

“...because suspension dosent teach you anything” [sic] What students with challenging behaviours say about school suspension.

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“...BECOUSE SUSPENSION DOSENT TEATCH YOU ANYTHING” [SIC]: WHAT STUDENTS WITH CHALLENGING BEHAVIOURS SAY ABOUT SCHOOL SUSPENSION

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Abstract

The literature on school suspension contains negligible discussion from the perspective of the student. This paper begins to contribute that missing point of view. It presents the findings of an ethnographic study with students in middle childhood who have been suspended from school. For the overwhelming majority of study participants, being suspended did not lead to any meaningful behavioural change. Students instead identified suspension as a universal process of exclusion, spawning pathways to educational disengagement and risks of marginalisation. In their reflections, students raised issues of respect, voice, procedural fairness and participation. They also speak of the critical impact of child-adult relations on their wellbeing in the learning environment. Student perspectives from this study support the use of individualised responses to challenging behaviour that are tailored to the ecology of the child.

Introduction

This ethnographic study is part of a body of research undertaken by UnitingCare Children Young People and Families (UnitingCare CYPF) in response to concerns about significant trend increases in the proportion of New South Wales (NSW) students (including primary school students) receiving long suspensions of between 5 and 20 days from school (Cowling, 2011). A policy audit (Beauchamp, 2011) established the fruitlessness of school suspension in promoting positive behavioural change; its role in embedding disengagement from education among students from disadvantaged backgrounds; and the need for systemic change to suspension policies.

This study recruited students between the ages of 12 to 14 years. It is an age band where students are making a key transition from primary to secondary schooling and where suspensions are most concentrated. Data from the NSW Department of Education and Training (DET) showed that in 2010, students in Years 7 to 10 accounted for 77 per cent of all long suspensions. Students receiving long suspensions were 6 per cent of total enrolments in Years 7 to 10 (DET, 2011 cited in Cowling, 2011). There is also a lack of research on students in the middle years of childhood (Arnold, 2000 cited in Saeed, 2010).

UnitingCare CYPF conducted a literature review that offers a typology of school responses to students with challenging behaviours where most responses can be categorised into either punitive, academic, therapeutic or tailored approaches (Michail, 2011). The review indicates that challenging behaviour is not easily defined (ibid). It can be interpreted, (and thus addressed), in a range of ways. Challenging behaviour is therefore subjective. Significantly, student perspectives on the cause/s of their challenging behaviours and the efficacy of suspension as a system response are largely absent or unexplored in research on school exclusion (Costenbader & Markson, 1998; McCluskey, 2008; Munn & Lloyd, 2005). Gersch & Nolan (1994) argue that understanding the effects of exclusion, requires more studies which explore and elicit the child’s views of suspension - as the child is the subject and primary source of this knowledge. Pomeroy (2000) points to the valuable insights gained through her research on the views of excluded students. This study contributes the views of students on challenging behaviour and how they see exclusion through suspension, as a response to this behaviour at school.

The suspension of students from school is strongly associated with socio-economic status (SES)

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(Hemphill & Hargreaves, 2010; Nickerson and Spears, 2007; Lloyd et al., 2033; Michail, 2011). Many schools with a high proportion of students of low SES administer punitive consequences more often and rely on formal administrative structures rather than on philosophies of children's participation, compared with wealthy schools (Nickerson and Spears, 2007). This understanding demands that we consider the backdrop of children's lives in which exclusion from school occurs.

This study uses an ecological perspective to discuss the circumstances of the community, school environment and personal lives of students participating in the study. We spoke with students who live in a Local Government Area (LGA) in NSW that, in 2006, was in the third highest decile of NSW LGAs ranked by the risk of social exclusion for children aged 0-15 years; (NATSEM, 2011). Data from the 2006 Census (ABS, 2008) showed that 26% of households were considered low income households (gross weekly income of less than \$500 per week). In this paper we reject constructing young people as 'youth at risk', which requires political, ethical and moral judgements (Cieslik & Pollock 2002 cited in te Riele 2007) and where something about young people needs change. Rather, we suggest that something about educational provision needs to change to work with the child's context. Responding to student contexts that are marked by vulnerability and disadvantage is a significant structural challenge for economic and social policy broadly and school policy and practice more specifically. Addressing this challenge is outside the scope of this paper which instead highlights the social and systemic milieu in which students in this study have experienced suspension. Their comments and reflections indicate the need for a more nuanced and holistic response to difficult classroom behaviour.

