. A similar trend was observed for 2017-18. A large variation from week-to-week is seen across the year, with particular troughs at the beginning and end of term. It seems unlikely that students necessarily behave that much better at these times, but perhaps the expectations from students and staff are different or perhaps decision fatigue plays a role. Figure 5 attempts to smooth this variation by showing the number of tardies per student per week per term to take into account that each term has a different number of weeks.



Figure 5: Number of tardies per week, per student, for all the MIS data

Figure 5 shows that actually per term the number of tardies per student remains mostly constant apart from the summer term, during which the number of tardies reduces by around 25%. One reason for this could be that the students are more used to the expectations of their teachers. Another could be that teachers are in a less disciplinary mood by this time in the year. A third possible cause is that there are simply fewer students in school to receive tardies as year 11 and 13 are on study leave for half of it. Probably the reason is a combination of all of these factors.

On average around 53 tardies are handed out each week. Of these around 92.5% are completed on time. Any tardies which are incomplete after 7 days are transmuted into a 2-hour behavioural detention on a Saturday night. This means that only around 7.5% of all tardies become behavioural detentions, a figure much lower than that predicted by staff and students in the preliminary investigation.

So far it has been shown that there is inconsistent application between the age and gender of the student, the day of the week or the week of the year. Figures 6 and 7 demonstrate the inconsistency between teachers and departments.

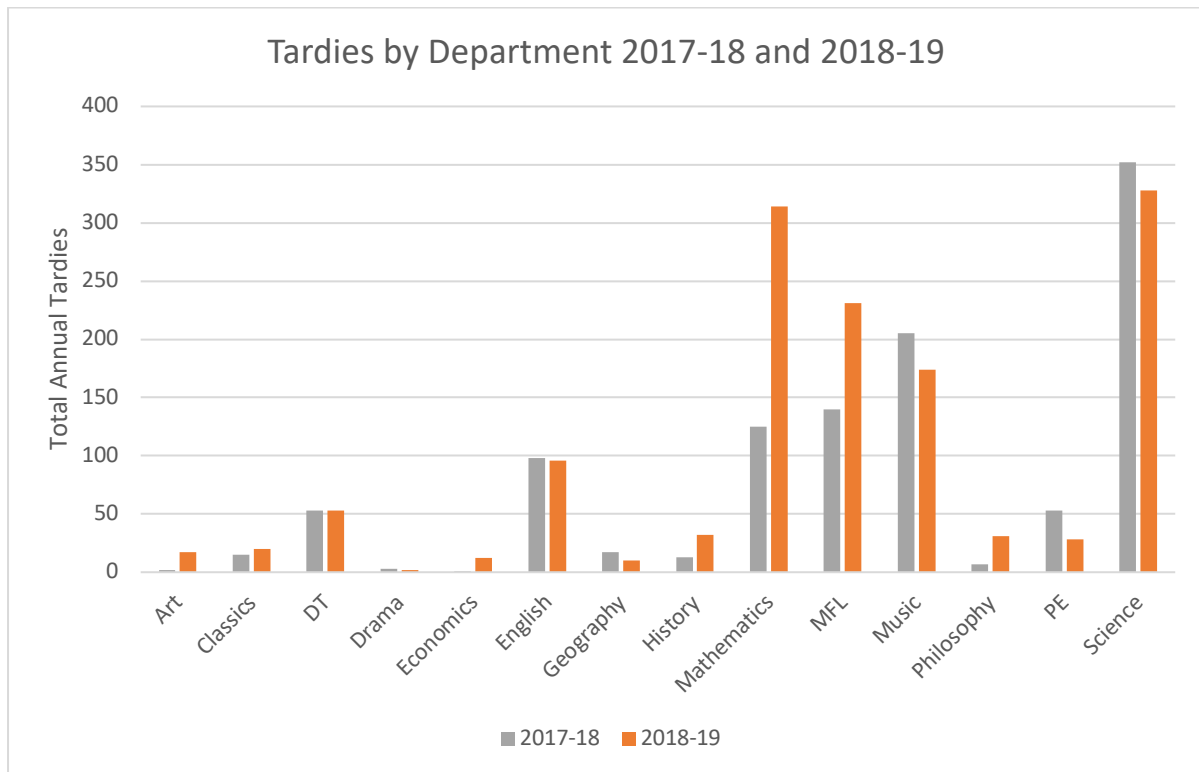


Figure 6: Annual Tardy Count per department for 2017-18 and 2018-19

The inconsistency evident in figure 6 could be explained by some departments (such as economics) only teaching sixth-form students. However, this cannot explain all the variation as nearly all the other departments teach students from across the whole school. One hypothesis is that there is a link between the total number of student-hours spent per subject and the number of tardies awarded. The subject itself may not necessarily be the cause of this, as figure 7 shows.

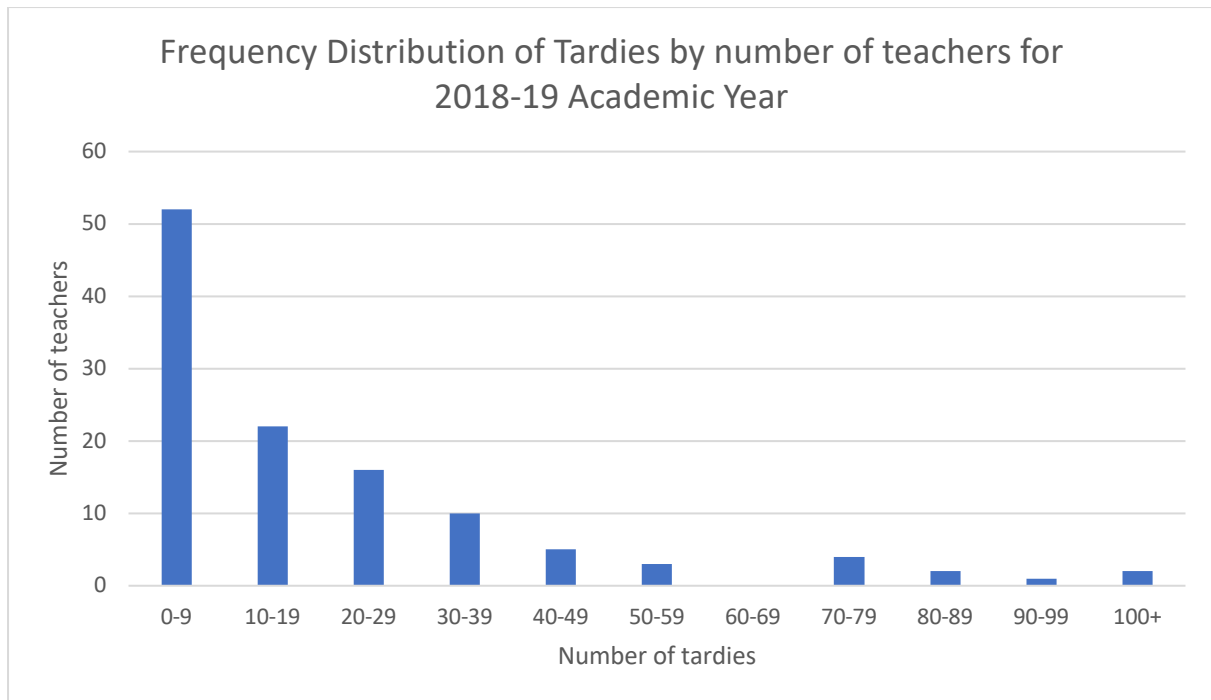


Figure 7: Frequency Distribution of number of tardies awarded by number of teachers for 2018-19

There is considerable variation in teaching style across the school, as demonstrated in figure 7. Whilst 52 teachers have given out fewer than 10 tardies (and many have not given any), 17 teachers are responsible for over half of all the tardies. This graph is a very large indicator of the inconsistent application of the BM system. It seems unlikely that 17 teachers get all of the 'naughty' students but is rather a function of their individual teaching styles.

Overall the analysis of the use of merits and tardies has shown several issues and inconsistencies. As well as gender and age, other factors including the day of the week and week of the year as well as the subject and teacher all seem to play a role. Some students have been shown to have a high rate of recidivism, with particular individuals causing considerable skewing of the overall picture. This pattern can be investigated further by looking at MIS data for detentions.

MIS Detention data

During the pre-intervention phase several students and staff were of the opinion that most detentions were for non-completion of tardies. To investigate this the reasons for being given a detention were examined. To some extent the anecdotal opinions of the interviewees were proved correct as 27% of all detentions were for missing tardies, making it the biggest single reason for detentions. In addition to missing tardies there were three main reasons students were in detention. These were for cutting chapel, committing an ICT offence or for missing a music lesson. Together these four reasons accounted for 45% of all detentions. Figure 8 shows how these four reasons for receiving a detention vary over time.

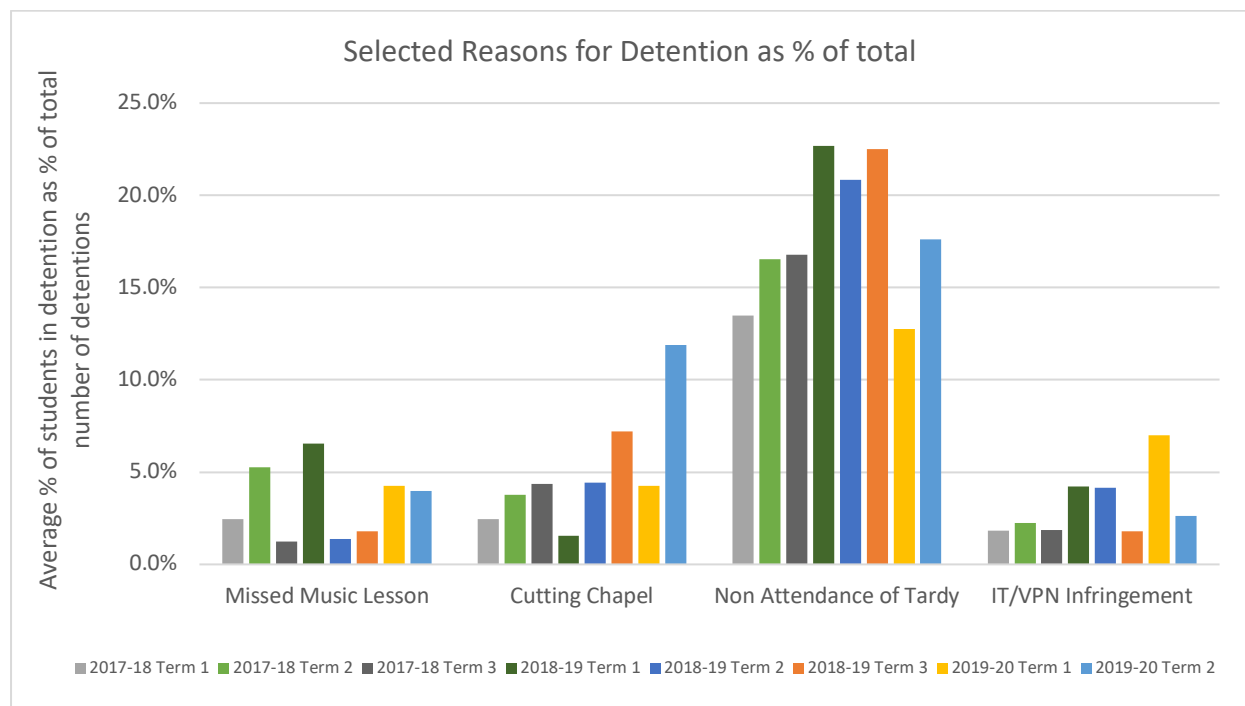


Figure 8: Percentage of students in detention per week on average per term for four main reasons for detention

It can clearly be seen how non-attendance of tardies dwarfs the other major reasons for students receiving detentions. This confirms the perspectives of most of the staff and

students from the preliminary investigation, although the proportion in detention for this reason is fewer than originally predicted by the interviewees. No trend is evident over time.

Only 7.5% of tardies handed out are not completed, but these are responsible for over a quarter of all detentions overall. This raises the question of recidivism and whether the use of detentions is an effective deterrent for not completing tardies or whether individually targeted behavioural interventions would be more effective. As explored above, many authors suggest that the use of such blunt instruments as detentions are unnecessary, can be counter-productive, and don't reduce the rate of recidivism (Daniels & Williams, 2000; Kline, 2016; Nussbaum, 2018; R. Payne, 2015; Reynolds et al., 2008; B. Rogers, 2011).

To understand an indication of the rate of recidivism the distribution of detentions for a single year was chosen. 2018-19 was used as it is the last year for which there is a whole year of data available. Overall there were 835 detentions in the year, sat by 232 individual students – 46% of the student body as summarised in table 4.

Number of detentions	% of students receiving detention		
	Academic Detention	Behavioural Detention	Any Detention
0	69%	65%	54%
1	19%	15%	18%
2	6%	7%	9%
3	3%	5%	5%
3+	4%	8%	14%
Total Receiving Detention	31%	35%	46%

Table 4: Percentage of students receiving specific numbers of detentions

Over half the students (54%) received no detentions and nearly 40% of those who received detention only did once. This corroborates some of the preliminary perspectives from some students who suggested they would be in real trouble if they got one detention. It also shows that for many students, detention is an effective deterrent.

Behavioural detentions were more common. Those who received detentions received on average one more behavioural detention per student than academic detention. 30% of those who received detentions (14% of the whole school) accounted for 70% of the detentions – that is 577 detentions, an average of around 8 detentions per student. This is considerably greater than the estimate made by Sugai (2008). However, the mean statistics are skewed by outliers who have had many detentions, as for those who did receive detention the mean was 3.6 detentions per student, even though over half received detention two times or fewer. When combining the data for all the detentions into a single graph (see figure 9) the effect of these outliers becomes quite stark.