Methodology

The research methodology for the study was couched in a constructivist paradigm, which valued subjective perspective and the individual meanings ascribed by students to their experience. It utilised ethnographic methods to elicit the views of ten students aged 12 to 14 years who had been suspended from school on at least one occasion in the preceding 12 months. Following the receipt of ethics approval, UnitingCare CYPF staff recruited five students from their local program. The other five students were recruited using a snowball method, as they did not have any existing relationships with UnitingCare CYPF. Students were provided with a gift voucher as recognition of their time and this incentive facilitated snowball recruitment. The sample was not designed to be representative of the local student population. Nine of the ten students were male, one student identified as Aboriginal and another as both Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander. One student was born overseas and all students spoke English as their first language at home.

Quantitative data was collected through student completion of an online survey seeking basic demographic, family structure and housing data. Qualitative data was then obtained from students using semi-structured face to face interviews which focused on their experiences and interpretations of suspension from school. The interviews were audio-recorded, transcribed and analysed using NVIVO 9 software. The data were coded under a number of broad themes identified from previous knowledge of the school suspension literature, from students' perspectives and the online survey. To fully capture the richness of the qualitative information, the author has produced a complementary report which uses a case study approach (Michail, in print).

Results

A large proportion of participants had experienced repeat suspensions with 40% of students having been suspended three times in their school life and 50% more than three times. One student had been suspended 10 times, another 30 times and another student had lost count of the number of times he had been suspended. Nine participants of this study (90%) said they had been in trouble with the police and two participants (20%) had previously been expelled. Pomeroy (2000) states that repeated suspensions are significant and traumatic life events and Brown (2007) reports that reduced classroom instruction time due to suspension damages the socio-emotional experiences of excluded students.

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How do students describe their challenging behaviour?

Early In this study, the most common reason for students being suspended from school was bad language (90% of participants identified this as a reason for suspension in a survey that allowed multiple responses).The second most common reason was being aggressive (80%). Pseudonyms are used for all individual participant responses.

“Fighting, swearing...tagging [writing on the walls]” (Joel)

”It’s just constant disobedience... Just like getting sent out of class too many times a day and not going to detentions and getting in arguments and stuff...Just throwing things, constant like if you’re told to not rock on your chair, you keep doing it and not doing your work.” (Shane)

How do students feel when they are suspended?

The small number of students in this study had collectively experienced more than 60 suspensions from school. They described a vast array of emotions during these times which included feeling worried, anxious, like they were treated unjustly, hurt, unheard, frustrated, blamed, targeted, annoyed, rebellious, depressed, shocked and sad. Students were asked how they felt when being suspended, their responses included:

“Pretty like depressed, I guess. Shocked. I couldn’t stop like shaking. I didn’t know what was going to happen.” (Mike)

However, the principal emotional response was anger and students dealt with this in different ways. Aaron described how his anger led to further challenging behaviour:

“ ... when I get blamed for something I didn’t do. I go out and start punching the doors and that, and jump the fence”. (Aaron)

What reasons do students give for why suspension doesn’t change their challenging behaviour?

Study participants gave three main reasons why suspension didn’t induce changes in behaviour. The reasons can be summarised as: suspensions being given for trivial behaviours seen as inappropriate only by adults; suspension doesn’t address the root cause of behaviour; and students are being taken away from their learning.

“because u get suspended for little things” and “because u get suspended for really stupid stuff.”[sic] (Alec)

Students saw suspension as being used often as a response for addressing behaviours they considered trivial. Students referred to suspension as a response that was over used for behaviours that were not serious, even ‘like saying things at the floor’ (Josh).

“I reckon it’s just a little holiday, you just get to have some fun at home. They reckon you’re going to think about what happened at school but it doesn’t happen”. (Aaron)

Students felt that exclusion from school for an extended period doesn’t create any opportunities for them to think about reasons for or consequences of their behaviour. Students also felt that suspension doesn’t give staff opportunities to explain why their behaviour warrants suspension or to put in place supports so that students can respond differently next time or make amends.