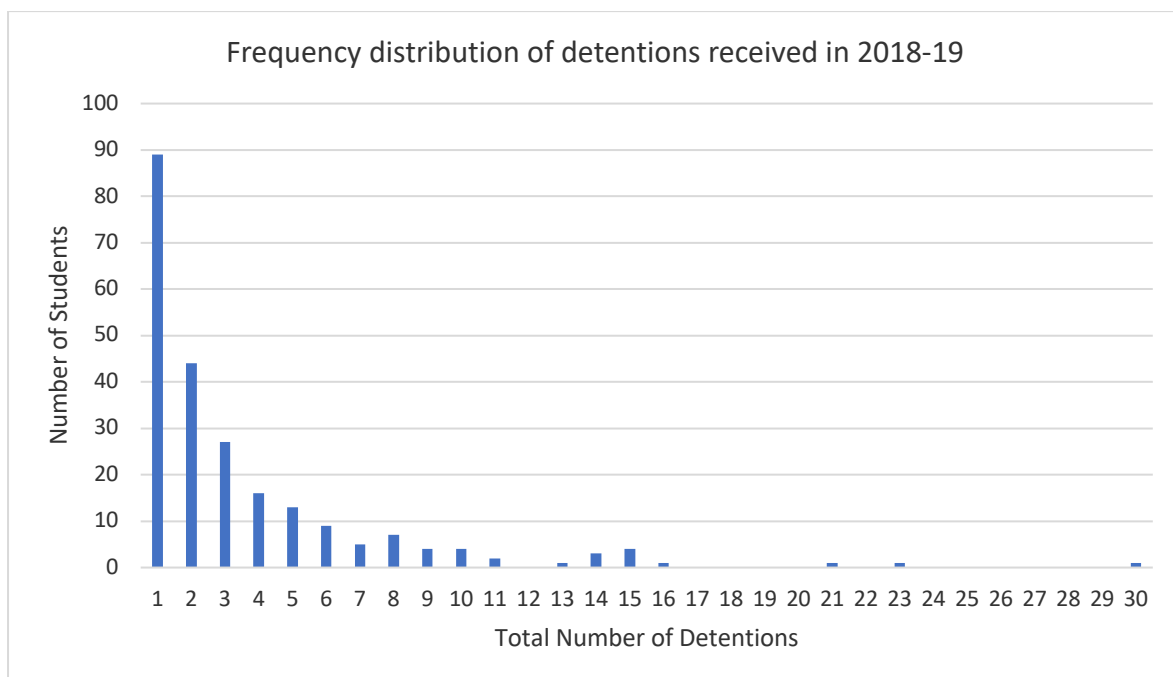


Figure 9: Frequency of total number of detentions for students in 2018-19

Figure 9 confirms some of the perceptions found in the preliminary investigation, specifically that there is a core of potentially quite truculent students in the school for whom detention is not an effective method for teaching prosocial behaviours. The biggest example of this skew to the statistics is provided by the 4 students (just 0.8% of the student body) who received the most detentions in total during the year. These 4 students received 90 detentions between them (18% of the total). Yet 89 students only received 1 detention each!

When looking at the data in more detail, it is found that 60% of Academic Detentions are received by just 7% of the student body, and 56% of Behavioural Detentions are received by just 8% of the student body. These figures tie in very closely with those estimated by Sugai (2008). He suggested that individualised positive behaviour supports would be needed for around 5% of the student body.

It could be argued that the school is failing these individuals as it is not teaching them prosocial behavioural and academic habits. In addition to Sugai (2008) many authors have written about students with complex behaviour or pastoral backgrounds and many opinions and theories exist (Beaty-O'Ferrall, Green, & Hanna, 2010; Bryan, Day-Vines, Griffin, & Moore-Thomas, 2012; Gable & Strain, 1981; Nash, Schlösser, & Scarr, 2016; Rollock, 2010; Sugai & Horner, 2002; Tobin et al., 2002; Woods, 2008). Whilst dealing with these individuals should be a priority for the school it is beyond the scope of this study although it may be an important area for future interventions.

Some might argue that the system works for the majority of the students. It may work as a deterrent, since 54% of the students never receive a detention and a further 18% receive only one. Previous research on student perceptions has shown that detentions are perceived as an effective deterrent (Harrop & Williams, 1992; Infantino & Little, 2005; Shreeve et al., 2002). However, the same may not apply in this context. It cannot be determined merely from MIS data but will require further exploration during interviewing.

The fact that most students who received detention only received one could be seen as evidence that students are learning from their mistakes, although proving that the detention is the reason they improve isn't possible. It may be that they are made aware of their mistakes and work to resolve them regardless of whether they receive a detention or not. Some students clearly have not learned from their mistakes and have received multiple detentions. The system evidently doesn't work for everyone. However, perhaps the data for 2018-19 is anomalous. To explore this, the percentage of students in detention per week for the past three years is shown in figure 10.

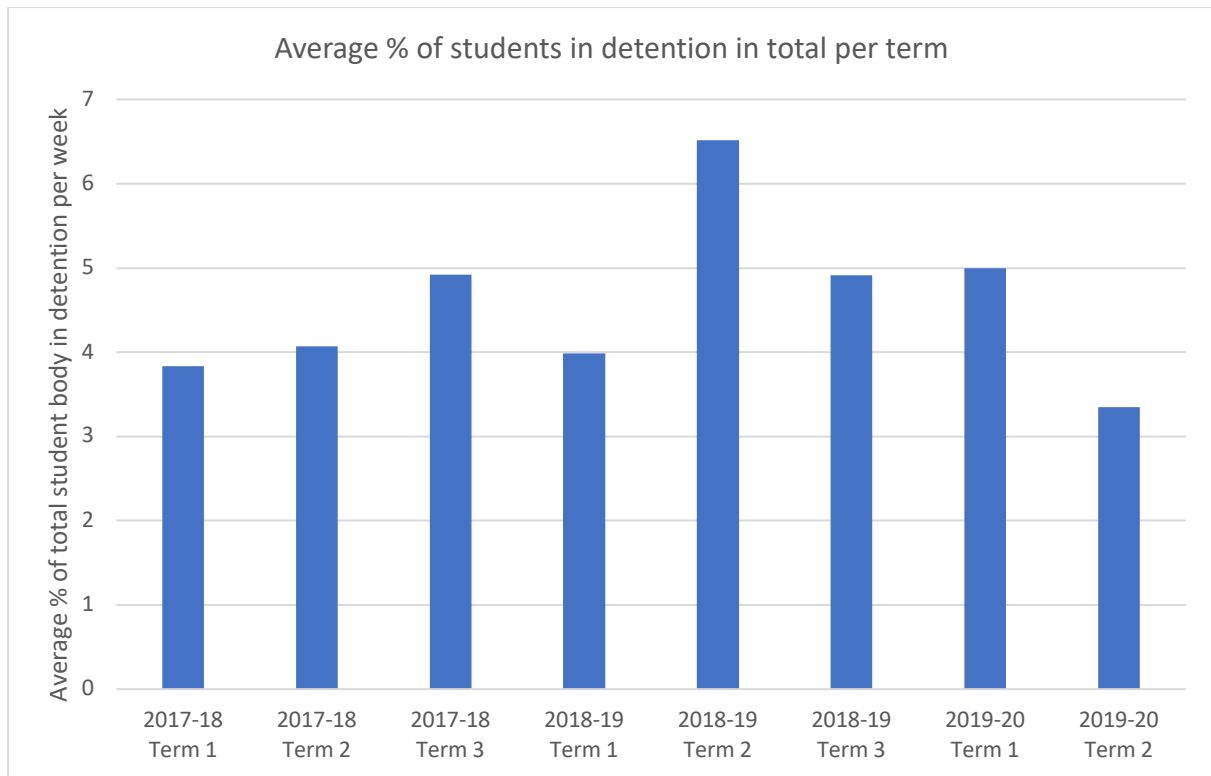


Figure 10: Average percentage of student body in detention per week per term

As figure 10 shows, only a small minority (on average 4.7%) of the population of the school are given detention each week. There doesn't seem to be any trend throughout the year but there is considerable variation from term to term. Whilst there is a spike during term 2 in 2018-19, the overall average for the year is approximately consistent with 2017-18 and term 1 for 2019-20 (pre-intervention). Term 2 2019-20 shows the fewest students in detention per week, but before going to claim any impact from the intervention it is worth breaking down the data to examine it on a week-by-week basis, as demonstrated in figure 11.

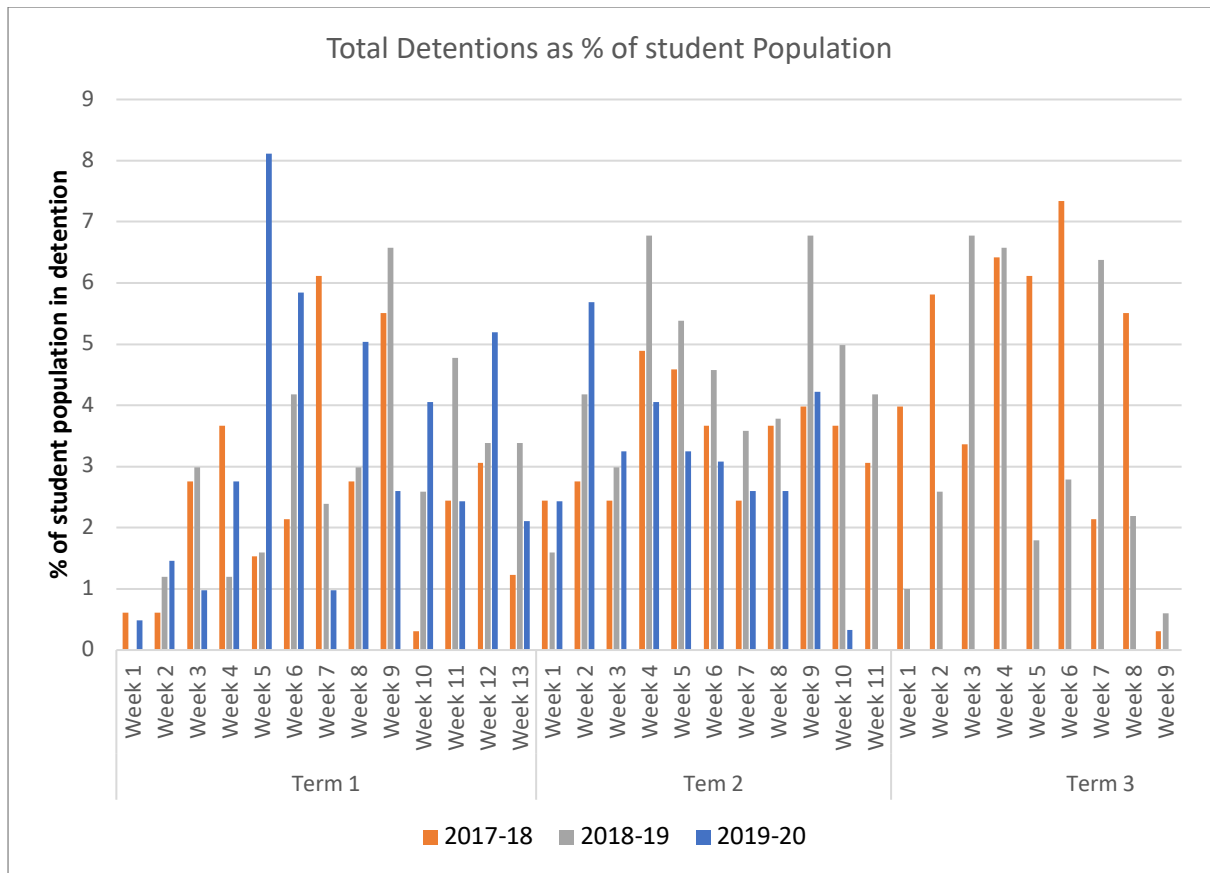


Figure 11: Percentage of students in detention per week from 2017-18 to 2019-20

As for figure 10, figure 11 demonstrates the lack of any clear trend but instead emphasises the large variability from week to week. This is an issue for this investigation as the variation from week to week is already so large that any impact from this investigation may not be evident from the data. This variability could be due to inconsistencies in the way detentions are awarded, or it could be something to be expected from the use of calendared deadlines. For example, the single largest data-point is for week 5 in term 1 2019-20. However, on closer examination this spike is because 23 students were given an academic detention for not completing coursework by the deadline. Many of these students received their first and only detention for this event. One-off events like this contribute to the large variability from week to week. However, over the course of a term some evening-out occurs, so in some sense figure 10 is more useful as a measure.

This brings us to the question of whether the intervention was really as effective as it appears from figure 10. Figure 11 shows that any potential improvement due to the intervention should be taken with caution. For the first three weeks of the intervention the number of students in detention was higher than the historical average. However, possibly there was some impact from the intervention over the next 6 weeks until week 9 as the numbers of students in detention drops appreciably below the historical average.

However, the real reason that such an impact is shown for the whole of term 2 in figure 10 is probably because of the data for weeks 10 and 11 seen in figure 11. Data for these weeks is missing, as due to Covid-19 the term was cut short by a week and a half. This means that whilst some useful information can be drawn from the use of the MIS data, no precise conclusions can be drawn as to the effectiveness of the intervention. Some impact may have occurred, as for 6 weeks during term 2 the total number of detentions was reduced from the historical average. However, a better understanding of the effect of the intervention will have to rest on the use of interviews to determine the perspectives of the students and staff.

Findings from interviews

General observations from interviews

Many staff and students were under the impression that the behaviour in the school was quite poor. To some extent this is reasonable, as 71% of the student population received at least one tardy. However, almost 1/3 of the school received no tardies, and 67% of those who did had fewer than 5. Those who skewed the mean were disproportionately mentioned, when in fact the vast majority of the students received very few tardies.

In addition to this, most interviewees overestimated the proportion of tardies that were not completed and resulted in a detention. Estimates were mainly in the 30-40% region, when in fact the true figure was only 7.5%. The reason for this overestimate may be that this small number of incomplete tardies contributes such a large amount to the number of students in detention (27% on average). Another cause for students to be given detention is for missing chapel, and again this value was overestimated by both teachers and students.

Almost all the interviewees felt that some sort of reward and sanction system was necessary. For example, one upper sixth student in the pupil thrive group said

You need clear boundaries for the [Year 9] and you get loads of tardies then. But as you get older teachers don't give you so many tardies – teachers just give you detentions instead.

Other sixth form students also felt that whilst the rewards and sanctions system had less impact on them, they were still keen that such a system existed as they felt that it helped students to learn expectations better. Even some of the 'repeat offenders' thought that the reward and sanction system should remain, but they were very pleased that the new system offered them more opportunity to discuss their behaviour with teachers as they felt that often they had been treated unfairly, as described below.

Yeah, I always get picked on in [X]. Mr [Y] always picks on me. It's not even me most of the time, it's always [Z] talking to me anyway.

ROG 1

Both staff and students were very poor at estimating the number of tardies or detentions particular students had had within the year. This was particularly the case for students with a poor self-concept, who tended to think they were far 'naughtier' than they were (and so did their peers and teachers). This is a particularly surprising finding and wasn't anticipated from the literature. This has implications for policy creation when based on popular opinion rather than on evidence, demonstrating the importance of the previous data gathered from the MIS database.

It was generally felt that most students were learning from their sanctions. However, most interviewees also thought that there was a group of students who wouldn't change, no matter how many sanctions they were given. This view was backed up in the MIS data, for example figure 9. Several interviewees mentioned that these students may need more individualised support than was currently available under the current system. As discussed

under figure 9, several researchers have discussed individualised support programmes which may be important for the school to examine.