“They [students] enjoy it [suspension]. you get days off school” (Shane)

Students say that they are treated well when they present with challenging behaviour because they enjoy being given time off school. It is not always seen as a punishment. Students may use their behaviour to be suspended from school if they experience the time away from school positively. However, what is clear is that it is a time when “you don’t learn” (Jake).

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When can suspension mitigate challenging behaviour?

Suspension is only of benefit to the student if they understand why their behaviour is challenging and/or if they become positively engaged to address it. In some cases it was the unintended support that students received from adults that led to some small change. Austin talked around his learning difficulties and for him, teachers becoming aware of these really helped:

"because like I'm ... like I can't sit still like ... I suppose I'm sitting still right now. I'm moving my hands but still, yeah, like if I'm in class and everyone's just talking I get up and I have to do something. I can't sit down and just concentrate on my work. So I can't do that so that's probably why ... but most teachers know that I have like ... I can't sit still."
(Aaron)

Others made positive change, when suspension led to the creation of supportive adult relationships with a counsellor, parent or other adult brought in to work with the child (or to learn about his problem). For Aaron, access to a counsellor was helpful because he decided to allow Aaron back to school. He says the counsellor was very supportive.

"The counsellor let me talk to the principal and she said, "Yeah"...He helped me a lot."
(Aaron)

Some students found it helped when their family established new consequences, like being grounded or having extra chores to complete (despite this not addressing the actual behaviour). Austin put it this way:

"The fact that I've been suspended and I try not to like get suspended because while I'm at home I can't go out or anything. Like say I wanted to go out and there was something happening and I couldn't go out, so I try like, I try my best not to get in trouble." (Austin)

Students talked about suspension sometimes being an appropriate response by schools but qualified that it should not be for an extended period of time or should be designed so that the student is allocated work to do during the suspension, with supervision and support, preferably in the school grounds. Students clearly wanted to maintain their ability to complete work and be connected with their peers and learning environment.

"I'd just rather it to be like inter-school (sic) suspensions. I reckon it would help the kids a lot more. Or just they should have a class where the kids in suspension have to go to. So there's one teacher teaching the kids for the whole day about like ... it was just normal work except it was still in a classroom." (Mike)

"Because like you don't have to, like you don't get in as much trouble as you do and they treat you better and they're a lot nicer that way. And the kids are still at school and they still have to follow school rules." (Tiana)

What are some of the behaviour management strategies that students say are used by their schools?

Students identified other strategies at their school that they felt related to their challenging behaviour and suspension procedures. These included changing the classes that a student attends.

"Yeah, because one of the kids in my class he kept doing that but he got moved now, he's moved classes. So yeah, a different classroom, like different classes." (Austin).

Some students request 'senior placement' where they complete their work in a senior class with another teacher. Aaron requests these placements because he feels he is unable to communicate with his normal class teacher without 'losing it'. It is something he chooses to do:

"Well, you go with like year 11s and that, and just stay in their class but do your work, like bring your sheet and your book and just write down your questions and that." (Aaron)

Some schools use what students called a 'referral' system. Austin explains:

"They've got referrals. Like everything, like every teacher has like have this slip thing and

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they write down ... like they have all the names on there. They write down a slip thing and they ... it's like a referral and they just put it in there and it comes out in a list... And then when you get suspended they show your mum and all that all what you've done. Yeah. Like every single bad thing that you've done. And it just builds up and builds up when you do bad stuff. And then when you've done one bad thing and they've got all the other ones they combined all that together and then just suspend you, not because of that, because of all the other stuff as well.” (Austin)

A formal caution or warning commonly precedes a suspension. Suspensions can also be issued after a certain number of detentions or if the student doesn't attend detention.

What are students' preferred strategies for addressing challenging behaviours?

Students offered alternative approaches to suspension that would allow schools to make more helpful responses to their challenging behaviour. A common element to these was the need to have the issues which caused the behaviour understood and addressed and options to help maintain their learning. Students suggested talking through their issues with the teachers, having teachers help them not be suspended, attending education support centres where they can access one-on-one instruction from staff, or putting students in special rooms/classes within the school grounds where they could be helped with school work.