In addition to those who were sent to detention for punishment, a fairly common comment from both students and staff was that there were some students who actually chose to go to detention. Several individual students in 1:1 discussions explained their reasoning for this as recounted in an individual interview with one upper sixth boy:

Well, chapel is 20 minutes long and I have a free first period on Saturday, so I'd rather take a detention than go to chapel. I can't work in the boarding house on Saturday night anyway so I go to detention anyway. It's not that it's too noisy, it's just too social if you know what I mean? Anyway, the only difference is that I have to go in school uniform.

Student 1

It's difficult to tell from the data exactly how many students were of the same mindset as this student but whilst the general perception was that it was quite a high percentage it can't be that high as cutting chapel only accounted for 5% of detentions. Data is not collected on how many students are attending detention even though they haven't been sent there. In future perhaps a record of this should be kept and an alternative provision made depending on the demand.

Specific observations regarding the three components of the investigation

Overall there was a mixed response from the interviewees regarding the effectiveness of the different interventions. Whilst there were many positive comments there was a large number of suggestions for improvement.

Intervention 1: Staff having 'restorative discussions' with students when handing out sanctions

There were a variety of observations and perspectives regarding this intervention. Some staff found that it worked well, helped them to see things more from the student's perspective and improved their relationships with their classes. However, others found it more challenging, particularly at first, as it wasn't what they were used to. Unfortunately, some staff in the science department appeared to demonstrate some virtue signalling when giving feedback about it, as the meeting was mediated by the DHP. It felt like they may have just been trying to seem to have been implementing it more than they really were. Others were quite honest about it and said they'd found it hard or simply forgotten about it in the busyness of the term. Others found that whilst they may have forgotten to implement it at the beginning of the term they gradually increased their use of it throughout the term and could see the benefits and intended to use it more in the future.

Some staff stated that they would have appreciated more training and support materials. This was a shortcoming of implementing the intervention and didn't follow the guidance from the literature (Bradshaw, 2008; Sugai & Horner, 2008). One big problem was that

teachers didn't exactly know what each other were doing so didn't have a consistent idea of how to apply it or what the exact expectations were. Over time it appeared that through discussion a general consensus emerged but there was certainly an emphasis on the desire for more initial training as well as more ongoing training.

From the student perspective, some students had valued it as it had given them more of a chance to explain themselves. Some repeat offenders were particularly pleased as it meant they didn't receive another sanction. Others had found it a little forced and abstract, in some cases too impersonal or just a chance for the teacher to 'have a go.' The overall picture that emerged from the students agreed with that from the teachers, namely that there was a spectrum of uptake, where some seemed very good at it and employed it regularly whilst others just carried on giving sanctions regardless.

Intervention 2: Staff sending students to departmental detentions rather than academic detentions.

This was the intervention which people were most positive about. Almost everyone thought it had worked quite well. Teachers had been surprised by the positive response from students, and most students had been quite receptive to it. Students commented that they'd appreciated the input from teachers and that they were pleased that their parents were not being informed that they had got another detention.

However, this apparently positive effect from the student perspective was one of the largest areas for improvement pointed out by the staff. They generally felt that there were issues

with tracking the students – there was no ‘button’ on MIS system as there was for normal detention and this made it difficult to register the students as well as track them over time. Various efforts were made at using Microsoft Teams to keep a register but at this stage Microsoft Teams was still new software for many staff and they struggled to use it. Instead teachers ended up relying on emailing the staff member who was running clinic that week. Logistics for this could certainly be improved, as could visibility of departmental clinics in general.

Some students were frustrated to have missed co-curricular activities, as were their coaches. This effectively counteracted any restorative component of the detention and made it even more retributive, as they were prevented from doing an activity they enjoyed. One way some staff found to get around this was to recognise that in science there were 3 possible days a week when a clinic was running where a detention could take place. Some staff discussed with the student which day worked best for them and one or two students mentioned how beneficial this had been.

Intervention 3: Reflection forms

There was also a mixture of opinions and perspectives regarding the reflection forms. Some staff had found them useful and interesting and were generally very pleased with the level of effort students put into completing them. Some concern was raised about how long they took to fill in and how much persuasion was initially required, but it was generally agreed that after the first few weeks most students understood the expectations and simply got on with it. Indeed, a senior teacher recently reflected that

I am increasingly in favour of ditching all punishments apart from reflection. Every time I start Saturday night detention off, the biggest resentment/highest level of whinging is caused by having to reflect, which is clearly a great disincentive!

Quote from Senior Teacher

Some pastoral staff reported some useful conversations which had taken place. For example, the DHP had discussed them with certain students. Most staff and some students could see the value in using them in pastoral discussions, as well as creating a pastoral 'learning journey' which students could utilise when looking back on previous misdemeanours (when making new ones or when looking at how far they'd come and seeing the positive improvements they'd made).

Some staff had had no interaction with the reflection forms as they were not involved in running detentions or having pastoral discussions with students. The number of staff who were able to contribute to discussions about this intervention was lower than for the other interventions but they were generally staff who had an intimate understanding of the intervention and could provide a thorough and robust opinion on it. To some extent staff were aware of concerns students had but the full extent of their perceptions only became clear when discussing it with them.

Overall, students were not enamoured of the forms. Not all of the students in the interview groups had experienced them as they had not received detentions, but those in the 'repeat offenders' group had experienced them several times. Whilst one or two said they could see

the point in them, they felt they didn't really need them and that actually writing it out just wasted their time as they had already reflected on the infraction in their mind. Some admitted to having written what they thought teachers wanted to hear, or having made their writing deliberately big so that they didn't have to write lots. Others admitted to having written a rushed response which didn't go into a great level of reflective detail. Some, however, said they had taken the form seriously as they had been instructed to do, and had tried to write a reflection which was genuine. One or two students explicitly stated that if it was worth doing, it was worth doing well and that it had been useful in subsequent pastoral discussions.

The effectiveness of this intervention is therefore the most difficult to determine. Whilst those teachers who have interacted with it the most are the most positive about it, the opposite is the case with students. Given the limited sample size of staff who could evaluate this intervention the results will be treated as inconclusive for the moment. In future as the intervention is rolled out more widely and more staff use the forms for pastoral discussions with tutees it will be interesting to observe whether the staff or student perception on their usefulness changes.

One way to evaluate the effectiveness of the student reflection forms is to read through them and determine how many have 'serious' responses. This is considered in the following section.

Observations from Detention Reflection Form

There is sufficient complexity within these reflection forms to provide for quite a detailed investigation in its own right. Since so much data has already been collected from the school MIS database and through several interviews, the observations on these reflection forms will be kept brief. The first thing that was done was to organise the reflection forms according to how much had been written. Some of the students completely filled the space whilst others wrote the bare minimum. If only one or two sentences had been written then it was considered a small amount of feedback, 2-5 sentences were considered a medium amount and greater than 5 was considered to be a lot. The totals are provided in table 5.

	Number of forms
Small amount of writing	48
Medium amount of writing	26
Large amount of writing	23
Total	97

Table 5: Number of forms by amount of writing on the form.

As can be seen, most students only wrote a small amount. Many of these small reflections were written by students who had been given detentions for missing Chapel or for not attending a tardy and as a result had written relatively trivial responses. An example for missing Chapel is provided in figure 12.

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name: _____
House: _____
Year: _____
Tutor: _____

It is important that you reflect on why you are in detention and what you have learnt from the episode. Please fill out this form honestly and in full detail. If the form is not completed satisfactorily then you will be asked to repeat it. After you have completed the form, please give it to the teacher on duty and then you may do your academic work.

Which teacher gave you the detention?
[REDACTED]

Why are you in detention? Explain the full circumstances.
I skipped chapel because upon my arrival the doors were shut and so I didn't enter.

What was the impact of your actions on yourself and on other people?
The impact on myself was that I ~~missed~~ missed a chance to reflect on and think about certain teachings from the Bible. My absence from chapel could show how I'm in a bad light as well as creating unnecessary work for my house master and Mr Tushill.

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name: _____
House: _____
Year: _____
Tutor: _____

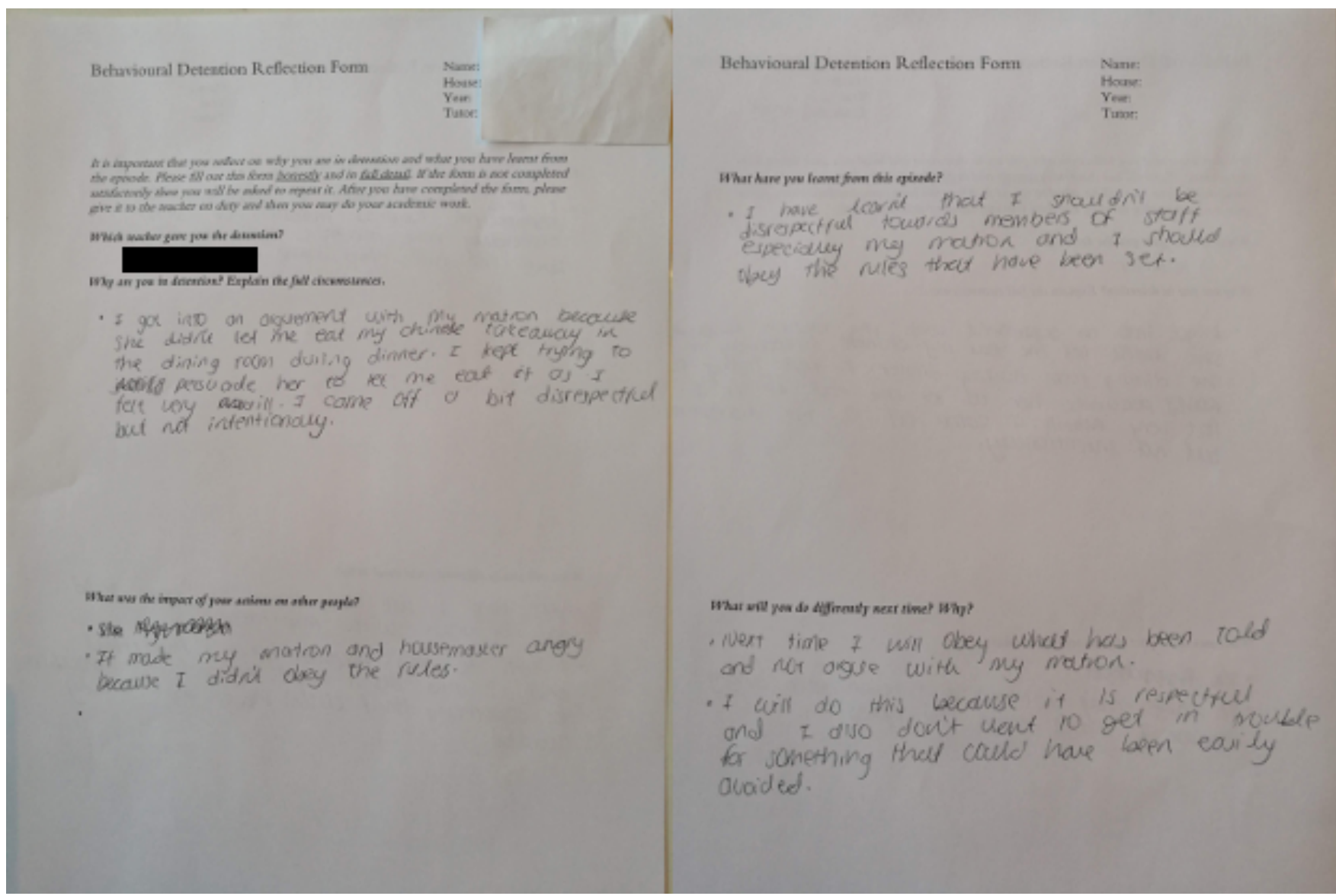
What have you learnt from this episode?
I have learned that even if the doors to chapel are shut I should still enter.

What will you do differently next time? Why?
Next time I will make sure that I am on time to chapel so that I am not faced with the dilemma regarding entering the chapel despite doors being shut.

Figure 12: Example of completed reflection form with small amount of writing: detention for missing Chapel

26 of the forms contained a 'medium' amount of writing. These were forms which demonstrated some engagement with the task but were not as in depth as others. There was no obvious correlation between the reason for the detention and the amount that had been written. Many students are given detentions for misdemeanours which occur within the boarding house as exemplified by figure 13.

The author of figure 13 was quite aware that their actions have resulted in a detention which they say "could have been avoided." The MIS data showed that 27% of detentions are for non-attendance or tardies, something else which could easily be avoided. Figure 14 shows the reflections of a student who was given detention for this reason, who comments that in future they will aim to be more proactive when given a tardy.



Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name:
House:
Year:
Tutor:

It is important that you reflect on why you are in detention and what you have learnt from the episode. Please fill out this form honestly and in full detail. If the form is not completed satisfactorily then you will be asked to repeat it. After you have completed the form, please give it to the teacher on duty and then you may do your academic work.

Which teacher gave you the detention?

[Redacted]

Why are you in detention? Explain the full circumstances.

- I got into an argument with my matron because she didn't let me eat my chinese takeaway in the dining room during dinner. I kept trying to persuade her to let me eat it as I felt very awful. I came off a bit disrespectful but not intentionally.

What was the impact of your actions on other people?

- She ~~was~~ angry
- It made my matron and housemaster angry because I didn't obey the rules.

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name:
House:
Year:
Tutor:

What have you learnt from this episode?

- I have learnt that I shouldn't be disrespectful towards members of staff especially my matron and I should obey the rules that have been set.

What will you do differently next time? Why?

- Next time I will obey what has been told and not argue with my matron.
- I will do this because it is respectful and I also don't want to get in trouble for something that could have been easily avoided.

Figure 13: Example of reflection form, with a medium amount of writing, for a misdemeanour within a boarding house

<p>Behavioural Detention Reflection Form</p> <p>Name: _____ House: _____ Year: _____ Tutor: _____</p> <p><i>It is important that you reflect on why you are in detention and what you have learnt from the episode. Please fill out this form honestly and in full detail. If the form is not completed satisfactorily then you will be asked to repeat it. After you have completed the form, please give it to the teacher on duty and then you may do your academic work.</i></p> <p>Which teacher gave you the detention?</p> <p>Why are you in detention? Explain the full circumstances.</p> <p>Non-Attendance of detention tardy. I forgot to attend my tardy for a few days and then remembered on Saturday and thought that it would be OK if I did it on Monday. However, I had an orthodontist appointment on Monday morning meaning that I wasn't in school until lunchtime.</p> <p>What was the impact of your actions on other people?</p> <p>I got a tardy for having a messy room. This made it harder for the cleaner to do her job</p>	<p>Behavioural Detention Reflection Form</p> <p>Name: _____ House: _____ Year: _____ Tutor: _____</p> <p>What have you learnt from this episode?</p> <p>That, when asked by house staff, I should tidy my room. On top of this, I should be more pro-active in remembering that I have a tardy.</p> <p>What will you do differently next time? Why?</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Tidy my room - Attend my tardy straight away in in the future
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Figure 14: Example of reflection form with a medium amount of writing: detention for not competing a tardy.