“But if they were just doing it [challenging behaviour] like because they needed too, because they were getting angry or frustrated, and then just have a talk to them. See what's going on.” (Austin)

“I don't know, sat down and asked me what actually happened and what was going on and that and talking about my problems.” (Tiana)

“I don't know, it's like this thing at [suburb], it's like to do ... you go like every, like two times a week, it's to help you get better at school. Yeah, like you go there and got to ... it's got, like they help you do more stuff, like ... because it's easier to do one-on-one than one on like 30 people.” (Craig)

Jim suggested that doing community service was more appropriate than giving students a holiday and thought that withholding privileges might be useful. Yet another suggestion was that students could help other students. This is consistent with most literature on peer-support, peer-mentoring and buddy systems that have been used in a range of educational contexts to support students socially and academically (for discussion see Cowie & Smith in Doll 2009; Morrison et al 2000). Hemphill & Hargreaves (2009: 55) state that pairing students with challenging behaviour with a student who does not have merit. David described how and why another student helped him to change his behaviour:

“Just other students probably. I don't know. Austin helped me, I used to wag every period, I went to two classes in like a month and then he told me to stop wagging and then like took me to every class and made me go in and I just started going to class”. (David)

Discussion

In this section we use analysis of student responses to identify four underlying dynamics (respect, voice, procedural fairness, participation) which explain why study participants felt that suspension did not change or modify their behaviour. This analysis leads to a discussion of positive child-adult relations as a key element of successful strategies for addressing challenging behaviours.

Respect

The first dynamic is an ongoing exchange of disrespect between young people and adults. Either the staff member or student displays disrespect which is then reciprocated by the other party, often over a lengthy period. In their study on student engagement, Mayes and Groundwater-Smith also discovered a cyclic dynamic around respect where “Both students and teachers struggled with the idea of who was

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to blame in the students' discourse.” (2001:7). The key idea from the student reflections was the need for “...mutual responsibility for the positive re-construction of the teacher/student relationship...” (2001: 7). This student refers to this mutual dynamic as he reflects on why he presents with challenging behaviour.

“If they treat me like shit I'm just going to treat them like shit back. If they're really nice and have respect I'm going to respect them back.”(Aaron)

Students in our study described feeling insulted; slighted and affected by the way adult staff treated them. Young people may lack opportunities to discuss or explore their views and points of difference with supportive adults or to express their perspectives in well articulated and respectful ways. Students in this study felt their views were unacknowledged, dismissed, verbally abandoned and/or rejected.

“Well, I'll get suspended just for like sticking up for a friend. Just like “Miss X, you have no right to say that” and she goes, ‘you're disrespecting me, go to the office’ and that... probably just being a smart arse really, but not even that much just like sticking up for my friend”. (Aaron)

Students described the long standing tense relationships that often existed between them and an adult staff member. While it is unclear whether this led them to feel disturbed, distressed, disappointed or displeased with a perceived lack of support, students raised these tense relationships as being an issue for them.

“Just not going to class. I used to hide up in the oval. Some of them [other kids] would come because they had problems with the same teacher.” (Tiana)

“Just the way they treat us. Like little babies and that and it's like ... they treat us like we're dogs and they can just do what they tell us to do and stuff like that.” (Aaron)

Students distinctly described their desire to be respected despite their behaviour and during the process of being suspended.

“Some teachers that do the [suspension] interview like really respect me and that, but some of the teachers just treat me like, really like crap just like, “Yeah, sit down, don't talk, just do as I tell you” and stuff like that...Like I treat people the way they treat me. If they treat me like shit I'm just going to treat them like shit back. If they're really nice and have respect I'm going to respect them back”. (Aaron)

Voice

The second dynamic is children feeling unheard and adults not listening to, or silencing, children's voices. A large proportion of the students described hurt, bullying and injustice as leading them to behave in defensive ways that were seen by adults as challenging behaviour. They describe not having the opportunity to explain the circumstances surrounding their behaviour or the injustice done to them. They describe not bothering to explain because they feel it would have no impact on the suspension decision. Mike talks about his feeling of not being treated justly because his actions were a direct consequence of being taunted by another student. This circumstance led to his violent actions and suspension:

“I got suspended for smashing a window. I didn't mean to...because someone was out the front of it taunting me so I hit it with like the palm of my fist and it snapped, it wasn't safety glass. It was this old like bad like not good glass. I cut up my hand. There's not really a scar but it nearly chopped off someone's head. A piece of glass just went straight across.” (Mike)