23 of the forms contained a large amount of writing. These forms tended to be completed in this fashion for two reasons.

Firstly, many of the students were in detention for quite serious behavioural infractions (fighting, racism, etc.) and clearly wanted to get their side of the story across or attempt to justify themselves. Figure 15 shows an example from a sixth form student who was given a detention for watching a fight between two younger students. The student's reflections feel somewhat contrived – as if the student is saying what they think teachers want to hear. Compare this with the student who wrote the reflection in figure 16. They were evidently quite embarrassed by the racist joke they made in one of their language classes. Their guilty feelings come across very clearly and it is obvious from their reflection that not only are they reflecting on it whilst completing the form, but they have reflected on it since and regret their actions.

The second major reason students have written a lot is because they have used the forms as a platform to criticise the school's BM policy. Clearly the student in figure 17 has quite strong views on this. This form is important as the student quite eloquently and categorically states, several times, that they would choose to go to detention anyway, agreeing with previous comments from staff and students.

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name:
House:
Year:
Tutor:

It is important that you reflect on why you are in detention and what you have learnt from the episode. Please fill out this form honestly and in full detail. If the form is not completed satisfactorily then you will be asked to repeat it. After you have completed the form, please give it to the teacher on duty and then you may do your academic work.

Which teacher gave you the detention?

Why are you in detention? Explain the full circumstances.

I am in detention because on ~~the~~ last week, on Tuesday night I ~~was~~ was in a room with 2 lower school students and fighting. This while I was there, I didn't make an effort to stop the fight which was a wrong decision to make as an Upper school student. My friend there made the everyone else in the room (for and female students) feel like it wasn't a wrong thing to do while allowed them to ~~stop~~ continue fighting. I ~~was~~ also took a video of the fight, which could've gotten out to others such as parents, without asking those involved for consent.

What was the impact of your actions on yourself and on other people?

Due to my presence, the fight continued to happen go on without ~~me~~ me trying to stop it, and go out of hand which resulted in an FY boy getting ~~injured~~ badly injured, who had to spend some time in the med centre.

This showed that I wasn't acting appropriately as a six-former or just as a person as I should've stopped the fight ~~and~~ ~~shouldn't~~ ~~have~~

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name:
House:
Year:
Tutor:

What have you learnt from this episode?

I've learnt that I should take more responsibility with my actions and think through them more carefully because even though some situations might not seem dangerous/significant to me, they can always end up being negatively affecting others around me.

What will you do differently next time? Why?

I will make sure that if anyone is having difficulties, either due to bullying or play fighting, I ~~will stop that~~ ~~from~~ ~~going~~ to stop those situations from getting out of hand and ~~hardly~~ ~~was~~ affecting those involved.

Figure 15: Example of reflection form with a large amount of writing: detention regarding fighting.

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name: [Redacted]
House: [Redacted]
Year: [Redacted]
Tutor: [Redacted]

It is important that you reflect on why you are in detention and what you have learnt from the episode. Please fill out this form honestly and in full detail. If the form is not completed satisfactorily then you will be asked to repeat it. After you have completed the form, please give it to the teacher on duty and then you may do your academic work.

Which teacher gave you the detention?
[Redacted]

Why are you in detention? Explain the full circumstances.

We were discussing a certain topic in German Class when I half asleep let something horrible slip my mouth. I apologized as fast as I could, but the damage my words have caused was already done, which I am deeply ashamed of and wish I could take back.

What was the impact of your actions on yourself and on other people?

I will from now on be remembered, by classmates as well as my teachers for my action and it will not be forgotten unfortunately any time soon. I have to carry the burden of my actions and the merciful punishment. Luckily the only student who was of this ethnicity was not there that day, so I had not upset him which I am grateful for.

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name: [Redacted]
House: [Redacted]
Year: [Redacted]
Tutor: [Redacted]

What have you learnt from this episode?

I have learned that the serious backlashes and punishments actions can have and have received a wake up call to be more mindful of the things I say or do. Since they can hurt and offend people and make people see me in a negative way.

What will you do differently next time? Why?

I will not be more mindful of what I say or how I act, as long as I am thinking about my actions before I do them. I will live this line to not offending or even possibly hurting people, as well as that I have a huge respect towards everybody, no matter who they are.

Figure 16: Example of reflection form with a large amount of writing: detention for racism.

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name:
House:
Year:
Tutor:

Following statement includes 4 questions

It is important that you reflect on why you are in detention and what you have learnt from the episode. Please fill out this form ^{generally} honestly and in full detail. If the form is not completed satisfactorily then you will be asked to repeat it. After you have completed the form, please give it to the teacher on duty and then you may do your academic work.

Which teacher gave you the detention?

I... don't remember possibly [redacted]

Why are you in detention? Explain the full circumstances.

I received a detention because I had a tardy which and didn't serve it.

I had a tardy because being late for class over five minutes.

The reason why I didn't serve the tardy is that I feel tardy is pointless and do it on purpose to have a detention.

The reason why I ~~had~~ would rather a detention than tardy is that it is totally pointless to get up early in the morning and it is a total waste of time. Besides, What was the impact of your actions on other people?

I stay up late all night basically and can barely wake up that early. However, being in detention is just studying in a different place, with or without uniform. I'll be studying at this time in my school or in house. It literally makes no difference and it actually helps to focus without laptop or phones. Moreover, I'm not a lazy guy so generally I love detention way more than tardy.

Behavioural Detention Reflection Form

Name:
House:
Year:
Tutor:

What have you learnt from this episode?

I even asked for a detention when ^{being} given a tardy, and was told that I can have a detention if not going to tardy thus there is no point of asking for a detention.

To conclude, I asked for this detention for not serving tardy.

There is a strange phenomenon that if people keep staying up whole night, they won't feel too exhausted the next day.

However, say that an individual stay up until 5 am and sleep for 2.5 hours, he will feel extremely tired. So if ^{being} ~~being~~ asked that what did I learn from this episode, I would say that I would ~~stay~~ not stay up late everyday.

First of all. And when sometimes staying up late, I'll try

What will you do differently next time? Why?

not sleep that night and sleep early next evening.

So the bad influence of my behaviour would be that certain people would also prefer detention than tardies, consequently weaken the authority of deputies in school. Moreover, teachers and classmates may wait for me since I showed up late and thus waste precious time of everybody. And when being asked what I would do differently next time, it is awkward to say that I would still not serve tardies and would rather have a detention. It has nothing to do with me being special or challenge school. It is just a personal preference and I do hope that school can understand that.

Figure 17: Example of reflection form with a large amount of writing: detention for non-completion of tardy.

In summary, these reflection forms elicited a mixed response from students and staff. Some students have clearly put a lot of effort in whilst others have only given them cursory input. The value of the forms is not just in the writing however, as several staff commented on the forms' usefulness in pastoral discussions. They may be useful when tailoring behavioural interventions for individuals and building up a picture of 'the whole student.'