Students took offence at not being able to voice their story about the events that led to the behaviour. Decision making around suspension is particularly focused on labelling and categorising specific behaviours. Context is meaningful to students but they see limited capacity in the suspension process to offer their perspective on the context:

“Like when people call other people names and they might get suspended because

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they...the person that they were fighting with would tell a lie or something. Let's say you did something and then they believe them and not you and they'd suspend you.” (Tiana)

Procedural Fairness

The third dynamic relates to procedural fairness. Across the five schools, school suspension policy was set by the NSW DET yet the process undertaken by staff to implement suspension policy was experienced differently by students. There were differences in the way decisions were communicated to students and their families and in the timing of these communications. In a few cases, students were left to sit in the office for a full school day, with nothing to do until a decision was made by senior staff. On one occasion the student left the school at the end of the day, with no decision about the consequences of his actions. Other students were not aware of suspensions (or the reason for suspension) until they were told by their parent/s.

“I had to sit in a room for the rest of the day doing nothing, I just had to sit there, I couldn't go out for recess or anything. From first period till the fifth, till the end of the day? I got to like 2:25, school finished at 2:30, got to 2:25 and I was going crazy so I just walked out and then they called my mum and mum's like “Did you know you were suspended?” And I was like “I do now.” (David)

For Jim, there was a lengthy delay between an undefined behaviour and suspension:

“He [teacher] just looked at me and like didn't really do anything then like three days later I got suspended”. (Jim)

Processes differed in the way the behaviour was investigated. Some schools used other students in the class as ‘witnesses’ to the behaviour, while others did not. Some students were required to write down their side of the story while others were not asked about their perspective. Aaron outlined a process at his school where accounts were written and signed by the student, teacher and any peers or friends who witnessed the incident but questioned how the Principal then used this material to make a decision:

“Then he decides what should be going on with it but most of the time the teacher's just write like bullshit on the paper what happened and that. It's really not what happened but they are not going to believe kids they are going to believe the teacher, so they just take the teacher's side of the story like seriously ...”. (Aaron)

For some students, a school counsellor made the decision about when the student could return to school although students were not aware of what influenced that decision.

Decision making around the timing of suspensions was also important to students. Many students described being suspended immediately before or after school holidays and being suspended in succession. In both cases they are acutely aware of the duration of the exclusion from their learning environment, their peers and the difficulty in returning to school after an extended period of time.

Participation

The fourth dynamic is the role of student participation in determining the standards of acceptable and not acceptable behaviour within the school context. Many students simply described their surprise, shock, and confusion around some of the behaviours that led to suspension. They could not understand the reasons why decisions had been made to exclude them or their peers on the basis of an action that they perceived as within normal bounds of young people's behaviour. Their responses clearly point to a lack of ownership around maintaining a level of acceptable behaviour in their school environment.

“Someone got suspended for shaking a pole. Like just shaking a pole, that's all.” That wasn't...I don't know why he got suspended, he shouldn't of. But apparently he got suspended for just shaking a pole” (Mike)

“Like, you can't talk or when you backchat the teacher sends you to the Principal or you get in big trouble or you get suspended and I don't believe I did anything to that teacher so I don't understand why she suspended me.” (Tiana)

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Child-adult relations

It is fundamental to recognise that student-teacher relationships are, at heart, examples of child-adult relations. It is not possible to discuss student suspension without acknowledging the power hierarchies associated with the child status differential and how these play out in daily interactions in the classroom. The relationships that students form with teachers are highly dependant on the individual qualities of the teachers (Pomeroy, 1999). Newberry (2001) found that “teacher perception and preference” (2001: 1) influenced the quality of teacher and student interactions states and how these serve the learning environment. The students in our study provided glimpses of both difficult and supportive student-teacher interactions and how these influenced suspension decisions and learnings:

“...like if nothing’s happening with the chaplain you can just go to the counsellor. If you can’t do that you just go to the deputy. And like normally the deputy’s like really nice and she’ll help you”. (Mike)

“Well, depends really. There’s Miss [X] and Mr [Y], and I forget who the other one is, but some of them ... they’re really nice like usually but sometimes they get replaced by like teachers, the deputy principal like replace them. There’s this teacher that replaces them, he’s really like the worst teacher, I reckon. He really treats you like crap. He just goes, “Sit down, write a report, I don’t want to hear it,” stuff like that. Some teachers are nice so I respect them and tell them what happened. Some of the teachers I just keep it to myself”. (Aaron)

Craig and Austin found solace in a few teachers and their Deputy Principal.

“Whenever I get in trouble they go “Yeah, you can come down to my class and just sit there and watch movies or whatever.” (Craig)

“Yeah, I talk to him [Deputy Principal] all the time.” (Austin)

By contrast, Aaron saw suspension as a way for the teacher to avoid contact with the students.

“...the teachers just can’t stand the kids and just want them to go out of the school for a bit, for their own advantage, I reckon they just do it for the teacher who just doesn’t want to see you, so they make you go home for a week or something”. (Aaron)

Students stressed that where they had positive adult relationships at school, this could help change behaviour so long as the support remained constant. For Jim, his experience of suspension did not create a process where his school assisted him with his behaviour but created the opportunity to talk positively with his dad about his behaviour:

“I learnt from my dad having like, telling me like giving me a lecture like sitting down and talking. And then my dad was like yeah, yeah giving me like a lecture like what to do and what not to do”. (Jim)

The study participants stressed that when a student is suspended, many people are affected. It impacts their most valued relationships including those with parents and siblings. Student anxiety over suspension frequently related to maintaining healthy relationships with their parents and extended family as these people were their key source of support.

Within the school context, the students offered insights into what teachers did that was useful (and not useful) to fostering positive relationships. Overwhelmingly, students valued the availability of adult figures at school who made time for them; welcomed them into their office, and communicated with them regularly and respectfully. These were the qualities that were critical to maintaining student engagement and working towards what Mayes and Groundwater-Smith (2011:3) describe as the complex but rewarding task of “Moving in relationships from power over students to power with students”. For the students who participated in this study, a key sticking point was the lack of adults who were able to support and engage with them in a positive way despite their challenging behaviour.

Conclusion

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Our knowledge of behaviour management in schools can be extended and/or challenged by considering student perspectives. While some may argue that the behaviours described by the students in this study merit exclusion, a deeper analysis of the range of behaviours and the meanings and rationales students ascribe to their behaviours, highlight the complex nature of the problems to which suspension is a disciplinary response. It also indicates that the use of suspension as a universal response to challenging behaviour is problematic.

The students who participated in this ethnographic study agree that the experience of suspension does little to change the challenging behaviours they present with at school. Suspension fails to help them understand or address the underlying causes. Students argue that they are suspended from school too often, for too long, and draw the same penalties for trivial and dangerous behaviour. School suspension is not meaningful to them and often students do not understand the link between their behaviour and being excluded. Students express their aversion to suspension as a response to challenging behaviour because it is irrelevant to the reasons why they act out at school.

A school environment that engages students in learning needs to facilitate positive relationships between teachers and students. The poor interactions experienced by many of the students in this study, point to the need to build greater knowledge and awareness among educators about the dynamics of child-adult relations and how these can be fostered to create supportive relationships. One of the themes to clearly emerge from the study for students who had experienced in-school suspensions was that it was the additional characteristics in this setting - including one-on-one instruction, smaller class size, intensive support, and teachers' increased capacity to interact with, and understand the personal circumstances of students and the understanding of personal circumstances - that created possibilities for behavioural change.

Students want to communicate with their teachers about their problems and behaviours and feel that if this is done in a respectful way, (even if they have behaved poorly), then respect would be reciprocated because they are keen to learn. In this study, students ask for help so that they are not excluded from learning and can stay connected with education and their peers. Unambiguously, students seek tailored responses to their challenging behaviour. This means that challenging behaviour is addressed effectively through strategies that are personal, particular and targeted counter measures that are needed by the student.

The experience of multiple suspensions dramatically increases the probability of early school disengagement and life on the margins. Systemic change informed by the voices of students is needed. This study has been one way in which students have been able to participate in working towards better learning and wellbeing outcomes for themselves by reflecting on, and giving voice, to their experiences and interpretations of suspension and positing alternatives.

School suspension can be used as a first or last response by educators to challenging behaviour although there is limited support from the research literature on its capacity to generate positive behavioural change. There will always be students that present with what adults consider challenging behaviour, however, it is the way we respond to these behaviours that matter. How we maintain our interaction with students in personal, positive ways that will determine whether school responses will compound existing vulnerabilities for students or create opportunities for new thinking on educational engagement.

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