Several interviewees had stated that there were the same students in detention every week, and this finding was replicated in the MIS data. When looking at the forms for these individuals, no evident trend emerged. In some weeks these students wrote considerable amounts but in other weeks they wrote very little. As previously stated, the intervention was interrupted by Covid-19, so only limited data could be collected. A specific focus on the feedback from the most recidivist students is an intriguing area for future investigation.

Conclusions

These conclusions are phrased such that they provide some answers to the research questions. An overall summary is provided at the end.

RQ1: What are the perceptions of the students and staff of the current BM policy? To what extent do these perceptions correlate with data collected on student behaviour?

There were mixed perceptions of the current BM policy. Many teachers thought there were shortcomings but there were several teachers who thought the retributive nature of the token-based system was an effective form of encouraging good behaviour whilst acting as a suitable deterrent against poor behaviour.

Many teachers and students had incorrect assumptions about the number of rewards and sanctions issued and the reasons for the issue of these sanctions. For example, whilst one of the biggest reasons for getting detention was not completing a tardy, accounting for 27% of all detentions, the number of students not completing their tardies was far smaller than most interviewees thought. Most thought that 30-40% of tardies were incomplete, when in fact the average value was only 7.5%. Indeed, 80% of the student body received fewer than 10 tardies all year, with around 30% receiving none at all. Teachers' and students' perceptions of behaviour were more negative than the data showed. Incorrect assumptions such as these may have implications when designing new BM policies and show the importance of basing decisions on data.

Student perceptions agreed with the literature and the data that younger students received the most sanctions. There was also good agreement with the literature around the idea of the gender split. Even though approximately the same proportion of boys and girls receive tardies, boys on average receive 50% more per person.

There was disagreement between teachers and students regarding the consistency of awarding sanctions. Students were adamant that teachers were inconsistent: the data backs up their view, with only 17 teachers responsible for issuing over half of all tardies. In addition, there was time inconsistency with awarding tardies, with considerably more tardies awarded on Wednesdays but considerably fewer at the start and end of terms.

Students and staff were in agreement to some extent in their perceptions of student recidivism. They were backed up by the data, with around 20% of students showing high rates of recidivism with regards to tardies, agreeing with the prediction made by Sugai (2008). In relation to detentions this was even more stark, where just four students received more detentions between them than everyone with a single detention, and just 14% of the student body received 70% of all the detentions.

RQ2: What are the perceptions of the students and staff on alterations to the BM policy?

Do they perceive any impact on student behaviour?

Perceptions of the alterations to the BM policy were mixed. Most students and staff were positive about some aspects but negative about others. For example, the use of more

restorative approaches in classrooms was generally considered positively. Teachers and students both benefited from reflecting on any infractions that occurred and teacher-student relationships were improved.

Students and staff were also generally positive about the use of departmental detentions instead of whole-school academic ones, although staff did point out some logistical improvements which need to be made. It was generally felt that there was more support and purpose to the detention, and was a more restorative form of disciplining. Some students and sports coaches were upset about these detentions due to their missing sports training and in these cases they became even more retributive than the original detention and undermined their own purpose. Some teachers were not positive about the use of more restorative practices as they felt they required more time than they had available or felt unqualified to have the necessary conversations with the students.

The use of reflective forms in detention was largely disliked by the students, but staff who were involved with their use found them to be useful. Some students used them as an opportunity to write a very thorough reflection, but other students got far less out of it and wrote very short reflections.

Overall the perceived impact on behaviour is difficult to quantify. A few teachers have remarked on their improved relationships with students with whom they now spend more time discussing behaviour rather than simply handing out sanctions. Other teachers have commented on the positive approach of students to the departmental detentions. However, the overall impact on the behaviour of the whole school may be too small to be noticeable.

RQ3: Does bringing in a more restorative approach to school discipline encourage students to reflect more? Does increased reflection have any impact on the perceived behaviour of the students?

Students and staff were mainly positive about the use of more restorative practices when dealing with student misdemeanours. There were several comments which suggested that these restorative practices increased student's reflection and that this reflection ultimately improved the behaviour of the student. However, there was also a feeling that these restorative approaches need to be used for some time in order for any real perceived impact to be observed.

Using reflective feedback forms was useful for some students who bought into completing them. Many of these forms provide evidence of students using effective reflection to set themselves targeted goals for future improvement. This wasn't the case for all students but some clearly benefitted.

RQ4: Does the new BM policy have an effect on the number of rewards and sanctions issued?

Some positive signs were evident from both student data and teacher interviews but ultimately the intervention did not run for long enough for a categorical answer to this research question. During the first three weeks of the intervention phase of the project there was an initial increase in sanctions given. However, the average number of sanctions

was lower than the historical average for the next 6 weeks. The final week and a half of term were interrupted due to Covid-19. So, whilst the intervention term showed the lowest level of discipline data of any term over the past three years most of this improvement has come because of the school hiatus.

Conclusion summary

Restorative justice practices and positive behavioural supports were examined as possible theoretical behaviour management (BM) frameworks which could provide improvements to the school's BM policy. The policy was examined in the light of these less retributive theories and alterations were made which aimed to both reduce the number of retributive sanctions given and improve student reflection on their behaviour.

The alterations to the design of the BM policy was guided by this researcher and the Deputy Head Pastoral (DHP). This altered policy was created in collaboration with staff and students from around the school to minimise teacher and student resistance and encourage their 'buy-in.' Perspectives from various stakeholders and data from the school's MIS database were combined with aspects of the literature to make alterations to the design of the BM policy which were suitable for the context of this school

The investigation was split into three parts. The first part looked at encouraging more restorative conversations and reflection on behaviour between student and teacher where sanctions would ordinarily have been used. Findings as to the effectiveness of this intervention were mixed, but it seemed it had been moving in the right direction until school shut early.

The second part of the investigation was to replace retributive academic detentions with more supportive departmental detentions concurrent with departmental clinics. This was met overwhelmingly with positive reviews notwithstanding that there were several logistical

issues which needed to be addressed to improve the ease and accountability with which this system could be used.

The third part of the investigation was to encourage students to develop more reflective practice through the use of detention reflection forms. Whilst staff found these forms very useful for keeping a record and for having positive pastoral conversations, students were less impressed with them. Some students had clearly understood the value of them as evidenced by the amount they wrote on them. Many students, however, felt that the forms were a waste of time and need a more proactive explanation of the positive benefits of reflection.

Overall there was a mixed response to the interventions. Whilst some interventions worked well for some students there is still a lot of work to be done to encourage more positive behaviour throughout the school. One of the biggest themes which emerged was that a very small number of individual students (around 7% of the student body) need individualised behaviour strategies. These students account for a disproportionately large percentage of sanctions given.

Another major area for improvement is staff and student training. Effective training can have a large impact on the fidelity of implementation of the intervention. Staff required more training by specialists in the use of PBS and RJPs and students required more training in reflective practices. This was one of the weakest areas of implementation of this investigation, despite the collaborative approach taken by involving many teachers in the

project. Collaboration could also have been improved if parents and other external stakeholders had been involved designing the new BM policy.

Whilst the research showed positive signs it was cut short. Even if Covid-19 had not occurred it would not have been running for long enough for a satisfactory impact to have occurred as paradigm shifts in how students and teachers interact and how students reflect will take a few years to take place. The success of the intervention will therefore not be possible to determine for some time yet, but through running this pilot study useful data has been collected and areas for future work identified, which will improve the fidelity of implementation of the new BM policy as it gets rolled out to the rest of the school.

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